

Revue d'architecture dans les années 1960 et 1970

Fragments d'une histoire événementielle,
intellectuelle et matérielle

Actes du colloque international tenu les 6 et 7 mai 2004
au Centre Canadien d'Architecture (CCA) à Montréal

Sous la direction d'Alexis Sornin, Hélène Jannière et France Vanlaethem

Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s

Towards a Factual, Intellectual and Material History

Proceedings of the International Colloquium held on 6–7 May 2004
at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) in Montréal

Edited by Alexis Sornin, Hélène Jannière and France Vanlaethem

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L'Institut de recherche en histoire de l'architecture (IRHA) is a non-profit organization that gathers together scholars and students from Concordia University, McGill University, Université de Montréal, Université du Québec à Montréal, and the Canadian Centre for Architecture.

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Préface

Ce volume recueille les actes du colloque, *Les revues d'architecture dans les années 1960 et 1970*, qui a eu lieu au Centre Canadien d'Architecture (CCA) les 6 et 7 mai 2004. Ces deux décennies constituent sans doute l'âge d'or de la presse architecturale parallèle en Europe et Amérique du nord¹. Mais il s'agit aussi d'une période durant laquelle même les titres à plus grand tirage n'hésitaient pas à offrir un peu de théorie à un lectorat d'architectes confrontés tant à des changements sociaux radicaux qu'à une radicalité sociale changeante. Ce colloque s'est efforcé de replacer les revues d'architecture au cœur des débats d'hier tout en démontrant par des études de cas l'ampleur des approches critiques disponibles à ceux qui s'y intéressent aujourd'hui. Les essais rassemblés dans cet ouvrage, nous semble-t-il, aident à mieux comprendre un genre qui, tout au moins une vingtaine d'années durant, a su monopoliser l'espace du débat professionnel autour de ce qui importait le plus en architecture.

Le colloque et la publication qui l'accompagne ont été organisés par l'Institut de recherche en histoire de l'architecture (IRHA), un organisme sans but lucratif, fondé à Montréal en 1990 grâce à un accord entre le CCA, McGill University et l'Université de Montréal. Concordia University et l'Université du Québec à Montréal les ont rejoints en 2007. L'IRHA est un consortium qui regroupe des membres du corps enseignant, étudiant et administratif de ces cinq institutions montréalaises dans le but d'appuyer la recherche historique et théorique et de soutenir un dialogue inter-disciplinaire dans le domaine de l'architecture. L'Institut administre un programme annuel de bourses de recherche et organise régulièrement des forums où ses membres peuvent présenter leurs recherches. L'IRHA a publié les actes de ses colloques, dont *Les revues d'architecture dans les années 1960 et 1970* est le sixième².

Fort des encouragements du professeur Ricardo Castro (directeur de l'IRHA de 2000 à 2003) et de Nicholas Olsberg (directeur du CCA), Gerald Beasley (bibliothécaire en chef au CCA et directeur de l'IRHA de 2003 à 2004)

a proposé le thème du colloque en 2003. Alexis Sornin (chef du Centre d'étude du CCA et directeur de l'IRHA de 2005 à 2008) a développé le programme du colloque et dirigé la publication des actes en étroite collaboration avec Hélène Jannière (École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Paris-Val de Seine) et France Vanlaethem (Université du Québec à Montréal), qui ont généreusement accepté la charge de rédiger un essai introductif et de compiler la bibliographie à la fin de ce volume.

L'IRHA remercie Phyllis Lambert (directeur fondateur et président du conseil des fiduciaires du CCA), pour avoir soutenu et encouragé l'IRHA depuis sa fondation. Notre gratitude va également aux nombreux collègues qui nous ont aidés à réaliser ce projet. Au premier rang desquels Aliki Economides et Elspeth Cowell, coordinatrices de l'IRHA, ont contribué au cadre intellectuel et organisationnel du colloque et de la publication. Nous tenons également à remercier les membres du comité de liaison de l'IRHA, les professeurs Irena Latek et Alberto Pérez-Gómez qui ont participé à la sélection de celles et de ceux qui avaient répondu à notre appel à communication.

GERALD BEASLEY, Columbia University

ALEXIS SORNIN, Centre Canadien d'Architecture

- 1 Comme le démontre l'exposition *monter, brocher, plier: l'architecture radicale dans la presse parallèle des années 196x et 197x / clip, stamp, fold: the radical architecture of little magazines, 196x to 197x*, montée par un groupe d'étudiants de l'école d'architecture de Princeton University, sous la direction du professeur Beatriz Colomina, et présentée initialement à la galerie Storefront for Art and Architecture, à New York, du 14 novembre 2006 au 31 janvier 2007; puis au Centre Canadien d'Architecture, à Montréal, du 12 avril au 9 septembre 2007; et à l'Architectural Association, à Londres, du 12 novembre au 7 décembre 2007.
- 2 *Architecture, éthique et technologie*, sous la direction de Louise Pelletier et Alberto Pérez Gómez, Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994 (actes du colloque tenu au CCA les 15 et 16 novembre 1991); *The Emblem and Architecture: Studies in Applied Emblematics from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*, sous la direction de Hans J. Böker et Peter M. Daly, Turnhout: Brepols, 1999 (actes du colloque tenu au CCA du 20 au 22 octobre 1994); *Peter Collins et l'histoire de l'architecture moderne*, sous la direction d'Irena Latek, Montréal: IRHA, 2002 (actes du colloque tenu au CCA le 9 octobre 1999); *Les frontières du lieu dans le discours architectural*, sous la direction de Ricardo Castro (actes du colloque tenu au CCA les 22 et 23 mars 2002, à paraître).

Preface

This book is based on the proceedings of a colloquium, *Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s*, held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA), May 6–7, 2004. These two decades may be regarded as the heroic age of the architectural “little magazine” in Europe and North America.¹ It was also a period when even the larger-circulation commercial periodicals were often willing to include a serving of theoretical discourse as they catered to a profession confronted by radical social change and changing social radicalism. The dual aims of the colloquium therefore were to give architectural periodicals the central place in the historical discourse that they seemed to deserve and to demonstrate by example the great range of critical approaches that are available to scholars who seek them out. Whether by close reading, graphic analysis or archival research, we believe the essays in this volume all enrich our understanding of a format that, for these two decades at least, pretty much monopolized the space for professional debate about what mattered most in architecture.

The colloquium, and this accompanying publication, was organized by l'Institut de recherche en histoire de l'architecture (IRHA), a non-profit organization in Montréal that was founded in 1990 through an agreement between the Canadian Centre for Architecture, McGill University, and Université de Montréal. In 2007, Concordia University and Université du Québec à Montréal joined the organization. It is formed by a consortium of faculty, students and staff from these five institutions in Montréal who share its objectives to support historical and theoretical research and interdisciplinary dialogue pertaining to architecture. IRHA manages an annual research grants program and organizes regular forums in which members have the opportunity to present their research. In addition, IRHA has published the proceedings of its major colloquia, of which *Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s* was the sixth.²

In 2003, with the encouragement of McGill Professor Ricardo Castro (IRHA Director from 2000 to 2003), and Nicholas Olsberg (CCA Director), the theme of the colloquium was proposed by Gerald Beasley (CCA Head Librarian and IRHA Director from 2003 to 2004). From an early stage Alexis Sornin (CCA Study Centre Associate Head and IRHA Director from 2005 to 2008) took a lead role and edited the proceedings with the generous collaboration of Hélène Janniére (École nationale supérieure d'architecture de Paris-Val de Seine) and France Vanlaethem (Université du Québec à Montréal), who have kindly taken up the task of writing the introductory essay and compiling the bibliography at the end of this volume.

IRHA is grateful to Phyllis Lambert (CCA Founding Director and Chair of its Board of Trustees) for supporting and encouraging the Institute's endeavors since its foundation. We are also grateful to the many colleagues who assisted us in bringing this project to fruition. First among them were Aliki Economides and Elspeth Cowell, IRHA Coordinators, for their key contribution to the intellectual and organizational framework for the colloquium and the publication. IRHA Liaison Committee members, Professors Irena Latek and Alberto Pérez-Gómez, also deserve recognition for their role in organizing the colloquium.

GERALD BEASLEY, Columbia University

ALEXIS SORNIN, Canadian Centre for Architecture

- 1 As a recent exhibition has demonstrated: *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196x to 197x*, Storefront for Art and Architecture, New York, November 14, 2006 – January 31, 2007; Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, April 12 – September 9, 2007; and Architectural Association, London, November 12 – December 7, 2007, curated by a team of graduate students led by Professor Beatriz Colomina at Princeton University School of Architecture.
- 2 *Architecture, Ethics and Technology*, edited by Louise Pelletier and Alberto Pérez Gómez, Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994 (Proceedings of the symposium held at CCA, November 15–16, 1991); *The Emblem and Architecture: Studies in Applied Emblematics from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*, edited by Hans J. Böker and Peter M. Daly, Turnhout: Brepols, 1999 (Proceedings of the symposium held at CCA, October 20–22, 1994); *Peter Collins and the critical history of modern architecture*, edited by Irena Latek, Montréal: IRHA, 2002 (Proceedings of the symposium held at CCA on October 9, 1999); *The Limits of Place in Architectural Discourse*, edited by Ricardo Castro (Proceedings of the symposium held at CCA, March 22–23, 2002, forthcoming).

Essai méthodologique : les revues, source ou objet de l'histoire de l'architecture?

La revue occupe une place de choix dans la pratique et l'enseignement de l'architecture depuis le milieu du XIX^e siècle. Les progrès technologiques auxquels sa production et sa circulation sont attachées ont multiplié le nombre de ses titres et élargi sa diffusion au cours du siècle suivant. Nous serions tentés de remplacer le substantif d'origine anglaise qui la décrit, depuis la fin du XVIII^e siècle, par un terme plus générique, le périodique, terme qui souligne une caractéristique majeure de cette sorte d'imprimé : son rythme répété et incessant de parution (même si certaines ne comptent qu'une livraison), soutenu par des techniques d'impression toujours plus performantes et des moyens de livraison accélérés, mais, surtout, plus adapté à la diversité des opinions et à l'instabilité des savoirs dans un monde en changement rapide. Néanmoins, bien des publications sortent à intervalles plus ou moins réguliers : journal, hebdomadaire, bulletin (officiel), gazette (que l'on paie en petite monnaie). Mais seule la revue, vu le sens premier du terme, synonyme d'examen et d'inspection, promet que le domaine généralement spécialisé qu'elle couvre sera considéré sous ses multiples facettes, comme il l'était dans les premières publications liées à la littérature (avant de désigner le support, *review* spécifiait un genre : le compte-rendu critique). Dans le domaine de la mode et des arts, elle est souvent confondue avec le magazine (mot dérivé de l'ancien français, magasin, entrepôt, qui nous revient après un passage par l'anglais), l'image graphique et surtout photographique envahissant pareillement leurs pages¹. Sans conteste, en architecture, la revue illustrée est le type de publication emblématique de la modernité, à l'égal du traité pour l'âge classique.

Voilà quelques années déjà que l'intérêt pour la revue d'architecture dépasse sa simple actualité; en tant que document, elle a enrichi les sources de l'histoire de l'architecture, permettant aux historiens d'offrir de nouveaux éclairages sur le XIX^e siècle et l'entre-deux-guerres et, *in fine*, de remettre en question l'histoire « militante » du Mouvement moderne. Plus spécifiquement, elle est

devenue elle-même un objet d'étude depuis les années 1960. A l'initiative de son directeur, Gérald Beasley, à l'époque bibliothécaire en chef du Centre Canadien d'architecture (CCA), et d'Alexis Sornin, alors historiographe au CCA, l'Institut de recherche en histoire de l'architecture (IRHA) convoqua en mai 2004 un colloque intitulé « Les revues d'architecture dans les années 1960 et 1970 / Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s ». L'appel à communications encourageait les chercheurs non seulement « à examiner l'influence des revues sur les débats de l'architecture contemporaine en Europe, en Amérique et ailleurs », mais encore à présenter « des documents et des méthodologies variés, faisant plus particulièrement référence à la production matérielle, la contribution intellectuelle et la fortune critique » de ces publications. Chargées d'écrire l'introduction de la présente publication, nous avons d'abord tenté de situer le colloque dans la suite des rencontres qui ont traité de front ou de biais des revues d'architecture. Il nous a semblé en outre important de les mettre en perspective, en esquisant un état des lieux des études historiques qui placent au centre de leur investigation ce type de publication, et de nous interroger sur la pertinence du cadre temporel proposé à la lumière autant des récents acquis historiographiques que des études ici rassemblées. Notre but est en quelque sorte de cartographier le territoire constitué par les revues d'architecture, de reconnaître autant ses contrées les mieux explorées que ses frontières, afin de découvrir ses différents horizons méthodologiques.

Pour guider notre réflexion, nous avons détaillé et actualisé la bibliographie des livres et des articles consacrés aux périodiques d'architecture qu'Hélène Jannière avait réalisée alors qu'elle s'était engagée dans l'étude des revues de l'entre-deux-guerres². Cette nouvelle bibliographie est donnée en annexe à titre informatif, la recherche documentaire menée dans les bibliothèques de Montréal et Paris, bien que soutenue, ne prétendant pas à l'exhaustivité.

L'intérêt d'un colloque sur les revues : les précédents

Plusieurs colloques, symposiums, séminaires ont eu lieu sur le journalisme et la critique architecturale, souvent entendue ces dernières années dans un sens plus large que celui de commentaire évaluatif porté sur les œuvres. Réunissant des journalistes et des critiques, des enseignants et des praticiens de l'architecture, la plupart visaient à dénouer certaines des impasses actuelles de la presse architecturale dominée par l'image, le vedettariat, le pluralisme et le relativisme des positions doctrinales qui seraient autant d'obstacles au débat, sinon à la « pensée critique³ ». Plus rares par contre sont les rencontres savantes traitant de l'histoire des revues d'architecture. Nous n'avons pu en retracer qu'une demi-douzaine, même en retenant des réunions qui démontrent un

intérêt plus vaste, voyant dans ce genre de publication spécialisée une sorte de revue d'art ou encore de publication technique. De plus, parmi celles-ci, quelques-unes furent organisées par une institution ou un organisme n'appartenant pas au champ de l'architecture : la première fut convoquée par l'Art Libraries Society (ARLIS), peu de temps après sa fondation en 1969⁴.

La revue, un type particulier de publication

La tenue à Londres, en 1976, de cette conférence internationale sur les périodiques d'art était accompagnée de la présentation d'une exposition au Victoria and Albert Museum et elle fut l'occasion de publier un ouvrage intitulé *The Art Press: Two Centuries of Art Magazines*. Trevor Fawcett et Clive Phillpot, les directeurs de la publication, présentent les essais rassemblés comme « une première tentative visant à considérer la revue d'art en tant que genre et facteur déterminant de l'évolution de l'art et de sa compréhension⁵ ». En effet, le bilan qu'ils tracent de la littérature sur le sujet est mince et révélateur de la nouveauté du domaine de recherche qui, s'il éveillait l'intérêt depuis le milieu des années 1960, allait s'imposer seulement au début de la décennie suivante avec des études qui privilégient les revues liées à l'Art nouveau, au Futurisme et à l'Expressionnisme. Par ailleurs, Fawcett et Phillpot cernent bien l'enjeu méthodologique du périodique en art, à la fois source historique laissée en friche et objet d'étude particulier, posant deux questions cruciales. Premièrement, quel lien peut-on établir entre l'histoire des revues et l'histoire des mouvements artistiques ? Deuxièmement, la revue n'introduit-elle pas une expérience nouvelle dans l'accès à l'art en amplifiant sa diffusion internationale tout en la médiatisant par l'imprimé ?

Dix ans plus tard, en mars 1986, le Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture de l'Université Columbia, dirigé par Robert Stern, rassembla des chercheurs, des journalistes et des historiens de l'architecture autour du thème « The Building and the Book: Architectural Publishing in America ». Les centres d'intérêt de ce symposium étaient étendus : la première session était consacrée au livre, la seconde au périodique, sans pour autant se limiter à la presse spécialisée en architecture, certaines communications s'intéressant à d'autres publications, féminines ou littéraires, et à leur rôle dans la diffusion des modèles ou dans la formation des critiques. Il n'est pas aisé de cerner la portée de cette rencontre sur la base du seul compte-rendu publié par l'*Architectural Record*⁶, mais celui-ci laisse penser que la critique et le journalisme étaient au centre des échanges, même si Suzanne Stephens y traitait de l'irruption du postmodernisme dans la presse professionnelle entre 1965 et 1980 et si Joan Ockman retraçait le développement d'un discours critique dans les « petites » revues et les publications liées aux écoles à la fin des années 1960.

Les revues et l'enseignement de l'architecture

En architecture, les établissements d'enseignement sont des lieux propices à l'édition et à la réflexion sur les revues, qui jouent un rôle pédagogique indéniable. En novembre 1997, l'École technique supérieure d'architecture de Las Palmas accueillait un colloque sur le sujet, dont il nous est hélas difficile de rendre compte faute d'informations suffisantes⁷. Il en est tout autrement du symposium organisé en février 2000 par l'École d'architecture de l'Université Yale afin de marquer le cinquantième anniversaire du lancement de son annuel, *Perspecta*. Il fut suivi d'un ambitieux et volumineux ouvrage à la fin duquel sont livrés les textes de la plupart des communications⁸, son corps principal rassemblant une sélection d'articles et de projets publiés par *Perspecta* depuis 1952, sélection ponctuée par une suite de courts essais, le premier rappelant les circonstances institutionnelles de son lancement, les autres observant les changements du contexte politique et social. Cette rencontre se penchait sur «le destin du discours architectural» en donnant la parole à quelques historiens de l'architecture des plus réputés et aux rédacteurs de revues contemporaines proches par leur ligne éditoriale : *ANY*, *Grey Room* et la défunte *Oppositions*. Dans sa conférence inaugurale, Kenneth Frampton constata la nouvelle orientation prise, dans la seconde moitié du XX^e siècle, par les revues d'architecture qui se sont éloignées de la pratique professionnelle pour privilégier les questions métathéoriques, tandis que Joan Ockman, Michael Hays et Sandy Isenstadt situèrent *Perspecta* dans le cadre plus large de la politique et de la culture américaines. L'aspect graphique de l'entreprise ne fut pas oublié, Sheila Levrant de Bretteville retraçant la collaboration entre les étudiants en architecture et ceux en design graphique. Parmi les invités se trouvait Charles Jencks qui traita d'*AD and the Small Magazines*, soulignant leur pouvoir étendu dans la dissémination de la culture architecturale⁹.

Au-delà du contenu, la méthode

Bien différente par son vaste sujet – les périodiques d'architecture du XVIII^e au XX^e siècle – et ses intentions scientifiques affirmées, fut la journée d'étude organisée en juin 2000 au Collège de France à Paris, par l'École nationale des Chartes vouée à la formation des spécialistes de la conservation du patrimoine écrit. Par son ancrage institutionnel et ses participants, des historiens, des bibliothécaires et des conservateurs, cette rencontre est à considérer comme une contribution autant à l'histoire du livre qu'à celle de l'architecture. Tel que le précise Jean-Michel Leniaud dans son introduction aux actes, elle visait moins à l'étude du contenu qu'à une réflexion sur la méthode à mettre en œuvre pour connaître ce matériau historique particulier qu'est la publication périodique, mettant de l'avant l'observation des «périphériques du discours», aspects ordinairement négligés par les historiens de l'art et de

l'architecture : table des matières, index, rubriques, illustrations, annonces publicitaires¹⁰. Malgré son titre, cette rencontre portait exclusivement sur le XIX^e siècle et elle manifestait une conception large de son sujet, incluant les périodiques d'intérêt général (*L'Illustration*, *L'Artiste*)¹¹. Elle était par ailleurs centrée sur la France, si ce n'est l'intervention sur le «modèle allemand», retenu en raison de la précocité et de la rigueur des recherches engagées dans ce pays depuis trois quarts de siècle et dominées dans les années 1960–1990 par l'établissement de bibliographies visant à l'exhaustivité et à la caractérisation des revues d'architecture. Un tel exemple motiva la commande, par la sous-direction de l'Inventaire général, du «Répertoire des périodiques d'architecture en langue française publiés entre 1800 et 1970 en France et dans ses anciennes colonies, en Suisse et en Belgique», un outil dont la pertinence fut discutée lors de la table ronde et qui fut publié en complément aux actes.

Tout aussi ambitieuse sur le plan méthodologique est la plus récente rencontre, «Les avatars de la "littérature" technique. Formes imprimées de la diffusion des savoirs liés à la construction» convoquée en mars 2005 à Paris, à l'initiative du Centre d'histoire des techniques et de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, en collaboration avec le CCA¹². Les visées des organisateurs étaient autant de s'interroger sur le rôle des publications techniques dans la fabrication et la diffusion des savoirs que sur leur type, entendu comme configuration particulière entre forme et contenu, sans pour autant laisser de côté les dimensions sociales et techniques de leur production. Une unique session consacrée aux revues cerna l'importance, commerciale ou doctrinale – notamment pour le Mouvement moderne – des contenus techniques dans les stratégies de positionnement des rédactions (de *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* et de *Techniques et Architecture* dans les années 1930–1945) ou des éditeurs. Elle aborda le cas de revues consacrées à une technologie (*Lux*) ou organes d'un établissement d'enseignement (*L'Ingénieur-Constructeur*). L'un des intérêts de ce colloque fut de montrer la perméabilité des secteurs de l'édition spécialisée, les pratiques de «recyclage» éditorial des contenus des revues dans des volumes techniques devenus canoniques dans la culture professionnelle des architectes¹³.

État des savoirs et enjeux

Avec le XX^e siècle finissant, plusieurs rédactions ont célébré l'anniversaire de leur fondation, ce qui a entraîné une pléthore d'articles et de numéros spéciaux. Parmi ceux-ci, un grand nombre relèvent de la commémoration par l'évocation de souvenirs, comme ceux de Kenneth Frampton ou encore de Robin Middleton, anciens directeurs techniques d'*Architectural Design*, à l'occasion

des 70 ans de la plus turbulente des revues britanniques établies¹⁴, ou encore par la réimpression de textes ou de pages de couverture comme le fit *The Canadian Architect* pour son jubilé en 2005¹⁵. D'autres oscillent entre mémoire, histoire et prospection éditoriale, telles la livraison du centenaire de l'*Architectural Record* en 1995 et, plus récemment, en 2005, celle qui marquait les dix ans d'existence de la revue de l'École d'architecture de Versailles, *EaV*, en documentant la vigueur contemporaine de la publication périodique en milieu académique et sa longue tradition en France¹⁶. Parmi l'abondante littérature sur les revues d'architecture, les études historiques sont nombreuses. Les premières remontent à la fin des années 1960, alors que le XIX^e siècle sort de l'ombre du Mouvement moderne et que les tout premiers périodiques dans le domaine sont redécouverts, en même temps que sont examinés les efforts engagés par les architectes afin de légitimer leur rôle et défendre leur statut. Ces recherches sur la presse professionnelle se sont inscrites dans la remise en question, amorcée dès les années 1960, de l'histoire militante de l'architecture moderne, que sont venues éclairer d'un nouveau jour les recherches sur les avant-gardes et leurs « petites » revues.

Le périodique d'architecture comme « genre »

C'est en même temps en Allemagne, aux États-Unis et en Grande-Bretagne que les premières investigations historiques ont été engagées. En 1975, la recherche de Rolf Fuhlrott¹⁷ s'inscrit dans la tradition des études de presse, ancrée en Allemagne depuis la fin du XIX^e siècle¹⁸; elle se place résolument du côté de la « science des revues » constituée outre-Rhin dès les années 1930 en spécialité universitaire¹⁹. Son intérêt est double : d'une part, elle offre un inventaire couvrant la période 1789 à 1914, qui ne néglige ni les contenus éditoriaux, ni les informations sur les éditeurs et rédacteurs des titres relevés; en outre, son auteur, bibliothécaire, résume le développement du « genre » de la revue d'architecture et le caractérise par des critères tels que la périodicité, l'actualité, le degré de publicité (au sens de rendre public) et la sélectivité. Il emprunte ces critères à Ernst Herbert Lehmann, pour qui la revue « représente un *phénomène* avec ses lois propres, qui est à explorer uniquement avec les méthodes des savants du journal²⁰ ».

Dans les années 1970, la contribution de Fuhlrott était une exception, ce qui renforce son caractère « pionnier » et marquant. L'importance des grandes entreprises bibliographiques allemandes fut à nouveau soulignée dans la publication rassemblée par Jean-Michel Leniaud et Béatrice Bouvier, à partir de la journée d'études de 2000. Celle-ci visait à encourager en France l'amorce de recherches dans un même esprit systématique, mais sans abandonner le désir cher à bien des historiens de l'architecture de réécrire l'histoire. Les attentes étaient grandes en regard de la culture matérielle, des évolutions socioprofes-

sionnelles, de l'usage et de la réception des revues. L'analyse quantitative et la critique « externe » proposées lors de cette journée ignoraient volontairement les contenus, considérant que « plus rien n'est à en dire²¹ », une affirmation qui tranche avec l'hypothèse méthodologique qui sous-tend de manière sous-entendue implicite la plupart des études menées depuis près de 40 ans.

Les premières revues au XIX^e siècle, « voix » de la profession

Dans l'histoire de l'architecture, la première génération de recherches sur les revues est fondée sur une analyse de contenus, par une lecture des textes qui forment le corps central des publications périodiques, sans aucun *a priori* théorique. C'est le cas des premiers articles sur les revues britanniques du milieu du XIX^e siècle, centrés pour beaucoup sur *The Builder* et le rôle de son directeur (George Godwin)²². C'est l'orientation également de plusieurs thèses, à compter de 1973, sur des périodiques américains : *Inland Architect* (Chicago, 1883–1908)²³; puis *The American Architect and Building News* (1876–1938)²⁴, considéré comme le premier « grand » périodique américain, jouissant, à l'instar de la *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, d'une longévité et d'un auditoire conséquents. Prenant la revue comme source principale et tirant des contenus rédactionnels des informations sur son rôle social et professionnel, la thèse de Mary Woods sur *The American Architect and Building News* procède d'une interprétation du discours, immédiate, philologique; malgré l'attention portée aux illustrations, son objet n'est pas l'histoire de l'imprimé. Son travail montre que l'avènement des premières revues réellement viables et durables en Amérique du nord, après 1875, est concomitant de la structuration de la profession, de l'organisation de l'enseignement et des sociétés professionnelles, et de la « formation de l'opinion publique », des événements qu'elles permettent par ailleurs de documenter. Dans toutes ces recherches, la revue est perçue comme « un facteur clé contribuant à la clarification du rôle de l'architecte et au développement de l'architecture en général²⁵ ».

Si la publication d'une revue est considérée comme un événement aussi important pour l'histoire de l'architecture que l'élaboration d'un projet ou la construction d'un édifice, plusieurs auteurs ont tenté de se détacher d'une étude strictement restreinte aux contenus textuels et iconographiques. « Aussi faut-il considérer le périodique comme une entité propre, un monument, au sens architectural du terme, dont chaque élément serait élaboré en fonction des autres composantes²⁶ », considère Marc Saboya dans sa thèse sur la *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* soutenue en 1987. Il préconise l'étude du périodique pour lui-même, en tant que « véritable personnalité » (« connaître exactement le journal avant de songer à exploiter son témoignage »), afin de dépasser la fonction des revues comme « document idéal » qui offre une restitution plus instantanée des débats, polémiques et productions architecturales

que le traité ou le recueil. Cependant, cette démarche mixte, qui fait à la fois appel à des sources externes (dans l'étude de la réception et des collaborateurs) et à l'ensemble des textes et images, ne s'éloigne pas d'une histoire événementielle qui continue de considérer la revue avant tout comme un « reflet », ou un « témoin de son temps », et s'inscrit dans la lignée des études amorcées dès les années 1970.

Or, la *Revue générale de l'architecture* avait concentré l'attention des chercheurs des deux côtés de l'Atlantique, en même temps que se développait l'intérêt des historiens américains pour le XIX^e siècle français, d'abord dans une perspective polémique, ensuite simplement cognitive²⁷ : citons les thèses d'Ann Lorenz Van Zanten et de Richard Becherer qui cernent la théorie de l'architecture avancée par César Daly²⁸ et celle d'Hélène Lipstadt de 1979 qui ne porte pas uniquement sur la *Revue générale*, mais investigate l'ensemble des titres de la presse d'art, d'architecture et de génie civil²⁹.

La revue comme institution, instance de consécration sociale

Le travail d'Hélène Lipstadt fait véritablement date, non pas tant par l'inventaire qu'elle amorce avec Bertrand Lemoine, dans la foulée de Fuhlrott, afin d'établir le catalogue raisonné des revues d'architecture et de construction parues en France entre 1800 et 1914³⁰, que par la mise en place d'un « modèle théorique de la presse architecturale » comme institution sociale. Elle cherche à dépasser une « lecture naïve » qui table sur la transparence du discours, oubliant que celui-ci relève souvent d'une logique déformante. En témoigne la polémique, engagée au XIX^e siècle par les architectes contre les ingénieurs, qui masque les conflits internes à la profession³¹. Prenant appui sur la sociologie de Pierre Bourdieu qui met en lumière les luttes provoquées par le partage du pouvoir symbolique entre les groupes et les individus au sein des champs artistiques et intellectuels, elle avance que les revues ne se limitent pas à être un moyen de communication, mais qu'elles s'imposent comme une « instance de distinction » des architectes à l'égard des institutions établies, l'École et l'Académie des beaux-arts, bien que moins élitiste. Si un seul Grand Prix de Rome est décerné par année, de nombreux projets et réalisations sont commentés et illustrés dans la presse spécialisée, leurs concepteurs voyant ainsi leur titre d'architecte légitimé et leur accès à la commande facilité.

La revue d'avant-garde, une déclinaison du genre

Hormis les recherches allemandes des années 1930 sur la revue d'art en tant que genre, et les bibliographies amorcées dans les années 1960, il n'y a pas d'antériorité significative des études sur les revues d'art par rapport à celles portant sur les revues d'architecture. On pourrait s'attendre à d'étroites relations entre les deux domaines. Or, un de leurs rares points communs est que

l'intérêt pour la publication périodique, d'art comme d'architecture, témoigne du renouvellement des objets, des sources et des méthodes de l'histoire, concomitantes de la montée en puissance de l'histoire culturelle dans les années 1980, qui s'est intéressée aux revues politiques et culturelles, « armatures du champ intellectuel³² », révélatrices des réseaux de sociabilité et des itinéraires intellectuels de leurs acteurs. Deux sortes de revue néanmoins ont pu faire le lien entre études sur les revues d'art et recherches sur les périodiques d'architecture : la revue d'art décoratif du tournant du XIX^e siècle et, surtout, la revue d'avant-garde, toutes deux réceptacles de pratiques artistiques multiples, toutes deux supports dont la mise en forme, résultat d'un investissement créatif des plus novateurs, exprime le positionnement esthétique au même titre que les œuvres présentées.

Les années 1960 et 1970 ont vu l'amorce des études sur la notion d'avant-garde³³. La revue y est considérée comme la colonne vertébrale des mouvements novateurs : l'énonciation publique d'une position manifeste signe la naissance des groupes et en assure la cohésion, voire la cohérence idéologique. Parallèlement, débutent les entreprises de réédition et de fac-similés³⁴ et les premières études monographiques (de nombreuses contributions dans l'ouvrage *L'année 1913*³⁵) et bibliographiques sur les revues littéraires et les revues d'art³⁶. Pour l'architecture, on peut citer deux publications somme toute pionnières : l'anthologie de *Die Form*, revue du Werkbund allemand, en 1969³⁷ et en 1975, la sélection d'articles de *Das neue Frankfurt*³⁸ rassemblés par l'architecte Giorgio Grassi, qui se situait dans une position plus idéologique qu'historiographique, montrant l'expérience de Francfort en continuité de l'histoire urbaine européenne.

C'est dans la décennie 1980, alors que s'est considérablement étoffée l'historiographie critique du Mouvement moderne³⁹, que les publications d'avant-garde deviennent un objet d'investigation privilégié des historiens de l'architecture. En proposant d'esquisser leur « identité » comme genre, en repérant leurs caractères transversaux, Jacques Gubler livre en 1982 une contribution décisive. Il ouvre le numéro de *Rassegna* par une réflexion sur l'étymologie du mot – militaire, puis politique – et les moyens essentiels de l'action militante. L'identité proposée ne se fonde pas sur des similitudes de contenu, mais de mode de production de ces revues : les acteurs (une « constellation mobile » d'artistes dans une géographie éclatée des centres artistiques « secondaires »), les échanges et le piratage, une existence précaire et éphémère, dont les vicissitudes sont néanmoins impossibles à documenter par l'archive dans la plupart des cas⁴⁰. Une deuxième série de caractéristiques communes concerne le texte et l'image : multilinguisme, écriture abrégée (acronymes et monosyllabes), typographie et composition graphique en rupture avec la tradition instaurée par les quotidiens⁴¹.

L'anthologie de la revue suisse *ABC* (1^{re} édition, 1983) introduite par Gubler n'approfondit pas significativement cette piste méthodologique⁴². Rares d'ailleurs sont les recherches qui ont tenté, dans le sillage de Gubler, de cerner l'identité de « types » ou de « genres » de revues, tantôt définissable par les types de textes, de rubriques ou d'images, tantôt liée à une conjoncture historique particulière⁴³. Quelques « coupes transversales » sur la situation de la publication ont ainsi été effectuées, par exemple sur les revues berlinoises des années 1890 à 1933⁴⁴. Mais, concernant spécifiquement les revues d'avant-garde, si l'inventaire appelé de ses vœux par Gubler dans *Rassegna* est apparemment resté sans suite, les monographies abondent.

L'Esprit nouveau, « produit (culturel) collectif »

Tout autre était, en 1975, la perspective ouverte par Roberto Gabetti et Carlo Olmo dans *Le Corbusier e « L'Esprit Nouveau »*. Il s'agissait alors de contribuer à une histoire intellectuelle de Le Corbusier inscrite dans l'« histoire du travail ». Cette approche s'érigeait contre une perspective qui envisage l'artiste comme individu créateur – encore issue de l'esthétique de Croce – et contre une histoire événementielle de la revue et de ses « débats », visant à retracer « l'histoire des idées de l'architecture sur elle-même ». La consultation des archives, la restitution des réseaux de collaborateurs et le repérage des textes d'autres disciplines (économie, psychologie, esthétique...) qui construisent l'univers de références des auteurs, tissent au contraire l'histoire d'une revue considérée comme « produit collectif », espace d'échange culturel dans une conjoncture historique, intellectuelle et économique particulière, celle de la « crise » du travail architectural marquée par l'avènement du taylorisme. En 1988, dans la préface à la troisième édition, Carlo Olmo constate que, depuis 1975, de profondes modifications ont eu lieu à la fois dans l'historiographie de l'architecture moderne et de Le Corbusier d'une part, et dans les approches des revues d'architecture de l'autre : « à l'histoire “pour les architectes” s'est progressivement substituée une histoire “des architectes” et de leurs cultures, surtout figuratives⁴⁵ ». Il cite notamment le catalogue d'exposition de Stanislas von Moos sur *L'Esprit nouveau – Le Corbusier et l'industrie 1920–1925* (1987), qui porte sur la « décontextualisation » d'images empruntées à d'autres univers, notamment l'industrie moderne. Il souligne l'intérêt d'approcher les rhétoriques de persuasion, la « narration visuelle » tissée dans la revue, dans l'optique du spécialiste de la communication plutôt que celle du théoricien de l'architecture, et renvoie aux travaux de Beatriz Colomina⁴⁶.

Les revues, nouvel espace de production

Dans les années 1980, poursuivant les analyses de Walter Benjamin sur « les conséquences sémantiques, opératoires, mentales et sociales engendrées par les

techniques modernes⁴⁷ », Beatriz Colomina étudia le rapport contrasté qu'entretenaient « deux figures canoniques » du Mouvement moderne, Le Corbusier et Adolf Loos, avec la publication entendue au sens large : archives, photographie, publicité et musée. Elle constate que si l'impact des nouveaux matériaux et techniques de construction sur l'architecture a été largement exploré, il en est autrement pour les « magazines », pourtant liés à la reproductibilité mécanique des moyens d'interprétation et de représentation. Elle avance que depuis l'avènement de la société industrielle, on ne peut plus séparer production et reproduction, et que toute « reproduction » (d'images en particulier) est une production en elle-même⁴⁸. Cette « production » serait de surcroît relativement autonome par rapport aux référents ou aux débats qu'elle est censée refléter et se superpose même à la production matérielle : « Ce sont en fait les systèmes émergents de communication qui se mettent alors à définir la culture du XX^e siècle – celle des mass medias – qui constituent le véritable terrain dans lequel l'architecture moderne est produite, et s'engage directement. L'on pourrait en fait avancer [...] que l'architecture moderne ne devient moderne qu'à travers son engagement avec les medias⁴⁹. » Au moins pour l'architecture, elle étaye ainsi l'hypothèse d'une nouvelle expérience dans l'accès à l'art, une expérience non plus « directe » de l'objet construit : cette hypothèse avait déjà été avancée à Londres, dans la rencontre sur les revues d'art en 1976.

Pour éclairer sa relecture du Mouvement moderne, Colomina s'intéresse notamment à l'activité de collectionneur de Le Corbusier alors qu'il publiait *L'Esprit nouveau*. Les catalogues et les publicités de produits industriels et d'objets quotidiens qu'il rassemblait étaient non seulement une importante source iconographique, mais encore un modèle pour traiter le rapport image et texte : « À la différence de l'utilisation “représentationnelle” de l'imagerie dans les ouvrages traditionnels – où l'image est subordonnée et en concordance avec le texte écrit – les arguments de Le Corbusier doivent être compris comme des collisions jamais résolues de ces deux éléments⁵⁰ ». Une telle analyse dérive de l'allocution qu'adresse Benjamin aux artistes révolutionnaires en 1934, « L'auteur comme producteur ». Prenant en exemple le théâtre de Brecht, il argumente que le contenu ne peut à lui seul véhiculer un message politique, qu'il nécessite un travail sur la forme afin de changer les rapports de production–consommation (au sens marxiste du terme), notamment le rapport du spectateur à l'œuvre⁵¹. Colomina insiste sur la relation lecteur–publication : *L'Esprit nouveau*, en offrant un contexte de diffusion inattendu, multiplie les effets de la publicité ; d'autre part, la confusion entretenue entre images publicitaires et représentations architecturales confère une légitimité au travail de Le Corbusier, d'autant plus nécessaire qu'il se trouvait bloqué au stade du projet, et l'effacement des limites entre publicité et contenu éditorial amplifie la force de son message théorique. Colomina n'est pas la

première à dévoiler le pouvoir de légitimation des revues, ni à s'intéresser aux aspects complémentaires à l'écrit, inséparables de leur spécificité et leur survie. Elle est la première par contre à déconstruire le rôle que jouent l'image et la mise en page dans les processus de communication, sociaux et idéologiques.

L'image et la typographie

En 1983, dans *Domus*, Paolo Portoghesi avait reconnu que « l'identité matérielle et formelle des revues d'architecture, leurs changements et leur aventure éditoriale » représentaient un chapitre fondamental de l'histoire de l'architecture, qui restait à écrire. Dans son article, il survole cent années de publication périodique en repérant les métamorphoses de format et de facture graphique, des aspects « superficiels » qu'il relie à une conception changeante de l'architecture, promue successivement comme art, idéologie et média⁵². Depuis lors, rares sont les études qui ont comblé cette lacune, même si plusieurs se sont penchées sur « l'imagerie architecturale dans l'édition », s'intéressant pour beaucoup aux liens entre modes de représentation et techniques d'impression⁵³. Quelques-unes exploitent l'illustration graphique comme un autre moyen de cerner le débat; elles établissent des ponts entre mode de représentation et position théorique, en prenant parfois l'enseignement et ses préférences graphiques comme relais⁵⁴.

S'appuyant sur une observation interne plus fine, Hélène Lipstadt précise, dans l'ouvrage collectif intitulé *Architectureproduction* publié à l'initiative de Colomina en 1988, les effets de la dialectique de la distinction à laquelle contribuent les revues. Poursuivant son analyse, elle y avance que les planches graphiques de la *Revue générale* de Daly confèrent à l'architecte l'« aura » de l'artiste par la grande précision de leur tracé, leur figuration en rupture avec la vision normale et leur autonomie par rapport au corps principal de la publication, un statut qui n'est pas restreint à l'élite de la profession, comme le démontre par ailleurs leur dénombrement. Comme pour tempérer cette thèse pour le moins inattendue dans un livre portant sur les effets de la reproduction au sens de Benjamin, elle souligne que ce « culte de l'image » date d'avant l'introduction de la photomécanique et surtout de la photographie⁵⁵.

L'histoire de la photographie, elle aussi, souvent écrite à l'aune des progrès techniques, accorde une grande importance à l'architecture et à ses revues. Elle nous apprend que le couplage photo et texte dans l'espace de la page, à partir des années 1890, renforce son rôle dans la représentation de l'architecture, rôle qui va devenir dominant une quarantaine d'années plus tard⁵⁶. Par ailleurs, quelques auteurs qui ont étudié la presse spécialisée se sont penchés sur ce médium⁵⁷, à commencer par Alain Mousseigne qui, en 1975, s'intéresse à l'impact de la publication périodique sur la photographie en France, plutôt qu'à l'inverse, les revues d'avant-garde des années 1920 contribuant à

lui conférer accessoirement un statut artistique⁵⁸. Les premiers succès de la photographie auprès des architectes sont liés à l'appréciation de son « objectivité » et de son anonymat, reconnus entre autres par H. H. Richardson, dont la célébrité comme celle de son architecture sont inséparables de l'usage de la figuration mécanique dans la publication, comme le montre Mary Woods en 1990⁵⁹. Une telle fortune persistera alors que l'architecture s'engage dans des voies plus expérimentales, comme le souligne Antoine Baudin dans le catalogue de l'exposition consacrée à la collection photographique d'Alberto Sartoris, les architectes du Mouvement moderne et leurs revues résistant à « la nouvelle vision » (*Neues Sehen*)⁶⁰.

Pour comprendre le bouleversement que la photographie a entraîné, à la suite de Beatriz Colomina et bien d'autres auteurs, il faut reconnaître la spécificité et la force idéologique de cet instrument qui donne une représentation mécanique de la réalité, alors que par le cadrage, elle en offre une image sélective et variée⁶¹. Et ce n'est pas seulement le point de vue qu'elle donne du bâti qui est significatif (plus ou moins englobant, plus ou moins « naturel », plus ou moins éclairé⁶²), mais encore les éléments autres qu'elle fait entrer ou non dans le champ⁶³, sans oublier les coexistences qui sont données à voir par la mise en page⁶⁴. Quelques auteurs ont de plus insisté sur les transformations qu'elle subit dans le « processus », en aval de la prise de vue, soumis aux impératifs de la mise en page et qui conduit souvent à la retouche et au recadrage : l'étude de la photographie d'architecture publiée montre que dans la fabrication d'une revue « un faisceau de forces intriquées de façon complexe est à l'œuvre », comme le souligne l'historien de la photographie, Olivier Lugon, alors que dans le catalogue Sartoris, il explore plus avant les relations complexes qu'entretiennent architectes et photographes dans l'entre-deux-guerres⁶⁵.

Ce constat présente d'autant plus d'intérêt que typographie et mise en page restent les parents pauvres de l'histoire des revues d'architecture, même si les publications d'avant-garde, qui ont été particulièrement créatives à cet égard, demeurent fascinantes. Les historiens d'art et les spécialistes du livre et de l'illustration – plus que les historiens d'architecture – se sont particulièrement penchés sur les périodiques de l'Art Nouveau⁶⁶ et les revues constructivistes. Les études historiques servent souvent d'introduction à des anthologies de textes, voire d'images, et à des réimpressions à l'édition souvent soignée ou se retrouvent dans des livraisons consacrées à quelques créateurs parmi les plus marquants. Cependant, contenus et forme graphique y sont souvent traités de manière séparée⁶⁷, contrairement à la logique même de la revue d'avant-garde, et somme toute traditionnelle. La forme graphique est souvent reliée à la biographie des rédacteurs (*Wendingen* et Hendricus Theodorus Wijdeveld; *Veshch'* = *Objet* = *Gegenstand* et El Lissitzky⁶⁸, *Casabella* dans les années 1930 avec Edoardo Persico critique et « graphiste⁶⁹ »), ou encore inscrite dans des

mouvements artistiques plus larges⁷⁰. Quelques exceptions, néanmoins : la typographie fonctionnelle de la revue néerlandaise *i10*, pour laquelle elle est à la fois objet d'article et instrument de mise en forme⁷¹. Mais les effets induits de la forme graphique sur la lecture (« voir plus que lire » étant devenu dans l'entre-deux-guerres un slogan des typographes et des graphistes⁷²), son rapport à l'image, s'il commence à être exploré sur l'affiche⁷³, le livre, la publicité, restent embryonnaires dans le domaine des revues d'architecture. Les significations du photomontage – qui, en soit, a fait l'objet de pléthore d'articles – dans le périodique d'architecture restent à explorer lorsque ces montages sont inclus dans l'espace de la revue d'architecture.

En fait, une étude *globale* des processus de transformation graphique (typographie, graphisme, maquette et traitement de l'image photographique) et des relations texte-image dans le cadre contraignant de la page resterait à faire. En outre, le point de vue de l'histoire de l'art ou de l'esthétique n'est pas le seul pertinent pour examiner ces aspects. Photographies, montages, figurations graphiques dans les périodiques participent également de la fabrication de savoirs disciplinaires ou professionnels, piste de recherche sur le visuel dans la publication qu'explore Frédéric Pousin⁷⁴.

Élargissements

En 1990, après l'engouement pour l'avant-garde internationale, le numéro 89 de *La Revue de l'Art* fait le bilan des recherches privilégiant les contextes nationaux et revenant sur les « grandes » revues professionnelles du XIX^e siècle (*The Builder*, *The American Architect and Building News*, la *Revue générale de l'architecture*), censées avoir forgé le « modèle » de la presse architecturale. Mettant l'accent sur les revues comme « archives de l'architecture moderne » (l'éditorial leur est consacré), il s'attarde sur leur contribution à la lecture des débats et à la diffusion, tout en déplorant le développement inégal de leur indexation systématique et le caractère somme toute superficiel du travail sur la presse d'architecture en France. Cette livraison donne un aperçu des chantiers ouverts depuis bientôt trente ans, plus qu'elle inaugure de nouvelles perspectives, si ce n'est celle sur la documentation du patrimoine architectural. Néanmoins, dans cette même décennie, des revues jusque-là peu étudiées trouvent droit de cité, par exemple dans la série d'articles publiée par *Casabella* en 1993 (*Shelter*, *Forum*, *Cahiers d'Art*, etc.). En outre, des interprétations plus nuancées⁷⁵ de revues de grande notoriété⁷⁶ remettent en question des oppositions jusque-là tranchées entre revues traditionaliste et « moderne », voire d'avant-garde, employée à tort pour des revues de diffusion de la modernité architecturale, qui intègrent tradition et retour à l'ordre.

Depuis la fin des années 1990, le spectre des titres privilégiés par la recherche s'est encore ouvert avec une vague d'intérêt pour les revues théoriques et cri-

tiques à partir des années 1970, notamment américaines : *Perspecta*⁷⁷, *Oppositions*, *Assemblage* et *ANY*. Il est vrai qu'une nouvelle génération de chercheurs amorce l'histoire des années 1970, s'attachant à l'émergence d'une pensée théorique aux États-Unis⁷⁸ ou à l'œuvre de Manfredo Tafuri. D'abord esquissée en 1988 par un témoin-acteur, Joan Ockman, l'histoire de la défunte *Oppositions* tient une place centrale⁷⁹. Cette revue témoigne de l'émergence dans les années 1970 de nouveaux rapports entre pratique, théorie, histoire et critique architecturales. Les études portent sur les positions théoriques des auteurs (Hays), sur le faisceau d'influences théoriques et critiques *lisibles* dans leurs textes – l'importation des thèses foucaaldiennes d'une part, celle du travail de l'École de Venise d'autre part. Mais, encore plus récemment et grâce aux archives, les recherches se portent sur l'étude des milieux intellectuels et académiques qui donnent naissance à une revue.

Par ailleurs, plus récemment, un aspect largement laissé pour compte, malgré l'intérêt que lui a porté Colomina dès les années 1980, a retenu l'attention de quelques chercheurs : la publicité commerciale, qui pourtant constitue une spécificité de la publication périodique, à la différence du livre. Ils ont observé la relation qu'entretiennent les images vantant les produits de l'industrie de la construction avec le contenu éditorial pour des revues comme *Arts and Architecture* et *Architecture Australia*⁸⁰.

Mise en perspective et bilan du colloque sur les années 1960 et 1970

Le déséquilibre qui existe, d'une part, entre somme toute le petit nombre de rencontres organisées sur l'histoire des revues et, d'autre part, l'abondance et la vitalité des études, justifie à lui seul la tenue du colloque de l'IRHA. Implicitement, l'appel à communications encourageait, en insistant sur la variété, la découverte de publications moins connues et l'exploration de nouvelles avenues méthodologiques. Bien qu'un accent important ait été mis sur le contenu intellectuel des revues, sur leur contribution aux débats dont l'envergure internationale était privilégiée, leur dimension esthétique et matérielle (photographie, maquette, typographie, etc.) n'a pas été oubliée, ni les aspects liés à leur production (financement, éditeurs, publicité) et à leur circulation. Comment les participants au colloque ont-ils relevé ces défis ? Mais auparavant, une précision est à apporter au sujet de la périodisation proposée, qui ne cadre pas exactement avec le centrage récent des études sur les revues qui ont les années 1970 comme sujet.

La périodisation

Afin de cerner les enjeux sous-jacents à la périodisation proposée par l'IRHA, il est utile de resituer ce cadrage dans le contexte plus large des événements lancés par plusieurs musées du Canada, au cours de la période 2003–2006, afin d'éclairer la portée historique des années 1960. Ce projet commun a agi comme un catalyseur non seulement dans le réseau muséal, mais encore dans le milieu académique. À Montréal, en novembre 2003, les universitaires avaient été conviés à participer à un colloque organisé conjointement par le musée McCord d'histoire canadienne et l'Université du Québec à Montréal, en collaboration avec le CCA, intitulé *Les années soixante: substance et apparence*. Dans les murs du CCA, en octobre 2004, s'ouvrait l'exposition *Les années 1960 : Montréal voit grand*. Or, les balises établies par l'IRHA pour l'examen des revues doublent le cadre temporel établi.

Certes, un consensus existe sur l'importance des années 1960 : « une époque de bouleversements et de transformation sociale, de changements dans les attitudes, les valeurs et les opinions politiques » pour les organisateurs du colloque tenu au musée McCord, une période de profonde et d'immense rupture pour Guy Cogeval, directeur du Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal qui présente, en 2003, l'exposition *Village global : les années 1960*. Mais si le chiffre rond de la décennie est immédiatement évocateur pour le grand public, son découpage résiste rarement à un examen plus attentif des phénomènes qui la dominent. Ainsi, pour ne prendre que cet exemple, plusieurs grands chantiers de construction qui ont profondément transformé la physionomie de Montréal avaient été amorcés au cours des années 1950. Le rythme décennal du calendrier s'accorde mal aux mouvements de l'histoire.

Néanmoins, plusieurs historiens de l'architecture identifient un point de rupture au fil des années 1960, non pas que le phénomène les motive à élaborer de grandes fresques. Plus humblement, ils ont composé et introduit des anthologies d'écrits architecturaux (au nombre desquels se retrouvent plusieurs articles de revue) qui terminent ou commencent leur sélection au cours de la décennie. Pour Joan Ockman et Michael Hays qui ont balayé parallèlement les cinquante ans séparant 1944 de 1993, 1968 est une année charnière : pour la première, c'est la fin d'une période de transition de la culture architecturale, pour le second, c'est le début d'un renouvellement de la pensée architecturale dont les répercussions sur la presse ne se feront pleinement sentir qu'au milieu de la décennie suivante.

Plusieurs participants au colloque ont reconfiguré l'intervalle temporel proposé. Pour France Vanlaethem, les mises en question de l'architecture moderne dans les revues canadiennes, au début des années 1960, sont amorcées au milieu de la décennie précédente et se prolongent jusqu'en 1974 (1955–1974), le milieu de la décennie marquant la fin d'un cycle idéologique,

comme le relève aussi Hélène Janniére pour les revues françaises (1960–1974). Juliana Maxim (1959–1965) situe à la fin des années 1950 les transformations graphiques et photographiques d'*Arhitectura* (publication officielle de l'Union des architectes de la République socialiste de Roumanie) en relation avec les infléchissements des politiques culturelles dans le bloc de l'Est depuis la mort de Staline et le discours de Khrouchtchev aux « Congrès des constructeurs » en 1954.

Les autres ont pointé les projecteurs de l'histoire sur des moments plus ou moins brefs de cette double décennie. Louis Martin documente les dix ans qui séparent le retour de Peter Eisenman aux États-Unis du début de son enseignement à Princeton et du lancement d'*Oppositions* en 1973, offrant, grâce aux entretiens réalisés et aux archives exploitées, une vision inédite de cette revue par ailleurs très commentée. Pour Paolo Scrivano, 1969 n'est pas seulement la date de fondation de *Controspazio*, mais une année qui, malgré l'essoufflement de l'agitation politique de 1967–1968, voit les questionnements sur le politique et le social gagner les sphères académique et culturelle italiennes, contexte déterminant pour *Controspazio*, espace de « critique idéologique ». Trois années, la parution de *Superfici* (1960–1963) étudiée par Mary Louise Lobsinger est tout aussi courte.

Considérés de manière plus globale, les vingt ans entre 1955 et 1975 voient enfin se développer un double phénomène : la remarquable permanence des grands titres (*Casabella*, *L'AA*, *The Architectural Review*, *The Architectural Record*, etc.) fondés à la fin du XIX^e siècle ou dans l'entre-deux-guerres, et l'apparition d'un « type » de revue critique, liée à la nouvelle génération du milieu académique et accompagnant l'inquiétude théorique qui marque les années 1960 et 1970 en Italie et aux États-Unis.

Bien que pour la plupart monographiques, les études présentées ici documentent la transformation du discours qui accompagne les remises en question des politiques urbaines et architecturales, de la profession et de l'enseignement dans les années précédant et suivant 1968. Elles témoignent également de l'avènement du thème de l'environnement – rêvé comme flexible, mobile, technologique, ce que nous montre l'analyse d'*Architectural Design* par Inderbir Singh Riar.

Une vision croisée : histoire matérielle, esthétique et événementielle

Croiser histoire matérielle et esthétique des revues et l'histoire des idées qu'elles véhiculent était un programme ambitieux qu'il est sans doute plus aisé de relever dans le cadre d'études monographiques. John Schlinke a abordé un aspect presque toujours négligé avec l'étude de la publicité dans *The Architectural Forum* de 1960 à 1974. Se démarquant d'autres approches uniquement quantitatives, il met en relation la publicité (ce qui relève à la fois de l'objet imprimé

et des vicissitudes économiques de la revue) avec les évolutions de la politique éditoriale : il s'inscrit ainsi dans l'histoire à la fois de l'imprimé, de la revue comme entreprise et des débats. Le choix de *The Architectural Forum* est particulièrement intéressant : parmi les revues professionnelles américaines, elle est parmi les voix les plus indépendantes et les plus critiques, à un moment de divorce, aux États-Unis, entre les publications professionnelles commerciales et les revues théoriques. En outre, John Schlinke considère la publicité comme un « texte parallèle », qui en vient, par les images et les slogans véhiculés (notamment sur la préfabrication), à contrecarrer les positions théoriques et doctrinales énoncées dans les éditoriaux et les articles.

Juliana Maxim documente un double changement de regard : les transformations de la politique éditoriale d'*Arhitectura* sur la modernisation des formes et la standardisation dans l'architecture, les bouleversements de la présentation graphique et photographique de cette revue roumaine de 1959 à 1965. Loin de considérer la photographie comme « enregistrement » d'une nouvelle réalité, Juliana Maxim met en rapport la reproduction photomécanique des images, désormais privilégiée par la revue, en tant que mode de *description*, et l'industrialisation du bâtiment, nouvel objectif prôné par le gouvernement dans la seconde moitié des années 1950.

L'étude des réseaux d'acteurs se révèle cruciale pour une nouvelle approche des revues qui va au-delà des textes, de l'histoire de l'imprimé et de l'histoire événementielle. C'est ce que tentent plusieurs articles (Louis Martin sur *Oppositions*, Paolo Scrivano, Mary Louise Lobsinger) qui mettent au premier plan les groupes d'architectes et d'intellectuels – acteurs et auteurs – qui donnent vie à une revue; leur « biographie intellectuelle » apporte à la compréhension des références, théoriques et critiques, véhiculées par la revue. D'un point de vue plus événementiel, la précarité du *Carré bleu*, « constellation » d'architectes de plusieurs pays, fait des acteurs sa véritable colonne vertébrale, les changements dans la direction et dans l'équipe rédactionnelle se traduisant de manière assez directe dans les contenus rédactionnels, ce que montre l'étude de Catherine Blain, tout en prenant en compte ses vicissitudes financières et matérielles.

D'intéressantes relations ont été nouées entre les revues et les milieux universitaires. Les archives de l'IAUS, explorées par Louis Martin, montrent les implications de ce qui deviendra *Oppositions* dans les différentes écoles américaines. Mais l'analyse par France Vanlaethem des périodiques plus professionnels révèle également la présence de liens avec les universités canadiennes, notamment ABC en 1966 avec l'Université de Montréal; quant à *Architecture Mouvement Continuité*, elle est pendant un bref moment la chambre d'écho des tentatives pluridisciplinaires des « unités pédagogiques d'architecture » nouvellement créées en France, sur les décombres de la section Architecture de l'École des beaux-arts (Hélène Jannière). Enfin, les relations entre les pério-

diques d'architecture et la profession, en ces années de profonds changements et d'émergence de nouveaux enjeux, apparaissent également, tant dans des revues « marginales » comme *Carré bleu* (Catherine Blain) que dans les périodiques professionnels plus classiques (France Vanlaethem).

Les parcours intellectuels des auteurs – explorés dans la lignée de Carlo Olmo dans l'*Esprit Nouveau*, par Paolo Scrivano sur *Controspazio* – nous amènent à évoquer un autre des thèmes transversaux de ce colloque : le discours critique, son ancrage disciplinaire et ses références. Scrivano analyse ainsi le rôle de la phénoménologie dans la critique italienne de l'après-guerre, en retraçant les chemins qui mènent de Husserl à Ernesto N. Rogers et Ezio Bonfanti, personnage central de *Controspazio*. Partant de la revue *Superfici*, non pas comme reflet, mais comme *révéléateur* des changements de paradigmes critiques dans le débat architectural italien, Mary Louise Lobsinger montre le passage, entre 1960 et 1963, de la critique phénoménologique vers une « critique marxiste de la rationalité d'une société dominée par la technique dans le capitalisme ». Hélène Jannière s'attache à mettre en évidence les instruments critiques empruntés par les rédacteurs des revues *Architecture Mouvement Continuité* et *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* à d'autres disciplines – les sciences humaines et sociales alors dominantes dans le champ intellectuel français –, ou à la critique politique et sociale, afin de s'éloigner d'une critique empirique obsolète, fondée sur la description formaliste de l'architecture vue comme œuvre d'art, qui prévaut encore en France au début des années 1960. La monographie sur *Architectural Design*, si elle n'analyse pas les rhétoriques et les instruments du discours critique, pointe néanmoins ses sources « extra-architecturales » dans le débat britannique sur la technologie.

Les relations internationales, notamment transatlantiques, sont au centre de plusieurs contributions. L'ensemble du colloque a en effet amorcé une « cartographie » des mouvements d'idées, d'images, de métaphores ou d'instruments critiques, de l'Italie vers les États-Unis (*Oppositions*), des États-Unis et de l'Italie vers la France (AMC et AA), ou la Grande-Bretagne (le regard de la Britannique *Architectural Design* sur le « technoscape » américain), et de celle-ci vers l'Italie (*Superfici*). La mise en relation de ces « transferts » avec les réseaux d'acteurs, leur formation (Louis Martin sur Eisenman et *Oppositions*), leurs voyages et leurs charges académiques resterait à faire.

Des pistes à explorer

Au terme de cette exploration et de ce retour sur le colloque de l'IRHA, plusieurs faits étonnent. D'abord, dans le cadre d'une rencontre sur les années 1960 et 1970 qui encourageait la présentation de nouveaux documents, on

peut être surpris de l'absence des revues qui, par leur engagement politique, leur caractère iconoclaste, contestataire, voire révolutionnaire, sont pourtant des plus représentatives de la période autour de 1968. Outre *Contropiano*, de nombreuses publications italiennes ou britanniques s'adonnent à une critique radicale de l'environnement (*In, Inpiu*), ou encore participent de la culture underground, tout comme la revue *Mainmise* au Québec. En France, outre *Utopie* du groupe homonyme, nombreuses sont les revues écloses dans le milieu de l'enseignement alors en pleine mutation. Les frontières entre revue d'architecture, de sciences humaines (*Espaces et sociétés* fondée en 1970 par Henri Lefebvre), revues à dominante politique s'apparentant parfois à des tracts et manifestes (*Melp!* ou *Tout!*), sont aisément franchies pour ces publications qui mettent en cause tant les fondements disciplinaires que les modes de production de l'architecture et de l'espace urbain, analysés en termes de domination de classe. Aux frontières du champ de l'architecture, elles semblent éveiller chez les jeunes générations de chercheurs un intérêt moindre que les revues théoriques et critiques, en général américaines, comme *Oppositions*, *Assemblage*, *Any*, *October*, qui n'incarnent pourtant pas à elles seules le renouveau théorique et critique qui soufflait alors.

Ensuite, on doit constater que la plupart des participants au colloque mènent des recherches monographiques, parfois très pointues. Cette approche s'inscrit dans une tendance de fond de l'histoire des revues d'architecture qui, depuis les années 1980 et l'élargissement du corpus, des revues professionnelles du XIX^e siècle aux publications d'avant-garde du XX^e siècle, se centre sur des titres en particulier et, même plus, uniquement sur des publications emblématiques. Rares sont en effet les études d'ensemble, qu'elles soient nationales ou transnationales, alors que le périodique est l'une des sources les plus souvent exploitées dans les études sur la diffusion internationale des modèles ou des doctrines architecturales. Il est vrai que de telles investigations nécessitent l'établissement d'inventaires encore relativement rares, bien qu'ils soient souhaités de longue date. Notons ceux établis par Marcelo M. Ramón Gutiérrez pour le monde hispanophone ou encore par Claude Bergeron pour le Canada.

Pourtant, de telles entreprises sont considérées comme des préalables indispensables à l'histoire des revues, du moins par les historiens proches de l'histoire du livre et de l'imprimé. Ceux-ci en font une priorité, en même temps qu'ils favorisent l'observation à fleur de page et les méthodes quantitatives. Dans les études menées depuis les années 1970, on discerne deux grandes orientations, l'une qui vise à faire l'histoire des revues d'architecture (un genre de publication parmi d'autres) et l'autre qui vise à réécrire l'histoire de l'architecture en exploitant cette sorte de document, somme toute facilement accessible (en comparaison des archives, et même des bâtiments), prenant parfois appui sur des instruments ou des théories offerts par les sciences

humaines afin de dépasser une lecture simplement philologique et événementielle. Car, dans la majorité des cas, la revue est envisagée comme un véhicule de communication qui, devenu source historique, conserve au discours toute sa véracité, sa transparence, pour atteindre les débats d'idées qui mobilisaient les architectes aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles, dans leur vivacité sauvegardée par la multiplicité des auteurs et des livraisons.

Mais, à l'interface des deux grandes directions de recherche identifiées, il reste à constituer ce champ en objet de recherche. Quel est, en effet, l'objet de l'étude des revues, celui qui le mieux pourrait rendre compte de sa spécificité? Ne se situe-t-il pas dans l'interaction entre politique éditoriale et aspect matériel de la revue? L'histoire du livre s'est renouvelée en prenant ses distances avec l'histoire de la littérature et en devenant économique et sociale, afin de cerner ce qu'une société publie et lit, plutôt que de chercher le sens transmis par le texte et l'image. Mais si le livre et la littérature sont deux faces d'un même phénomène, il est des aspects de l'histoire de l'architecture qui ne peuvent se résumer à l'histoire de l'imprimé, même si le bâti devient architecture lorsque sa production est soutenue par l'écrit (et le dessin). Aussi, pour tirer pleinement parti des revues sur le plan de la connaissance, il faut tenir compte de leurs spécificités, comme l'ont fait les études les plus perspicaces : c'est en étant attentif à l'actualité de leur contenu que leur rôle dans la distinction sociale des architectes est démontré, c'est en observant la relation entre le texte et l'image que le pouvoir culturel et intellectuel de leur médiatisation est avancé. Mais ces études restent somme toute encore rares en regard de l'abondance et de la diffusion géographique des titres et de la diversité des textes, des formes et des formats. De plus, si la revue, cette publication « industrielle », sérielle, illustrée et normalisée (format et rubriques), est un accès privilégié à la culture architecturale, il faut s'interroger sur la place de la lecture dans leur interprétation. Les défis que pose l'histoire des revues d'architecture sont loin d'être relevés, alors qu'après deux siècles de prépondérance, ce genre de publication, lié à la mécanisation, est transformé par l'informatisation et subit la concurrence des nouveaux médias.

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- 1 Paul Robert (dir.), *Le Grand Robert de la langue française. Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*, Paris, Le Robert, 1983, tome VIII, p. 390, tome VI, p. 137-138; Alain Rey (dir.), *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*, Paris, Le Robert, 2004, p. 2087, 2665, 3240; Robert K. Barnhart (dir.), *Chambers Dictionary of Etymology*, Chambers, Edinburgh, 1999, p. 621, 923; William Little et al. (dir.), *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 182, 830, 1137.
- 2 Hélène Jannière, *Politiques éditoriales et architecture moderne. L'émergence des nouvelles revues en France et en Italie, 1923-1939*, Paris, Arguments, 2002, p. 1-8.
- 3 Tel était le constat qui informait la tenue de la troisième rencontre « Critical Tools » convoquée par le NeTHCA à Bruxelles, en avril 2003. Des inquiétudes semblables motivaient les participants à l'atelier organisé par la Biennale de Venise et *Domus* en 1996 autour de deux thèmes : « Architectural Journals in the Current Media Context » et « The Role of Trade Journals and Their Impact on Architecture »; introduisant la réunion, Dietmar Steiner constatait l'absence de « débat, d'arguments et de lutte d'idées » malgré l'abondance actuelle des revues d'architecture, plus d'un millier relevé par l'Avery Index, voir Dietmar Steiner, « Architettura e media. Il futuro delle riviste di architettura and media / Architecture and Media. The Future of the Architectural Magazine », *Domus*, n° 790 (février 1997), p. 51-58. Plusieurs journées d'études et tables rondes, de portée plus locale, ont également abordé de tels sujets, comme « La critique dans la pratique et dans l'enseignement » à l'École d'architecture de Nantes, en janvier 1999, Alain Deboulet, Rainier Hoddé et André Sauvage (dir.), *La critique architecturale. Questions, frontières, desseins*, Paris, Éditions de la Villette, 2008, ou encore « La presse architecturale : le bâti et l'écrit », lors des Premières rencontres européennes des revues d'architecture organisée par le Centre régional des lettres du Languedoc-Roussillon, en octobre de la même année. Plus récemment, le Comité international des critiques d'architecture réuni en décembre 2005 consacrait une session de son congrès à l'avenir de la critique architecturale dans le livre, la presse et les médias électroniques.
- 4 Notons ici qu'une rencontre de 1991 au titre prometteur attira notre attention : « Ruolo delle riviste negli orientamenti attuali della ricerca nei campi della storia dell'architettura, del restauro, delle scienze e tecniche costruttive », *Palladio*, vol. 4, n° 8 (juillet-décembre 1991), p. 77-124. La lecture des textes des communications reproduites dans cette revue, qui, avec l'Istituto Poligrafico de la Biblioteca nazionale de Rome, était l'organisateur de l'événement, déçut nos attentes malgré leur indéniable intérêt critique, sinon épistémologique. Par cette rencontre, il s'agissait de favoriser la collaboration entre les rédactions afin de faire avancer les méthodes de l'histoire et non pas l'histoire des revues.
- 5 Trevor Fawcett et Clive Phillpot, « Introduction », Trevor Fawcett et Clive Phillpot (dir.), *The Art Press: Two Centuries of Art Magazines: Essays Published for the Art Libraries Society on the Occasion of the International Conference on Art Periodicals and the Exhibition*, Londres, The Art Book Company, 1976, p. 2. Ils précisent que pour des raisons de faisabilité et de lisibilité, l'exposition excluait entre autres les revues d'architecture.
- 6 Roger Kimball, « Booking Architecture: A Symposium on Architectural Publishing at Columbia », *Architectural Record*, vol. 174, n° 4 (avril 1986), p. 53, 55.
- 7 Le seul document en notre possession de cette rencontre convoquée par l'European Association for Architecture Education sur l'*Educacion y Revistas de Arquitectura*, est la table des matières d'une publication rassemblant les résumés des communications que nous n'avons pu consulter. Les titres indiquent que les revues d'architecture y étaient abordées d'abord, comme documents historiques, « bibliothèques » de la modernité, agents de transformation des attitudes et des réseaux culturels, et, ensuite, comme moyens pédagogiques dans l'enseignement de l'architecture, hier comme aujourd'hui, alors que l'électronique change la donne.
- 8 « Practice and Theory: *Perspecta* and the Fate of Architectural Discourse. A Symposium Honoring the 50th Anniversary of *Perspecta: The Yale Architecture Journal* », dans Robert A.M. Stern, Peggy Deamer et Alan Plattus (dir.), *Re-reading Perspecta: The First Fifty Years of the Yale Architectural Journal*, Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 2004, p. 764-809.
- 9 Le texte de cet exposé n'est pas reproduit, cependant l'article intitulé « The Bigness of Small Magazines » qu'il signe la même année dans *Architectural Design*, vol. 71, n° 1 (février 2000), p. 94-95, nous permet de prendre connaissance du diagnostic qu'il pose.
- 10 Jean-Michel Leniaud et Béatrice Bouvier (dir.), *Les périodiques d'architecture, XVIII^e-XX^e siècle : Recherche d'une méthode critique d'analyse*, Paris, École des chartes, coll. « Études et rencontres de l'École des chartes », n° 8, 2001, p. 7-8.
- 11 Outre le texte de Nathalie Sarrabezolles, « L'actualité architecturale dans la presse française (1750-1794) », *Les périodiques d'architecture, XVIII^e-XX^e siècle*, p. 19-38, mentionnons : Ségolène Le Men, « La ville, vive les représentations architecturales dans *L'Illustration* », p. 39-66; Adrien Goetz, « La place de l'architecture dans la revue *L'Artiste* à l'époque romantique (1831-1848) », p. 115-135.
- 12 Jean-Philippe Garric, Valérie Nègre, Alice Thomine-Berrada (dir.), *La construction savante. Les avatars de la littérature technique*, Paris, Picard, 2008.
- 13 Notons l'intervention de Maristella Casciato qui établissait ainsi les relations entre le manuel sur le logement social de Diotallevi et Marescotti (publié en 1948) et *Casabella*, quant aux contenus et à la composition graphique : « Il problema sociale, costruttivo ed economico dell'abitazione : Sources et affiliations », dans *La construction savante*, p. 295-306.
- 14 Kenneth Frampton, « AD in the 60s: a Memoir », *Architectural Design*, vol. 70, n° 3 (juin 2000), p. 98-102.
- 15 Ian Chodikoff, « 50 Years of The Canadian Architect », *The Canadian Architect*, vol. 50, n° 8 (août 2005), p. 19-25, suivi de commentaires de praticiens, chercheurs et professeurs.
- 16 *EaV : Ecole d'architecture de Versailles*, n° 10 (2004/2005).
- 17 Rolf Fuhlrott, *Deutschsprachige Architekturzeitschriften : Entstehung und Entwicklung der Fachzeitschriften für Architektur in der Zeit von 1789-1918* [Revue d'architecture de langue allemande. Genèse et développement des revues spécialisées en architecture de 1789 à 1918], Munich, Verlag Dokumentation, 1975.
- 18 Heinrich Wuttke, *Die deutschen Zeitschriften und die Entstehung der öffentlichen Meinung* [Les revues allemandes et l'origine de l'opinion publique], 3^e édition, Leipzig, Krüger, 1875.
- 19 L'Institut für Zeitungswissenschaft [Institut pour la science des journaux] ouvre en 1934 un département consacré aux revues, sous la direction d'Ernst Herbert Lehmann.
- 20 Ernst Herbert Lehmann, *Einführung in die Zeitschriftenkunde* [Enquête dans la revue en tant que genre], Leipzig, K. W. Hiersemann, 1936, p. 10. Nous soulignons. En 1932, Lehmann avait déjà décrit la première revue d'architecture allemande dans son ouvrage, *Die Anfänge der Kunstzeitschrift in Deutschland* [Les débuts de la revue d'art en Allemagne], Leipzig, Hiersemann, 1932.

- 21 Leniaud, « Introduction », *Les périodiques d'architecture...*, p. 7.
- 22 Frank Jenkins, « Nineteenth-Century Architectural Periodicals », dans John Summerson (dir.), *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, Londres, Allen Lane, 1968, p. 153-160; Anthony King, « Another Blow for Life: George Godwin and the Reform of Working-Class Housing », *The Architectural Review*, vol. 23, n° 814 (décembre 1964), p. 448-452; Anthony King, « Architectural Journalism and the Profession: The Early Years of George Godwin », *Architectural History*, vol. 19 (1976), p. 32-53.
- 23 Robert Vincent Prestiano, « *The Inland Architect: A Study of Contents, Influence, and Significance of Chicago's Major Late Nineteenth-Century Architectural Periodical* », thèse, Chicago, Northwestern University, 1973.
- 24 Mary Norman Woods, « *The American Architect and Building News, 1876-1907* », thèse, New York, Columbia University, 1983. À noter aussi : Michael A. Tomlan, « *Popular and Professional American Architectural Literature in the Late Nineteenth Century* », thèse, Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University, 1983. Rappelons que l'histoire de la profession connaît à l'époque un essor, indépendamment de l'étude des revues, alors que le métier d'architecte et l'enseignement de l'architecture sont en crise : voir, entre autres, Spiro Kostof (dir.), *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1977; Raymonde Moulin et al., *Les architectes*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1973.
- 25 Jenkins, « Nineteenth-Century Architectural Periodicals », dans Summerson, *Concerning Architecture...*, p. 153.
- 26 Marc Saboya, *Presse et architecture au XIX^e siècle. César Daly et la Revue Générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, Paris, Picard, 1991, p. 51.
- 27 Arthur Drexler (dir.), *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1977; Robin Middleton (dir.), *The Beaux-arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture*, Londres, Thames and Hudson, 1982; Donald D. Egbert, *The Beaux-Arts Tradition in French Architecture*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1980.
- 28 Ann Lorenz Van Zanten, « *César Daly and the Revue Générale de l'architecture* », thèse, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, 1981; Richard Becherer, *Science Plus Sentiment: César Daly's Formula for Modern Architecture*, Ann Arbor, Mich., UMI Research Press, 1984.
- 29 Hélène Lipstadt-Mendelsohn, « Pour une histoire sociale de la presse architecturale : la *Revue Générale de l'architecture* et César Daly (1840-1888) », thèse de doctorat de 3^e cycle, Paris, EHESS, octobre 1979.
- 30 Bertrand Lemoine et Hélène Lipstadt, *Catalogue raisonné des revues d'architecture et de construction en France, 1800-1914*, Paris, CEDAM, 1985.
- 31 Hélène Lipstadt et Harvey Mendelsohn, *Architecte et ingénieur dans la presse. Polémique, débat, conflit*, Paris, CORDA-IERAU, 1980, p. 197.
- 32 François Dosse, *La Marche des idées. Histoire des intellectuels - histoire intellectuelle*, Paris, Éditions La Découverte, 2003, p. 52.
- 33 Renato Poggioli, *Teoria dell'arte d'avanguardia*, Bologne, Il Mulino, 1962; Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-garde*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1984 (édition originale, *Theorie der Avantgarde*, Francfort-sur-le-Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974).
- 34 À partir des années 1970, les éditions Jean-Michel Place offrent de nombreuses rééditions (*Bifur*, *Nord Sud*, les revues dadaïstes), politique poursuivie dans les années 1980 et 1990 (75 HP, *Tropiques*, *Cercle et Carré*, *Sic*, *Die freie Bühne*, *le Mercure de France*, etc.).
- 35 Liliane Brion-Guerry (dir.), *L'Année 1913*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1971-1973.
- 36 Jean-Michel Place et André Vasseur, *Bibliographie des revues et journaux littéraires des XIX^e et XX^e siècles*, 3 volumes, Paris, Éditions de la Chronique des Lettres Françaises, 1973-1977; Maurice Caillard et Charles Forot, *Les revues d'avant-garde : 1870-1914 : enquête*, avant-propos, notice bibliogr. et index par Olivier Corpet et Patrick Fréchet, Paris, Entr'revues, Jean-Michel Place, 1990.
- 37 Felix Schwarz et Frank Gloor, *Die Form - Stimme des Deutschen Werkbundes 1925-1934*, Essen, Bertelsmann Fachverlag, coll. « Bauwelt Fundamente », n° 24, 1969.
- 38 Anthologie de la défense de la métropole européenne comme « expérience historique » et base du projet architectural : Giorgio Grassi (dir.), *Das neue Frankfurt 1926-1931*, Bari, Dedalo Libri, 1975.
- 39 L'histoire des revues d'architecture s'est en effet inscrite depuis 1970 dans l'horizon épistémologique de l'histoire critique de la modernité. Dans les années 1980, les études sur l'historiographie ont contribué à démythifier l'avant-garde et le Mouvement moderne depuis les écrits de Juan Pablo Bonta, *Architecture and Its Interpretation: A Study of Expressive Systems in Architecture*, Londres, Lund Humphries, 1979; Maria Grazia Sandri et Maria Luisa Scalvini, *L'Immagine storiografica dell'architettura contemporanea da Platz a Giedion*, Rome, Officina edizioni, 1984; et Panayotis Tournikiotis, *Historiography of Modern Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 1999.
- 40 Jacques Gubler, « I dispaaci dell'avanguardia », *Rassegna*, n° 12 (décembre 1982), p. 5-11.
- 41 Plusieurs des articles publiés dans ce numéro de *Rassegna* sur les revues d'avant-garde viennent soutenir son propos : Antoine Baudin, « Centralità e periferia : il contributo dell'Europa Centrale », p. 12-21; Radu Stern, « Memorie di Bucarest », p. 22-24; Richard Quincero, « Manomètre : architettura sotto pressione e gravità della scrittura », p. 25-30.
- 42 Jacques Gubler, « Post tabulam rasam », dans Jacques Gubler (dir.), *ABC 1924-1928 : Avanguardia e architettura radicale*, Milan, Electa, 1983, p. 9-28.
- 43 Sur la revue d'avant-garde définie par le caractère « manifeste » du texte, sur une période allant de 1890 à 1965, voir Annette Ciré et Haila Ochs, *Die Zeitschrift als Manifest : Aufsätze zu architektonischen Strömungen im 20. Jahrhundert*, Basel, Boston, Birkhäuser Verlag, 1991; sur les revues de la fin des années 1920 et des années 1930, de diffusion et en même temps d'institutionnalisation de l'architecture moderne, voir Jannière, *Politiques éditoriales...*
- 44 Voir Michael Nungesser, « Skizze zur publizistischen Situation der modernen Architektur », dans *Europäische Moderne - Buch und Grafik aus Berliner Kunstverlagen 1890-1933*, cat. d'exposition, Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1989, p. 163-182.
- 45 Carlo Olmo, « Prefazione alla terza ristampa », dans Roberto Gabetti et Carlo Olmo, *Le Corbusier e « L'Esprit Nouveau »*, Turin, Einaudi, 1988 (1^{re} édition, 1975), p. xi.
- 46 Olmo, p. xiv-xv.
- 47 Pour reprendre les termes de Manfredo Tafuri qui, dès 1968, avait reconnu la nécessité d'une telle investigation dans *Théories et histoire de l'architecture*, Paris, SADG, 1976, p. 306.
- 48 Beatriz Colomina, « On Architecture, Production and Reproduction », dans Beatriz Colomina (dir.), *Architectureproduction*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1988, p. 8-10.
- 49 Beatriz Colomina, *La publicité du privé. De Loos à Le Corbusier*, Orléans, HXX, 1998, p. 28.

- 50 Colomina, *La publicité...*, p. 122.
- 51 Walter Benjamin, «L'auteur comme producteur», *Essais sur Brecht*, Paris, La Fabrique, 2003, p. 122-144.
- 52 Paolo Portoghesi, «La parola e l'immagine / The Real Life of Architectural Magazines from 1881-1981», *Domus*, n° 635 (janvier 1983), p. 2-11.
- 53 Ben Weinreb, «L'imagerie architecturale dans l'édition», *Images et imaginaires d'architecture*, Paris, Centre Georges Pompidou / CCI, 1984, p. 119-122.
- 54 Ainsi, dans sa thèse sur «The American Architect and Building News» (voir note 24), Mary Woods consacre le chapitre 3 à l'illustration, ingrédient majeur du succès et de la pérennité de la revue, et, dans le chapitre suivant, sur l'éducation, nuance sa réputation d'organe beaux-arts en observant la coexistence de dessins géométriques et de perspectives. Par ailleurs, s'intéressant à l'image au siècle de l'industrie, Antoine Picon observe dans le passage du traité à la revue et dans la diversification des modes de représentation, les incertitudes non seulement de la discipline architecturale, mais encore de sa pratique tiraillée entre la commande publique et la commande privée, «Du traité à la revue. L'image au siècle de l'industrie», dans Jean-Yves Mollier et Nicole Savy (dir.), *Usages de l'image au XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Éditions Créaphis, 1992, p. 152-165.
- 55 Hélène Lipstadt, «The Building and the Book in César Daly's *Revue générale de l'architecture*», dans Colomina, *Architectureproduction*, p. 24-55. La publication est pour Hélène Lipstadt un dispositif qui transforme l'architecture de «bien matériel» en «bien culturel» relativement autonome par rapport à la profession dont elle émane. Cet affranchissement de la matérialité du bâtiment – le statut de «bien culturel» – confère à l'image d'architecture le statut d'objet d'art (d'œuvre d'art) : «Les figurations qui circulent comme biens culturels à l'extérieur du processus de construction, autrement dit, qui sont "devenues publiques", sont des publications. [...] Elles échappent en quelque sorte au processus de la pratique pour rejoindre le monde de la culture architecturale, atteignant, de façon permanente ou provisoire, le statut de biens culturels plus ou moins indépendants», Hélène Lipstadt, «Publications, concours et expositions d'architecture», dans Eve Blau et Edward Kaufman (dir.), *L'architecture et son image – Quatre siècles de représentation architecturale*, Montréal, Centre Canadien d'architecture, 1989, p. 111. Pour la poursuite de ce type d'investigation sur la consécration professionnelle des architectes par la presse spécialisée, voir Valérie Devillard, *Architecture et communication : les médiations architecturales dans les années 1980*, Paris, Éditions Panthéon-Assas, 2000.
- 56 Robert Elwall, *Photography Takes Command: The Camera and British Architecture, 1890-1939*, Londres, Heinz Gallery, RIBA, 1994, chapitres 4 et 6. On peut ajouter Cervin Robinson et Joel Herschman, *Architecture Transformed: A History of the Photography of Building from 1839 to the Present*, New York, Architectural League; Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 1987.
- 57 Dès 1975, la photographie dans les revues d'avant-garde est étudiée sous l'angle de son double statut documentaire et artistique encore incertain : Alain Mousseigne, «Rôle et place de la photographie dans les revues d'avant-garde artistiques en France», dans *Le retour à l'ordre dans les arts plastiques et l'architecture : 1919-1925*, Saint-Étienne, Université de Saint-Étienne, Centre interdisciplinaire d'études et de recherches sur l'expression contemporaine, 1975, p. 316-328. Ici, il est plus question de savoir comment la publication transforme la photographie que l'inverse.
- 58 Alain Mousseigne, «Situation de la photographie dans les revues des mouvements d'avant-garde artistique en France entre 1918 et 1939», mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Toulouse, 1975; Mousseigne, «Rôle et place de la photographie...».
- 59 Mary N. Woods, «The Photograph as Tastemaker: The "American Architect" and H. H. Richardson», *History of Photography*, vol. 14, n° 2 (avril-juin 1990), p. 155-163.
- 60 Antoine Baudin, «De la collection à l'encyclopédie. Enjeux et jalons d'une entreprise exemplaire», dans A. Baudin (dir.), *Photographie et architecture moderne : la collection Alberto Sartoris*, Lausanne, Presses polytechniques et universitaires romanes, 2003, p. 16-24.
- 61 Colomina, *La publicité du privé*, p. 109.
- 62 Elwall, *Photography Takes Command...*, chapitres 5, 6. Voir aussi Robert Elwall, *Building with Light: The International History of Architectural Photography*, Londres, Merrell, 2004.
- 63 Richard Williams, «Representing Architecture: The British Architectural Press in the 1960s», *Journal of Design History*, vol. 9, n° 4 (1996), p. 285-296.
- 64 Hélène Jannière, «Images d'une ville moderne pour l'Italie fasciste. La photographie publiée, Quadrante, 1933-1936», dans Frédéric Pousin (dir.), *Figures de la ville et construction des savoirs : architecture, urbanisme, géographie*, Paris, CNRS, 2005, p. 117-127.
- 65 Olivier Lugon, «Maisons signées, images anonymes», dans Baudin, *Photographie et architecture...*, p. 47.
- 66 En Allemagne, ont fleuri de nombreuses études sur l'art de l'illustration, la reliure, portant sur les livres et les revues du Jugendstil. On notera particulièrement Sigrid Randa, *Alexander Koch Publizist und Verleger in Darmstadt, Reformen der Kunst und des Lebens um 1900*, Worms, Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1990, qui aborde ce thème comme un élément de la politique de publiciste et d'éditeur de Koch à Darmstadt, offrant de nombreuses informations sur plusieurs grandes revues européennes d'art décoratif et d'architecture de la période de l'Art Nouveau; Alfred Langer, *Jugendstil und Buchkunst*, Leipzig, Edition Leipzig, 1994, davantage sur le livre et quelques revues d'art.
- 67 *Wendingen 1918-1931 – Documenti dell'arte olandese del Novecento*, Florence, Centro Di, 1982.
- 68 Alston W. Purvis, «One Man's Vision», dans Martijn F. Le Coultre (dir.), *Wendingen 1918-1932: A Journal for the Arts*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2001, p. 8-21. Roland Nachtigäller et Hubertus Gassner, «3 x 1 = 1», dans *Veshch' = Objet = Gegenstand, Berlin, 1922*, Baden, Lars Müller, 1994, p. 34-36.
- 69 Antonio d'Auria, «Persico architetto e grafico», dans Cesare de Seta (dir.), *Edoardo Persico*, Naples, Electa-Napoli, 1987, p. 131-144.
- 70 Zdenek Primus, «Book Architecture», *Rassegna*, vol. 15, n° 53 (mars 1993), p. 38-51; Karel Šrp, «Karel Teige and the New Typography», *Rassegna*, vol. 15, n° 53 (mars 1993), p. 52-59; «Piet Zwart : L'opera tipografica 1923-1933/Piet Zwart: The Typographical Work 1923-1933», *Rassegna*, vol. 9, n° 30 (juillet 1987), p. 20-88.
- 71 *Wendingen 1918-1931...*; Flip Bool, «Photographie et typographie dans l'io», dans Toke Van Helmond (dir.), *io et son époque*, Paris, Institut Néerlandais, 1989.
- 72 Matthias Noell, «"Nicht mehr lesen! Sehen!" Le livre d'architecture de langue allemande dans les années vingt», dans Jean-Michel Leniaud et Béatrice Bouvier, *Le livre d'architecture, XV^e-XX^e siècle : édition, représentations et bibliothèques*, Paris, École des chartes, coll. «Études et rencontres de l'Ecole des chartes», n° 11, 2002, 143-156.
- 73 Johanna Drucker, *Theorizing Modernism: Visual Art and the Critical Tradition*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1994.
- 74 Frédéric Pousin, «Pouvoir des figures», *Les Cahiers de la recherche architecturale*, n° 8 (mai 2001), p. 7-10; Frédéric Pousin, «Visuality as Politics: The Example of

- Urban Landscape», dans Mark Dorrian et Gillian Rose (dir.), *Deterritorialisations: Revisioning Landscapes and Politics*, Londres, Black Dog Publishing, 2003, p. 161–174; Pousin, *Figures de la ville...*
- 75 À propos d'*Arhitektura SSSR* par exemple : Alessandro de Magistris, «Il dibattito architettonico degli anni '30–'50 nelle pagine di *Arhitektura SSSR*», *Casabella*, vol. 57, n° 602 (juin 1993), p. 46–53.
- 76 Par exemple sur *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, Jean-Louis Cohen, «L'AA et les conflits européens des années trente», *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, n° 272 (décembre 1990), p. 158–162.
- 77 Stern, Deamer et Plattus, *Re-reading Perspecta...*
- 78 Louis Martin, «The Search for a Theory in Architecture: Anglo-American Debates, 1957–1976», thèse de doctorat, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University, 2002, 4 vol.
- 79 Mitchell Schwarzer, «History and Theory in Architectural Periodicals», *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 58, n° 3 (septembre 1999), p. 342–348; K. Michael Hays, «The Oppositions of Autonomy and History», dans K. Michael Hays (dir.), *Oppositions Reader, Selected Readings from a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture 1973–1984*, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1998, p. ix–xv; Daniel Sherer, «Architecture in the Labyrinth: Theory and Criticism in the United States : “Oppositions,” “Assemblage,” “Any” (1973–1999)», *Zodiac*, n° 20 (janvier–juin 1999), p. 36–63.
- 80 Paul Hogben, «100 Years of Advertising», *Architecture Australia*, vol. 93, n° 2 (mars–avril 2004), p. 20–23; Ionna Theocharopoulos, «Arts and Advertising: Terms of Exchange?», *Thresholds*, vol. 18 (1999), p. 6–11.

Architectural Magazines as Historical Source or Object? A Methodological Essay

Magazines have played a major role in the practice and teaching of architecture since the mid-1800s. Over the following century, technological advances linked to their production and circulation led to an increase in both their numbers and their distribution. Such publications have been referred to as “reviews” or “journals,” or identified by the more generic term of “periodical,” which points to one of their main characteristics: their appearance at regular intervals, supported by ever more efficient printing techniques and increasingly speedy delivery methods. In architecture, the illustrated magazine is unquestionably the type of publication that symbolizes modernity, comparable to the treatise for the classical era.

For some years now, the interest in architectural magazines has transcended their topicality. As documents, they have enriched the sources of architectural history, enabling historians to cast new light on the nineteenth century and the interwar period, and, ultimately, to reassess the “militant” history of the Modern Movement. More particularly, since the 1960s magazines themselves have become an object of study. In May 2004, at the instigation of its director, Gerald Beasley, then Head Librarian at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA), and Alexis Sornin, CCA Historiographer, the Institut de recherche en histoire de l'architecture (IRHA) organized a colloquium entitled “Les revues d'architecture dans les années 1960 et 1970 / Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s.” The call for papers encouraged researchers not only “to examine the influence of journals and magazines on debates about contemporary architecture within Europe, the Americas, and beyond,” but also to present “a wide variety of materials and methodologies with particular reference to the material production, intellectual contribution, and critical reception” of such publications. Entrusted with the task of writing the introduction to this book, our first objective was to situate the colloquium within the series of scholarly events that have dealt with architectural magazines,

either directly or indirectly. We felt it was important to put them in perspective by providing a critical account of the historical studies focusing on this type of publication. Another aim was to assess the relevance of the proposed timeframe in light of both recent historiographical research and the studies assembled here. Our goal has been, in a sense, to map the territory of architectural magazines, to identify both its most thoroughly explored regions and its frontiers in order to reveal its various methodological horizons.

To guide our thinking, we began by re-examining and updating the bibliography of books and articles devoted to architectural periodicals that Hélène Janniére had compiled for her study of magazines published between the wars.² This new bibliography, the product of documentary research undertaken in the libraries of Montreal and Paris, is available online at www.irhanet.org and www.cca.qc.ca. Though rigorous, it does not pretend to be exhaustive.

The Relevance of a Colloquium on Periodicals: Precedents

A number of conferences, symposiums and seminars have been held on the subject of architectural journalism and criticism, generally understood in recent years to encompass theory and critical theory. Bringing together journalists and critics, but also teachers and practitioners of architecture, most of these events have aimed to resolve certain of the impasses faced by today's architectural press, dominated as it is by image, the star system, pluralism and the relativism of doctrinal positions – all obstacles to debate, if not to “critical thinking.”³ Scholarly gatherings that focus on the history of architectural magazines have been less common. We were only able to identify around half a dozen, even when we included those that reflected a broader interest by classifying this form of specialized publication as a type of art magazine or technical publication. Moreover, several of these events were organized by institutions or associations operating outside the field of architecture: the first, for example, was organized by the Art Libraries Society (ARLIS), shortly after its foundation in 1969.⁴

The Magazine: A Particular Type of Publication

The international conference on art periodicals held in London in 1976 coincided with an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum and gave rise to a book entitled *The Art Press: Two Centuries of Art Magazines*. The editors of these proceedings, Trevor Fawcett and Clive Phillpot, presented the assembled essays as “a first attempt to consider the art periodical as a genre and as a significant factor in the development of art and its understanding.”⁵ Their assessment of the existing literature on the subject is, indeed, brief and reflects

the newness of a research field that, although it had been attracting interest since the mid-1960s, would not become firmly established until the beginning of the following decade, with studies centred primarily on the periodicals associated with Art Nouveau, Futurism and Expressionism. Fawcett and Phillpot nevertheless effectively brought into focus the methodological scope of the art periodical – at once an untapped historical resource and a unique object of study – by asking two crucial questions. First, what link can be established between the history of magazines and the history of art movements? And second, can the magazine be said to have introduced a new experiential dimension into access to art by increasing its international dissemination and popularizing it via the print medium?

Ten years later, in March 1986, the Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture at Columbia University, under the directorship of Robert Stern, brought together a group of scholars, journalists and historians for a symposium entitled “*The Building and the Book: Architectural Publishing in America*.” The subjects explored during the symposium were wide-ranging: the first session was devoted to the book and the second to the periodical, but contributors did not necessarily restrict themselves to examining specifically architectural publications. Some of the papers presented explored other types of publication (including ones dealing with women's and literary issues) and their role in the dissemination of models or the forming of critics. It is not easy to grasp the full scope of this event from the account published in the *Architectural Record*,⁶ but the impression is that criticism and journalism were at the heart of the discussions – even though Suzanne Stephens dealt with the emergence of postmodernism in the professional press between 1965 and 1980, and Joan Ockman traced the development of a particular critical discourse in the “small” magazines and publications produced by schools of architecture during the late 1960s.

Magazines and the Teaching of Architecture

Architectural teaching institutions are places that lend themselves both to publication and to the study of periodicals, which play an undeniable pedagogical role. In November 1997, the Higher Technical School of Architecture of Las Palmas held a colloquium on the subject about which, unfortunately, little can be said since information about it is so scarce.⁷ This is certainly not true of the symposium organized in February 2000 by the Yale School of Architecture to mark the 50th anniversary of its annual journal *Perspecta*. This event was followed by the publication of a large and ambitious volume that includes most of the papers presented.⁸ The main body of the book, however, is composed of a selection of the articles and projects published in *Perspecta* since 1952 interspersed with a series of short essays, the first recalling the institutional

circumstances surrounding the journal's launch and the others recording subsequent changes in the political and social context. This gathering aimed to examine "the fate of architectural discourse" giving the floor to several leading architectural historians and of the editors of three other contemporary magazines with a comparable editorial stance: *ANY*, *Grey Room* and the defunct *Oppositions*. In his opening talk Kenneth Frampton spoke of the new direction taken by architectural magazines in the second half of the twentieth century, as they moved away from professional practice and began exploring metatheoretical questions. In their presentations, Joan Ockman, Michael Hays and Sandy Isenstadt situated *Perspecta* within the broader framework of US politics and culture. On the subject of the journal's graphic design, Sheila Levrand de Bretteville examined the collaboration between architecture and graphic design students. Among the participants was Charles Jencks, whose talk on *AD and the Small Magazines* emphasized the widespread impact of such publications in the dissemination of architectural culture.⁹

Beyond Content: Method

Very different both in the breadth of its subject – architectural periodicals from the eighteenth to the twentieth century – and its overtly scientific intentions was the study day held in June 2000 at the Collège de France, in Paris, by the École nationale des Chartes, which is dedicated to the training of specialists in the conservation of written heritage. Because of its institutional context and its participants – historians, librarians and conservators – this event can be seen as a contribution to the history of the book as much as to the history of architecture. As Jean-Michel Leniaud explains in his introduction to the proceedings, its aim, rather than to examine content, was to reflect on the method to be used in studying the particular historical material represented by the periodical publication, with special attention paid to "the peripheries of the discourse" – aspects generally neglected by art and architectural historians, such as tables of contents, indexes, regular columns, illustrations and advertisements.¹⁰ Its title notwithstanding, this event dealt exclusively with the nineteenth century and defined its subject in terms broad enough to include general interest periodicals (*L'Illustration*, *L'Artiste*).¹¹ It concentrated, moreover, on France, with the exception of a discussion of "the German model," included because of the precocity and rigour of the research undertaken in Germany over the past seventy-five years, which was dominated from the 1960s to the 1990s by the compilation of exhaustive and descriptive bibliographies of architectural journals. This example inspired the French Ministry of Culture's Inventaire général to commission the "Répertoire des périodiques d'architecture en langue française publiés entre 1800 et 1970 en France et dans ses anciennes colonies, en Suisse et en Belgique" (a tool whose utility was

challenged during the panel discussion), which was published as an appendix to the conference proceedings.

Equally ambitious from a methodological point of view was the more recent conference entitled "Les avatars de la 'littérature' technique. Formes imprimées de la diffusion des savoirs liés à la construction," held in March 2005, in Paris, and organized by the Centre d'histoire des techniques and the Institut national d'histoire de l'art, in collaboration with the CCA.¹² The organizers' aim was to examine both the role of technical publications in the fabrication and dissemination of knowledge and their typology (understood as the particular configuration between form and content), while at the same time looking at the social and technical dimensions of their production. A single session devoted to magazines highlighted the commercial and doctrinal importance – particularly for the Modern Movement – of technical contents in the strategic positioning of their editors (to *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* and *Techniques et Architecture* in the 1930–1945 period) or publishers. The case of magazines dedicated to a particular technology (*Lux*) or serving as the mouthpiece of a particular teaching establishment (*L'Ingénieur-Constructeur*) was also discussed. One of the achievements of this conference was to reveal the permeability between different specialized publishing sectors – the practice of the editorial "recycling" of magazine articles in the technical publications that became canons of the professional culture of architects.¹³

Current Knowledge and Issues

Around the end of the twentieth century a number of publications were celebrating the anniversary of their foundation, resulting in a rash of articles and special issues. Many chose to commemorate by publishing memoirs – like those of Kenneth Frampton and Robin Middleton, for example, former technical editors of *Architectural Design*, marking the 70th anniversary of the most unruly of the established British journals¹⁴ – or by reprinting articles and covers from earlier numbers, like *The Canadian Architect* for its 2005 jubilee.¹⁵ Other journals combined memory, history and editorial prospecting – like the 100th anniversary issue of the *Architectural Record*, which appeared in 1995, and more recently, the one published in 2005 to celebrate the ten-year existence of *EaV*, the journal of the Versailles school of architecture, which documented both the contemporary vigour of academic periodicals and their lengthy tradition in France.¹⁶ The extensive literature on architectural magazines includes many historical studies. The earliest date from the late 1960s, a time when the nineteenth century was emerging from the shadow of the Modern Movement and the very first architectural magazines were being

rediscovered, while at the same time the various efforts undertaken by nineteenth-century architects to legitimize their role and defend their status were being explored. This research into the professional press was part of a larger re-examination, begun at the start of the decade, of the militant history of modern architecture, which studies of the various avant-gardes and their “small” magazines had begun to show in a new light.

The Architectural Periodical as a “Genre”

The first historical investigations got under way simultaneously in Germany, the United States and Great Britain. In 1975 Rolf Fuhlrott¹⁷ published research that continued the print media studies tradition established in Germany since the end of the nineteenth century;¹⁸ his study takes a firmly “science of the magazine” approach – actually a university subject in that country since the 1930s.¹⁹ It is interesting for two reasons: first, it contains an inventory covering the 1789–1914 period, which includes information about both editorial content and the publishers and authors of the journals listed; second, Fuhlrott – a librarian – provides a summary of the development of the architectural journal “genre,” characterizing it according to such criteria as periodicity, topicality, level of publicity and selectivity. He borrowed these criteria from Ernst Herbert Lehmann, for whom the magazine “represents a *phenomenon*, with its own laws, which can only be explored with the methods used by scientists of the newspaper.”²⁰

In the context of the 1970s Fuhlrott’s study was exceptional, and therefore a groundbreaker of particular significance. The importance of the major bibliographic projects undertaken in Germany was emphasized once again in the proceedings published by Jean-Michel Leniaud and Béatrice Bouvier following the study day held in 2000. The aim of that gathering had been to encourage in France the undertaking of the same kind of systematic research, although without renouncing the urge to rewrite history shared by so many architectural historians. Expectations were high regarding the understanding of the material culture, socio-professional development, use and reception of magazines. The quantitative analysis and “external” criticism presented during the event deliberately ignored content on the grounds that there was “nothing more to be said about it,”²¹ a statement that contrasts sharply with the methodological hypothesis underlying (often implicitly) most of the studies undertaken over the past forty years.

The First Nineteenth-century Magazines: “Voice” of the Profession

In the history of architecture, the first wave of research into magazines was centred on an analysis of content, based on a theoretically neutral reading of the texts that formed the main body of the periodicals. This was the case for the

early articles about mid-nineteenth-century British magazines, which focused largely on *The Builder* and the role played by its editor, George Godwin.²² The same approach was adopted in several dissertations produced (starting in 1973) on the subject of the American periodicals *Inland Architect* (Chicago, 1883–1908)²³ and *The American Architect and Building News* (1876–1938),²⁴ the second of which was seen as the first “major” US journal that, like the *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics*, enjoyed both longevity and a significant readership. Using the magazine as a primary source and extracting information about its social and professional role from its editorial content, Mary Woods’s dissertation on *The American Architect and Building News* was founded on a direct, philological interpretation of the discourse; despite the attention paid to illustrations, its subject was not the history of the print media. Her study showed that the establishment after 1875 of the first genuinely viable and long-lasting North American magazines coincided with the structuring of the profession, the organization of its teaching and its professional associations, and the “forming of public opinion” – historical developments that, moreover, the magazines served to document. In all these research projects, the journal is perceived as “a central factor contributing to the clarification of the architect’s role and to the growth of architecture generally.”²⁵

Although the publication of a magazine is considered as important an event in the history of architecture as the design of a project or the construction of a building, a number of authors attempted to go beyond studies that were limited strictly to textual and iconographic content. “The periodical must be seen as an entity in its own right, a monument, in the architectural sense of the term, each of whose elements must be elaborated in relation to the other components,”²⁶ said Marc Saboya in his dissertation on the *Revue générale de l’architecture et des travaux publics*, defended in 1987. He advocated the study of the periodical for its own sake, as a “real personality” – recommended “accurate knowledge of the journal before contemplating making use of the evidence it provides” – in order to get beyond the magazine’s role as an “ideal document” that offers a more immediate reproduction of architecture’s debates, controversies and productions than the treatise or the anthology. However, this combined approach, which drew both on external sources (in the study of the journal’s reception and contributors) and on the sum of its texts and images, did not really extricate itself from the type of event-driven history that continues to see the magazine essentially as a “reflection” or “witness of its time,” and was actually in the same tradition as the early studies of the 1970s.

The *Revue générale de l’architecture* had attracted the attention of researchers on both sides of the Atlantic, as American historians became interested in nineteenth-century French architecture – first from a polemical point of view and later from a simply cognitive one.²⁷ Of particular note are the dissertations

by Ann Lorenz Van Zanten and Richard Becherer, which focus on the architectural theory of César Daly,²⁸ and the 1979 thesis by Hélène Lipstadt, which does not deal exclusively with the *Revue générale* but examines all the publications of the art, architectural and civil engineering press.²⁹

The Magazine as Institution: An Authority for Social Validation

Hélène Lipstadt's work is of genuine historical importance, owing not so much to the inventory she and Bertrand Lemoine initiated (following Fuhlrott), with a view to producing a catalogue raisonné of the magazines on architecture and construction published in France between 1800 and 1914,³⁰ as to its establishment of a "theoretical model of the architectural press" as a social institution. She strove to go beyond a "naïve reading" that took for granted the transparency of the discourse and ignored the fact that it could be the fruit of a distorting logic – as was the case with the nineteenth-century polemic between architects and engineers that masked internal conflicts within the profession.³¹ Basing her analysis on the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, which explores the antagonisms provoked by the sharing of symbolic power between groups and individuals in the fields of art and culture, she claimed that the magazines under examination were not just means of communication but actually acted as authorities of "distinction" for architects, on the same footing as the profession's established institutions, the École and the Académie des beaux-arts – but less elitist. For though there was only one Grand Prix de Rome awarded each year, numerous projects and constructions were reviewed and illustrated in the specialized press, which had the effect of validating their designers' status as architects and enhancing their access to further commissions.

The Avant-garde Magazine: Variation on a Genre

Aside from the 1930s German studies that explored the art magazine as a genre, together with the bibliographies undertaken during the 1960s, the research focusing on art periodicals does not significantly pre-date that dealing with architectural magazines. One might expect to discover close ties between the two realms: in fact, one of their few points in common is that interest in both art and architecture periodicals reflected the new objects, sources and methods of history that accompanied the 1980s boom in cultural history, which saw political and cultural magazines as "scaffolds of the intellectual field,"³² revealing of both social networks and the intellectual itineraries of their members. Two types of periodical have nonetheless created links between studies of magazines on art and studies of magazines on architecture: these are the late nineteenth-century decorative arts magazine and, more especially, the avant-garde magazine, both of which covered a wide range of artistic practices, and both of which employed a graphic design – product of creative

effort of the most innovative kind – that was as much an expression of aesthetic standpoint as the works they presented.

During the 1960s and 1970s a number of scholars began exploring the notion of the avant-garde.³³ The resulting studies considered the magazine to be the backbone of pioneering movements: the public declaration of a manifesto position marked the birth of a group and ensured its cohesiveness, even its ideological coherence. The same period saw the start of re-publication and facsimile projects,³⁴ and the publication of the first monographic studies (including numerous articles in the anthology entitled *L'année 1913*)³⁵ and bibliographies of literary and art magazines.³⁶ Important in the realm of architecture were two groundbreaking publications: the 1969 anthology of *Die Form*, the magazine of the German Werkbund,³⁷ and the appearance in 1975 of a selection of articles from *Das neue Frankfurt*³⁸ assembled by the architect Giorgio Grassi, which, from a position that was more ideological than historiographic, described the Frankfurt experience in the lineage of Europe's urban history.

During the 1980s, by which time critical historiography was paying considerable attention to the Modern Movement,³⁹ avant-garde publications became a favoured object of investigation among architectural historians. Jacques Gubler's 1982 effort to sketch the "identity" of this kind of magazine by identifying its transversal characters was a decisive contribution. In his introduction to a special issue of *Rassegna* he reflected on the etymology of the word "avant-garde" – military and later political – and examined the fundamental methods of militant action. The proposed identity was not based on similarities of content but of the methods by which such magazines were produced: the players (a "mobile constellation" of artists from geographically wide-ranging "secondary" artistic centres), exchanges and piracy, and a precarious and ephemeral existence whose vicissitudes are, in most cases, impossible to document from archival sources.⁴⁰ A second series of common characteristics relates to the texts and images: multilingualism, an abbreviated writing style (acronyms and monosyllables) and a typography and graphic layout that broke with the tradition established by daily newspapers.⁴¹

Gubler did not pursue this methodological path significantly further in his introduction to the anthology of the Swiss magazine *ABC* (1st edition, 1983).⁴² In fact, very few studies have attempted to follow Gubler in establishing the identity of the various "types" or "genres" of magazine, either defined by the kind of texts, regular columns and images they contain, or associated with a particular historical conjuncture.⁴³ There have been a few "cross sections" made of particular circumstances of publication, like the study focusing on the magazines published in Berlin from 1890 to 1933.⁴⁴ But although the inventory called for by Gubler in *Rassegna* never materialized, there exist numerous monographs on the subject of avant-garde magazines.

L'Esprit nouveau: A "collective (cultural) product"

Roberto Gabetti and Carlo Olmo opened up an entirely different perspective in their 1975 book *Le Corbusier e "L'Esprit Nouveau."* Their aim was to contribute towards an intellectual history of Le Corbusier that made it part of the "history of work." This approach was opposed to the vision of the artist as a creative individual (that still harked back the aesthetics of Croce) and to an event-driven history of the magazine and its "debates" that aimed to trace "the history of architecture's ideas about itself." The consultation of the archives, reconstruction of the networks of contributors and invoking of the writings from other disciplines (economics, psychology, aesthetics) that formed these authors' cultural universe resulted in a quite different history, one where the magazine was seen as a "collective product," a space of cultural exchange situated within a particular set of historical, intellectual and economic circumstances, when architectural practice was facing the "crisis" associated with the advent of Taylorism.

In 1988, in the preface to the book's third edition, Carlo Olmo noted that profound changes had taken place since 1975 – in the historiography of modern architecture and of Le Corbusier on the one hand, and in the approaches taken to architectural magazines on the other: "History 'for architects' has gradually been replaced by history 'of architects' and of their cultures, particularly graphic."⁴⁵ Among the works he cited was Stanislas von Moos's exhibition catalogue on *L'Esprit nouveau, Le Corbusier et l'industrie 1920–1925* (1987), which explores the "decontextualization" of images borrowed from other realms, notably modern industry. He also stressed the interest of examining the rhetoric of persuasion – the "visual narrative" woven into the magazine – from the standpoint of a communications specialist rather than that of an architectural theoretician, referring here to the work of Beatriz Colomina.⁴⁶

Magazines: A New Production Space

During the 1980s, pursuing Walter Benjamin's analyses of "the semantic, operative, mental and behaviorist consequences of modern technology,"⁴⁷ Beatriz Colomina examined the contrasting relationship between "two canonic figures" of the Modern Movement, Le Corbusier and Adolf Loos, and publication in its broadest sense: archives, photography, *publicité* and museums. She observed that while the impact on architecture of new construction materials and techniques had been widely explored, the same could not be said of the "magazines" that were nonetheless linked to the mechanical reproducibility of the means of interpretation and representation. She claimed that since the advent of an industrial society it is no longer possible to separate production and reproduction, and that any "reproduction" (especially of images) is in itself a production.⁴⁸ She further stated that this "production" is relatively

independent of the referents or debates it is intended to reflect, and even superimposes itself over material production: "It is actually the emerging systems of communication that came to define the twentieth-century culture – the mass media – that are the true site within which modern architecture is produced and with which it directly engages. In fact, one could argue ... that modern architecture only becomes modern with its engagement with the media."⁴⁹ She thus posited – for architecture, at least – the hypothesis of a new experiential dimension in access to art, one that no longer offered a "direct" experience of the built object. It was a hypothesis that had already been mooted in 1976, at the London conference on art periodicals.

As part of her re-reading of the Modern Movement, Colomina examined Le Corbusier's activity as a collector at the time he was publishing *L'Esprit nouveau*. The catalogues and advertisements for industrial products and everyday objects he assembled served not only as an important iconographical source but also as a model for processing the image-text relationship: "Unlike the 'representational' use of imagery in traditional books – whereby the image is subordinate to and consistent with the written text – Le Corbusier's arguments have to be understood in terms of never-resolved collisions of these two elements."⁵⁰ This kind of analysis has its roots in the address "The Author as Producer," presented by Benjamin to revolutionary artists in 1934. Taking the example of Brecht's theatre, he argued that content could not alone transmit a political message: it was necessary to rework form if relationships of production-consumption (in the Marxist sense) were to be altered, in particular the relationship between spectator and work.⁵¹ Colomina concentrated on the reader-publication relationship: *L'Esprit nouveau*, by offering an unexpected context for dissemination, enhanced the effects of *publicité*. At the same time, the confusion maintained between its advertising images and its architectural representations conferred a legitimacy on Le Corbusier's work – particularly vital, since at this period it rarely got beyond the project stage – and the obliteration of boundaries between advertising and editorial content reinforced the power of his theoretical message. Colomina was not the first to reveal the legitimizing power of magazines, nor to take an interest in aspects complementary to their written content that have been integral to their specificity and their survival. She has been the first, however, to deconstruct the role played by image and graphic layout in the processes of communication, both social and ideological.

Image and Typography

In 1983 Paolo Portoghesi had acknowledged in *Domus* that "the material and formal identity of architectural magazines, their changes of course and their publishing adventures" represented a fundamental chapter in the history of

architecture that had yet to be written. In his article he reviewed a hundred years of architectural periodical publication, noting the transformations of format and graphic presentation – “superficial” aspects he associated with the changing conception of architecture, promoted successively as art, ideology and media.⁵² Since then there have been few studies on the subject, although certain scholars have explored “architectural imagery in publishing,” concentrating in the main on the links between modes of representation and printing techniques.⁵³ Some have used graphic illustration as another way of defining the debate, sometimes establishing connections between mode of representation and theoretical position by taking teaching and its graphic preferences as the bridge.⁵⁴

In the multi-author book *Architectureproduction*, edited by Colomina and published in 1988, Hélène Lipstadt, conducting a more in-depth internal investigation, outlined the effects of the dialectic of distinction to which magazines have contributed. She suggested that, owing to their extremely fine detail, their visually abnormal representations and their independence from the main body of the publication, the plates in Daly’s *Revue générale* endowed the architect with the “aura” of an artist. Her survey of the architects represented indicates, moreover, that this status was not reserved for the profession’s elite. As if to temper this view – somewhat unexpected in a book dealing with the effects of reproduction in the Benjaminian sense – she emphasized that this “cult of the image” pre-dated the advent of photomechanical processes and, more important, of photography.⁵⁵

The history of photography, also frequently couched in terms of technical progress, accords considerable importance to architecture and its magazines. It has shown that from the 1890s on the pairing of photo and text in the space of a page reinforced photography’s role in the representation of architecture – a role in which some forty years later it had become predominant.⁵⁶ A few authors interested in the specialized press have explored this medium,⁵⁷ notably Alain Mousseigne who in 1975 examined the impact of periodicals on photography in France (rather than the reverse), the avant-garde journals of the 1920s having helped in a subsidiary way to give it artistic status.⁵⁸ Photography’s early success among architects was linked to their appreciation of its “objectivity” and anonymity, qualities that were acknowledged by (among others) H. H. Richardson, whose fame, along with that of his architecture, was, as Mary Woods demonstrated in a 1990 article, closely bound up with the use of mechanical representation in publishing.⁵⁹ That this positive relationship endured as architecture began exploring more experimental avenues has since been shown by Antoine Baudin in the catalogue of the exhibition devoted to the photography collection of Alberto Sartoris. The architects of the Modern Movement and their periodicals resisted the “new vision” (Neues Sehen).⁶⁰

To understand the upheaval caused by photography, it is necessary to recognize – as have Beatriz Colomina and numerous others – the specificity and ideological force of this tool, which gives a mechanical representation of reality while at the same time offering, through framing, an image of that reality that is both selective and varied.⁶¹ And it is not only the view of the building it presents that is significant (more or less inclusive, more or less “natural,” more or less illuminated),⁶² but also the other elements it includes in or excludes from the shot⁶³ and the visual coexistences created by a particular layout.⁶⁴ Several authors have also stressed the transformations it undergoes during the “process” (subsequent to the actual taking of the shot) imposed by the imperatives of layout, which often result in retouching and cropping: as the photographic historian Olivier Lugon has pointed out, the study of published architectural photographs reveals that in the production of a magazine “a cluster of intricately interwoven forces is at work.” His essay in the Sartoris catalogue is concerned primarily with the complex relations that existed between architects and photographers in the interwar period.⁶⁵

This observation is especially interesting since typography and layout have been given short shrift within the history of architectural magazines, despite the fact that the avant-garde publications – particularly creative on this front – offer fascinating material. Art historians and book and illustration specialists (more than architectural historians) have paid particular attention to Art Nouveau⁶⁶ and Constructivist periodicals. Historical studies often serve as introductions to anthologies of texts (even sometimes of images) and to deluxe re-editions, or appear in special issues devoted to particularly influential creators. However, content and graphic form are often dealt with separately in these studies⁶⁷ – contrary to the essential logic of the avant-garde magazine – and ultimately quite traditionally. Graphic design is often associated with the biographies of the authors (*Wendingen* and Hendricus Theodorus Wijdeveld; *Veshch’ = Objet = Gegenstand* and El Lissitzky;⁶⁸ *Casabella* during the 1930s with Edoardo Persico, critic and “graphic designer”),⁶⁹ or alternatively seen as part of broader artistic movements.⁷⁰ There are, nonetheless, a few exceptions: the functional typography of the Dutch magazine *i10*, for example, which was both the subject of articles and a design tool.⁷¹ But although the effects of functional typography on reading – “see, rather than read” became the slogan of interwar typographers and graphic designers⁷² – and its relation to the image have begun attracting interest among scholars in the realm of posters,⁷³ books and advertising, studies of the subject in relation to the architectural magazine are still embryonic. The significances of photomontage – in itself the object of a plethora of articles – when included in the space of the architectural periodical has yet to be explored.

In fact, a global study of the processes of graphic transformation (typography, graphic design, layout and processing of the photographic image) and of text-image relations within the restricted framework of the page has not yet been undertaken. Moreover, the art historical or aesthetic perspective is not the only one that can throw light on these questions. The photographs, montages and graphic representations appearing in periodicals also contribute to the fabrication of disciplinary or professional knowledge – a branch of research into the visual aspects of publication that is being explored by Frédéric Pousin.⁷⁴

Broadening Horizons

In 1990, after the preoccupation with the international avant-garde, number 89 of *La Revue de l'Art* reviewed the studies looking at the situations in individual countries and at the “major” nineteenth-century professional journals (*The Builder*, *The American Architect and Building News*, the *Revue générale de l'architecture*), generally supposed to have established the architectural press “model.” Stressing the importance of magazines as “archives of modern architecture” (the subject of the editorial), the issue examined their contribution to a reading of the debates and to dissemination, while at the same regretting the erratic progress of their systematic indexation and the ultimately superficial nature of research on the architectural press in France. This special issue provided an overview of the work undertaken over a period of almost thirty years but opened up few new perspectives, aside from that of the documentation of architectural heritage. Nevertheless, later in the decade several magazines that had hitherto been the object of little study were given their due – for example, in the series of articles published in 1993 in *Casabella* (*Shelter*, *Forum*, *Cahiers d'Art*, etc.). In addition, more subtle interpretations⁷⁵ of well-known magazines⁷⁶ called into question the previously sharp distinction drawn between traditionalist magazines and those described as “modern” or even avant-garde – a term used wrongly for periodicals disseminating architectural modernity but also integrating tradition and a “return to order.”

Since the end of the 1990s, the spectrum of periodicals that have become the object of research has broadened even further with the wave of interest in theoretical and critical magazines dating from the 1970s and later, particularly American ones such as *Perspecta*,⁷⁷ *Oppositions*, *Assemblage* and *ANY*. In fact, a new generation of scholars has begun writing the history of the 1970s, chronicling the emergence of theoretical thinking in the United States⁷⁸ and examining the work of Manfredo Tafuri. The particular history of the defunct *Oppositions*, first sketched out in 1988 by witness-and-player Joan Ockman, assumes a central role.⁷⁹ This magazine testified to the development during the 1970s of new relationships between architectural practice, theory, history and criticism. Studies have been concerned with the theoretical positions of

its authors (Hays) and the range of theoretical and critical influences *readable* in their texts – the importation of Foucauldian philosophy on the one hand, and of the work of the Venice School on the other. But even more recent research has been exploring, through the use of archives, the intellectual and academic milieus that give rise to a magazine.

Within the last few years, a feature peculiar to periodical publications (as distinct from books) that had hitherto been largely neglected – despite an early interest shown by Colomina in the 1980s – has attracted the attention of a few researchers: commercial advertising. These scholars have observed the relationship between images extolling the merits of construction industry products and the editorial content of such magazines as *Arts and Architecture* and *Architecture Australia*.⁸⁰

Contextualization and Review of the Colloquium on the 1960s and 1970s

The disequilibrium that exists between, on the one hand, the small number of conferences devoted to the history of magazines and, on the other, the abundance and strength of the studies on the subject was alone sufficient justification for holding the IRHA colloquium. By stressing variety, the call for papers implicitly encouraged the discovery of lesser-known magazines and the opening up of new methodological avenues. Although emphasis was placed on the intellectual content of magazines and on their contribution to debates of principally international scope, their aesthetic and material aspect (photography, layout, typography, etc.) was not disregarded, and neither were issues related to their production (financing, publishers, advertising) and circulation. Before looking at how these challenges were met by the conference's participants, a word must be said about the proposed periodization, which does not coincide exactly with that of recent studies devoted to the new types of magazines that emerged in the 1970s.

Periodization

To elucidate the factors underlying the periodization proposed by the IRHA, it is worth resituating it within the context created by the series of events organized by several Canadian museums during the 2003–2006 period, aimed at assessing the historical impact of the 1960s. This collective project acted as a catalyst across the museum network, but also in the academic milieu. In November 2003 scholars had been invited to take part in a conference in Montreal organized jointly by the McCord Museum of Canadian History and the Université du Québec à Montréal, in collaboration with the CCA, entitled

The Sixties – Style and Substance, and in October 2004 the CCA mounted the exhibition *The 60s: Montréal Thinks Big*. The boundaries established by the IRHA for its examination of architectural periodicals thus doubled the established timeframe.

There is clear consensus regarding the importance of the 1960s. The organizers of the conference held at the McCord described these years as “a time of upheaval and social transformation, of changes in attitudes, values and personal politics,” while Guy Cogeval, Director of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, which in 2003 mounted the exhibition *Global Village: The 1960s*, saw it as a period of profound and widespread breaking with the past. But although the decade, precisely defined, provokes an instant response among the public at large, a closer examination of the phenomena that dominated it rarely stays within such neat boundaries. To take only a single example, a number of major building projects that radically transformed Montreal’s physiognomy had got under way during the 1950s. The rhythm of the decades does not necessarily reflect the movements of history.

Numerous architectural historians have nonetheless identified a break point during the 1960s, although it has not prompted them to elaborate comprehensive portraits of the period. More modestly, they have assembled and presented anthologies of writings on architecture (among which are a number of articles published originally in magazines) from a period either beginning or ending during the 1960s. For both Joan Ockman and Michael Hays, who have independently investigated the half-century separating 1944 and 1993, 1968 was a pivotal year: for the former, it marked the end of a transitional period in architectural culture; for the latter, it saw the start of a renewal in architectural thinking whose impact on the press would not be felt fully until the middle of the following decade.

Several colloquium participants have made adjustments to the suggested timeframe. For France Vanlaethem, the kind of reassessments of modern architecture that appeared in Canadian journals in the early 1960s actually began towards the middle of the previous decade and lasted until the middle of the next (1955–1974) – an identification of the mid-1970s as the end of an ideological cycle that has also been observed by Hélène Jannière in relation to French magazines (1960–1974). Juliana Maxim (1959–1965) sees the graphic and photographic transformations affecting *Arhitectura* – official mouthpiece of the Union of Architects of the Socialist Republic of Romania – as having begun in the late 1950s following the shifts in cultural policy that had occurred in the Eastern bloc since the death of Stalin and Khrushchev’s speech at the Conference of Builders in 1954.

The remaining participants direct the historical spotlight at different moments – of varying duration – located within the two-decade period. Louis

Martin documents the ten years that separated Peter Eisenman’s return to the United States and the start of his teaching at Princeton and the founding of *Oppositions* in 1973, using interviews and various archival sources to provide a new perspective on this widely discussed journal. For Paolo Scrivano, 1969 not only marked the founding of *Controspazio* but also saw (despite a calming of the political agitations of 1967–1968) debate on political and social questions move into Italian academic and cultural circles – a decisive factor in the emergence of *Controspazio* as a space of “ideological criticism.” The period studied by Mary Louise Lobsinger is also short: the three years (1960–1963) during which *Superfici* was published.

Seen from a more general standpoint, the twenty years from 1955 to 1975 saw the development of a dual phenomenon: the remarkable endurance of the major periodicals founded at the end of the nineteenth century or in the interwar period (*Casabella*, *L’AA*, *The Architectural Review*, *The Architectural Record*, etc.) and the appearance of a “type” of critical magazine associated with a new generation of academics and paralleling the theoretical anxiety that marked the 1960s and 1970s in Italy and the United States.

Although for the most part monographic, the studies presented here document the transformation of the discourse that accompanied the questioning of urban and architectural policies, and of the profession and its teaching during the years prior to and following 1968. They also bear witness to a new preoccupation with the theme of the environment, envisaged – as Inderbir Singh Riar’s analysis of *Architectural Design* illustrates – as flexible, mobile and technological.

A Hybrid Vision: Material, Aesthetic and Event-Driven History

Fusing the material and aesthetic history of magazines with the history of the ideas they convey was an ambitious project, undoubtedly easier to achieve within the framework of monographic studies. In his essay on advertising in *The Architectural Forum* between 1960 and 1974, John Schlinke deals with a largely neglected subject. Unlike other strictly quantitative approaches, his study compares advertising (revelatory of both the printed object and the publication’s financial fortunes) with changes in editorial policy, thus encompassing the history of the print media, of the journal’s development as a business enterprise and of its debates. The choice of *The Architectural Forum* is a particularly interesting one since it was one of the most independent and critical voices among American architectural journals at a period when a split was occurring in the United States between commercial professional publications and theoretical journals. John Schlinke sees advertising as a “parallel text” that, via the images and slogans it transmits (notably concerning prefabrication), ultimately undermines the theoretical and doctrinal positions outlined in the editorials and articles.

Juliana Maxim offers evidence of a double shift of perspective: the changes in the editorial policy of *Arhitectura* regarding the modernization of forms and architectural standardization, and the radical alterations in this Romanian magazine's use of graphic design and photography that took place between 1959 and 1965. Far from considering photography as the "recording" of a new reality, Maxim establishes a link between the photomechanical reproduction of images then favoured by the magazine, as a mode of *description*, and the industrialization of the building trade – a goal newly upheld by the Romanian authorities in the latter half of the 1950s.

An examination of the network of players involved is clearly crucial to a new approach to magazines that goes beyond the texts, the history of the print media and event-driven history. It is an approach adopted in several of the articles (Louis Martin for *Oppositions*, Paolo Scrivano, Mary Louise Lobsinger) that focus on the groups of architects and intellectuals – instigators and authors – who have launched a magazine, their "intellectual biography" contributing to an understanding of the theoretical and critical positions it defended. From a more purely descriptive perspective, while taking account of the financial and material vicissitudes of *Le Carré bleu* – a "constellation" of architects from several different countries – Catherine Blain's study illustrates how the magazine's precariousness made the human players the very backbone of the enterprise, with changes in management and editorial team being reflected quite directly in editorial content.

Interesting relations have been forged between magazines and university milieus. The archives of the IAUS, explored by Louis Martin, illustrate the relations between the magazine projects that preceded *Oppositions* and the various American schools of architecture. France Vanlaethem's analysis of the more professional periodicals also reveals links with Canadian universities, notably between *ABC* and the Université de Montréal in 1966. *Architecture Mouvement Continuité*, for its part, served for a brief period as the echo chamber of the multidisciplinary efforts of the "architectural pedagogical units" newly created in France on the ruins of the architecture section of the École des beaux-arts (Hélène Jannière). Finally, the relations between architectural periodicals and the profession during these years of profound changes and unprecedented challenges can also be deduced from such "marginal" magazines as *Le Carré bleu* (Catherine Blain) and from the more classical professional journals (France Vanlaethem).

The intellectual careers of the authors – explored by Carlo Olmo for *Esprit Nouveau*, and by Paolo Scrivano for *Controspazio* – lead us to another of the colloquium's transversal themes: the critical discourse, its disciplinary foundations and its sources. Scrivano, for example, analyzes the role of phenomenology in Italian postwar criticism by tracing the threads that lead from

Husserl to Ernesto N. Rogers and to Ezio Bonfanti, the key figure at *Controspazio*. Taking the magazine *Superfici* not as a reflection but as a *sign* of the changes of critical paradigm that occurred within the Italian architectural debate, Mary Louise Lobsinger describes the shift, between 1960 and 1963, from the phenomenological critique of rationalism to the "Marxian critique of the rationalism of technique-dominated society under capitalism." Hélène Jannière throws light on the critical tools borrowed by the authors of *Architecture Mouvement Continuité* and *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* from other disciplines – the humanities and social sciences that dominated the French intellectual landscape at the time – or from political and social criticism, in order to distance themselves from the outdated form of empirical criticism (based on the formalist description of the architectural object as a work of art) that still prevailed in France during the early 1960s. Though it does not analyze the magazine's rhetoric and the instruments of its critical discourse, the monograph on *Architectural Design* nonetheless points to its appeal to "extra-architectural" sources in the British debate on technology.

International relations, especially transatlantic ones, are at the heart of several of the papers. The colloquium as a whole actually spawned a "cartography" of the movement of ideas, images, metaphors and critical tools, from Italy towards the United States (*Oppositions*), from the US and Italy towards France (AMC and AA) and Great Britain (the view of the British *Architectural Design* of the American "technoscape"), and from Great Britain towards Italy (*Superfici*). A detailed picture of the links between these "transfers" and the networks of players, their training (Louis Martin on Eisenman and *Oppositions*), their travels and their academic positions has still to be drawn.

New Avenues of Exploration

As we conclude this examination and review of the IRHA colloquium, we are struck by a number of things. First, within the context of a conference on the 1960s and 1970s that encouraged the presentation of new material, there is a marked and surprising absence of the magazines that in their political commitment and their iconoclastic, antiestablishment and even revolutionary nature were actually among the most representative of the period around 1968. Aside from *Contropiano*, numerous Italian and British publications took stances that were radically critical of the environment (*In, Inpiu*) or – like *Mainmise* in Quebec – actually part of the underground culture. In France, as well as *Utopie*, published by the group of the same name, many magazines were being hatched in an academic milieu that was undergoing major change. Frontiers were easily traversed between periodicals focusing on architecture or on

the social sciences (*Espaces et sociétés* founded in 1970 by Henri Lefebvre) and primarily political journals that sometimes resembled pamphlets or manifestos, giving rise to new publications that challenged not only the foundations of the discipline but also the modes of production of architecture and the urban space, which were seen in terms of class domination. Located at the margins of the architectural field, these seem to have generated less interest among new generations of researchers than such theoretical and critical journals – generally American – as *Oppositions*, *Assemblage*, *Any* and *October*, which nonetheless did not alone embody the theoretical and critical renewal taking place at the time.

Second, it has to be acknowledged that the research of most of those taking part in the colloquium is monographic, and in some cases extremely specialized. This approach reflects a fundamental trend in the history of architectural magazines, which since the 1980s and the gradual broadening of the corpus to include the professional journals of the nineteenth century and the avant-garde publications of the twentieth has concentrated on particular periodicals and, moreover, exclusively on the most emblematic. There have been very few general studies, either national or transnational, even though the periodical is one of the most used sources in studies of the international dissemination of architectural models and doctrines. Evidently, such explorations require the establishment of inventories, but these – though long called for – are still relatively rare. Of note are those prepared by Marcelo M. Ramón Gutiérrez for the Latin American world and by Claude Bergeron for Canada.

And yet such general works are considered to be an essential prerequisite to the history of magazines, at least by historians interested in the history of books and printed matter. They see them as a priority, while at the same time advocating detailed paginal observation and the use of quantitative methods. Two principal orientations can be discerned in the studies undertaken since the 1970s: one aims to write the history of architectural magazines (as just one type of publication among others), while the other aims to rewrite the history of architecture by exploiting this type of relatively accessible document (compared to archives and even buildings) and occasionally making use of tools or theories borrowed from the humanities in order to go beyond a simply philological and event-driven interpretation. In most cases the magazine is perceived as a vehicle of communication that, as a historical source, preserves the discourse in all its veracity and transparency, bearing witness to the battles of ideas that mobilized architects during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and maintaining their vivacity through the multiplicity of authors and issues.

But at the interface between these two main avenues of exploration, the field still has to define its object of research. What, in fact, is the object of the

study of magazines, the one that most effectively expresses its specificity? Does it not reside in the interaction between editorial policy and the magazine's material nature? The history of the book has taken a whole new turn by distancing itself from the history of literature and by becoming economic and social, striving now to identify what a society publishes and reads rather than seeking the meaning conveyed by texts and images. But while the book and literature are two facets of the same phenomenon, there are aspects of the history of architecture that cannot be reduced to the history of its printed matter, even if the built object becomes architecture when its production is supported by writing (and drawing). If we are to take full advantage of magazines as a source of knowledge, their particularities have to be recognized (as they have been in the most perceptive of the studies): for it is in paying attention to the topicality of their content that their role in the social distinction of architects is revealed, and it is in observing the relationship between text and image that the cultural and intellectual power of their mass distribution is affirmed. Such studies are nevertheless rare compared to the abundance and wide geographical distribution of the magazines, and the diversity of their texts, forms and formats. Moreover, although the magazine – a publication that is “industrial,” serial, illustrated and standardized (format and regular columns) – offers special access to architectural culture, one has to consider the role played by reading in its interpretation. Many of the challenges thrown up by the history of architectural magazines have still to be met – and this at a time when, after two centuries of domination, this type of mechanized publication is being transformed by computerization and rivalled by the new media.

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- 1 *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (11th printing), *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary* and *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (18th printing), s.v. "magazine."
 - 2 Hélène Jannière, *Politiques éditoriales et architecture moderne. L'émergence des nouvelles revues en France et en Italie, 1923–1939* (Paris: Arguments, 2002), pp. 1–8.
 - 3 It was this view that prompted the holding of "Critical Tools," the third biennial NeTHCA colloquium, which took place in Brussels in April 2003. And similar concerns motivated participants in the 1996 workshop organized by the Venice Biennale and *Domus*, which focused on two themes: "Architectural Journals in the Current Media Context" and "The Role of Trade Journals and Their Impact on Architecture."
- In his introduction to this gathering, Dietmar Steiner noted the absence of "debate, arguments and battles of ideas" despite the large number of existing architectural magazines – over a thousand, according to the Avery Index; see "Architettura e media. Il futuro delle riviste di architettura / Architecture and Media: The Future of the Architectural Magazine," *Domus*, February 1997, pp. 51–58. There have been many study sessions and panel discussions on the subject more local in scope, such as "La critique dans la pratique et dans l'enseignement," held at the school of architecture in Nantes, in January 1999, and published as Alain Deboulet, Rainier Hoddé et André Sauvage (eds.), *La critique architecturale. Questions, frontières, desseins*, Paris, Éditions de la Villette, 2008, and "La presse architecturale : le bâti et l'écrit," held during the Premières rencontres européennes des revues d'architecture organized by the Centre régional des lettres du Languedoc-Roussillon in October of the same year. More recently, the International Committee of Architectural Critics devoted a session of its December 2005 congress to the future of architectural criticism in books, the press, and the electronic media.
- 4 Our attention was caught by the promising title of a 1991 conference: "Ruolo delle riviste negli orientamenti attuali della ricerca nei campi della storia dell'architettura, del restauro, delle scienze et tecniche costruttive." However, after reading the texts of the papers presented, published in the journal *Palladio* 4:8 (July–December 1991): 77–124 (which organized the event jointly with the Istituto Poligrafico of the National Library in Rome), we were – despite their undeniable critical and even epistemological interest – disappointed. The goal of the conference was evidently to encourage collaboration between editorial staff in order to advance historical methods rather than the history of magazines.
 - 5 Trevor Fawcett and Clive Phillpot, "Introduction," Trevor Fawcett and Clive Phillpot (eds.), *The Art Press: Two Centuries of Art Magazines – Essays Published for the Art Libraries Society on the Occasion of the International Conference on Art Periodicals and the Exhibition* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, The Art Book Company, 1976), p. 2. The authors specify that for reasons of feasibility and readability the exhibition did not include (among other things) architectural magazines.
 - 6 Roger Kimball, "Booking Architecture: A Symposium on Architectural Publishing at Columbia," *Architectural Record*, April 1986, pp. 53, 55.
 - 7 The only document we have been able to track down relating to this conference, organized by the European Association for Architecture Education and entitled "Educacion y Revistas de Arquitectura," is the table of contents of a collection of the papers presented, which we have not been able to consult. The titles nevertheless indicate that the conference approached architectural magazines first as historical

- documents, "libraries" of modernity, agents in the transformation of cultural attitudes and networks, and, secondly, as pedagogical tools in the teaching of architecture, both historically and in the present (now that the advent of the electronic media has altered the landscape).
- 8 "Practice and Theory: *Perspecta* and the Fate of Architectural Discourse. A Symposium Honoring the 50th Anniversary of *Perspecta: The Yale Architecture Journal*," in Robert A. M. Stern, Peggy Deamer and Alan Plattus (eds.), *Re-reading Perspecta: The First Fifty Years of the Yale Architectural Journal* (Cambridge, Mass.: London: MIT, 2004), pp. 764–809.
 - 9 The text of this talk was not reproduced, but Jencks's article "The Bigness of Small Magazines," published the same year in *Architectural Design*, 71:1 (February 2000): 94–95, gives a clear account of his analysis.
 - 10 Jean-Michel Leniaud and Béatrice Bouvier (eds.), *Les périodiques d'architecture, XVIII^e–XX^e siècle : Recherche d'une méthode critique d'analyse* (Paris: École des chartes, "Études et rencontres de l'École des chartes" series, no. 8, 2001), pp. 7–8.
 - 11 Aside from Nathalie Sarraze's essay "L'actualité architecturale dans la presse française (1750–1794)," in *Les périodiques d'architecture, XVIII^e–XX^e siècle* (see previous note), pp. 19–38, notable contributions included Ségolène Le Men, "La ville, vive. Les représentations architecturales dans *L'illustration*," pp. 39–66, and Adrien Goetz, "La place de l'architecture dans la revue *L'Artiste* à l'époque romantique (1831–1848)," pp. 115–135.
 - 12 Jean-Philippe Garric, Valérie Nègre, Alice Thomine-Berrada (eds.), *La construction savante. Les avatars de la littérature technique*, Paris, Picard, 2008.
 - 13 Of particular interest here was the paper given by Maristella Casciato, who revealed the links between Diotallevi and Marescotti's manual on social housing (1948) and *Casabella*, in terms of both content and graphic design: "Il problema sociale, costruttivo ed economico dell'abitazione : Sources et affiliations," in *La construction savante*, pp. 295–306.
 - 14 Kenneth Frampton, "AD in the 60s: A Memoir," *Architectural Design*, 17:3 (June 2000), pp. 98–102.
 - 15 Ian Chodikoff, "50 Years of The Canadian Architect," *The Canadian Architect*, August 2005, pp. 19–25, followed by comments from practising architects, researchers and teachers.
 - 16 *EaV*, no. 10, 2004/2005.
 - 17 Rolf Fuhlrott, *Deutschsprachige Architekturzeitschriften : Entstehung und Entwicklung der Fachzeitschriften für Architektur in der Zeit von 1789–1918* [German-language Architectural Magazines: The Origins and Development of Magazines Specializing in Architecture from 1789 to 1918] (Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1975).
 - 18 Heinrich Wuttke, *Die deutschen Zeitschriften und die Entstehung der öffentlichen Meinung* [German Reviews and the Formation of Public Opinion] 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Krüger, 1875).
 - 19 In 1934 the Institut für Zeitungswissenschaft [Institute for the Science of the Newspaper] opened a department dedicated to magazines, under the directorship of Ernst Herbert Lehmann.
 - 20 Ernst Herbert Lehmann, *Einführung in die Zeitschriftenkunde* [Inquiry into the Magazine as a Genre] (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1936), p. 10 (our emphasis). Lehmann had already described the first German architectural magazine in his earlier work *Die Anfänge der Kunstzeitschrift in Deutschland* [The Beginnings of the Art Magazine in Germany] (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1932).
 - 21 Leniaud, "Introduction," *Les périodiques d'architecture...* (see note 10), p. 7.

- 22 Frank Jenkins, "Nineteenth-century Architectural Periodicals," in John Summerson (ed.), *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner* (London: Allen Lane, 1968), pp. 153–160; Anthony King, "Another Blow for Life: George Godwin and the Reform of Working-Class Housing," *The Architectural Review*, vol. 136, December 1964, pp. 448–452; Anthony King, "Architectural Journalism and the Profession: The Early Years of George Godwin," *Architectural History*, vol. 19, 1976, pp. 32–53.
- 23 Robert Vincent Prestiano, "The Inland Architect: A Study of Contents, Influence and Significance of Chicago's Major Late Nineteenth-Century Architectural Periodical," dissertation, Chicago, Northwestern University, 1973.
- 24 Mary Norman Woods, "The American Architect and Building News, 1876–1907," dissertation, New York, Columbia University, 1983. Also worth noting is Michael A. Tomlan, "Popular and Professional American Architectural Literature in the Late Nineteenth Century," dissertation, Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University, 1983. During this period the history of the profession generally was flourishing, not just that of its magazines, while at the same time the profession of architect and the teaching of architecture were in crisis. See, among others, Spiro Kostof (ed.), *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); Raymonde Moulin et al., *Les architectes* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1973).
- 25 Jenkins, "Nineteenth-Century Architectural Periodicals," p. 153 (see note 22).
- 26 Marc Saboya, *Presse et architecture au XIX^e siècle. César Daly et la Revue Générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* (Paris: Picard, 1991), p. 51.
- 27 Arthur Drexler (ed.), *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art/The MIT Press, 1977); Robin Middleton (ed.), *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982); Donald D. Egbert, *The Beaux-Arts Tradition in French Architecture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980).
- 28 Ann Lorenz Van Zanten, "César Daly and the *Revue Générale de l'Architecture*," dissertation, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, 1981; Richard Becherer, *Science Plus Sentiment: César Daly's Formula for Modern Architecture* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1984).
- 29 Hélène Lipstadt-Mendelsohn, "Pour une histoire sociale de la presse architecturale : la *Revue Générale de l'architecture* et César Daly (1840–1888)," doctoral thesis, Paris, EHESS, October 1979.
- 30 Bertrand Lemoine and Hélène Lipstadt, *Catalogue raisonné des revues d'architecture et de construction en France, 1800–1914* (Paris: CEDAM, 1985).
- 31 Hélène Lipstadt and Harvey Mendelsohn, *Architecte et ingénieur dans la presse. Polémique, débat, conflit* (Paris: CORDA-IERAU, 1980), p. 197.
- 32 François Dosse, *La Marche des idées. Histoire des intellectuels – histoire intellectuelle* (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2003), p. 52.
- 33 Renato Poggioli, *Theory of the Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968), translation from the Italian by Gerlad Fitzgerald of *Teoria dell'arte d'avanguardia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1962); Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-garde* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), translation from the German by Michael Shaw of *Theorie der Avantgarde* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974).
- 34 Éditions J.-M. Place made a number of re-publications available during the 1970s (*Bifur*, *Nord Sud*, the Dadaist magazines), and pursued the policy in the 1980s and 1990s (75 HP, *Tropiques*, *Cercle et Carré*, *Sic*, *Die freie Bühne*, *le Mercure de France*, etc.).
- 35 Liliane Brion-Guerry (ed.), *L'année 1913* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971–1973).
- 36 Jean-Michel Place and André Vasseur, *Bibliographie des revues et journaux littéraires des XIX^e et XX^e siècles*, 3 vols. (Paris: Éditions de la Chronique des Lettres Françaises, 1973–1977); Maurice Caillard and Charles Forot, *Les revues d'avant-garde : 1870–1914 : enquête*, introduction, bibliographical notes and index by Olivier Corpet and Patrick Fréchet (Paris: Entr'revues, Jean-Michel Place, 1990).
- 37 Felix Schwarz and Frank Gloor, *Die Form – Stimme des Deutschen Werkbundes 1925–1934* (Essen: Bertelsmann Fachverlag, "Bauwelt Fundamente" series, no. 24, 1969).
- 38 A group of essays defending the European metropolis as a "historical experience" and basis of the architectural project: Giorgio Grassi (ed.), *Das neue Frankfurt 1926–1931* (Bari: Dedalo Libri, 1975).
- 39 The history of architectural magazines had in fact been within the epistemological scope of the critical history of modernity since the 1970s. Among subsequent historiographical studies that helped demythologize the avant-garde and the Modern Movement were the writings of Juan Pablo Bonta (*Architecture and Its Interpretation: A Study of Expressive Systems in Architecture* [London: Lund Humphries, 1979]), Maria Grazia Sandri and Maria Luisa Scalvini (*L'Immagine storiografica dell'architettura contemporanea da Platzen a Giedion* [Rome: Officina edizioni, 1984]), and the 1988 doctoral thesis by Panayotis Tournikiotis (dir. Françoise Choay, Université de Paris VIII), published in English as *Historiography of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1999).
- 40 Jacques Gubler, "I dispaaci dell'avanguardia," *Rassegna*, no. 12, December 1982, pp. 5–11.
- 41 His position was supported by several of the other articles published in this special issue of *Rassegna* devoted to avant-garde magazines, notably: Antoine Baudin, "Centralità e periferia : il contributo dell'Europa Centrale," pp. 12–21; Radu Stern, "Memorie di Bucarest," pp. 22–24; Richard Quincerot, "Manomètre : architettura sotto pressione e gravità della scrittura," pp. 25–30.
- 42 Jacques Gubler, "Post tabulam rasam," in Gubler, *ABC 1924–1928 : Avanguardia e architettura radicale* (Milan: Electa, 1983), pp. 9–28.
- 43 On the subject of the avant-garde magazine defined by the "manifesto" character of its texts, for the period from 1890 to 1965, see Annette Ciré and Haila Ochs, *Die Zeitschrift als Manifest : Aufsätze zu architektonischen Strömungen im 20. Jahrhundert* (Basel/Boston: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1991); on magazines of the late 1920s and the 1930s that simultaneously disseminated and institutionalized modern architecture, see Jannière, *Politiques éditoriales...* (see note 2).
- 44 See Michael Nungesser, "Skizze zur publizistischen Situation der modernen Architektur," in *Europäische Moderne – Buch und Grafik aus Berliner Kunstverlagen 1890–1933*, exhib. cat. (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1989), pp. 163–182.
- 45 Carlo Olmo, "Prefazione alla terza ristampa," in Roberto Gabetti and Carlo Olmo, *Le Corbusier e "L'Esprit Nouveau"* (Turin: Einaudi, [1975] 1988), p. xi.
- 46 Olmo, "Prefazione alla terza ristampa" (see previous note), pp. xiv–xv.
- 47 In the words of Manfredo Tafuri, who had already recognized the need for such an investigation in 1968; see *Theories and History of Architecture*, trans. Giorgio Verrecchia (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), p. 232.
- 48 Beatriz Colomina, "On Architecture, Production and Reproduction," in Beatriz Colomina (ed.), *Architectureproduction* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), pp. 8–10.
- 49 Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1994), p. 14.

- 50 Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity...* (see previous note), p. 148.
- 51 Walter Benjamin, "The Author as Producer," in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Peter Demetz (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), pp. 220-238.
- 52 Paolo Portoghesi, "La parola e l'immagine / The Real Life of Architectural Magazines," *Domus*, no. 635, January 1983, pp. 2-11.
- 53 Ben Weinreb, "L'imagerie architecturale dans l'édition," *Images et imaginaires d'architecture* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou/CCI, 1984), pp. 119-122.
- 54 For example, in her dissertation on "The American Architect and Building News" (see note 24), Mary Woods devoted chapter 3 to illustration, a major ingredient in the success and durability of the magazine, and in the following chapter on education qualified the journal's reputation as a fine arts publication by noting the coexistence within its pages of geometrical and perspectival drawings. Antoine Picon, interested in the image during the industrial century, observed in the shift from treatise to magazine, and in the diversification of modes of representation, uncertainties not only within the discipline of architecture but also in its practice, torn between public and private commissions; see "Du traité à la revue. L'image au siècle de l'industrie," in Jean-Yves Mollier and Nicole Savy (eds.), *Usages de l'image au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions Créaphis, 1992), pp. 152-165.
- 55 Hélène Lipstadt, "The Building and the Book in César Daly's *Revue générale de l'architecture*," in Colomina, *Architectureproduction* (see note 48) pp. 24-55. For Hélène Lipstadt, publication is a mechanism that transforms architecture from a "material" into a "cultural" property that is *relatively independent* in relation to the profession that produces it. This emancipation of the materiality of the building – the status of cultural property – confers on the architectural image the status of art object (art work): "Figurations that circulate as (relatively) pure cultural goods outside the building process, figurations that have 'gone public,' are *publications* ... They escape from that process into the world of architectural culture, achieving, either permanently or momentarily, the status of (relatively) independent cultural goods ...," Hélène Lipstadt, "Architectural Publications, Competitions and Exhibitions," in Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman, eds., *Architecture and Its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation* (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1989), p. 111. For a continuation of this type of investigation into the professional consecration of architects by the specialized press, see Valérie Devillard, *Architecture et communication : les médiations architecturales dans les années 1980* (Paris, Editions Panthéon-Assas, 2000).
- 56 Robert Elwall, *Photography Takes Command: The Camera and British Architecture, 1890-1939* (London: Heinz Gallery, RIBA, 1994), chaps. 4 and 6. Also worth consulting is Cervin Robinson and Joel Herschman, *Architecture Transformed: A History of the Photography of Building from 1839 to the Present* (New York: Architectural League/Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1987).
- 57 A study undertaken in 1975 of photography's role in avant-garde magazines examined its dual documentary and (still fragile) artistic status: Alain Mousseigne, "Rôle et place de la photographie dans les revues d'avant-garde artistiques en France," in *Le retour à l'ordre dans les arts plastiques et l'architecture : 1919-1925* (Saint-Étienne: Université de Saint-Étienne, Centre interdisciplinaire d'études et de recherches sur l'expression contemporaine, 1975), pp. 316-328. The aim here was to understand how periodicals transformed photography, rather than the reverse.
- 58 Alain Mousseigne, "Situation de la photographie dans les revues des mouvements d'avant-garde artistique en France entre 1918 et 1939," master's thesis, Université de Toulouse, 1975; Mousseigne, "Rôle et place de la photographie..." (see previous note).
- 59 Mary N. Woods, "The Photograph as Tastemaker: The 'American Architect' and HH Richardson," *History of Photography*, vol. 14, no. 2, April-June 1990, pp. 155-163.
- 60 Antoine Baudin, "De la collection à l'encyclopédie. Enjeux et jalons d'une entreprise exemplaire," in A. Baudin (ed.), *Photographie et architecture moderne : la collection Alberto Sartoris* (Lausanne: Presses polytechniques et universitaires romanes, 2003), pp. 16-24.
- 61 Colomina, *La publicité du privé* (see note 49), p. 109.
- 62 Elwall, *Photography Takes Command...* (see note 56), chaps. 5 and 6. See also, Robert Elwall, *Building with Light: The International History of Architectural Photography* (London: Merrell, 2004).
- 63 Richard Williams, "Representing Architecture: The British Architectural Press in the 1960s," *Journal of Design History*, vol. 9, no. 4, 1996, pp. 285-296.
- 64 Hélène Janniére, "Images d'une ville moderne pour l'Italie fasciste. La photographie publiée, Quadrante, 1933-1936," in Frédéric Pousin (ed.), *Figures de la ville et construction des savoirs : architecture, urbanisme, géographie* (Paris: CNRS, 2005), pp. 117-127.
- 65 Olivier Lugon, "Maisons signées, images anonymes," in Baudin, *Photographie et architecture...* (see note 60), p. 47.
- 66 In Germany there have been a number of studies on the arts of illustration and book-binding that focus on the books and magazines of Jugendstil. Of particular note are: Sigrid Randa, *Alexander Koch Publizist und Verleger in Darmstadt, Reformen der Kunst und des Lebens um 1900* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1990), which deals with the theme as one aspect of the advertising and editorial policies of Koch in Darmstadt, presenting extensive information about a number of Europe's major decorative arts and architectural periodicals of the Art Nouveau period; Alfred Langer, *Jugendstil und Buchkunst* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1994), which concentrates on books and a few art magazines.
- 67 *Wendingen 1918-1931 - Documenti dell'arte olandese del Novecento* (Florence: Centro Di, 1982).
- 68 Alston W. Purvis, "One Man's Vision," in Martijn F. Le Coultre (ed.), *Wendingen 1918-1932: A Journal for the Arts* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001), pp. 8-21; Roland Nachtigäller and Hubertus Gassner, "3 x 1 = 1," in *Veshch' = Objet = Gegenstand, Berlin, 1922* (Baden: Lars Müller, 1994), pp. 34-36.
- 69 Antonio d'Auria, "Persico architetto e grafico," in Cesare de Seta (ed.), *Edoardo Persico* (Naples: Electa-Napoli, 1987), pp. 131-144.
- 70 Zdenek Primus, "Book Architecture," *Rassegna*, March 1993, pp. 38-51; Karel Srp, "Karel Teige and the New Typography," *Rassegna*, March 1993, pp. 52-59; "Piet Zwart : L'opera tipografica 1923-1933/Piet Zwart: The Typographical Work 1923-1933," *Rassegna*, July 1987.
- 71 *Wendingen 1918-1931...* (see note 67); Flip Bool, "Photographie et typographie dans 110," in Toke Van Helmond (ed.), *110 et son époque* (Paris: Institut Néerlandais, 1989).
- 72 Matthias Noell, " 'Nicht mehr lesen! Sehen!' Le livre d'architecture de langue allemande dans les années vingt," in Jean-Michel Leniaud and Béatrice Bouvier (eds.), *Le livre d'architecture, XV^e-XX^e siècle : Édition, représentations et bibliothèques* (Paris: École des chartes, "Études et rencontres de l'Ecole des chartes" series, no. 11, 2002), pp. 143-156.
- 73 Johanna Drucker, *Theorizing Modernism: Visual Art and the Critical Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).
- 74 Frédéric Pousin, "Pouvoir des figures," *Les Cahiers de la recherche architecturale*, no. 8, May 2001; Frédéric Pousin, "Visuality as Politics: The Example of Urban Landscape,"

in Mark Dorrian and Gillian Rose (eds.), *Deterritorialisations: Revisioning Landscapes and Politics* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2003), pp. 161–174; Pousin, *Figures de la ville...* (see note 64).

75 On *Arhitektura SSSR* see, for example: Alessandro de Magistris, “Il dibattito architettonico degli anni ’30-’50 nelle pagine di *Arhitektura SSSR*,” *Casabella*, vol. 57, June 1993, pp. 46–53.

76 On *L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui* see, for example: Jean-Louis Cohen, “L’AA et les conflits européens des années trente,” *L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui*, no. 272, December 1990, pp. 158–162.

77 Stern, Deamer and Plattus, *Re-reading Perspecta...* (see note 8).

78 Louis Martin, “The Search for a Theory in Architecture: Anglo-American Debates, 1957–1976,” doctoral dissertation, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University, 2002, 4 vols.

79 Mitchell Schwarzer, “History and Theory in Architectural Periodicals,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 58, no. 3, September 1999, pp. 342–348; K. Michael Hays, “The Oppositions of Autonomy and History,” in K. Michael Hays (ed.), *Oppositions Reader: Selected Readings from a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture 1973–1984* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), pp. ix–xv; Daniel Sherer, “Architecture in the Labyrinth: Theory and Criticism in the United States: ‘Oppositions,’ ‘Assemblage,’ ‘Any’ (1973–1999),” *Zodiac*, January–June 1999, no. 20, pp. 36–63.

80 Paul Hogben, “100 Years of Advertising,” *Architecture Australia*, vol. 93, no. 2, March–April 2004, pp. 20–23; Ionna Theocharopoulos, “Arts and Advertising: Terms of Exchange?,” *Thresholds*, vol. 18, 1999, pp. 6–11.

Les stratégies éditoriales

Editorial Strategies

Les revues et le débat architectural au Canada, 1955–1974¹

En 1959, alors qu’il fréquentait l’École d’architecture de l’Université McGill à Montréal, Moshe Safdie étudie la politique éditoriale des périodiques d’architecture américains publiés entre 1890 et 1940 et constate que le recul est essentiel pour juger de la portée positive ou négative de la presse². Près d’un demi-siècle plus tard, le colloque de l’Institut de recherche en histoire de l’architecture (IRHA) nous donne l’occasion d’examiner la contribution des revues canadiennes au débat au cours des décennies 1960 et 1970, un aspect de la production trop souvent oublié par l’historiographie de l’architecture canadienne qui retrace généralement les changements majeurs dont témoigne le bâti³. Dans les années 1960, les magazines sont non seulement les compagnons du succès critique fulgurant du jeune Safdie, tout comme de la réussite professionnelle de nombre de ses confrères portée par une conjoncture particulièrement favorable, mais encore les porte-voix de leurs inquiétudes et de leurs déceptions alors que la décennie se termine. Un état des lieux de la presse architecturale montre que la critique de la modernité émergea au Canada bien avant les années 1970 comme il est généralement admis. Les architectes canadiens se sont interrogés sur ses effets négatifs avant que Melvin Charney n’ait dénoncé la déstructuration de la ville avec l’exposition *Corridart* montée en 1976, à l’occasion des Jeux olympiques de Montréal, ou encore que Peter Rose n’ait réalisé en 1977–1979 ce qui est considéré par certains comme le premier édifice postmoderne au Canada, la maison Bradley à North Hatley, au Québec⁴. Mais avant d’entrer dans le vif du sujet, une double mise au point méthodologique s’impose en ce qui a trait, d’une part, au cadre temporel proposé et, d’autre part, à la nature diversifiée de la publication périodique en matière d’architecture.

Notons à la suite de l'historien français Pierre Nora que la décennie, « ce rendez-vous arithmétique du calendrier », comme il appelle toute unité de temps qui dérive du centenaire, est une catégorie particulièrement propice à la commémoration⁵ et, nous ajouterons, à la communication. Dans le domaine de l'architecture et des arts décoratifs, nombreux sont les beaux livres qui documentent des décennies de la première moitié du XX^e siècle. Au Canada, les années 1960 ont récemment mobilisé de nombreuses institutions muséales, avec l'exposition *Village global* au Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, *Montréal voit grand* au CCA et *Les années soixante au Canada* au Musée des beaux-arts du Canada⁶. Il est rare, cependant, que de tels découpages décennaux, mécaniques et neutres, qui retiennent facilement l'attention du grand public, se confondent avec les rythmes dégagés par l'historiographie.

L'histoire montre que les années 1960 et 1970 sont des décennies contrastées dont la signification historique dépasse de loin leurs limites; elles correspondent à la fois à la fin de l'Âge d'or du capitalisme, qui s'était amorcé en Amérique du Nord avec l'élan économique donné par la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, et au début d'une nouvelle ère de crises qui, cette fois, ébranleraient profondément les certitudes au fondement de la modernité⁷. Le domaine de la construction n'échappe pas à cette dynamique. Au Canada, à une période d'intense production où le bâtiment s'était imposé comme un des deux secteurs porteurs de l'économie, succède une sévère récession⁸. Le débat architectural n'est pas indifférent aux fluctuations de la conjoncture. Il est donc peu approprié de cadrer notre récit selon les balises établies.

Soulignons par ailleurs que toutes les revues d'architecture ne se valent pas, toutes ne contribuent pas au débat par la publication d'articles qui abordent des questions de théorie et de doctrine. Plusieurs se limitent à la simple diffusion de nouvelles ou encore à la publication de réalisations bâties sans commentaires critiques, d'autres s'engagent dans la discussion des normes et des valeurs qui orientent la production bâtie. Si la théorie énonce les principes de la « bonne architecture » qui doivent guider l'élaboration du projet, la doctrine s'interroge sur les conditions de la pratique et sur les ajustements qui sont nécessaires afin d'assurer sa pertinence sociale alors que la conjoncture change, comme le conceptualise l'architecte Jean-Pierre Épron dans les textes introductifs aux trois volumes et aux nombreux chapitres de l'anthologie d'écrits sur l'architecture et l'urbanisme publiée en 1992⁹. La doctrine contribue ainsi à redéfinir l'objet de l'architecture, son utilité sociale, ainsi que son domaine d'intervention, son territoire, dont l'enjeu est le territoire lui-même ou du moins sa mise en forme¹⁰.

Lors de la lecture attentive et systématique des revues d'architecture canadiennes publiées dans les années 1960 et 1970, nous nous sommes plus particulièrement arrêtées aux articles de théorie et de doctrine qui témoignent du débat sur l'architecture, alors particulièrement dense. Cependant, nous avons constaté que les mises en question de l'architecture moderne au début des années 1960 s'inscrivent dans un premier mouvement critique amorcé au milieu de la décennie précédente, et que celles qui s'expriment à la fin de la décennie persistent au début de la suivante. Dans la poursuite de la recherche, nous avons donc dérogé au cadre temporel proposé, nous avons décalé l'observation, nous nous sommes intéressées aux années 1955–1974, une période qui s'ouvre et se ferme non sans que de significatives transformations marquent la presse architecturale au Canada.

État des lieux

Au milieu du XX^e siècle, malgré un nombre restreint de titres, l'édition périodique en architecture est relativement dense au Canada, comparée à quelques décennies plus tôt¹¹. Une petite demi-douzaine de revues sont alors publiées dans le domaine de l'architecture et de la construction. Parmi elles, le *Canadian Builder* (1951–1991), renommé *Canadian Building* en 1970, et *Bâtiment* (1958–1991) sont des magazines de construction plutôt que d'architecture, tandis qu'*Habitat* (1958–1984), organe de la société fédérale chargée de la mise en œuvre de la Loi nationale sur l'habitation, la Société centrale d'hypothèques et de logement (SCHL), est une revue dédiée à l'habitation. Les autres s'intéressent plus exclusivement à la production architecturale, dans toute sa diversité d'échelle et de fonction, et participent plus ou moins activement au débat architectural. Ce sont donc ces dernières qui forment le corpus de cette étude. Identifions-les.

Dans les années 1960, le *Journal* de l'Institut royal d'architecture du Canada (RAIC) est la plus ancienne revue d'architecture à paraître (fig. 1). Ce mensuel, édité en anglais à Toronto depuis 1924, est, comme son nom l'indique, l'organe de la société professionnelle nationale dont la fondation remonte à 1908, sans pour autant en être la propriété, du moins pas avant janvier 1960¹².

Premier magazine d'architecture publié en français au Canada (fig. 2), *Architecture Bâtiment Construction* (ABC) est créé à Montréal en novembre 1945, avec l'approbation de l'Association des architectes de la province de Québec (AAPQ)¹³, une vénérable institution dont la création date de 1890. ABC n'en est pas pour autant le porte-parole¹⁴. D'abord publiée par la Compagnie de publication canadienne¹⁵, la revue est produite à partir de 1951 par

Journal

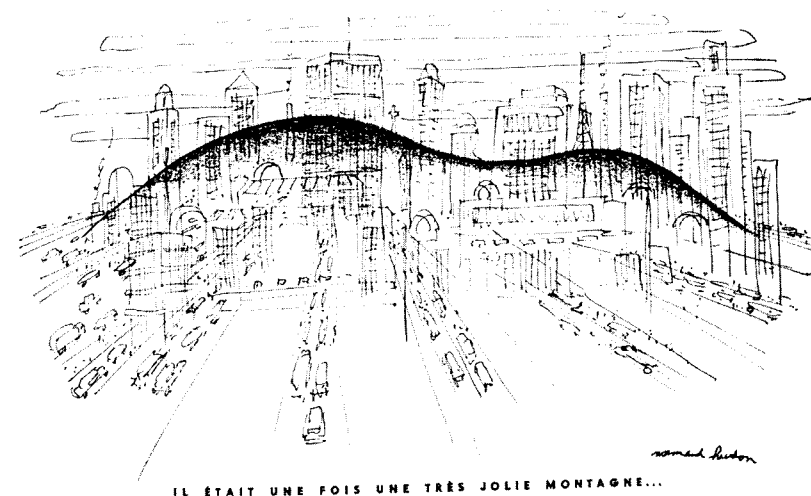
**the royal
architectural
institute
of canada**

january 1959

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1. Couverture, *The Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal*, volume 36, numéro 1 (janvier 1959). Avec l'autorisation de l'Institut royal d'architecture du Canada

ARCHITECTURE
BÂTIMENT • CONSTRUCTION



IL ÉTAIT UNE FOIS UNE TRÈS JOLIE MONTAGNE...

HABITATION

MONTREAL 168 AVRIL 1960

URBANISME

2. Couverture, *Architecture Bâtiment Construction*, volume 15, numéro 168 (avril 1960)

Eugène Charbonneau & Fils, une entreprise commerciale montréalaise qui comptait quelques autres titres de revues à son actif¹⁶. En juin 1963, *ABC* passe dans le giron du grand groupe de presse canadien qui publiait plusieurs quotidiens et plusieurs périodiques, la compagnie Southam-MacLean établie à Don Mills, en Ontario.

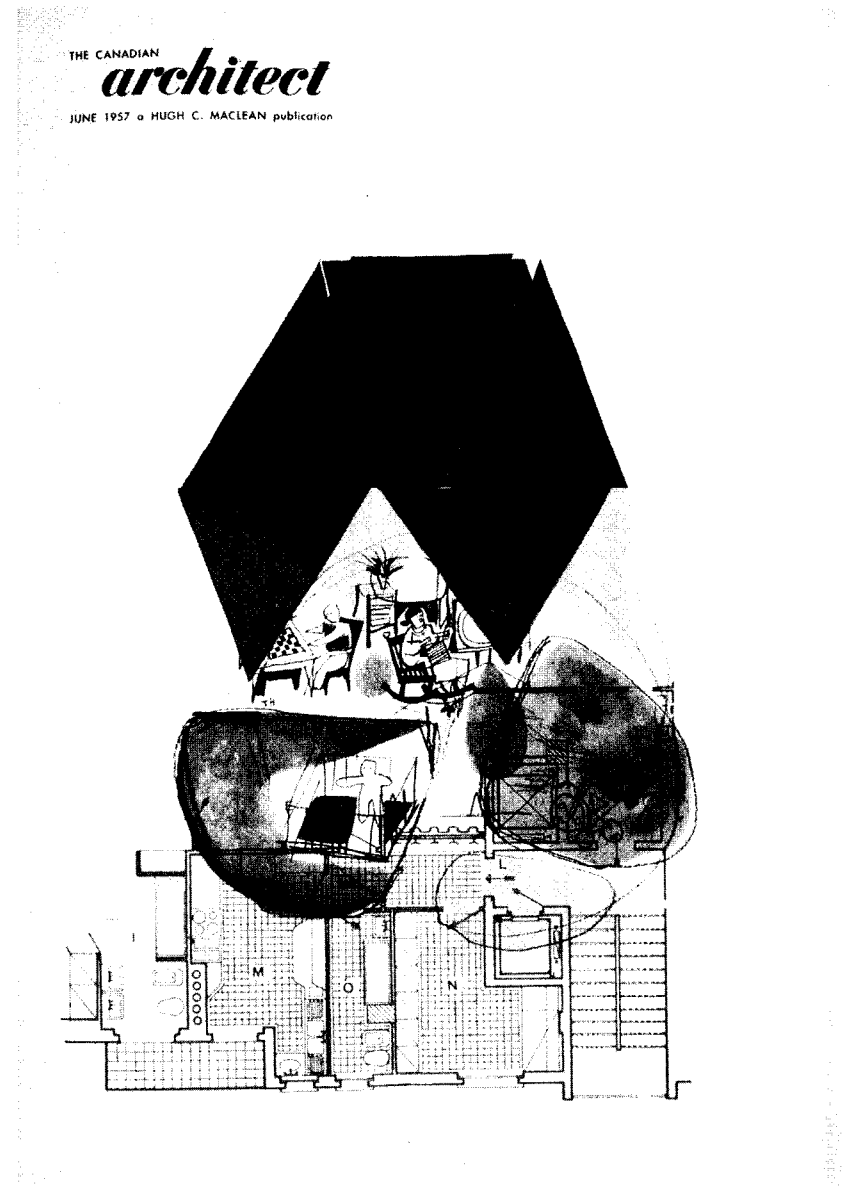
Le troisième titre, *The Canadian Architect* (*TCA*) est le plus récent (fig. 3) : son premier numéro est lancé en novembre 1955. Il est produit par Hugh C. MacLean Publications, alors le plus grand éditeur de revues spécialisées et d'affaires au Canada, entre autres du *Canadian Builder* et de *Bâtiment*. *TCA* est de plus la publication la plus persistante. Elle paraît encore de nos jours, mais sous une autre enseigne, MacLean ayant été absorbé en 1960 par la compagnie Southam¹⁷ qui allait racheter *ABC* trois ans plus tard.

Les autres titres survivent difficilement au-delà des années 1970. En 1969, le *Journal* de l'IRAC cesse de paraître, après avoir été renommé *Architecture Canada*¹⁸, et *ABC* se métamorphose en *Architecture Concept*, un mensuel qui se maintiendrait jusqu'en 1979.

Constatons d'emblée que la participation de ces trois revues au débat architectural est variable en intensité dans le champ de l'architecture tout comme dans le temps. Si *JRAIC* et *TCA* publiaient régulièrement des articles de fond, *ABC* se démarque de ses consœurs anglophones non seulement par son auditoire local, mais aussi par sa politique éditoriale qui releva pendant de nombreuses années plus du service qu'elle ne visait à la réflexion, sinon à la critique.

Soulignons que c'est le boom immobilier qui, fin 1955, motiva la création de *TCA*, la rédaction de la revue voyant, dans l'augmentation fantastique du volume bâti, la hâte des chantiers et les coûts sans cesse croissants, une menace pour la « bonne architecture¹⁹ ». La position de *TCA* qui soutenait une minorité d'architectes gardiens de leur milieu et qui cherchait à favoriser la discussion sur la « philosophie » et la « technique » de l'architecture²⁰, est d'emblée partisane et critique. Par contre, le *Journal* est le « haut-parleur » de l'IRAC²¹, donc de l'ensemble des architectes canadiens, en principe du moins. Forum d'échanges et source d'information, il a été créé comme moyen de communication entre les membres de l'institut²². D'ailleurs, sa rédaction est largement tributaire de l'intérêt de ces derniers, qui étaient sollicités pour la rédaction d'articles et la sélection des bâtiments dignes de publication²³. De plus, de 1959 à 1965, *JRAIC* annonce et couvre de manière systématique les assemblées annuelles de l'IRAC, ces comptes-rendus, qui comprennent souvent les textes des conférences livrées par les invités, formant alors la principale substance des réflexions publiées dans l'organe professionnel national.

Notons qu'entre 1955 et 1962, les textes de doctrine et de théorie sont nombreux dans la presse architecturale anglophone, alors qu'au milieu des années 1960, celle-ci se concentre principalement sur la publication de réalisations



3. Couverture, *The Canadian Architect*, volume 3, numéro 6 (juin 1957)

bâties. Les numéros qui document les solutions construites apportées à des programmes en particulier, résidentiel, scolaire, hospitalier, universitaire, culturel, etc., se multiplient, tout comme les présentations critiques des grands chantiers, tels Place Ville-Marie, Place Victoria, CIL, la Place des Arts à Montréal, l'hôtel de ville de Toronto, le Toronto-Dominion Centre, le Centre des Pères de la Confédération à Charlottetown, l'Université Simon-Fraser à Vancouver. Entre 1964 et 1969, chaque année, *TCA* publie même une treizième livraison abondamment illustrée, *The Canadian Architect Yearbook*, qui offre un bilan des réalisations et des projets en cours les plus significatifs.

Les engagements contrastés des revues d'architecture canadiennes dans les années 1955-1974 peuvent encore être liés aux compétences particulières des membres de leurs rédactions, sinon de leurs éditeurs. Dans la production des revues en anglais, les architectes jouent un rôle majeur, ce qui n'était pas le cas pour *ABC*, du moins jusqu'au milieu des années 1960. Si *ABC* avait été lancée en novembre 1945 à l'initiative d'un architecte, Paul-Henri Lapointe, sa rédaction passe rapidement sous la direction de non-architectes, même si son fondateur conservait son titre de rédacteur technique jusqu'en août 1965, sans pour autant jamais reprendre la plume, et que plusieurs de ses confrères participaient au Comité d'avisers, aux côtés d'autres représentants des métiers et des professions du secteur de la construction²⁴. Pendant de nombreuses années, les éditoriaux d'*ABC* sont signés par son éditeur-propriétaire, Eugène Charbonneau, et le nouveau rédacteur en chef qui reprit le flambeau à partir de mars 1956, n'est pas plus architecte que lui. Gaston Chapleau (1925-2000) qui occupa ce poste jusqu'en mai 1960, est historien, et Jacques Varry, qui lui succéderait, « un écrivain d'architecture²⁵ ». Ceux-ci se défendent d'intervenir dans le débat professionnel et de critiquer de front la production des architectes, répétant à maintes reprises que le but de la revue est simplement de faire connaître les œuvres les plus représentatives²⁶. Leurs descriptions et leurs illustrations forment le principal contenu du magazine, dont les numéros sont systématiquement consacrés à un programme. Cependant, au milieu des années 1960, l'orientation éditoriale d'*ABC* change, la publication s'ouvre aux études. Des architectes, professeurs de l'École d'architecture, intégrée depuis peu au sein de l'Université de Montréal, écrivent des articles et préparent des livraisons. Avec l'arrivée de Michel Lincourt (1941) à la tête de la rédaction en mars 1968, *ABC* se radicalise pour la première fois. D'entrée de jeu, dans son premier éditorial, Lincourt précise ses intentions : « Nous serons critiques, Nous serons media. Nous serons prétexte à idées nouvelles. Nous serons au cœur de la bataille²⁷ ». Mais cette vigueur nouvelle se disperse rapidement. À l'été 1970, Lincourt quitte son poste, ayant entre-temps réalisé la métamorphose de la revue, qui s'éloignait du secteur de la construction pour se rapprocher des concepteurs de l'environnement bâti, architectes, designers

industriels et graphiques, comme le signale sa nouvelle appellation à partir de 1969, *Architecture Concept*²⁸.

La présence des enseignants au sein des rédactions est observable de longue date à Toronto. Depuis 1936, le rédacteur en chef de *JRAIC* est Eric R. Arthur (1898-1982), un architecte d'origine néo-zélandaise établi dans la métropole depuis 1925 et professeur à l'Université de Toronto, où il moderniserait l'enseignement de l'architecture²⁹. Arthur assume son mandat avec la collaboration d'une vingtaine de ses confrères, des membres de l'IRAC réunis en un comité de rédaction placé sous la présidence de l'un d'entre eux. Au tournant des années 1960, le retrait progressif d'Arthur de la direction éditoriale du *Journal* coïncide avec la réorganisation administrative de l'IRAC et de son mensuel. La rédaction du *Journal* est professionnalisée et régionalisée, des architectes des Maritimes, du Québec, des Prairies et de la Côte-Ouest venant seconder l'équipe de base dirigée par un rédacteur gérant³⁰, des ajustements qui ne réussiraient qu'à donner quelques années de répit à l'organe national.

James A. Murray (1919), le rédacteur en chef de *TCA*, est aussi affilié à l'Université de Toronto. Professeur de design, il est par ailleurs reconnu pour sa compétence en habitation. Son plus prolifique et fidèle collaborateur, James H. Acland (1917), a une large expérience en éducation. Notons de plus que Murray s'entoure des praticiens les plus novateurs et les plus réputés du pays, les architectes John C. Parkin, Arthur Erickson, Ron Thom, Ray Affleck, Roger D'Astous et d'autres, l'urbaniste Donovan Pinker, l'ingénieur Morden Yolles, ainsi qu'un sociologue, Albert Rose. À partir de janvier 1962, ceux-ci forment le comité-conseil de la rédaction³¹.

Inquiétudes et méfiances vis-à-vis de l'architecture moderne

Dans les années 1950, la modernité architecturale n'est pas acceptée de la même façon partout au Canada. Depuis la guerre, le *Journal de l'IRAC* intensifie sa diffusion de l'architecture nouvelle et de ses principaux défis, le logement social et l'urbanisme communautaire, sans pour autant se changer en une revue d'avant-garde. Eric R. Arthur, son rédacteur en chef, est connu pour son double engagement en faveur du modernisme et de la conservation des bâtiments anciens³². Cependant, au milieu de la décennie, l'optimisme fait place aux doutes. En janvier 1955, une nouvelle rubrique est ouverte sous le titre de « Viewpoints », une sorte de courrier des lecteurs qui, jusqu'en décembre 1960, en réponse aux questions posées par la rédaction, recueillait à l'échelle du Canada les opinions des architectes sur diverses questions relatives à la forme et à la pratique de l'architecture. La majorité des interrogations portent sur la formation, la validité des concours et, surtout, les conditions d'exercice

de plus en plus soumises aux contrôles administratifs et aux exigences de clients dont les intérêts entraient souvent en conflit avec l'éthique professionnelle et les aspirations esthétiques, voire sociales, des architectes. D'autres s'enquerraient de la valeur des dispositifs les plus caractéristiques du modernisme : le mur-rideau et le plan ouvert, ou encore de l'identité culturelle de l'architecture moderne canadienne : celle-ci est-elle un simple plagiat des œuvres des maîtres ? Exprime-t-elle le caractère du Canada ou des Canadiens ou est-elle une froide imitation des réalisations américaines ou d'autres pays ?

En mars 1955, en réponse à la dernière question, Guy Desbarats, un architecte de Montréal, déclare ne pouvoir en juger directement, vu le peu « d'édifices d'esprit vraiment contemporain » dans la région métropolitaine³³. Deux ans plus tard, Gaston Chapleau, le rédacteur d'*ABC* qui, depuis son premier éditorial, soutenait le renouveau de l'architecture tout en se souciant de son originalité propre, ni américaine, ni française³⁴, porte un constat semblable : au Québec, il n'y a pas encore de style d'époque, l'architecture est toujours en transition³⁵. Dans la deuxième moitié des années 1950, dans les pages d'*ABC*, les rares considérations sur l'architecture énoncées par les architectes le sont dans le cadre du « Message de l'AAPQ », consacré le plus souvent à des questions de reconnaissance et de concurrence professionnelles. Elles manifestent la résistance qui existait au Québec face à l'architecture du XX^e siècle, « fonctionnelle et uniforme », et la volonté de conserver les traditions locales³⁶. En avril 1959, de retour de la Jamaïque, Randolph C. Betts constate : « un grand nombre de nos édifices contemporains paraissent ignorer l'histoire, le développement ou le caractère naturel de leur environnement ! Tous tendent partout à une similitude qui, fondée toute entière sur notre culture actuelle, rendra bientôt les voyages inutiles puisqu'il n'y aura rien d'original à aller admirer³⁷ ». Dans *ABC*, à l'aube des années 1960, la critique de l'architecture moderne faite par les membres de l'AAPQ en est une d'arrière-garde, car l'architecture nouvelle, « l'architecture du XX^e siècle » était encore à défendre, à imposer au Québec, même si certains étaient conscients des changements sociaux et techniques en cours³⁸.

Aussi l'article de décembre 1958 de Denis Tremblay, aux accents corbuséens et au ton péremptoire, est unique. Il affirme qu'aux architectes d'aujourd'hui, « on demande du “moderne” ». Il poursuit : « tre moderne ce n'est pas imiter la manière des pionniers de l'architecture du XX^e siècle... c'est jouer franc jeu... C'est concevoir et réaliser des édifices du XX^e siècle avec des moyens du XX^e siècle en profitant au maximum de tout ce que l'industrie et les techniques mettent à disposition. L'architecte du XX^e siècle n'est plus un décorateur et un enjoliveur mais un constructeur³⁹ ». Pour peu que les principes de la nouvelle architecture fussent énoncés dans *ABC*, sa forme est vue comme découlant des nouveaux matériaux et de la structure⁴⁰.

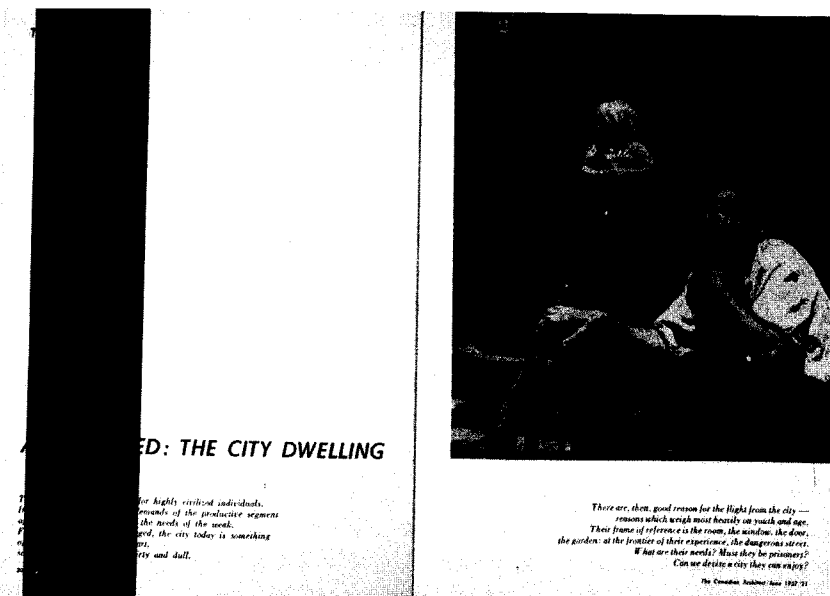
Dans les pages de *TCA*, l'enjeu du débat est bien différent. Il s'agit à la fois de critiquer et de renforcer l'architecture moderne, en s'opposant à ses dérives contemporaines que constituaient le cliché ou encore, son contraire, l'innovation à tout prix. Si les éditoriaux du magazine livrent par bribes la pensée de son rédacteur en chef, James A. Murray, il faut constater que c'est dans les pages du *JRAIC* que celui-ci exposa le plus complètement sa conception de l'architecture.

Consolider les acquis : au-delà de l'esthétique, l'usage et l'usager

En février 1959, le *Journal* reproduit une conférence que Murray avait donnée devant l'Institut d'architecture de Colombie-britannique dans le cadre des activités qui soulignaient le centenaire de la province. Le rédacteur en chef de *TCA* y porte un regard à la fois rétrospectif et prospectif sur l'architecture moderne au Canada. Il y constate que les leçons des contributions pionnières, du fonctionnalisme des années 1920, de Wright et d'Aalto, avaient été corrompues et que l'architecture contemporaine était engagée dans une recherche d'expression qui se traduisait soit dans un formalisme pur, simple, mathématique, soit dans une architecture d'une grande plasticité stimulée par les avancées incessantes de la technologie. Ces orientations, Murray les condamne également, toutes deux étant fondées sur la prééminence de la volonté de forme aux dépens des logiques fonctionnelle et technique.

Mais Murray ne rejette pas pour autant le Mouvement moderne qui, au contraire, nécessite, selon lui, consolidation et raffinement, une tâche stimulante pour le Canada dont le rôle pionnier a été négligeable en architecture. Murray ne se plaint pas du fait que l'époque contemporaine chaotique ne permet pas d'espérer une architecture universelle et définitive, il s'en réjouit même car celle-ci est propice à la recherche et l'expérimentation. Par ailleurs, sans complexe face au déficit théorique de son pays en matière artistique, il prône une sorte de fonctionnalisme humaniste et « climatique » fondé sur l'observation et la compréhension de la vie quotidienne des individus et des groupes. Il note une tendance à l'uniformisation de celle-ci, alors que les techniques modernes conquièrent l'environnement naturel et que les réseaux de communications réduisent l'isolement. Pour Murray, le défi à relever n'est pas l'expression, mais la simplification, le choix judicieux et compétent en rapport aux ressources techniques variées, c'est le développement d'une architecture de qualité à l'échelle urbaine⁴¹.

À la différence, par exemple, de son collègue John A. Russell de l'Université du Manitoba, qui conseillait l'ancrage local comme le meilleur moyen de contrer le maniérisme et l'uniformité⁴², Murray ne prône pas le régionalisme. Il y voit même une impasse : le problème de l'architecture n'est pas formel⁴³.



ED: THE CITY DWELLING

For highly critical individuals, the needs of the productive segments of the city today is something to be feared, not a goal.



There are, then, good reasons for the flight from the city — reasons which weigh most heavily on youth and age. These reasons are the room, the window, the door, the garden, the freedom of their experience, the dangerous streets. If that is their need? Must they be prisoners? Can we desire a city they can enjoy?

The Canadian Architect June 1957-58

4. «The Urban Scene 1. The First Need: The City Dwelling.» *The Canadian Architect*, volume 3, numéro 6 (juin 1957), p. 20-21

Son idée maîtresse, nourrie des thèses de Giedion sur l'importance de l'espace et de l'apport de la psychologie de la perception, est que la réalité de l'architecture, c'est le vide, non pas les solides, mais plutôt l'espace contenu par les édifices et entourant ceux-ci, compris comme «scène du drame humain». L'édifice isolé est sans intérêt pour Murray, l'enjeu majeur, ce sont les ensembles et la «ville totale». La dimension esthétique est secondaire, le véritable étalon de l'architecture, c'est l'usage, et son moteur de renouveau, la technologie, sans pour autant en être la finalité⁴⁴. Entre aussi en jeu le climat, comme il le précise dans le dernier éditorial d'une suite de trois sur la structure, l'espace et la nature; les exigences particulières du Grand Nord constituent un défi des plus stimulants pour l'architecture moderne canadienne⁴⁵. *TCA* consacre d'ailleurs deux livraisons au sujet⁴⁶.

En regard de la pratique, Murray défend une approche volontariste. Selon lui, les architectes ne résolvent pas seulement les problèmes qui leur sont présentés, ils doivent s'engager socialement et proposer des édifices qui soient issus de la compréhension qu'ils ont des activités abritées et de la vie⁴⁷. Ce but ne peut être atteint que par le travail d'équipe et par un élargissement de la théorie architecturale par l'inclusion de l'apport du savoir scientifique, notamment la physiologie, la psychologie et la sociologie.

Les idées orientent l'action. Parmi ses plus précoces collaborateurs, *TCA* compte un sociologue, Albert Rose, qui, en février 1957, dégage la significa-

HOUSING

THE THIRD OF THREE CONSECUTIVE ISSUES

THE MISSING CLIENT . . .

In June, *The Canadian Architect* presented a symposium on housing design considered from four viewpoints: architect, the site, society, and money. The client was last in mind in that issue, the first beneficiary of every architectural advance, was the Client (User) — the man who may not know what he wants to live in, but thinks an architect can give it to him.

In July, we considered privacy, incidentally, and the client who has been most from architectural consideration of these factors: The Anonymous Client. He lives in a new house or an apartment block. Now, in August, we turn to The Missing Client. He is the man who buys a development house. He is nobody's man. He is almost every Canadian who buys a house. And he does not go to an architect. He buys his way off a rack and his house is a problem.

For the same reason? Because the price tag is already on it? Because he thinks it's too complicated? Because he's used to buying everything off the rack? Perhaps. Well, does he live it when he gets it? Is it any good? Is it really what he wants and needs? Could an architect give him something better?

These questions represent only one complex phase of the complex housing problem. Many studies, past and present, in a housing issue to some knowledgeable group, builders are worried about inadequate serviced land and loans, architects are worried about general overbuilding and aesthetics, the government is worried about housing people with low incomes.

Almost everyone has had a crack at the solution — but the problem has not yielded. There are too many ugly, badly-planned, badly-built houses and not enough houses of any kind.

It would be foolish of us to suggest when intelligent specialists have so far failed to graduate the answer, that we have found one — even if we should build phase. But we have found the problem, in the current mass of solutions and to come up with one or two more — a complete, basic approach. M. P. K. Fisher once commented: «How to Cook a Turkey» that while deflection all over North America was being suggested, the only one who was to achieve three courses, perfectly balanced, ready to eat, no one knows whether or not there much a day are the right number of meals for anyone. We have three more: what the same volume toward housing.

We begin, on the facing page, with a statement about Canadian housing from the most on the following three pages, we move to show how a look at their history. Then, entering one of these houses, or its neighborhood, we make it clear to study the needs of the client — and, most important, present three new architectural solutions for these needs. The architect who has looked the problem over in this way will be able to begin to be accused of everything except archaism.

We also begin, on these three pages, with a housing with people, in which a comprehensive situation for all those concerned with Canadian housing — that is, for all of us.

August 1958 The Canadian Architect



Photograph courtesy National Housing Builders Association. 1-8 credits: builders and photographers page 86.

The Canadian Architect/August 1958: 37

5. «Housing. The Missing Client.» *The Canadian Architect*, volume 4, numéro 6 (août 1958), p. 28-29

tion sociale de la maison en rangée⁴⁸, un type urbain particulièrement apprécié par la revue. De plus, en février 1960, elle publie un premier article du psychologue Robert Sommer sur l'espace personnel⁴⁹. Ces écrits ne sont pas à proprement parler les premiers du genre, puisque *TCA* avait diffusé les textes des exposés que les professeurs George A. Lundberg et Norbert L. Mintz, respectivement sociologue et psychologue, avaient livrés lors de la deuxième conférence de Banff, à l'initiative de son principal invité, l'architecte Richard Neutra⁵⁰. Organisées par la Société des architectes du Manitoba et l'Université du Manitoba, ces rencontres annuelles qui attiraient les architectes de tout le pays, qu'ils soient praticiens ou enseignants, s'affirment comme un haut lieu du débat architectural au Canada, comme l'étaient les conférences d'Aspen aux États-Unis. *TCA* couvre cet événement à plusieurs reprises.

Les sujets des grands dossiers thématiques de l'été, qui scandent les premières années de parution de *TCA*, affirment la conception de l'architecture défendue par Murray (figs. 4 et 5). Les livraisons de juin, juillet, août et septembre 1957 se penchent sur la «scène urbaine» et portent un regard sur la ville qui n'est pas étroitement fonctionnaliste, puisqu'il reconnaît différentes entités architecturales et urbaines selon le statut de ses principaux utilisateurs : l'habitation de la famille, le quartier fréquenté par la femme, le centre-ville, lieu de travail de l'homme, et la région⁵¹. En 1958, c'est la question du logement qui est traitée en abordant de front les situations de commande

nouvelles, le « client anonyme » des ensembles collectifs et le « client absent » de la production de masse, domaine qui échappe par ailleurs largement à l'architecte⁵². D'emblée, *TCA* s'est soucié du lien tissé par l'architecte avec sa communauté, quelle que soit la taille de celle-ci, et de l'impact de son travail sur l'environnement physique et social⁵³.

Cependant, la position éditoriale *TCA* que concrétise son contenu n'est pas univoque. Anthony Jackson, qui amorçait en octobre 1957 sa collaboration avec le magazine, pour en devenir par la suite le rédacteur exécutif, ne conçoit pas l'architecture et les enjeux contemporains de la même façon que James Murray. Ce dernier d'ailleurs note sa divergence de vues dans l'introduction au premier article du jeune architecte intitulé « The Ethic⁵⁴ ».

Une autre conception de l'architecture

En 1957, Anthony Jackson habite depuis peu au Canada, où il travaillait pour la Canadian Exhibition Commission. Diplômé de l'École polytechnique de Londres en 1950 et membre du RIBA, il a œuvré comme designer pour le Festival of Britain et enseigné l'histoire et la théorie de l'architecture au Southend College⁵⁵. Juste avant son départ pour Ottawa, il a par ailleurs collaboré à la préparation de la dernière manifestation de l'Independant Group, l'exposition *This Is Tomorrow* présentée à la Whitechapel Art Gallery à Londres, en 1956.

Le jeune architecte anglais a du souffle : il propose à *TCA* non pas un article, mais une série de cinq, publiés sous le titre général de « Thoughts on Architecture » et dont le dernier paraît en janvier 1959. Jusqu'à ce qu'il quitte la rédaction fin 1962, Jackson publie plusieurs autres textes qui précisent sa pensée.

Sa critique de l'architecture moderne est fort différente de celle de Murray. Dès son premier article, Jackson démonte l'idée que l'architecture est un style, unique, en mettant en question son fondement philosophique, le *Zeitgeist*. Dans le deuxième intitulé « Fee and Wages », il dénonce par ailleurs l'architecture conçue comme un art appliqué, soumis à l'argent et aux goûts du client, et attaque son principal représentant, l'architecte homme d'affaires, si bien représenté par l'institution professionnelle, comme il l'analyse, trois textes plus loin⁵⁶. Jackson y dénonce l'absence de fiabilité de l'organisation professionnelle qui manque à son devoir de protéger le bien de la communauté et qui nécessitait selon lui une profonde réforme.

Si, pour Jackson comme pour Murray, l'architecture part de la vie des gens, selon le premier, elle prend son plein épanouissement dans la liberté de création de l'architecte face à la multiplicité des solutions possibles. Et cette

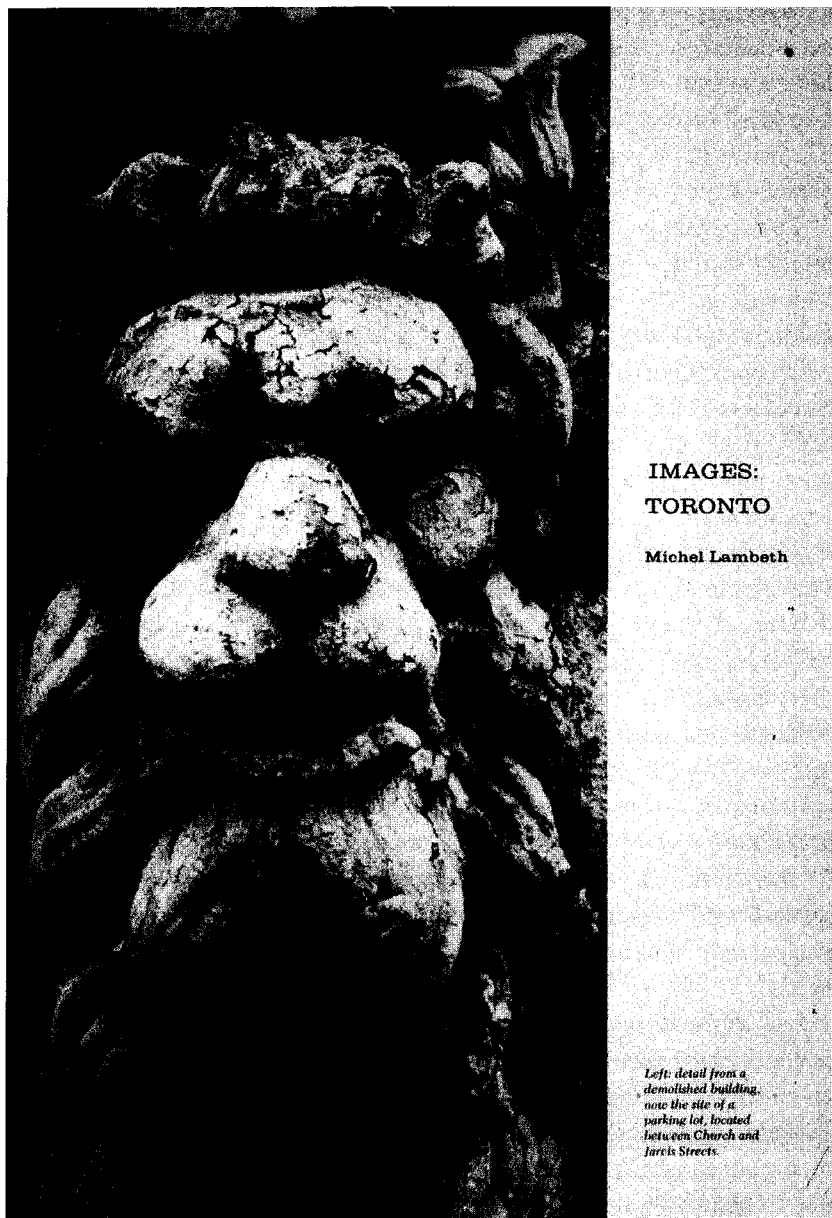
polyvalence devrait être favorisée plutôt que contrainte par l'industrie de la construction, si celle-ci ne se focalisait pas sur la production de masse standardisée. L'architecture est un art issu de l'expérience personnelle, unique, que chacun a du monde humain et naturel. Il y a autant de styles que d'architectes et la spécificité du grand art, c'est qu'en plus de stimuler les sens, il ouvre une nouvelle dimension à la conscience⁵⁷.

Cette approche de l'architecture a des implications sur le plan éditorial, notamment dans le rôle accordé à la photographie dans les pages de *TCA*. Dans son introduction à l'ouvrage *The New Spirit : Modern Architecture in Vancouver, 1938-1963*, publié à l'occasion de la présentation de l'exposition du même nom par le CCA en 1997, la journaliste Adèle Freedman souligne l'importance de *TCA* pour le développement de la photographie d'architecture au Canada⁵⁸. En effet, dans plusieurs articles, le texte se fait très discret pour laisser une large place à l'image. Cependant, il faut constater la présence de deux sortes de reportages photographiques, ceux qui s'attachent à la réalité visuelle, sinon tactile de la ville, des édifices et des matériaux, et ceux qui mettent au premier plan les usagers des espaces bâtis.

Au premier groupe appartiennent l'inventaire des matériaux proposé en avril 1961, sous le titre « Visual Alphabet. A Study in Colour and Texture⁵⁹ », « The Forms of Rome » publié en octobre 1960 dans un numéro dédié au béton structurel afin d'en illustrer les potentialités expressives⁶⁰ et les « Images: Toronto » (fig. 6), une sélection de photographies noir et blanc hautement contrastées qui offrent un regard inusité sur des bâtiments familiers⁶¹. Toutes ces livraisons datent du temps où Jackson était rédacteur.

Du second relèvent les reportages qui viennent appuyer les importants dossiers que *TCA* publie dans les numéros d'été de 1957, 1958, 1959, et qui ne sont pas sans faire penser aux photographies de Nigel Henderson qui illustrent les *CIAM Grille* d'Alison et Peter Smithson présentés à Aix-en-Provence en 1953. Le but de Murray est de démontrer que l'architecture n'est pas « une coquille vide, une chose morte », comme le précise l'éditorial de février 1958 qui porte justement sur la photographie d'architecture et critique le désir des architectes de vouloir « donner de leurs édifices une image de beauté isolée⁶² ».

Bien que les habitants soient absents des « Forgotten Image(s) » du photographe Morley Markson, qu'accompagnent les commentaires de l'architecte Irving Grossman dans le numéro de septembre 1960, les images illustrent aussi la relation forte qui existe entre le cadre et la vie urbains, la seconde donnant sa cohérence et son caractère au premier, une leçon que le passé offre au présent et qui est de plus en plus appréciée en ce début des années 1960. L'IRAC n'a-t-il pas créé, dès 1959, un comité spécial pour la préservation des édifices historiques⁶³ ?



**IMAGES:
TORONTO**

Michel Lambeth

*Left: detail from a
demolished building,
now the site of a
parking lot, located
between Church and
Jarvis Streets.*

6. *The Canadian Architect*, volume 6, numéro 10 (octobre 1960), p. 61

Des inquiétudes de l'IRAC à la mobilisation

À l'époque, les bouleversements que connaissait la pratique sont au centre des préoccupations des architectes canadiens, comme en témoignent leurs réunions professionnelles. Alors que, jusqu'au milieu des années 1950, les assemblées annuelles de l'IRAC n'étaient que des rencontres mondaines et élitaires, le 50^e rassemblement tenu à Ottawa en 1957 marque un tournant par son affluence et la qualité de son programme, comme le reconnaît *TCA*⁶⁴. Pour la première fois, un thème général oriente les échanges et les discussions : «Looking forward for the next half century». Il fait écho au rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur les perspectives économiques du Canada déposé la même année et qui prévoyait une très forte croissance et le doublement du stock de logements d'ici 1980⁶⁵. Suivent des assemblées centrées sur la rénovation urbaine en 1958, l'architecture au-delà des frontières en 1959, la responsabilité professionnelle en 1960, l'architecte et la communauté du bâtiment en 1961, l'éducation architecturale en 1962, l'architecture dans un monde en changement en 1963.

Les articles du *JRAIC* consacrés aux assemblées nous font découvrir des architectes à la fois fascinés et inquiets des changements qu'apportaient la croissance économique et le progrès technologique accélérés, des professionnels qui résistent à s'insérer dans la production du logement, une industrie qui, selon eux, ne produisait pas un environnement satisfaisant, et qui s'interrogent sur leur rôle alors que le triangle des relations traditionnelles entre client, architecte et entrepreneur se trouvait radicalement reconfiguré. Il faut deux interventions enflammées de Stewart Bates, le président de la Société centrale d'habitation et du logement du Canada, pour que la question du logement soit abordée de front avec la formation par l'IRAC d'une Commission d'enquête sur les conditions de l'habitation⁶⁶. Bien que les enjeux urbanistiques du programme résidentiel soient relevés dans le rapport déposé lors de l'assemblée de 1960 et publié intégralement dans le *JRAIC*, les recommandations favorisent la maison individuelle au sein d'ensembles suburbains diversifiés sur le plan des types, ne voyant dans le logement social collectif et la rénovation urbaine que des solutions transitoires⁶⁷.

Malgré les interrogations nombreuses, dans les années 1960, le ton général des assemblées est optimisme : la «fin sociale» de l'architecture, c'est-à-dire la création d'un environnement physique en accord avec les aspirations de l'homme, est vue comme une «nouvelle frontière», pour reprendre les termes de Philip Will, président de l'American Institute of Architects, conférencier invité en 1961; la solution du travail d'équipe est envisagée afin de pallier l'élargissement des compétences que nécessitait un processus de production

devenu beaucoup plus complexe, une équipe au sein de laquelle l'architecte se voyait jouer le rôle de coordonnateur⁶⁸.

L'assemblée de 1964 reprend le thème de l'année précédente, l'architecte dans un monde en évolution, et le *Journal* n'en fait d'ailleurs pas grand cas. En 1965, la technologie et les utopies soulèvent de nouveaux espoirs : « l'architecture fantastique » est à l'ordre du jour de la rencontre où l'invité d'honneur était le rédacteur en chef de *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, André Bloc⁶⁹. Ce sujet cadre bien avec l'atmosphère de la ville-hôtesse, Montréal, qui se préparait à accueillir l'Expo 67, un « vaste chantier », comme le décrit l'architecte André Blouin dans les pages du *JRAIC*, constatant un rythme de développement bâti bien supérieur à ce qu'il avait escompté dix ans plus tôt⁷⁰.

ABC, un nouvel élan

Depuis le début de la décennie, les architectes du Québec ont trouvé un nouvel élan. En novembre 1960, le président de l'AAPQ fait état du regret de la « jeunesse ardente et impatiente » face aux intérêts purement administratifs de l'association et transmet l'encouragement du Conseil aux « sections régionales où on spéculé dans les hautes sphères de l'idéal, on joue l'architecture pour l'architecture⁷¹ ». Pour la première fois, en 1961, des journées d'étude complètent l'assemblée annuelle de l'AAPQ en vue de faire le point sur l'évolution de l'architecture au Québec en perspective de 1967, année du centenaire de la Confédération canadienne. Le rapport sur cette rencontre, signé Lucien Mainguy, directeur de l'École d'architecture de Québec, se termine par une exhortation à ses confrères, tendue vers le futur : « soyons plus présents aux problèmes actuels de notre société en nous joignant à une action collective permanente » et préparons « notre présence dans la Cité de demain en nous intéressant activement à la formation des architectes⁷² ». Un an plus tard, en février 1962, le nouveau président Paul O. Trépanier, dans son discours d'acceptation, salue la nouvelle équipe d'administrateurs en place à Québec, dont le dynamisme motive « à prendre position », « indiquer la voie » : « L'architecture, l'urbanisme, l'environnement urbain, la maison de l'homme, c'est notre « affaire à nous » ». Il termine en définissant le rôle de l'architecte, le « maître d'œuvre », aujourd'hui comme hier, lui seul pouvant « faire la synthèse et coordonner le travail des ingénieurs de toutes sortes⁷³ ». Cet enthousiasme est décuplé quand, à la fin de l'année, Montréal fut choisie comme ville de la prochaine exposition universelle et que les autorités provinciales et municipales s'intéressèrent enfin à l'urbanisme. Mais bientôt, des mises en garde sont énoncées : par André Blouin, contre l'architecture abstraite, contre l'art intégré, auxquels dans un message sur les centres sportifs il affirme pré-

férer une « expression sculpturale forte et concrète », et par Evans St-Gelais, contre la nouveauté quelques fois débridée de l'architecture religieuse, à laquelle il oppose la raison et l'humilité⁷⁴. Jacques Folch-Ribas qui, lui, critique le désir d'expression personnelle de certains, affirme : « l'architecture... est réponse à des impératifs, la liberté me semble le contraire même de l'architecture, sa négation et finalement sa perte⁷⁵ ».

L'article de Folch-Ribas qui date de janvier 1964, est le dernier message de l'AAPQ à paraître dans *ABC*. Faut-il voir dans l'arrêt de cette collaboration un effet du rachat de la revue par Southam en juin 1963 ? Si l'ancien propriétaire y voit le chemin « vers de nouveaux sommets⁷⁶ », le nouveau est muet sur ses intentions, tout comme le rédacteur en chef Jacques Varry, qui resta en poste, du moins pour quelque temps encore. Dans les mois qui suivent, l'illustration de la production bâtie mobilise la revue et une nouvelle chronique porte sur l'urbanisme. Par ailleurs, les collaborations des professeurs de l'École d'architecture qui venait d'être intégrée à l'Université de Montréal⁷⁷, se multiplient. En avril 1966, deux numéros successifs sont préparés par l'établissement universitaire, sous la direction de Marcel Junius. Ils sont consacrés à l'habitation, programme en crise quantitative et qualitative, domaine de responsabilité de l'architecte, mais dont il était largement absent, comme s'en plaignent les auteurs des revues canadiennes depuis longtemps. Les regards portés sur l'habitation par les architectes, dans le cadre d'articles d'une ampleur nouvelle, sont à la fois rétrospectifs et prospectifs. André Robitaille, de Québec, qui déplore le manque de personnalité culturelle de l'habitation dans la province, retrace son évolution depuis Champlain; le vice-doyen Jean-Luc Poulin prône un retour aux sources représentées par l'igloo et la maison rurale traditionnelle; le professeur Michel Barcelo recommande la fin des démolitions, l'amélioration progressive des normes d'habitabilité et la continuité de l'évolution⁷⁸. Sont également présentées les nouvelles utopies résidentielles et urbaines imaginées par des architectes européens en vue de la construction du Paris de l'an 2000⁷⁹. La revalorisation du régional et du passé cohabite avec la confiance persistante envers les nouvelles technologies de la construction, dont les effets d'échelle sont illustrés par un grand ensemble urbain comme la Place Ville-Marie, et la capacité intégrative par de vastes infrastructures comme le campus Simon Fraser. Dans la livraison de juin 1966, Melvin Charney fait état d'une recherche qu'il avait menée avec ses étudiants de l'Université de Montréal sur des systèmes d'habitation (modulaires et industrialisés) en matières plastiques aux formes non traditionnelles, justifiées par la nouveauté des matériaux mis en œuvre⁸⁰.

Les lendemains de la grande entreprise nationale que fut non seulement Expo 67, mais aussi les multiples chantiers ouverts à l'échelle du pays afin de commémorer le centenaire de la Confédération canadienne, sont difficiles. D'ailleurs, le bilan qu'en propose TCA, fin 1969, n'est pas des plus positifs. James Acland qualifie ces prouesses architecturales de «nouveau Baroque» et exhorte ses confrères à retrouver la raison et à s'attaquer aux problèmes de la ville. En effet, l'heure est à l'introspection, constate le rédacteur James Murray dans son introduction au dossier des réalisations remarquables de la décennie : alors que la technologie a permis d'envoyer des hommes sur la lune, sur terre, les compétences des architectes n'ont pas réussi à résoudre la crise du logement⁸¹.

La même année, TCA inaugure une nouvelle rubrique dont la formule est proche de celle des «Viewpoints» rassemblés par le JRAIC dans les années 1955-1960. Le titre de cette série mensuelle, définie comme «un forum où les lecteurs peuvent exprimer librement leurs vues sur toutes les matières reliées à l'architecture», est simple et clair : «Voice⁸²». Elle paraît de manière régulière jusqu'en 1974 et manifeste un réel malaise.

Avec la fin des années 1960, s'amorce une vigoureuse remise en question. Et pourtant, le ralentissement de l'activité constructive n'est pas encore tangible, comme il le serait quelques années plus tard⁸³. Les professionnels s'attendent toujours à devoir faire face à un volume croissant de commandes. L'un des architectes qui fait entendre sa «voix» prédit qu'au cours des trente prochaines années, il faudra construire au Canada autant d'édifices que dans les trois derniers siècles⁸⁴!

Les professionnels sont divisés dans leur analyse de la conjoncture et dans les voies d'avenir qu'ils esquissent. À première vue, il est étonnant de voir deux associés d'Arcop, l'une des plus importantes firmes d'architecture canadiennes des années 1960, Ray Affleck et Guy Desbarats, définir les enjeux de l'heure de manière fort différente. Affleck souligne trois contradictions de la pratique : la distance entre la profession comme elle est définie du point de vue des institutions et les nouveaux besoins sociaux, la dichotomie entre le client et l'utilisateur – un constat qui n'est pas neuf – et, enfin, l'écart entre l'éthique de croissance et la crise écologique. Pour sa part, Guy Desbarats défend la nécessité pour l'architecture de se redéfinir par rapport à une industrie de la construction qui s'est fortement développée. Pour Affleck, qui pose le problème en terme avant tout moral, social et, de plus, humain, l'architecture est un acte d'imagination, elle reste un art, alors que pour Desbarats, qui adopte un point de vue économique, elle est une science⁸⁵.

Au Canada, au tournant des années 1960, deux notions importées du domaine scientifique s'imposent pour cerner la complexité de l'architecture,

les notions de système et d'environnement : système constructif visant au contrôle de l'ensemble du processus de fabrication et environnement humain comme système écologique entre l'homme et son espace. Nous sommes loin des études scientifiques qui, dix ans plus tôt, exploraient le rapport entre l'homme et le bâti en termes de simple équation à deux variables et que d'ailleurs plusieurs critiqueraient dans les pages du TCA au début des années 1970. Hans Blumenfeld relève pas moins d'une vingtaine de critères pour juger de l'environnement urbain, qui vont de la perception à la mobilité⁸⁶. Moshe Safdie présente ses projets d'habitat comme une nouvelle unité urbaine où les systèmes techniques sont contrôlés par des exigences environnementales particulières⁸⁷.

Cette fois, la presse architecturale du Québec ne se fait pas distancer. Pour Michel Lincourt, la profession est en pleine mutation, mais les défis sont maintenant plus intellectuels qu'économiques et leurs solutions relèvent de l'individu plutôt que l'association⁸⁸. Certes, Lincourt n'étonne probablement pas ses lecteurs, alors qu'il affirme dans son éditorial de septembre 1968 : «le métier de l'architecte est de faire le milieu bâti et y a-t-il un milieu plus bâti que le milieu urbain⁸⁹?» L'urbanisme est un cheval de bataille d'ABC de longue date. Plus nouveau est le constat de Lincourt que «de plus en plus, les problèmes urbains exigent, pour être résolus, des compétences au-delà des disciplines traditionnelles» : l'architecte, ou plutôt le designer urbain, «l'un de cette nouvelle race de spécialistes-généralistes⁹⁰», doit connaître «les techniques de l'analyse systémale, la théorie des modèles simulatoires et d'autres disciplines semblables» afin de pouvoir aborder «l'organisation du milieu humain dans une perspective d'écologie totale», utiliser l'ordinateur et travailler au sein d'équipes pluridisciplinaires⁹¹ : l'enjeu n'est plus la composition, ni la forme, mais la complexité⁹². «Activiste» plus que spéculateur, il doit contribuer à l'amélioration du milieu physique de l'homme, à la réalisation de la «ville juste», c'est-à-dire «celle où les droits collectifs ne doivent jamais entraver les droits individuels⁹³». En matière de projets, les numéros publiés au tournant des années 1960 documentent de grandes mégastructures urbaines souples, aptes aux changements, qui apparaissent comme des alternatives radicales, en termes d'échelle, de forme et de matériaux, à la ville existante⁹⁴.

La mise en cause de l'architecture moderne au sein du débat architectural connaît un nouveau regain à la fin des années 1960. La critique du formalisme se substitue à la dénonciation de l'uniformisation culturelle et la prise de conscience des changements des conditions de la pratique se fait encore plus aiguë. Néanmoins, ces évaluations ne conduisent pas à un rejet de la modernité, de ses valeurs d'innovation et de progrès. Au contraire, elle favorise une nouvelle poussée moderniste, portée cette fois non plus seulement par les développements des techniques de construction, voire des sciences humaines,

mais encore par les avancées des sciences de l'information. Les architectes canadiens voient, dans les nouvelles technologies et les nouveaux savoirs, des moyens pour atteindre leur but qui se définit toujours en termes sociaux, même si l'individu compte plus pour certains que la collectivité, et de retrouver leur rôle prépondérant au sein d'un secteur de la construction devenu complexe et abstrait. De plus, ils considèrent toujours la ville comme leur domaine d'intervention. Cependant, plusieurs préfèrent concevoir l'architecture comme une science plutôt que comme un art et une technique, une définition qui prévalait encore voilà peu, même si certains avaient mis l'accent sur sa dimension artistique. Au début des années 1970, ils n'ont pas encore pris toute la mesure des impasses auxquelles ils sont confrontés et que résume Moshe Safdie dans «Voice» en 1971 : «Plusieurs de nos rêves d'architectes et d'urbanistes ont volé en éclats en quelques années... le rêve de la technologie et de l'industrialisation qui pourrait résoudre tous nos problèmes... le rêve de la banlieue... le rêve des villes nouvelles⁹⁵».

NOTES

- 1 Cet article fait partie d'une série de trois sur l'architecture des années 1960 au Québec et au Canada, des textes qui se complètent et dont l'écriture fut motivée par une suite de manifestations, le colloque *Les années 60 : substance et apparence* tenu au Musée McCord en novembre 2003, la rencontre organisée par l'Institut de recherche en histoire de l'architecture (IRHA) et le Centre Canadien d'Architecture (CCA) en mai 2004 et, finalement, le 40^e anniversaire de l'École d'architecture de l'Université de Montréal la même année. Le premier est publié sous le titre «The Ambivalence of Architectural Culture in Quebec», dans Dimitri Anastakis (dir.), *The Sixties. Passion, Politics, and Style*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008, p. 127-144; le second est publié sous le titre «De l'espace à l'environnement, la modernisation accélérée de l'enseignement de l'École d'architecture de l'Université de Montréal entre 1964 et 1972», dans Georges Adamczyk et Jacques Lachapelle (dir.), *Architecture et modernité. Histoire et enjeux actuels*, Montréal, Trames, 2004, p. 5-24.
- 2 L'étude a été réalisée dans le cadre du cours de 4^e année consacré à l'histoire de l'architecture moderne : Moshe Safdie, «Changing Editorial Policy in American Architectural Periodicals», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 36, n° 9 (août 1959), p. 275.
- 3 Alan Gowans, *Building Canada. An Architectural History of Canadian Life*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1966; Harold, Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, vol. 2, Don Mills, Ont., Oxford University Press, 1994; Claude Bergeron, *Architecture du Québec au XX^e siècle*, Québec, Éditions du Continuité, 1989.
- 4 Pour certains, le dépassement de l'architecture moderne est à situer dans la foulée de la crise pétrolière du début des années 1970. Il passe par les premières opérations de réhabilitation urbaine à Halifax et à Toronto ou encore par une manifestation comme Corridart à Montréal, en 1976, qui amorce la revalorisation de l'architecture urbaine, voir William Bernstein et Ruth Cawker, *Contemporary Canadian Architecture. The Mainstream and Beyond*, Markham, Ont., Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1982, p. 55-83; pour d'autres, il s'inscrit dans la foulée de la montée du postmodernisme sur la scène internationale, dont les valeurs informent la production du jeune Rose, voir Kalman, *A History...*, p. 845, 846.
- 5 Pierre Nora, «L'ère de la commémoration», dans Pierre Nora (dir.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, Paris, Gallimard, 1997, vol. 3, p. 4691.
- 6 *Village global : les années 60*, Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal, du 2 octobre 2003 au 7 mars 2004; *Les années 1960 : Montréal voit grand*, CCA, Montréal, du 20 octobre 2004 au 11 septembre 2005; *Les années soixante au Canada*, Musée des beaux-arts du Canada, Ottawa, du 4 février au 24 avril 2005.
- 7 Eric Hosbawm, *L'âge des extrêmes. Histoire du court XX^e siècle*, Bruxelles, Complexe, 1999.
- 8 Paul Phillips et Stephen Watson, «From Mobilization to Continentalism : The Canadian Economy in Post-Depression Period», dans Michael S. Cross et Gregory S. Kealey (dir.), *Modern Canada, 1930-1980's*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1984, p. 31.
- 9 Jean-Pierre Épron (dir.), *Architecture, une anthologie*, 3 tomes, Liège, Mardaga, 1992.
- 10 Épron, *Architecture, une anthologie...*, tome 1, *La culture architecturale*, p. 17-19, 120-123, 237-239.
- 11 Voilà plusieurs années, nous avons esquissé l'histoire de la publication périodique au Canada dans France Vanlaethem, «Les magazines d'architecture, propagandistes et témoins de l'architecture moderne», *ARQ : Architecture / Québec*, n° 18 (avril 1984), p. 14-19.

- 12 Maurice Payette, «Éditorial», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 36, n° 12 (décembre 1959), p. 411.
- 13 «Éditorial», *Architecture Bâtiment Construction* (ABC), vol. 1, n° 1 (novembre 1945), p. 4.
- 14 Comme le rappelle le président de l'AAPQ, Henri Mercier, «Message du président», *ABC*, vol. 15, n° 170 (juin 1960), p. 36.
- 15 Les données d'édition précisées dans la revue nous laissent penser que la publication fut d'abord produite de manière autonome. À partir du numéro de septembre 1946, la Compagnie de publication canadienne est mentionnée comme son éditeur.
- 16 Eugène Charbonneau & Fils se présente aussi comme l'éditeur des publications suivantes : *Le fournisseur des Institutions religieuses*, *Le Bijoutier*, *L'Industrie hôtelière*. *ABC*, vol. 6, n° 65-66 (septembre-octobre 1951), p. 9.
- 17 Les informations sur les maisons d'édition MacLean et Southam proviennent de «Odds & Ends», *The Canadian Architect* (TCA), vol. 5, n° 8 (août 1960), p. 6. *The Canadian Architect* est devenu le *Canadian Architect* en 1995: «50 Years of Canadian Architect», *Canadian Architect*, vol. 50, n° 8 (août 2005), p. 18.
- 18 Par la suite la revue devient un simple bulletin de quelques pages au titre changeant : *Architecture Canada. Newsmagazine* (1970-1973), *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Bulletin/Bulletin Institut Royal d'Architecture du Canada* (1973-1986).
- 19 «Editorial : Why», *TCA*, vol. 1, n° 1 (novembre-décembre 1955), p. 78.
- 20 «Resolution», *TCA*, vol. 7, n° 1 (janvier 1962), p. 23.
- 21 Maurice Payette, «The President's Message», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 36, n° 1 (janvier 1959), p. 2.
- 22 L. H. Jordan, «The President's Message», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 1, n° 1 (janvier 1924), p. 3.
- 23 *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 33, n° 5 (mai 1956), p. 153.
- 24 Eugène Charbonneau, «Architecture et ses lecteurs», *ABC*, vol. 10, n° 108 (avril 1955), p. 21; «D'un anniversaire au nouveau programme éditorial», *ABC*, vol. 10, n° 115 (novembre 1955), p. 23. Les architectes, les ingénieurs, les constructeurs étaient son public cible, auxquels s'ajouteraient les urbanistes et les artistes au début des années 1960.
- 25 Gaston Chapleau, «Le fait architectural au Québec», *ABC*, vol. 11, n° 119 (mars 1956), p. 23; Jacques Varry, «Éditorial», *ABC*, vol. 17, n° 194 (juin 1962), p. 21.
- 26 Varry, «Éditorial», *ABC*, vol. 17, n° 194 (juin 1962), p. 21.
- 27 Michel Lincourt, «L'ABC du métier», *ABC*, vol. 23, n° 262 (mars 1968), p. 25-26.
- 28 Jusqu'à l'été 1971, Lincourt est rédacteur-conseil et signe l'éditorial.
- 29 France Vanlaethem et Marie-Josée Therrien, «Modern Architecture in Canada 1940-1967», dans Hubert-Jan Henket et Hilde Heynen (dir.), *Back from Utopia. The Challenge of Modern Movement*, Rotterdam, 010 Publishers, 2002, p. 127.
- 30 Ces changements concrétisent certaines des recommandations d'une étude réalisée par des experts en administration en 1958 afin d'identifier les causes du malaise existant au sein de l'organisation, du manque d'implication autant de la part des associations provinciales que des membres : Payette, «The President's Message»..., p. 2. En mai 1959, le rédacteur exécutif, Walter B. Bowker, entra en fonction et Arthur devint conseiller à la rédaction, un poste qu'il occupa jusqu'en décembre 1962. Il signa son dernier éditorial en mai 1962.
- 31 «Resolution», *TCA*, vol. 7, n° 1 (janvier 1962), p. 23. Arthur est mentionné dans les crédits jusqu'en avril 1973.
- 32 Angela Carr, «Legacy of an Architectural Conscience», dans Alec Keefer (dir.), *Eric Arthur : Conservation in Context*, Toronto, Toronto Conservation Architectural Conservancy, 2001, p. 28-30.
- 33 Guy Desbarats, «Viewpoint», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 32, n° 3 (mars 1955), p. 95.
- 34 Gaston Chapleau, «Éditorial : Le fait architectural au Québec», *ABC*, vol. 11, n° 119 (mars 1956), p. 23.
- 35 Chapleau, «Éditorial : Formes et structures», *ABC*, vol. 12, n° 136 (août 1957), p. 27.
- 36 Randolph C. Betts, «Message de l'AAPQ : Renoncrons-nous à notre patrimoine?», *ABC*, vol. 10, n° 110 (juin 1955), p. 28.
- 37 Betts, «Message de l'AAPQ : La Côte d'or de la Jamaïque», *ABC*, vol. 14, n° 156 (avril 1959), p. 30.
- 38 H. Ross Wiggs, «Message de l'AAPQ : Habitation», *ABC*, vol. 13, n° 113 (septembre 1955), p. 24; Hugh H. J. Valentine, «La bière que votre arrière-grand-père buvait», *ABC*, vol. 14, n° 135 (août 1956), p. 28.
- 39 Denis Tremblay, «L'architecture du XX^e siècle», *ABC*, vol. 16, n° 152 (décembre 1958), p. 28.
- 40 Chapleau, «Éditorial : Formes et structures».
- 41 James Murray, «Quo Vadis», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 36, n° 2 (février 1959), p. 38-40. Plusieurs éditoriaux reprennent les idées alors exposées, notamment : «The Plagiarist Saint and the Revolutionnist Sinner», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 12 (décembre 1957), p. 62.
- 42 John A. Russell, «Canadian Architecture», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 33, n° 5 (mai 1956), p. 1955.
- 43 «Editorial : Regionalism in Modern Architecture», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 9 (septembre 1957), p. 82.
- 44 «Comment on Space», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 2 (février 1957), p. 70; «Continuity», *TCA*, vol. 35, n° 10 (octobre 1958), p. 98; «Out of Town», *TCA*, vol. 33, n° 3 (mars 1956), p. 70.
- 45 Intitulés «Comment on...», ces éditoriaux sont publiés dans les livraisons de janvier, février et mars 1957 de *TCA*.
- 46 «The North : A Symposium», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 11 (novembre 1957), p. 20-45; «The North», *TCA*, vol. 35, n° 11 (novembre 1958), p. 36-61.
- 47 «Editorial : Walk up!», *TCA*, vol. 33, n° 5 (mai 1956), p. 62.
- 48 Albert Rose, «Row Housing, Its Social Significance», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 2 (février 1957), p. 20-22.
- 49 Robert Sommer, «Personal Space», *TCA*, vol. 37, n° 2 (février 1960), p. 76, 78, 80.
- 50 George A. Lundberg, «The Social Implications of Architecture», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 12 (décembre 1957), p. 23-30; Norbert L. Mintz, «Psychology, Aesthetics and Architecture», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 12 (décembre 1957), p. 31-38.
- 51 «The Urban Scene 1. First Need : The City Dwelling», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 6 (juin 1957), p. 20-26; «The Urban Scene 2. A Second Need : The Neighbourhood», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 7 (juillet 1957), p. 20-24; «The Urban Scene 2. A Third Need : The Living Center», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 8 (août 1957), p. 24-28; «The Urban Scene 4. A Final Need : The Diverse Region», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 9 (septembre 1957), p. 34-38.
- 52 «Housing», *TCA*, vol. 35, nos 6, 7, 8 (juin, juillet, août 1958).
- 53 En avril 1956 commence une série intitulée «The Architect and his Community», où sont présentées des agences d'architecture canadiennes œuvrant dans différents milieux. Le mois précédent, *TCA* avait déjà documenté la situation nouvelle liée à l'apparition du promoteur immobilier en s'intéressant au développement de Don Mills : Sara Brower, «The Architect and the Merchant Builder», *TCA*, vol. 33, n° 3 (mars 1956), p. 24-28.
- 54 Anthony Jackson, «Thoughts on Architecture : The Ethic», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 10 (octobre 1957), p. 43.

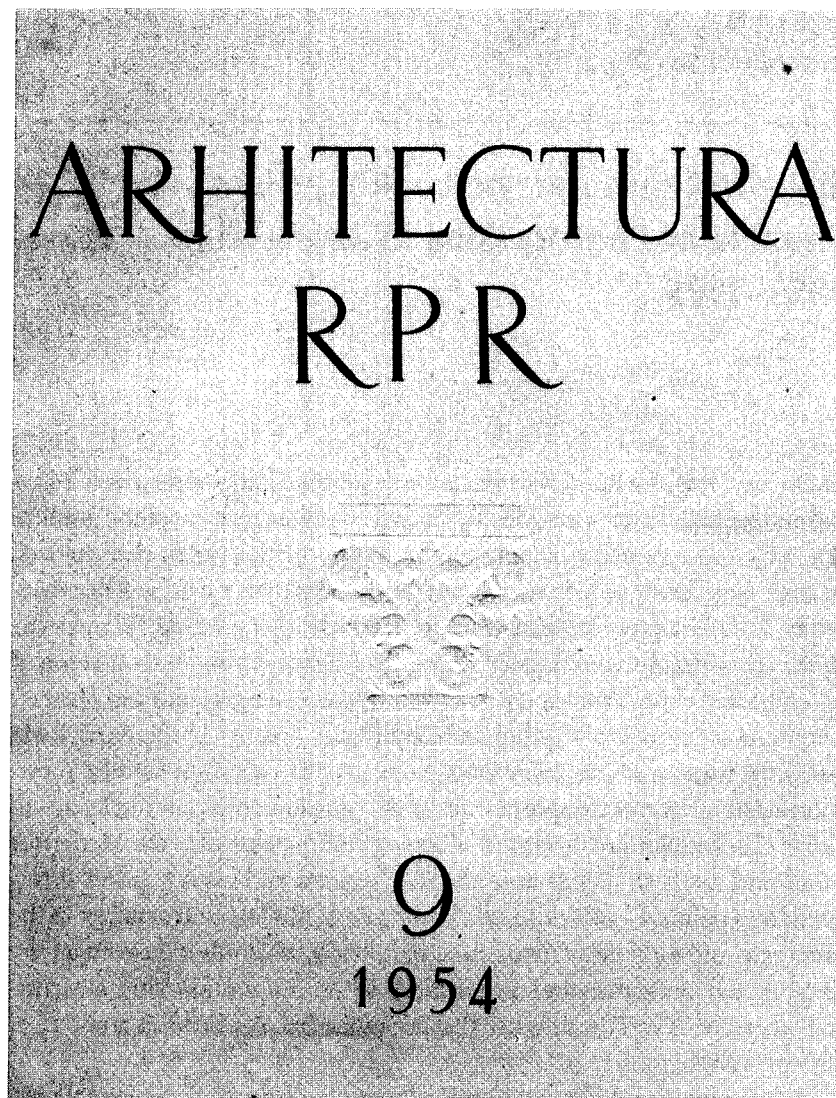
- 55 TCA nous offre quelques éléments biographiques concernant Jackson dans «Shows and Such», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 10 (octobre 1957), p. 12, et dans l'introduction au premier article qu'il publie dans la revue, dans cette même livraison, p. 43.
- 56 Jackson, «3. The Thrust», *TCA*, vol. 35, n° 3 (mars 1958), p. 54-56.
- 57 Jackson, «Thoughts on Architecture : 4. Art & Great Art», *TCA*, vol. 35, n° 9 (septembre 1958), p. 65-67.
- 58 Adele Freedman, «West Coast Modernism and Point East», dans Rhodri W. Liscombe (dir.), *The New Spirit: Modern Architecture in Vancouver, 1938-1963*, Montréal, Centre Canadien d'Architecture; Vancouver, Douglas & McIntyre, 1997, p. 16, 17.
- 59 «Visual Alphabet. A Study in colour and Texture», *TCA*, vol. 38, n° 4 (avril 1961), p. 31-42; «Comment on Colour», *TCA*, vol. 37, n° 8 (août 1960), p. 38-46.
- 60 «The Forms of Rome», *TCA*, vol. 37, n° 10 (octobre 1960), p. 37-41.
- 61 Michel Lambeth, photographe, «Images: Toronto», *TCA*, vol. 37, n° 10 (octobre 1960), p. 61-65.
- 62 «Editorial : In Xanadu», *TCA*, vol. 35, n° 2 (février 1958), p. 78.
- 63 «Progress of the RAIC Committee on the Preservation of Historic Buildings», *Royal Architectural Institute of Canada Journal*, vol. 37, n° 11 (novembre 1960), p. 495-497.
- 64 «Editorial : The Care of Annals», *TCA*, vol. 34, n° 6 (juin 1957), p. 80.
- 65 D.E. Kertland, «Editorial», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 35, n° 7 (juillet 1957), p. 236.
- 66 La première ouvre la table ronde sur le logement organisée dans la cadre de la 50^e assemblée annuelle : Stewart Bates, «Architecture and Housing», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 34, n° 7 (juillet 1957), p. 260-262; la seconde est livrée lors de la 51^e assemblée, «Housing and the Government», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 35, n° 7 (juillet 1957), p. 261-264.
- 67 «Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Design of the Residential Environment of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Ottawa/Rapport du Comité d'enquête sur les conditions de l'habitation de l'Institut royal d'architecture du Canada, 1960», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 37, n° 5 (mai 1960), p. 177-221.
- 68 Philip Will, «L'architecte et la collectivité du bâtiment», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 38, n° 6 (juin 1961), p. 81.
- 69 André Bloc, «L'architecture fantastique», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 42, n° 8 (juillet 1965), p. 34-39.
- 70 André Blouin, «Montréal. To See or not to See», *Journal / Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 42, n° 5 (mai 1965), p. 48-54.
- 71 Henri Mercier, «Message du président», *ABC*, vol. 15, n° 175 (novembre 1960), p. 28.
- 72 Lucien Mainguy, «Rapport général sur les journées d'études de l'AAPQ», *ABC*, vol. 16, n° 180 (avril 1961), p. 24-25.
- 73 «Discours d'acceptation de M. Paul O. Trépanier», *ABC*, vol. 17, n° 190 (février 1962), p. 22.
- 74 André Blouin, «Message de l'AAPQ», *ABC*, vol. 18, n° 208 (août 1963), p. 22; Evans St-Gelais, «Message de l'AAPQ», *ABC*, vol. 18, n° 211 (novembre 1963), p. 24.
- 75 Jacques Folch-Ribas, «Message de l'AAPQ : Architecture et libre expression», *ABC*, vol. 19, n° 213, (janvier 1964), p. 14.
- 76 Eugène Charbonneau, «Vers de nouveaux sommets», *ABC*, vol. 18, n° 206 (juin 1963), p. 31.
- 77 Depuis octobre 1964. L'enseignement de l'architecture au Québec est à l'époque en grande transformation : Vanlaethem, «De l'espace à l'environnement...».

- 78 André Robitaille, «Évolution de l'habitat au Canada français», *ABC*, vol. 21, n° 240 (avril 1966), p. 32-38; Jean-Luc Poulin, «Retour aux sources», *ibidem*, p. 43-45; Michel Barcelo, «Habitat collectif», *ibidem*, p. 39-41.
- 79 B. Vergé, «Ces hommes qui bâtissent le Paris de l'an 2000», *ABC*, vol. 21, n° 241 (mai 1966), p. 33-37.
- 80 Melvin Charney, «Les matières plastiques en architecture», *ABC*, vol. 21, n° 242 (juin 1966), p. 39-43.
- 81 James H. Acland, «Decade», *TCA*, vol. 46, n° 11 (novembre 1969), p. 34-64.
- 82 «Voice», *TCA*, vol. 46, n° 10 (octobre 1969), p. 61.
- 83 Robert Gretton, «Recession : How Fares the Architects?», *TCA*, vol. 52, n° 10 (octobre 1975), p. 32-49.
- 84 Stig Havor, «Voice», *TCA*, vol. 46, n° 11 (novembre 1969), p. 67.
- 85 Ray Affleck, «Voice», *TCA*, vol. 48, n° 9 (septembre 1971), p. 55-57; «Voice : The Sixties: A decade of innovation», *TCA*, vol. 48, n° 7 (juillet 1971), p. 47-51, 57. Voir aussi Guy Desbarats, «Building Industry and Society», *TCA*, vol. 46, n° 5 (mai 1969), p. 48-51.
- 86 Hans Blumenfeld, «Criteria for Judging the Quality of the Urban Environment», *TCA*, vol. 47, n° 11 (novembre 1970), p. 49-55.
- 87 Moshe Safdie, «Systems», *TCA*, vol. 47, n° 3 (mars 1970), p. 30-48.
- 88 Michel Lincourt, «Système de référence», *Architecture Concept*, vol. 23, n° 274 (mai 1969), p. 13.
- 89 Michel Lincourt, «La ville juste», *ABC*, vol. 23, n° 267 (septembre 1968), p. 25.
- 90 Harry Parnass et Michel Lincourt, «Ordinateur, système et designer urbain», *ABC*, vol. 22, n° 258 (octobre 1967), p. 47.
- 91 Michel Lincourt, «Hellyer et nous», *ABC*, vol. 23, n° 269 (novembre 1968), p. 21.
- 92 Michel Lincourt, «Éditorial : Circonvolutions», *Architecture Concept*, vol. 25, n° 286 (juillet-août 1970), p. 21.
- 93 Michel Lincourt, «La ville juste», *ABC*, vol. 23, n° 269 (septembre 1968), p. 25-26.
- 94 Par exemple : «Prix Fontainebleau, Association du ciment portlant», *ABC*, vol. 23, n° 264 (mai 1968), p. 23-29; Étienne Dusart, «Mode de vie expérimentale», *ibidem*, p. 33-39; Dusart et Koolhaas, «Prototype d'un nouveau urb-système», *ABC*, vol. 23, n° 269 (novembre 1968), p. 22-27.
- 95 Moshe Safdie, «Voice : Systems : No Panace», *TCA*, vol. 48, n° 2 (février 1971), p. 39, 40, 56.

Socialism through the Looking Glass: The Use of Photography in *Arhitectura*, 1959–1965

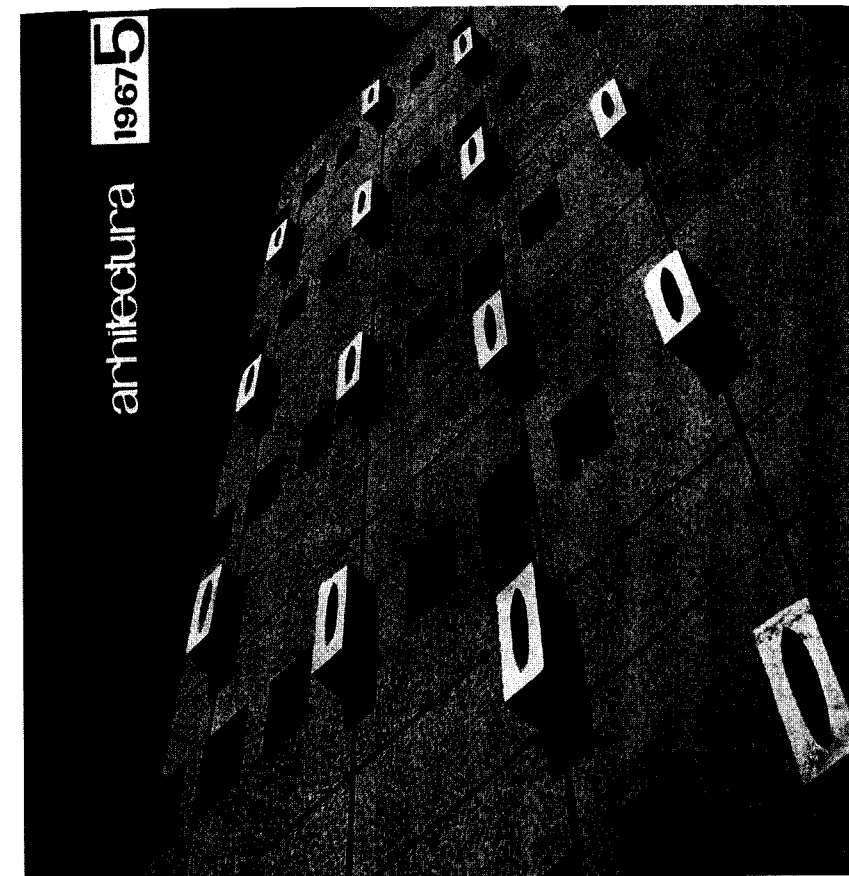
In the late 1950s, the Romanian magazine *Arhitectura* initiated a series of editorial and graphic transformations aimed at a complete revision of the publication's role and appearance. Simply put, the transformation can be characterized as an extraordinarily sudden rejection of the classicist tradition in favor of a modernist, and photographic, vocabulary, a change clearly expressed, for instance, in the cover pages that renounce almost overnight their single decoration of an embossed composite capital in favour of colourful graphics and abstract photographic studies of rhythm and light (figs. 1 and 2).¹ In this essay, I will study the ways in which *Arhitectura*, from 1959 to 1965, by a forceful metamorphosis of its most important features, contributed in essential ways to Romanian socialist architecture's sweeping realignment with the Modernist ethos and aesthetic. What were the mechanisms and consequences – aesthetic and political – of *Arhitectura*'s embrace of Modernist formalism in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and, more specifically, what role did photography play? If each medium invites certain kinds of communication while obstructing others, what was the message that accompanied *Arhitectura*'s embrace of photography?

Arhitectura, the oldest and historically most important architectural periodical in Romania, had served, since its appearance in 1906, as the mouthpiece of successive official ideologies. At one time the nationalist tribune for the pre-war Society of Romanian Architects, *Arhitectura* accommodated, after the war, the many mutations of the visual culture of socialism, from the Stalinist socialist realism of the 1950s, to the Modernism of the 1960s, to the resurgence of nationalism in the 1970s.² Fully enlisted by the regime as the official architectural publication of the Union of Architects of the Socialist Republic of Romania, *Arhitectura* was charged with faithfully reporting on the building practices under socialism, and as such could not but mirror in its pages the extraordinarily rapid shift, in the late 1950s, from the strained



1. Cover of *Arhitectura RPR* 9 (1954)

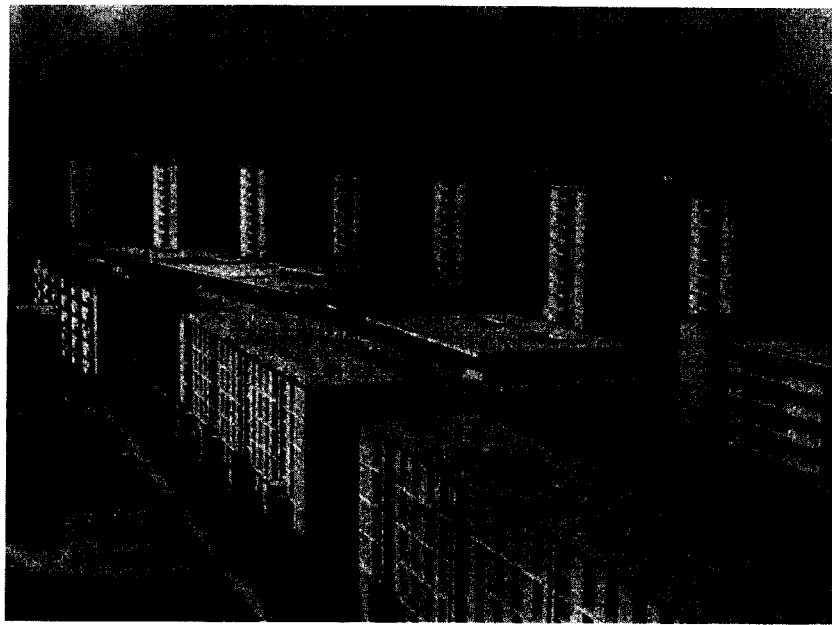
neoclassicism imposed throughout the Soviet Bloc after the war to fully Modernist typologies and idioms, such as large-scale urban developments, mass housing, and standardization. In 1954, a year after Stalin's death – and following Khrushchev's open denunciation of the members of the Academy of Architecture (who until then set the standards of socialist architecture in the USSR and indeed the entire Soviet bloc) for “not [being] interested in costs per square meter of living space,” but instead indulging themselves with the “unnecessary ornamentation of facades” and permitting “all manner of



2. Cover of *Arhitectura RPR* 108 (1967). Façade detail, Beer Factory, Bacău

excesses” – Romania had followed the Soviet course and opened wide the path to an architecture based on standard industrialized design, prefabricated components, and large-block and large-panel construction systems.³ The mutations in the pages of *Arhitectura* therefore correspond to a sea change in the actual production of architecture, of which the magazine was to be the indexical register.

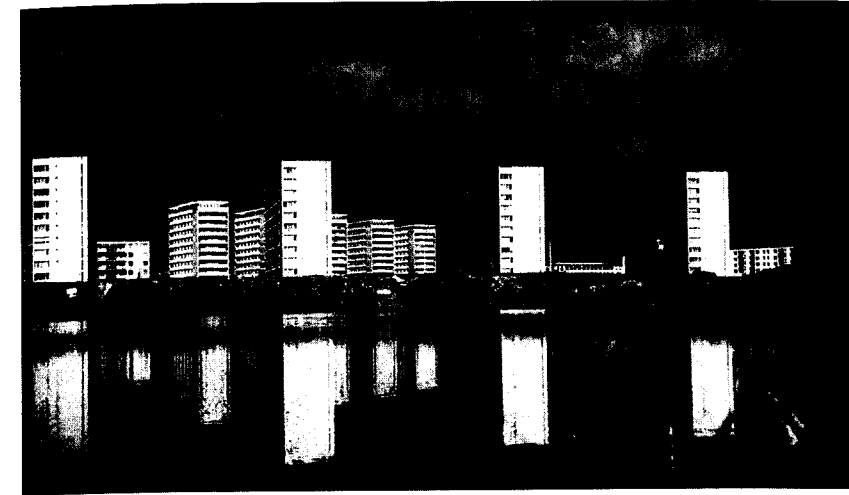
Arhitectura's transformation, however, went beyond a passive recording of a new architecture. As a quick survey of the title pages suggests, new architectural forms corresponded, in the magazine, to a full change in medium: at the core of the magazine's reformulation of itself during the early 1960s lies the use of photography, newly ascendant over previous forms of description based on the written word and the hand drawing. In the same way that architecture's migration toward Modernism was based on the embrace of the



3. Aerial view, new city of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. *Arhitectura RPR*, volume 1, number 98 (1966), p. 20

industrialization of design and building processes, the magazine's insistence on mechanical reproduction corresponded to a shift in the definition of representation itself. In other words, photography in *Arhitectura* not only recorded the Modernism of another medium, that of architecture, but was itself the carrier of its own Modernist impulse in the way in which it understood and exploited the logic of its own domain, claiming architecture as the material of its own visual order.

However, in an authoritarian socialist context in which photography was held to the strictest journalistic definition, as the medium of objectivity, neutrality, and even passivity, it is quite surprising to come across photographic formalism and abstraction. While in the West photography's artistic claims had, by the 1960s, come to be widely accepted and fully assimilated into mainstream culture,⁴ Romania's artistic sphere, tightly controlled by the socialist state and structured according to the socialist realist doctrine, still regarded photography as a transparent recording process, with no declared artistic ambitions.⁵ Despite sharing photography's strong documentary aspirations and a desire to reach out as a medium of mass-communication, socialist realism (socialism's central aesthetic doctrine from the 1930s to the 1980s) expressed nevertheless "a profound skepticism about the cultural effects of photomechanical reproduction" and banned it from the realm of official aesthetics.⁶



4. View of new residential ensemble, Balta Albă neighborhood, Bucharest. *Arhitectura RPR* 101 (1966), p. 31

Accordingly, in *Arhitectura*, replacing the handmade elevations and perspectives that accompanied the Palladianism of the 1950s with the mechanized reproduction of the massive building campaigns of the 1960s was not done for the sake of photography itself – *Arhitectura* certainly had no photographic agenda, but only an architectural one.⁷ Instead, an architecture that needed to affirm its new interest in standard forms and economical building and to denounce decorativeness and stylistic concerns found a natural ally in a medium valued, under socialism, mainly for its anti-expressionist restraint. Photography was also considered to be more capable of revealing the gigantic scale and radical nature of the architecture of the socialist city. Photographic formal strategies such as vertiginous perspectives, aerial views, and suggestions of endlessness were essential in achieving a convincing ideological reading of architecture, stressing the totality of socialist experience, its triumphant scale, and its new, rational, and clear order (figs. 2, 3 and 4).

I would suggest, however, that a gap unexpectedly opened between the official assumptions about photography, which was expected to function primarily as a quiet amplification of the reader's experience of the architecture, and the eventual status of the photographic image within the magazine. In *Arhi?ectura*, the documenting enterprise went beyond, and slipped away from, photographic truthfulness to the architecture and assumed a new role and value. The relationship between a project and its representation was transformed, and *Arhitectura*, with the help of photography, no longer merely recorded architecture, but became the very medium in which the

meaning of a project was constituted and fully unfolded, laying open internal conflicts and multiple readings.

If photography of architecture remained, for a brief period, outside the strict canon through which the regime scripted the creation of all images, and thus unwittingly exposed a glimpse of the complicated and conflicted process of ideological production and control under socialism, it is precisely because of the presupposition that photography would merely expose with docility the qualities of a visual realm other than its own. Because these photographs were understood as a medium subordinated to the representation of buildings in the pages of the magazine, they escaped the "interpretative superstructure" borne by all visual production in socialist culture, thus achieving and maintaining an exceptional semantic fluidity that revealed itself at once in the formal language and in its political connotations. Because of its deemed lack of self-expression, photography succeeded in expressing much more, revealing an intrinsic capacity to destabilize, to stress the fortuitous, to suggest that the reality represented is provisional,⁸ and thus becoming the full-fledged emblem of the problematic condition of Modernism under socialism.⁹ In this way, facade close-ups and aerial views of new towns, meant to suggest the enlightened geometries of socialist planning, could slip into expressions of disorientation and confusion, and the socialist imagery of the urban crowd could, in its photographic manifestation, celebrate collectivity while at the same time communicating a sense of alienation.

The range and number of transformations undergone by *Arhitectura* throughout the years suggest that it functioned as a pliable organ of ideology, rather than being a force of resistance and holding to consistent political views. However, among the magazine's many incarnations, the photographic episode, while perhaps one of the most enthusiastic in its formal and thematic embrace of socialist architecture, seems nevertheless to have elicited the most ambivalent discourse about architecture's relationship to power, at once conveying socialist ideals and unsettling them. The camera lens offered, as in Alice's story, a looking-glass view of socialist reality, discomposing its positive message while striving to represent it accurately.

By seeking to situate political meaning within the medium itself, in its essential duality and capacity to escape full semantic control, rather than in the elusive agency of the artist, I wish to break away from the frozen categories of dissidence and collaboration that paralyze many discussions about the position of the artistic subject under socialism. I suggest that such an approach fits better the nature of these images, which were not regarded by the magazine's editors as manifestations of artistic authorship, since it was not until the 1970s that the list of credits would actually include the names of photographers.

Arhitectura's transformations

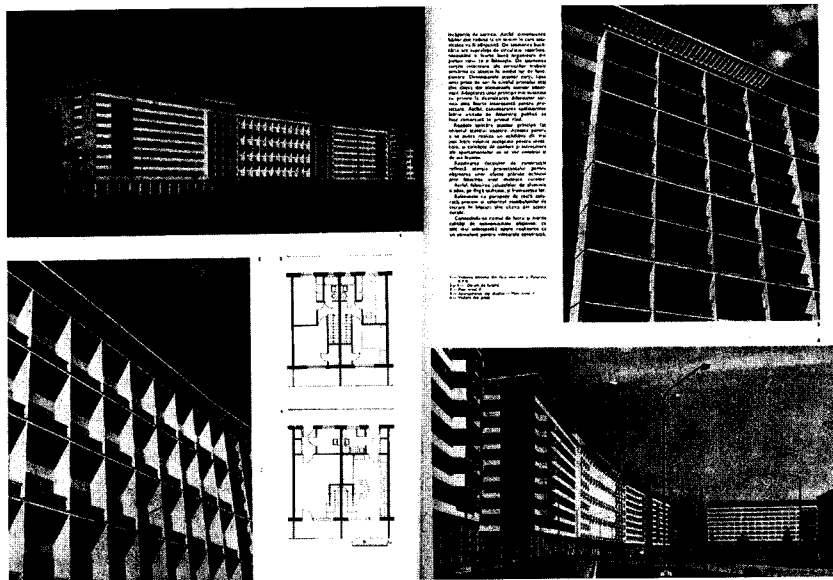
The changes initiated in 1959 permeated and transfigured the entire publication, from its editorial content to the style of its layout. Throughout the 1950s, the tall and narrow proportions had constrained the layout of the page in two rigid columns, one for text and the other for images, which in turn limited the size of the images. Relatively small handmade images were aligned vertically across from the text they compliantly illustrated. Organized according to a clear separation between text and image, *Arhitectura's* pages offered the reader a predictable, repetitive rhythm and a clear, didactic correspondence between the written description and its visual illustration.

This binary layout exploded in 1962, when the magazine went from a vertical to a horizontal format that gave way to virtually square pages. Wide rather than tall pages and a graphic composition that felt free to spill onto the opposite page allowed the introduction of larger illustrations and sprawling panoramic views and, more generally a much wider range of sizes and proportions. The format also opened the magazine to a more flexible, at times almost playful, relationship between text and image. Text and image cease to neatly part in two equal halves along the axis of the page. Images come in many dimensions, in many positions, and no longer expose with docility what had been previously locked in writing. In the *Arhitectura* of the 1960s, one senses that the reader is primarily invited to look, and then, perhaps, to read – a clear reversal of the magazine's much more literary identity in the early 1950s. Indeed, it is the text that is now visually, and perhaps even semantically, secondary, filling in the gaps between the images (fig. 5).

Not only is the text diminished in size and importance, but the content of the articles becomes noticeably more pragmatic, highlighting technical specifications and solutions, quantities of materials used, costs, structural choices, and so on. Articles are usually written by the architects themselves, with the effect of further situating their content in the sphere of facts and eliminating the presence of opinion and analytical and critical content. A passage from *Arhitectura* in 1963 would typically read:

We reached the following conclusions: [in this project] we have reduced the execution time by 30% compared to other current building systems; we have reduced the use of wood by 35% . . . we have significantly increased the degree of industrialization, shown by a 25% increase of productivity of labour . . . we have reduced the cost of construction by 3%.¹⁰

At the same time, the dryness of the articles stands in contrast against the increasingly dramatic effect of the photographs, which, by their sheer size, quantity, and vividness, form a resounding parallel voice.



5. Views of new residential complex, Palace Place (Piata Palatului), Bucharest.
Arhitectura RPR 65 (1960), pp. 12–13

In 1970 the format and general appearance of the magazine change once more. The articles gain considerably more substance, breadth, and analytical content, and short historical inserts about major twentieth-century architects start to appear. Whereas the photographs done in the 1960s remained anonymous, an official photographer, Gheorghe Dumitru, is now mentioned in the opening credits. Paradoxically, while the individual photographer gains recognition, by 1970, the photographic language of *Arhitectura* has been visibly tamed into a much more formulaic use of the medium, which shows only glimpses of its previous audacity.

The Politics of Genealogy

Throughout the 1960s, the scattered and unpredictable distribution of titles, text, and images and the dizzying proliferation of photographic angles in the magazine's pages provoke an overall sense of fragmentation and constitute a significantly domesticated echo of earlier Soviet posters and photomontages (which freely overlapped objects, textures, printed matter, and surfaces) or of the photo-essays that filled magazines such as *USSR in Construction* in the 1920s and 1930s.¹¹ Constructivism had remained, twenty years after its demise, a vivid memory in the Soviet Union, especially in the field of architecture, where, in

1954, the regime's shift in building priorities was defined primarily in terms of a positive revision of the legacies of the 1920s.¹²

Many photographs in *Arhitectura* indeed rely on the language that originated in the Constructivist and productivist practices of the early years of the Soviet revolution, particularly in the work of Aleksandr Rodchenko. Rodchenko's worm's-eye, bird's-eye, oblique, and dynamic viewpoints, as well as his use of montage, were discarded in the 1930s as the tastes of the Soviet regime switched to more accessible and linear photographic narratives. In the meantime, these visual strategies had migrated into the work of Weimar photographers such as Moholy-Nagy, progressively shedding their explicit political content and fully integrating into the Western visual and cultural mainstream. By the early 1960s, when some of these photographic tactics, such as the soaring facade or the oblique view from above, re-entered the iconography of socialist architecture, they had become the commonplace of the visual vocabulary of advertisement in Western European magazines.¹³

However, establishing the visual genealogy of *Arhitectura*'s photographs is easily deceiving, as the signification of what appears to be similar formal strategies was deeply altered by their new political, geographical, and historical context. Indeed, the magazine's many referents not only contradict each other, but their usual connotations are also reversed. Photographic formalism, which was by definition an insistence on the autonomy of the image, turned out to have political value in the Soviet world, since it constituted a departure from the official demand on art to carry social-political meaning and to satisfy "people's aspiration towards prevalent forms of life."¹⁴ For instance, the soaring facades in *Arhitectura* are identical in their photographic technique with the ones that populate Western advertisements for curtain wall manufacturers, and at the same time completely foreign from them. While in the West any revolutionary reference had been hollowed out of them and their abstraction fully domesticated, their resurgence within the pages of *Arhitectura* was bound to re-activate some of their original political aura, due to the fact that they were re-emerging in a postwar, authoritarian version of the same socialist context that had produced them the 1920s and from which they had been forcefully and definitively purged during the Stalinist cultural campaigns of the 1930s. In the socialist context of the early 1960s, even slight signs of graphic fracture in the pages of *Arhitectura*, moments in which the eye had to struggle to recover continuity and coherence, were all noticeable events, since the Soviet world had long ago ruled against visual fragmentation and in favour of smooth and seamless portrayals of a serene reality.

Conversely, it would be equally problematic to view *Arhitectura*'s use of photography as a mere return to the Constructivist precedent: it would mean

cancelling out the many ruptures and displacements that separate the two photographic cultures, including the ongoing ban on early revolutionary aesthetic practices from the official history of socialism.

Arhitectura's overlapping and contradictory referents thus translate into an ambiguous relationship with, on the one hand, a contemporaneous, apolitical, commercialized, and spectacularized mode of viewing and, on the other hand, a historical, experimental, and politically-rooted aesthetic discourse. The readers of *Arhitectura* were probably perceiving these two precedents at once. For them, the magazine's imagery referred to its popular contemporaneous career within the Western magazines that circulated in Romania in the 1960s and were consulted with much interest. As such, it offered a visible contrast with the state-sanctioned iconography of enthusiastic worker brigades and monuments that appeared in posters, exhibitions, and newspapers, as well as in previous versions of *Arhitectura* itself, and which continued to dominate the fields of painting and sculpture for the decade to come. At the same time, an audience that was aware of the reassessment of Constructivism in Khrushchev's Soviet Union, or that had been exposed to Romania's own lively culture of avant-garde magazines during the 1930s and 1940s, was well equipped to detect the affinity with an earlier, more radical use of the medium.¹⁵

Therefore, elements that could speak of artistic resistance inside *Arhi?tec?tura* remained fundamentally unresolved, because they drew their political substance from conflicted and paradoxical referents, Western and commercial but also Soviet and revolutionary, assimilating an original avant-garde meaning into the mainstream while at the same time revitalizing it within a context of censorship and repression. In fact, the photographs' stylistic unorthodoxy endlessly oscillates between being a tactic of resistance and being a carrier of socialist ideology.

Architecture Close Up, from Above, from Below

One ubiquitous formal device, the facade close-up, is particularly revealing of *Arhitectura*'s political and semantic fluidity. Perhaps the first observation is that the close-ups displace the use of elevation drawings and offer themselves instead as a mechanically produced and enhanced version of the elevation. Indeed, handmade elevations, with very few exceptions, disappear from the pages of *Arhitectura* (plans remain the only drawings) and are replaced with photographs meant to convey a more sober, more hygienic reality. And yet, photographs of facades are more than substitutes, functioning instead as radical reinterpretations of the architectural elevation and of its traditional characteristics.

To start with, the practices of extreme close-ups, worm's eye views, and diagonal compositions prevent the recovery of the frontal position and suppress the horizon. The close-ups carefully avoid a central point of view: angles are skewed and sharp, forcefully introducing perspective inside an essentially flat mode of representation. The sharp angles cancel out another fundamental role of the elevation, that of representing the building as a cohesive totality. The photographs thus contradict the expectation of stable geometries and confined surfaces with their tilted and seemingly boundless views. The boundaries imposed by the photographic frame rarely correspond to the edges of the buildings, and instead are cropped abruptly, cutting, so to speak, within the buildings' flesh. Because it interrupts the building and suspends our perception of the actual margin, the photographic framing appears accidental or arbitrary, and results in images that are perceived as fragments rather than a totality. Paradoxically, cropping provides the viewer with a sense of expansion, as if one had an active and potent rather than immobile entity before one's eyes.¹⁶

Sharp angles also prevent the facade from functioning as a surface by obliterating the windows, either sinking them deep into the facade or making them disappear behind soaring balconies or in the shadow of the *brise-soleil*. The photographs emphasize relief, recess, sculptural presence, and a palpitating third dimension, denying any reading of the facade as flat skin. The tectonic quality of these facades is so powerful that it is easy to forget that they are, in fact, composed of windows, at a time when the representation of windows was an important piece in the repertoire of metaphors employed by socialist realism (fig. 6).

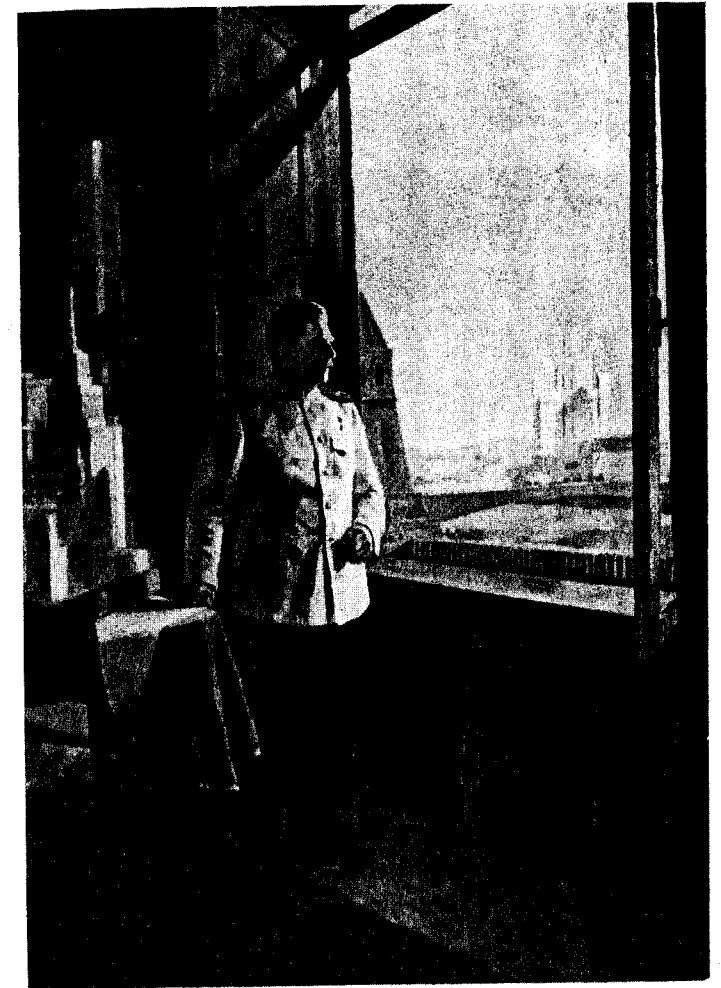
A ubiquitous device of socialist iconography, the painted window is generously open, allowing the interior, and Stalin, to be bathed in light (fig. 7). Light – overabundant, sunny, heavenly – held a fundamental allegorical place in portraying a socialist ecstatic condition. In terms of political meaning, it functioned as the visual equivalent of the projected utopia of the Five Year Plans.¹⁷ The window also stands for progress, for a transition without obstacles between the interior – the project, the idea, the model – and the exterior luminous reality. It is a doubly symbolic window, with its loud message of a bright future within reach and its reference to the traditional modes of representation in which paintings function as windows on the world. On the other hand, the photographed window is multiple, endlessly repeated, and functions as a point of darkness rather than a source of light. In most photographed facades in *Arhitectura*, light is reflected, fixed, signified not by the windows but by elements cast in concrete (balconies, for instance), thus reversing the usual distribution of dark (walls) and light (windows). The windows pierce the facade, giving it texture and contrast, but are never inhabited.



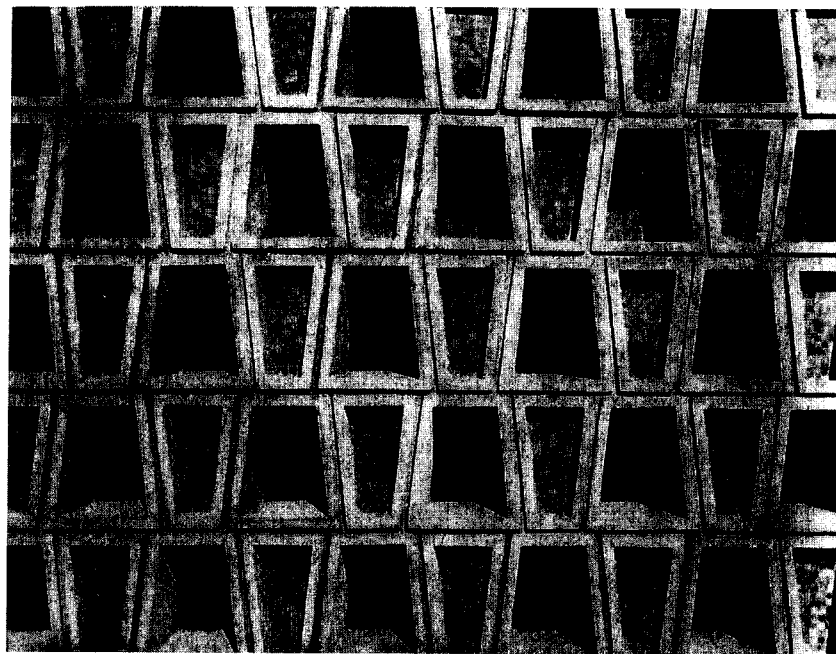
6. Façade detail, new residential building, Palace Place (Piata Palatului), Bucharest.
Arhitectura RPR 65 (1960), p. 12

They are not in the process of being experienced, but are instead formulated as abstract patterns.

The unusual condition of these photographs is striking: in a cultural context in which artistic manner was bound by academic technique and highly controlled, they introduce the indeterminacy of the accident through cropping. Unlike socialist realism, which promoted pictorial expressions of harmony, unity, and cohesion, they introduce fragmentation. They transgress



7. Stefan Szönyi, *I.V. Stalin*, 1952. Oil on canvas, 320 x 230 cm. National Museum of Art of Romania



8. Detail of the tympanum, Palace Concert Hall (Sala Palatului), Bucharest. *Arhitectura RPR* 64 (1960), p. 28

forms of representation overdetermined by symbols and metaphors by instead suggesting spatial instability, disorientation, and uncertainty of scales. And finally, in a visual environment centred on heroic imagery, they exclude signs of subjectivity and the human figure. Thus, the photographs' refusal to define windows as experiential, see-through, or even reflecting devices corresponds, with almost literal precision, to one of the fundamental definitions of abstraction in the art of the twentieth century as the moment when perception of depth is blocked and when narrative is repressed.

Abstraction in *Arhitectura* is also located in the relentless photographic effort of the 1960s to represent a world infused with geometrical order, which animates the entire focal range of the camera and includes the whole spectrum of possible relationships between the viewer and the building, from the close-up to the aerial views. Through photography, socialist architecture, from the design of facade elements to urban planning, appears to be constituted of reiterations, repetitions, endless recurrences, unflinching regularities, and seriality, thus fulfilling another emblematic Modernist theme, the painted grid (fig. 8).¹⁸ As Rosalind Krauss points out, grids seem to declare their modernity not only visually, but also temporally: it is a form that is confined to the art of the twentieth century. Similarly, the network of lines that structure so

powerfully some of *Arhitectura*'s photographs function very much within the analytical model established by Krauss, that is, they at once prevent narration and surreptitiously tell the story not only of their own Modernism, but also that of their socialist circumstances.

The grid can be seen as a subversion of the visual world of socialist realism and as a challenge to the outlawing of Modernism under socialism. But the grid's significance can, however, also function in reverse: it may turn out to speak not of the Western avant-garde, but of an authoritarian rule over the natural realm and of a world entirely generated by the state planning apparatus. The cropping techniques and the soaring heights and aerial views may threaten orientation but they also resonate positively with the socialist visual discourse: photography's tendency to suggest endlessness could be seen also as suggesting socialism's monopoly over consciousness and knowledge of the world or, more generally, as a new form of monumentality invested with the power of the totalitarian state, as building campaigns sweepingly take over the Romanian landscape.

Another example of ideology's unsteady control of photography is the representation of the crowd in the numerous shots of public plazas taken from above (fig. 9). The obvious function of these photographs is to document the scale of the urban experience and the detail of the paving mosaic; but the triumphant representation of architecture threatens to collapse any time into the melancholy always close at hand in the photographic vision.¹⁹ The human figures in the image, black blurry spots on the intricate mosaic, are clearly secondary to the decorative pattern under their feet, and by disrupting its order they point to the paradox of the crowd within representations of socialist reality. Crowds were essential icons for an ideology based on the notion of a unified, collective subjectivity, but here the passers-by are indistinct, transitory, anonymous, without any aim in sight, unstaged.

The photographic representation of the crowd was indeed often seen as being fraught with ambiguity. The photographic record's intrinsic affinity for the accidental and the indeterminate²⁰ threatened to expose the unscripted, "uncontrollable expressivity of the human body caught in motion," or to provoke an encounter with "the modern look of distraction"²¹ in the attitude of the crowd, instead of the required collective attention and enthusiasm. The passers-by photographed from above only offer their unorganized and diffuse photographic silhouettes instead of socialism's certainties about a unified proletarian and collective mind.

These photographs of the crowd are dramatically different from established iconographies of socialism in yet another way. The representation of people in motion was a common trope, used as an allegory of progress, as "marching forward," and for the purpose of which "the Socialist Realist painter portrays



9. Cover of *Arhitectura RPR* 83 (1963). View of remodeled Union Square (Piata Unirii), Iasi

people making steps or marching towards a point outside the picture, where the viewer is located.”²² The photograph does follow another visual tactic, that of diagonally dynamic structures, which “imply movement upwards and forwards,”²³ but the walkers are caught at random moments, the aim of their motion is unknown, and they seem to obey different, irreconcilable, and obscure impulses as they fleetingly cross the empty plaza. It is not the anonymity of these moving people that most disturbs the socialist visual paradigm; after all, the abundant imagery of the “New Socialist Man” (or Woman) never intended to portray individuality and personal traits, but rather a standardized, heroic, socialist type. What is unsettling about these bodies in motion is how their indistinctiveness resists all kinship with the image of the worker, who was always seen as either bent in labour or in close-ups destined to reveal the archetypal features of determination and the physiognomy of heroic toil.



10. Marius Bunescu, *Worksite (Santier)*, before 1964. Oil on canvas, 66 x 187 cm

Photographing versus Painting the City

There are, nevertheless, instances in which it seems as if photography, despite, or precisely because of all its Modernist and Western affinities, was embedded deeper inside the new ideology of collectivism and triggered more political awareness than official imagery itself. Throughout the 1960s, there was an ongoing competition between painting and photography for the representation of buildings. *Arta Plastica*, the official magazine of the Union of Romanian Artists, and *Arhitectura*’s equivalent for the visual arts, published during that decade an astonishing number of works on the theme of new buildings and building sites, in a variety of media, from oil on canvas to linocuts. The enthusiasm for painting, drawing, printing, and photographing architecture speaks of a wide awareness of the inherent pictorial, or even sublime, qualities of the mass-housing projects that were transforming the city – an awareness in striking contrast with our present-day dismissal of those same buildings as grey and anonymous.

At first glance, it is painting that seems to embody most perfectly the socialist artistic ideology: men engaged in physical labour tell us of the promise of a new city growing out of their collective effort, with the tower standing as its symbol (fig. 10). Also at first glance, the photograph of the same architectural ensemble of Bucharest seems to be just another of the stock-in-trade

images of a generic European post-war Modernism, with no articulated political meaning (fig. 5). However, this last comparison shows how the 'second' outdoes the first in terms of ideological persuasion and how the painted image falls short of the irradiating power of the photograph.

In the painting, the buildings are at once displayed and hidden, with trees acting as a screen. Architecture is at once the main subject and a repressed background. There is a persistent effort to tame the imposing blocks and to naturalize and pictorialize them by superimposing vividly coloured trees over the grey, abstract grids of their facades. Trees force the architecture back into the natural realm, as if the continuous strips of windows were unsightly in their monotony. Despite the title, *Construction Site*, the representation of labour occupies only a low narrow strip of the canvas, and is done in an extremely sketchy way, especially in comparison with the lavish impastos of the sky, the trees, and the buildings themselves. The articulation of the workers has a tentative, unfinished quality to it: they are faceless, and their angular bodies offer only a caricature of movement. The labour performed also seems strangely dissociated from the buildings; there are no cranes, no scaffoldings, no bricks or concrete, suggesting that the workers' efforts are not directly related to the architecture in the background. In fact, given the contemporaneous discourse on the need for rapid industrialization of construction, on the maximization of productivity, and on the need to provide housing for the workforce, the painting seems strangely discordant, almost dysfunctional. Labour is portrayed as primarily manual and done in small, uncoordinated groups; the housing blocks that stand behind the workers seem not only out of their reach, but also to constrain their space.

That the meaning of these buildings was never fully conquered, that this type of architecture was ambivalent and oscillating, is shown in the way the controlled message of this painting was overcompensated for by details such as the red flags on the roofs. The flags are most probably fictitious, because of their odd scale and position in the painting, and are clearly added in order to maintain the buildings within the category of socialist objects, betraying a fear of losing control over their meaning. Their precarious status is further underlined by how shallow the space assigned to them is, squeezed in between the foreground and the old city.

The photographs, on the other hand, establish a different interpretative structure and a different narrative of life in the city during socialist times. They have a radically different take on the scale, rhythm, and overall effect of the architecture. While the painting flattens out the succession of buildings, the photograph emphasizes angularity and diagonal lines. Within the pages of the magazine, many other angles and perspectives complement this photograph, which should be understood as part of a montage of various per-

spectives, an adding up of different perceptions that amplifies each of them and gives their succession an almost dizzying effect.

The academic use of symmetry in the painting is avoided and subverted in the photographic record, and emphasis is placed on severe perspectives, cropping, and abrupt close-ups. Understood as a series, the photographic image expresses the magnitude of the architectural operation rather than its encounter with the human body and with nature. Instead, such encounters are eliminated, and the architecture rules over a world of its own. Socialist architecture is continuous, and the message is that of encirclement, of a forceful taking over of the urban landscape. While the painting could not transform the monotony of this architecture into a dramatic event, photography, on the other hand, revels in it and animates it. Paradoxically, while the painting takes human activity as its subject, it is the photographs of immobile objects, through their accelerated viewpoints, that give a better sense of movement and transformation.

A strong appeal to abstraction is at work here as well – abstraction in a visual, grid-like sense of emphasis on light and shadow and lucid, repetitive geometric patterns. But abstraction takes over in a more literal sense as well, that of a withdrawal from the worldly aspects of a city, from the human figure, and from the mutable meaning of the crowds. However, an equally strong, if not stronger sense of collectivity emerges from these photographs; they provide a convincing setting for a bright, orderly, and strongly communal urban existence. We are prevented from seeing the buildings as single, autonomous monolithic blocks (as they are in the painting). Instead, the insistence on the endless rows of windows speaks to the viewer of a multitude of systematically organized lives, of a rapt experience of order. The very dynamic viewpoints give the spectator an impression of the future, of the presence of a strong and appealing urban vision. Ideology is apparent, and compelling, and by constructing a photographic utopia it induces a desire for a world entirely arranged by a single, regular, logical power.

I have tried to show how the doubly liminal circumstances of photography inside socialism – on the margins of the artistic sphere and on the margins of the architectural object – made the medium an ideal locus (more adequate, in fact, than architecture itself) for observing the matrix of ambivalence in which Modernism was cast under socialism and for challenging the binary notions of resistance and collaboration that often corset most discussions about this material. In fact, photography inside *Arhitectura* showed a peculiar capacity to inhabit different political categories all at the same time or to mutate from one to another with such fluidity that the essentializing of political dynamics into dichotomies of collaboration/dissent becomes impossible. The photographic shift in the representation of architecture did replicate the hegemonic

logic of the society in which the architecture developed, while at the same time carrying the potential to trouble the clarity of official political agendas, to derail them, even to reverse them. It also showed that the formalism of the photographic language in the socialist context constituted at all times a form of participation in the political, reminding us that, in all contexts, aesthetics are never very far removed from politics.

NOTES

When I first presented this paper at the CCA in May 2004, a member of the audience suggested that the visual artifacts of totalitarian regimes were best understood through close examination of the political circumstances (defined in this case, I believe, as the many ways in which the Communist Party exerted its control over Romania's cultural life). Attending too intently to the visual qualities of images produced in such a context carried the risk of missing their meaning, which is assumed to be strictly historical. The assumption was, so it seems, that these images are worth analyzing only as indications of a larger, political and historical reality. Such a suggestion (for which I wish to thank my listener) warrants some discussion about the type of relation that is usually assumed to exist between form and context under authoritarian regimes, and about some of the methodological positions adopted here regarding the relation.

There is, indeed, a sharp methodological discontinuity between analyses of what are considered to be the Soviet avant-garde practices of the teens and twenties, which are firmly located within the discipline of art history, and as such have been submitted to close formal analysis; and the (rare) studies of Stalinist and post-Stalinist art, which instead subsist at the margin of the discipline. Thus, most texts on post-1930s Soviet art (assumed to be no longer avant-, but rear-garde) are heavily contextualist, paying little attention to stylistic, or formal aspects of the art, and instead emphasizing the particularities of the historical situation over visual continuities such as, for instance, between socialist realism and modernist avant-garde. Socialist works are narrowly enframed in an exclusive relationship with the regime that commissioned it, thus further reinforcing the notion that art is entirely subjugated by the political. A good demonstration of political essentialism are the many books that consider the art and architecture of totalitarian regimes as one single category. Thus for instance are the numerous parallels between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia (see Helmut Lehman-Haupt, *Art under a Dictatorship*) or even between the French Revolution and Soviet Russia (in Adolf Max Vogt, *Russische und Französische Revolutions-Architektur 1917-1978*).

It is my intention, in this essay, to reverse the pattern of inference that goes from context to artistic form, into one that goes from form towards historical and political signification. Such an interpretative choice not only conceives of the formal qualities of the photographic image as a kind of political content in itself; but also, and perhaps more importantly than the attention to form, the essay explores the possibility that art (in this case the photographic image) possesses a degree of historical autonomy, because it shows a capacity to migrate from one context to another, thus constituting its own kind of history. In the case of *Architectura*, a deeply ambiguous photographic promotion of the official visual ethos of socialism showed the images as historically inflected, but on a trajectory that diverged, even if so slightly, from the official one.

Therefore, instead of tracing the ways in which photography reflected, illustrated, and reinforced official political agendas, this essay explores the possibility that the photographic image actively, rather than passively, articulated the political through its specific formal qualities (such as composition, viewpoint, and ultimately abstraction). As I hope this essay will demonstrate, privileging the formal qualities of the photographs over the intricacies of their historical circumstances did not lead to the omission of the political but only to a different reading of it. Ultimately, this approach also entails that the architectural magazine, usually understood as a mechanically produced and unsigned record, may acquire the status of an object able to withstand formal analysis, and that its material characteristics, such as format, layout, and use of photography, be read as aesthetic statements.

- 1 Eliminating the capital on the cover page, which for many years stood as sole counterpart to the word "Arhitectura," and thus established a striking synonymy between the fixity of the classical tradition and architecture itself, signals not only modernized techniques of representation, but also a reorientation of architectural culture from one that recognizes and proclaims tradition's authority to one that rejects tradition's influence over the foundation of form.
- 2 For an account of the early twentieth-century writings on a Romanian national architecture, see Carmen Popescu, *Le style national roumain: Construire une nation à travers l'architecture, 1881–1945* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2004).
- 3 Khrushchev's discourse is quoted in Catherine Cooke, "Socialist Realist Architecture," in *Art of the Soviets: Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in a One-Party State, 1917–1992*, eds. Matthew Cullerne Bown and Brandon Taylor (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 103–104.
- 4 Discussed in John Szarkowski, *The Photographer's Eye* (New York: Museum of Modern Art), 1966.
- 5 Interestingly, at the end of the 1960s one can find a few attempts to include photography within the aesthetic realm, in the pasting of photographs into larger paintings. Even then, photographs documenting real events were chosen precisely because of their documentary value, in the hope of bringing the paintings closer to the "springs of reality." See Magda Cîrnei, *Artele plastice în România, 1945–1989* (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 2000), 102.
- 6 Leah Dickerman, "Camera Obscura: Socialist Realism in the Shadow of Photography," *October* 93 (Summer 2000): 139–154. The author discusses socialist realism's deep ambivalence towards the photographic image: at once banned as an artistic practice in favour of a regressive pictorial idiom, photographic sources were nevertheless heavily and openly relied upon in the production of history paintings and portraits of Lenin.
- 7 It is important to remark that the names of the photographers who worked for *Arhitectura* throughout the 1960s were never mentioned in the publication.
- 8 Many scholars have offered acute descriptions of the particular nature of the "photographic." I obtained many of my insights from Siegfried Kracauer, "Photography," in *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), reprinted in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (Stony Creek, Conn.: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 245–268, and from *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, ed. Richard Bolton (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989).
- 9 Leah Dickerman shows how in the Soviet Union of the 1930s the "semantically malleable" and thus uncontrollable nature of photography threatened socialist control over the meaning of images and was therefore countered by a re-monumentalizing and stabilizing of the photographic image through the use of painting. A similar reasoning can be extended to the photography of architecture in *Arhitectura*. There, indeed, the subject matter – the buildings themselves – seems to have stood as a sufficient guarantor for a stabilized, unfluctuating meaning. Dickerman, "Camera Obscura," 140–42.
- 10 *Arhitectura* 3 (1963): 21.
- 11 For a detailed account of the debate over the use of photography and photomontage in the 1930s in the magazine *USSR in Construction*, see Erika Maria Wolf, "USSR in Construction: From Avant-Garde to Socialist Realist Practice," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1999).
- 12 At the December 1954 All-Union Conference on building problems, Khrushchev declared: "The opposition to Constructivism should be conducted sensibly. . . . We can no longer put up with the fact that many architects, while hiding behind phrases about 'combating Constructivism' . . . are spending the nation's wealth recklessly." Quoted in Cooke, "Socialist Realist Architecture," 104.
- 13 Abigail Salomon-Godeau, "The Armed Vision Disarmed: Radical Formalism from Weapon to Style," in *The Contest of Meaning. Critical Histories of Photography*, ed. Richard Bolton (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989).
- 14 Socialist realist slogan, quoted and translated in Aleksandar Flaker, "Presuppositions of Socialist Realism," in *The Culture of the Stalin Period*, ed. Hans Gunther (London: Macmillan, 1990), 102.
- 15 See Susan Emily Reid, "Destalinization and Remodernization of Soviet Art: the Search for a Contemporary Realism, 1953–1963," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996).
- 16 Rosalind Krauss, "Grids," in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986), 18–19.
- 17 Wolfgang Holz, "Allegory and Iconography in Socialist Realist Painting," in Bown and Taylor, *Art of the Soviets*, 76.
- 18 Krauss's essay established the use of grids as one of the most characteristic Modernist ambitions, by their capacity to announce "modern art's will to silence, its hostility to literature, narrative, discourse." The grid situates images in the realm of pure visuality and defends them against the intrusion of speech.
- 19 Some of the images in *Arhitectura* could easily fit the following description: "A recurrent film sequence runs as follows: the melancholy character is seen strolling about aimlessly; as he proceeds, his changing surroundings take shape in the form of numerous juxtaposed shots of house facades, neon lights, stray passers-by, and the like. It is inevitable that the audience should trace their seemingly unmotivated emergence to his dejection and the alienation in its wake" (Kracauer, "Photography," 261).
- 20 Ibid., 264–265.
- 21 Dickerman, "Camera Obscura," 153.
- 22 Holz, "Allegory and Iconography," 74.
- 23 Ibid.

***Architectural Forum:* Mixed Messages in the 1960s and 1970s**

In *Architectural Forum's* response to critical design issues of the 1960s and 1970s, a distinct thread of optimism ran through its writing. At this point in the journal's history a strong, independent, progressive editorial voice had been firmly established through a remarkable succession of critical thinkers. Under the guidance of Howard Myers, Douglas Haskell, Peter Blake, Walter McQuade, Jane Jacobs, and others, the journal continuously addressed the most difficult issues in architecture and urban design, offering hope to its readers that solutions would be found. In response to the problems facing post-WWII America, the *Forum* evolved a mature editorial vision that was expansive in nature, always studying the context of an issue, seeking to go beyond a narrow definition of design. When faced with the complex issues of the 1960s and 1970s – the proliferation of suburban sprawl, the decline of cities, the proper creation of government-funded housing, the reuse of existing structures, the limitations of Modernism, and many others – the *Forum's* editors brought a well-refined editorial position to the issues.

The complexity and depth of problems were always fully acknowledged, yet there remained an optimistic belief in the power of architecture and urban design to effect change. Even when a specific building or government program was sharply criticized for its shortcomings, one was never left in doubt that creative designers would eventually find a way to solve the problems of the built environment. At the root of this optimism was a belief that readers of the *Forum* shared this vision and would be the agents of change in American design. In his memoir *No Place Like Utopia: Modern Architecture and the Company We Kept*, Peter Blake recalls:

We were writing not for some audience, demographically analyzed and averaged out to whatever common denominator an advertiser might want to reach; we were writing for that small band of perhaps not more than a hundred or two hundred friends,

all of them at least as smart as we were (or thought we were); and we were talking to them, and they to us, through their work. It was as simple as that.¹

Blake's description of a reciprocal exchange between a journal's contributors and its readers suggests the model of an academic publication rather than a commercial one. It is apparent in his view that advertisers were not considered to be participants in the conversation. Blake's statement certainly did not reflect the views of everyone on the editorial staff, but it does reveal an outlook that persisted over time at the journal. Blake believes that the audience for the editorial content of the journal was distinct from the audience of the journal's advertisers. He implies that writing to the level of the advertising audience would have required a lowering of standards. This belief deeply influenced the treatment of advertising within the pages of the *Forum*. Among the editorial staff, advertising was generally seen as a necessary evil to be tolerated in support of the journal's editorial content. Its presence in the journal was best ignored, as it was considered to be beneath the preferred readership. Such a view privileged the editorial/reader exchange, and attempted to maintain its sanctity, but in doing so it also neglected the power of advertising to construct a persuasive argument in opposition to the editorial views of the journal.

By the early 1960s, circulation figures for the journal had reached historical highs and the editorial voice of the *Forum* was well respected in the fields of design and construction. The journal as a business enterprise though, had begun a decline that would lead to its demise in 1974. It is posited that the schism between the editorial and business sides of the journal contributed to its demise. Advertising in the pages of *Architectural Forum* from this period suggested an outlook on the future of architecture and design that was parallel to, but quite different from, the views of its editors. If the subtext of the journal's articles was that good design would eventually carry the day, a substantial portion of the journal's advertisements foretold a different future for architecture and urban design, one of economic determinism. In particular, advertisements for systematized building products in the *Forum* represented a powerful counter-argument to the journal's editorial optimism. In contrast to the editors' advocacy of a pluralistic and contextual approach to design, these products argued for standardization and uniformity. An analysis of advertising from the period – its quantity, its visual expression, and the content of its copy – demonstrates that advertising, as a collective, created an argument that undermined the journal's editorial views. While *Architectural Forum's* articles actively encouraged practitioners to believe that they could shape the future of architecture, advertising's subconscious message argued that economics would trump their efforts in the end.

Methodology of the Study

A variation of bibliographic citation analysis was employed to measure the factors comprising the study. For each factor, the chosen fundamental unit of measure was a numeric average calculated from a standard number of journal issues published within a calendar year. Between the years 1960 and 1974 there was significant variation in the number of issues published yearly. In order to standardize the comparison across the fifteen years, six issues were typically chosen from each year and yearly averages were calculated based on the selected issues. Limiting the study to six issues per year precludes a comprehensive analysis, but does yield a statistically significant sample that may be used for comparative purposes.

For each issue, the editorial content and advertising content was quantified and an average was calculated from the yearly total. A total page count was recorded along with a page count of editorial content, separated into black-and-white or colour pages. To quantify advertising content, individual advertisements were counted rather than pages of advertising. While this method precludes a direct comparison of page counts between editorial and advertising content, it provides a better measure of the effect of advertising for the purposes of the study. A total count of advertisements was tabulated for each issue. The total was divided into two categories: advertisements for systematized building products and advertisements for all other products and services. These two categories were further subdivided into black-and-white advertisements, advertisements employing limited colour, and full-colour advertisements.

The definition of a systematized building product is necessarily subjective. For the purposes of the study, the definition encompassed products that substantially contributed to a systematized approach to the design and construction of buildings. A partial list of such products includes: curtain wall systems, proprietary structural systems, raised flooring, suspended ceilings, exterior wall panels, precast concrete products, office systems furniture, demountable walls, interior panels, and standardized metal doors (figs. 1 to 4). To maintain consistency in advertisements meeting the definition, a single individual studied all of the journal issues and divided the advertisements into the appropriate categories.

Architectural Forum's Business History

A study of the editorial and advertising content of *Architectural Forum* requires an understanding of the journal's business structure over its life, and



STEELCRAFT

presenting a new

Full-Flush, Low Cost Aluminum Door

for both interior
and exterior use

This honeycomb-core aluminum door is the result of over two years' intensive research... and Steelcraft's many years of experience in the manufacturing of metal doors. Available in many types of finishes and colors, and designed for complete freedom of hardware selection. Durable and strong... yet very low in cost. Write for further details.



Write for facts and technical brochures

STEELCRAFT MANUFACTURING COMPANY... CINCINNATI 42, OHIO

1. Steelcraft advertisement from *Architectural Forum*, volume 116 (May 1962), p. 167

especially during the period of the study. The journal was originally founded in 1892 as *The Brickbuilder*, published by the Boston firm of Rogers and Manson. Its title was changed in 1917 to reflect the journal's broader outlook. Howard Myers assumed the role of publisher in 1925, and the journal continued to be published in Boston until 1928, when it was sold for \$1,000,000 to National Trade Journals, a newly formed publishing firm located in New York.

New USG Cavity Shaft Wall brings down in-place costs 3 more ways

Lighter Weight.

Weighs only 10 lbs. per sq. ft. 78% lighter than masonry. Reduces dead load to save on structural steel.

Faster Installation.

Takes less manpower, less time to build. Gets elevator cars running sooner. Liner panels score and snap like wallboard, are easily handled by one man.

Cuts Extra Work.

Incorporates vertical chaseway to facilitate installation of electrical conduit. Allows simplified construction for special height requirements at lobby and mechanical floors. Can be installed from exterior of shaft.

Over 1000 floors of original USG Shaft Wall are now in place. This new Cavity Shaft Wall System offers even more advantages for plumbing and air shaft enclosures, stairwells, elevator shafts, and equipment rooms.

The 1" thick FIRECODE Shaft Wall Liner simplifies cutting, handling and is water repellent. Steel box "T" studs provide structural integrity for shaft pressures up to 15 lbs. per sq. ft. Sound control characteristics meet code needs. Up to 2-hour fire ratings. *Reg. U.S. Pat. Off.



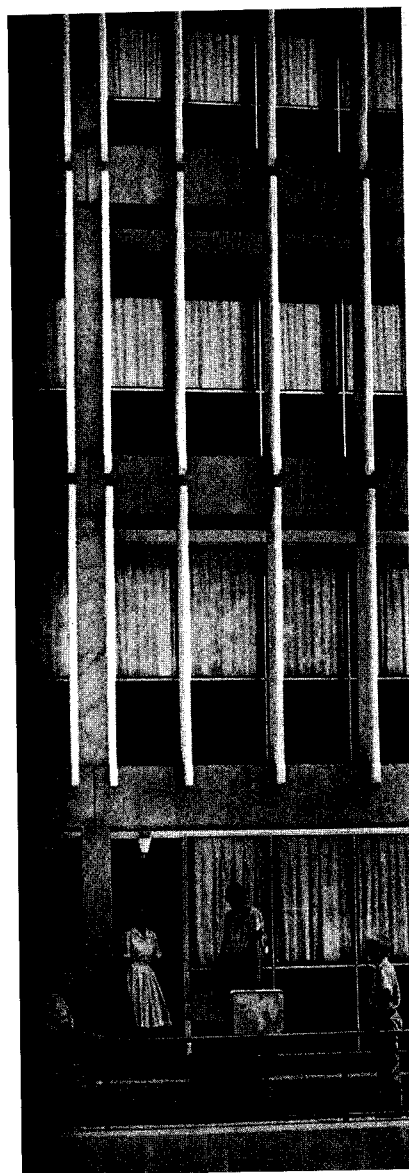
This non-load bearing assembly is comprised of 1" thick FIRECODE Shaft Wall Liner applied vertically between floor and ceiling "T" runners and supported by steel box "T" studs that engage each vertical liner edge 16" or 24" o.c. Opposite side is finished with double layer 5/8" SHEETROCK® gypsum panels screw attached to studs. Or, IMPERIAL® Veneer Plastering may be used. Assembly is 3/4" thick for ceilings to 14 ft. For complete information, see your U.S.G. Architect Service man; or write 101 S. Wacker Dr., Chicago, Ill. 60606, Dept. AF-9.

UNITED STATES GYPSUM
BUILDING AMERICA

On Readers Service Card, Circle 303

2. USG advertisement from *Architectural Forum*, volume 135 (September 1971), p. 9

The sale precipitated a significant change in format, including a switch to non-continuous pagination and an increase in advertising. The creation of the new firm proved to be ill timed, however, as the Great Depression forced the company into bankruptcy in 1931. The *Forum* was purchased out of receivership in that year for \$75,000 by Gordon Reed.² Reed reinstated Howard Myers as publisher, and in 1932 he sold the journal to Time Inc., which Henry



GLASWELD— NEW WORD FOR LOW-COST COLOR

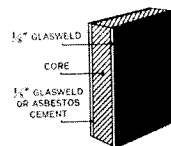
Read how Glasweld insulated panels bring down the cost of permanent outside color

Low initial cost is the beginning of the Glasweld® story. The Glasweld panels in the Red Cedar Inn, cost less than \$1.35 per square foot. Yet Glasweld offers a component panel surface of the very highest quality. It is permanently colored and inert. Because of its low coefficient of linear expansion, sealing is greatly simplified.

The low cost is further implemented by Glasweld's remarkable maintenance-free properties. It is, of course, completely rustproof, and incombustible. It will not oil can, pillow or orange peel. It is difficult to imagine any building component better suited to its purpose than Glasweld insulated panels.

WELDWOOD GLASWELD

a product of United States Plywood



This Glasweld Component Panel, 1 1/2" thick, with a 200-pound core and a 1/2" cement asbestos back, is built with waterproof adhesive, costs less than \$1.35 per sq. ft. in sizes 4' x 8' and 4' x 10'. You can select Glasweld in a wide range of permanent colors and patterns on the following bases: Solid, Semi, Board, Block, Ribbed, Integrated Paper Honeycomb.

RED CEDAR INN, Austin, Minnesota. Glasweld component panels were specified by architects Hammel and Green Inc., St. Paul, Minn.



BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
First Class Permit No. 729, New York, N.Y.

UNITED STATES PLYWOOD
55 West 44th Street
New York 36, N.Y.

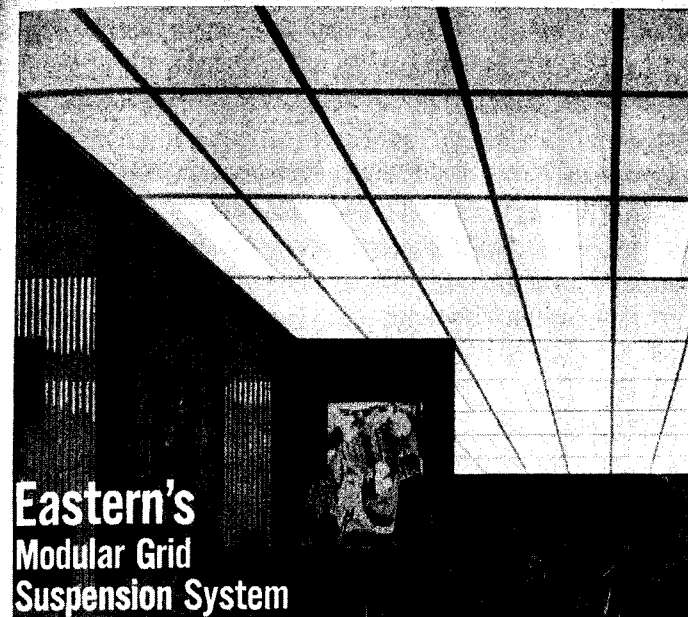
DEPT. AF 3-62



3. Glasweld advertisement from *Architectural Forum*, volume 116 (March 1962), p. 135

R. Luce had founded nine years earlier. It was during the period of Luce's ownership that the *Forum* was to experience its greatest growth and truly find its editorial voice.

While continuing to guide *Architectural Forum* as publisher, Myers was named editor in 1935 and served in that role for seven years. Early in the Time



Eastern's Modular Grid Suspension System

carries out your modular design in ceilings with standard grid members.

Now—specify exact overhead repetition of partition and million modules with standard width grid members. Eastern's Modular Grid Suspension System offers seven standard flange widths, all compatible within the same module. Its double-web structural support allows wider spacing of components... while cam-action end clips literally make tee members a snap to install at any point. See Sheets 11b/Ea, or return coupon today for complete details on Modular Grid—the most significant recent advance in acoustical grid design.



Eastern Products Corp.
Architectural Metal Products Division, Dept. AF
1401 Wisconsin Street, Baltimore 30, Md.
Please send at once full data on your Modular Grid Suspension System.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____

Architectural Forum / November 1963

143

4. Eastern advertisement from *Architectural Forum*, volume 119 (November 1963), p. 143

Inc. era, Ruth Goodhue, the *Forum*'s managing editor, also played a substantial role in shaping the tone and substance of the journal. She convinced Myers and Luce to commission a series of portfolios on the work of European architects that proved to be very influential in the introduction of European Modernism to the design community in the United States. The journal also

commissioned four American architects to design new schools for a special issue in 1934 and, in January 1938, produced the well-known special issue dedicated to the work of Frank Lloyd Wright.³ Other dedicated issues followed, including: Albert Kahn, 101 Houses, and Design Decade. Myers and Goodhue brought to the *Forum's* readers an expanded world of architecture and design, and their work had the effect of challenging rival publications to do the same.

Following Howard Myers' death in 1947, Pierrepont Isham ("Perry") Prentice was appointed to the position of publisher from within Time Inc. Prentice subsequently hired Douglas Haskell to the position of editor. Haskell came to the *Forum* from *Architectural Record* where he had worked for a number of years. While acknowledging the wisdom of hiring Haskell, Peter Blake also believes that it was Prentice's poor business acumen that led to the eventual destruction of the *Forum's* economic viability. Earlier in his career at Time Inc., Prentice was reportedly responsible for substantially underestimating the projected circulation of *Life* magazine at its inception in 1936. Initial advertising contracts were agreed to, based on an estimated minimum subscriber base of 300,000. *Life's* circulation quickly exceeded this figure however, reaching 4,000,000 within a year of its start. As a result Time Inc. lost potential revenue on millions of advertising pages sold at below market rates.⁴ Blake believes Prentice's time at *Architectural Forum* was marked by a series of similar poor decisions. In particular, he cites Prentice's creation of *House and Home* in 1952 as a spin-off publication from the *Forum*. According to Blake, the main effect of this decision was to increase overhead costs while dividing advertising revenue. What had been a marginally profitable professional journal became two separate publications, both losing money.⁵

In a 1964 *New York Times* article, Ada Louise Huxtable reported that *Architectural Forum's* circulation that year stood at 64,000, placing it first among the three major architectural journals in the United States. *Progressive Architecture* ranked second at 42,296, and *Architectural Record* was third at 37,611. By comparison, *House and Home's* circulation for the same year had grown to 100,000, owing to its much larger target audience.⁶ Even with the two journals' growth in circulation; however, their readership figures remained very small in comparison to those of Time Inc.'s other titles, which included *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, and *Sports Illustrated*. As niche publications, the two journals had a limited potential readership. Increases in circulation could not address a shrinking advertising base and may have exacerbated the problem. A *Wall Street Journal* article from May 1964 noted that total advertising pages in *Architectural Forum* had declined from 2,234 in 1957 to 1,261 in 1964.⁷

As the *Forum* was marketed to a larger audience, growth in circulation largely came from outside the fields of architecture and construction. This

growth and income strategy, while appropriate for Time Inc.'s larger-volume publications, did not translate well to a professional journal like the *Forum*. Having successfully increased its circulation figures, the *Forum's* management responded with a corresponding increase in advertising rates. Advertisers in architecture and construction, faced with the increased rates, questioned whether the larger, more diverse audience was truly their target. Some chose to shift advertising to other publications with a more focused readership, even if those publications had smaller circulations. The few general consumer companies attracted to advertise in the *Forum* because of its wider circulation were not sufficient to make up for the loss of the construction industry ad revenue.

According to Huxtable, it was believed by many that Henry Luce sustained the two unprofitable journals for a number of years out of a personal interest in architecture.⁸ Thus, when Luce resigned as editor-in-chief of Time Inc. on 16 April 1964, the two journals lost their "angel." Five weeks later, Time Inc. made a corporate decision to cease publication of *Architectural Forum* and to sell *House and Home* to McGraw-Hill. Luce's replacement, Hedley Donovan, later wrote of the two publications:

Both of these monthlies were consistent money-losers. The Time Inc. of the 1960s had no talent for publishing small, specialized magazines. Salaries, benefits, and general corporate overhead were too high, and there was a hidden cost in the distraction of top management. Though the deficit for the two was nothing staggering (usually around half a million dollars a year), it was a vexatious signal that something was not quite right about these magazines, and this nagged at Luce, Linen, et al. Why can't we seem to fix this? Some of Luce's concerns were promptly shared with me. I agreed with the general view that *Forum* was a distinguished professional journal, and I thought it was losing money in a good cause. I felt *House and Home* was losing money in a dubious cause. It was a trade magazine, a high-class one to be sure, solicitous of the special interests of the house building industry, often advocating industry subsidies and easy-money policies our other magazines were opposing. I told Luce I would not be involved with *H and H* "any more than ordered to be," and he didn't order. In 1964, I concurred cheerfully in a corporate decision to sell *H and H* to McGraw-Hill. With regret, we divested ourselves of *Forum*, giving it to a foundation.⁹

Peter Blake's account of the decision to drop the two journals differs substantially from Donovan's. According to Blake, there were rumours at the *Forum* that without Luce's knowledge, Time Inc. had negotiated a deal with McGraw-Hill (publisher of *Architectural Record*) to cease publication of *Architectural Forum* and had also agreed not to sell it to another firm, eliminating it as a competitor. Blake went to Luce with this story, and recounts their conversation:

"You're sure they promised McGraw-Hill that we would not sell the *Forum* to anyone?" he asked me. "That's what I heard." Luce grinned at me and said, "I guess they didn't put that in writing. In any case, we didn't promise not to *give away* the *Forum* to someone else, did we?" Now it was my turn to grin. I could have hugged the old bastard. "Do you think you could find someone to carry on with the magazine if we gave it to him?" he asked. There obviously hadn't been time to give the matter any thought, but I said "Of course" without a moment's hesitation. "I'll tell you what," Luce said. "I'll pay your editorial salaries for at least six months, to give you a chance to find a new sponsor and keep your staff together. How does that sound?" It sounded terrific to me, and I left to tell my associates.¹⁰

Peter Blake succeeded Douglas Haskell as editor of *Architectural Forum* in June 1964, and the *Forum's* final issue under the management of Time Inc. came out in September of that year. True to his word, Luce continued to pay the editorial staff as it endeavoured to find a patron. Shortly after the journal ceased publication, a consortium of three universities made an attempt to acquire it but met with no success. Subsequently, a philanthropic couple, Stephen and Audrey Currier, agreed to found a non-profit organization dedicated to reversing the decline of American cities. As part of this effort, the organization, called Urban America Inc., acquired *Architectural Forum* and resumed publication with the April 1965 issue. Except for Haskell's retirement and Peter Blake's appointment, the slate of editors and contributors remained largely unaltered during the transition. The journal was faced with the immediate task of having to rebuild its advertising base. This was especially critical in light of the decision to provide free circulation to registered architects. Other subscribers saw the annual subscription fee increase from \$7 to \$10. Some advertisers returned, but not at the levels seen prior to the transfer, and from 1969 on, the journal experienced a largely uninterrupted decline in advertising.

Urban America continued to publish the *Forum* under Blake's editorship until 1970, when it was sold to Whitney Publications. The sale came in the aftermath of the Curriers' untimely death in a plane crash in January 1967. For a second time in a brief span, the journal had lost a protective sponsor. Although the Curriers had provided for the continuation of Urban America and the *Forum*, the journal's continuing financial losses eventually necessitated its sale. Blake blamed the losses on a disconnect between the editorial content of the journal and the interests of potential advertisers:

The other architectural magazines published all the predictable schlock produced by market-oriented name architects, most of them postmodernists. And most of those buildings were constructed in the U.S., using building materials manufactured by

American advertisers, who were not especially thrilled to see our enthusiastic and colorful publications of work done in Asia, Europe, Latin America, Australia, and just about anywhere else where postmodern kitsch had not taken hold and where "ironic architects" and other practical jokers were not paid very much attention. In short, we became increasingly unpopular among advertisers – while our popularity with our readers seemed to rise by leaps and bounds.¹¹

With the transfer to Whitney Publications, Peter Blake remained editor until eventually departing in 1972 along with a substantial portion of the staff, to found a new journal, *Architecture Plus*. In that same year *Architectural Forum* was sold for the last time, to Billboard Publications Inc. The journal continued to be published until 1974, when, without advance notice, Billboard ceased publishing *Architectural Forum* after the March issue. The short-lived *Architecture Plus* closed the same year.

***Architectural Forum's* Editorial Policies**

In contrast to the numerous and substantial changes to the *Forum's* business structure from 1960 to 1974, the journal's editorial mission remained remarkably constant. Two central tenets of its editorial stance at the time were a dedication to pluralism in design and a general optimism regarding design's ability to solve major problems and thus improve people's lives. On the first point, a review of articles appearing in the journal's pages reveals a remarkably diverse range of coverage. Over time, a network of contributors had been established, allowing the editors to draw on the work of many notable architects and designers from around the world, reporting on subjects that were often new to American readers. A small representative sample includes stories on the architecture of the Dogon tribe, the baroque designs of François de Cuvillies, the ancient city of Angkor Wat, the nascent restoration movement in American towns and cities, the work of Paolo Soleri, constant critiques of modern urban design around the world, new methods in construction technology, and continuous criticism of the work of practicing architects. In addition to such feature articles, the *Forum* also ran columns dedicated to book reviews, new architectural projects, new building products, and letters to the editor. The overall effect was an eclectic sampling of contemporary and historic design.

The inclusive and pluralistic nature of *Architectural Forum* during this period was the legacy of the early editorial direction set by Howard Myers and Ruth Goodhue, subsequently carried forward by Douglas Haskell and Peter Blake. Serving as editor from 1949 to 1964, Haskell shaped a journal that was not

afraid to explore the many conflicting and often confusing aspects of the built environment, especially concentrating on the powers and processes that result in either excellent or poor design. In a time when *Progressive Architecture* and *Architectural Record* focused primarily on the building as object, Haskell's *Architectural Forum* presented readers with the broader context of design.

In his essay "Douglas Haskell and the Criticism of International Modernism," Robert Benson cites a number of examples of Haskell's architectural criticism from the 1930s that demonstrate his belief in a pluralistic approach to design, something Haskell would later bring to *Architectural Forum*. In particular, Benson discusses Haskell's critique of the watershed 1932 Museum of Modern Art show, "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition," published in *The Nation*. He points out that Haskell disagreed with the historical premise of the show – that a convergence of four streams of proto-Modernism had formed a unified International Style. Instead Haskell believed modern architecture was still in a formative state and that the streams would in fact diverge to create a more inclusive modern architecture.¹² Benson also offers Haskell's essay titled "Is It Functional?" – published in *Creative Art* a month after the *Nation* column – as further evidence of his belief in the diversity of modern architecture. In clarifying his own definition of functionalism, Haskell compared the machine and the tree as generative architectural metaphors, using as examples the works of Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright respectively. Haskell concluded that modern architecture is capable of holding both metaphors, or as Benson writes, "What he hoped to promote was a search to broaden and deepen the process of making shelter."¹³

Haskell's search for pluralism also extended to the journal's contributors, and Peter Blake credits him with developing a staff of "rather remarkable people," citing the hiring of Jane Jacobs as a particularly courageous move.¹⁴ Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* stood in radical contrast to the conventional ideas of modern urban design held by the majority of designers, architects, and critics of the period, including other members of the *Forum*'s editorial staff. Jacobs left the staff shortly after Blake became editor in 1964, but the journal continued to search out diverse and contrasting opinions for publication. Writers published during Blake's tenure included Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, Christopher Alexander, John Johansen, and (in a debate format) Vincent Scully and Norman Mailer. The list of architectural and urban design works published was broader still, encompassing works of all scales from all regions.

This search for diverse design solutions and the understanding of context that Haskell and Blake brought to *Architectural Forum* seemed to imbue the writing that appeared in the journal with a sense of optimism. The tone of the journal established by Haskell was maintained by Blake, and the writing con-

tinued to express optimism and courage in the face of difficult problems facing the United States, especially its cities. It was not a naive brand of optimism sometimes found in architectural criticism, based on the longing for a more perfect world in which designers might realize their visions. Its spirit emerged instead from the hard work of understanding complex issues and formulating alternatives to solutions that had been found wanting. Criticism of federal housing legislation might point out a bill's flaws, but it also offered insight into how the law might be improved. Designers could mitigate suburban sprawl, but only by understanding and responding to the political, economic, and social forces that shaped it. Substandard housing could be replaced in the United States, but only if those involved in the building industry understood how to shape public policy. The optimism of *Architectural Forum* came from its active participation in the larger design process and an understanding that it was a collective activity. Advertisements for the *Forum* that appeared in the early 1960s emphasized that it was a journal for the architecture community, the construction community, and the business community. The implied message was that each made valuable contributions to the process and each needed to be in balance with the others.

This sense of balance, however, was not maintained among the journal's three constituencies: editors, readers, and advertisers. As described earlier, Peter Blake, in particular, believed that the editorial content of the *Forum* should be directed toward a small, educated, and connected subset of its overall readership. Blake seemed to believe that by addressing this small audience the needs of a larger audience would also be met and the larger audience would be educated in the process. Advertising was considered to be outside of the matter altogether. After the Time Inc. era, when the volume of advertising in the journal had dropped considerably, Blake treated the situation in a light manner, suggesting the new, thinner *Forum* was more readable. The tone of his writing from the time suggests he found the new circumstances freeing, allowing the true work of the journal to go forward. Advertising was a means to an end, to be tolerated but not accommodated, and the business side of *Architectural Forum* was not to dictate editorial content. The expression of this policy was also made manifest in the layout of the journal's issues in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Placement of Advertising in *Architectural Forum*

In her essay "The Graphic Ordering of Desire: Modernization of a Middle-Class Women's Magazine, 1919–1939," Sally Stein argues that by diagramming the content of individual issues of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, readings of

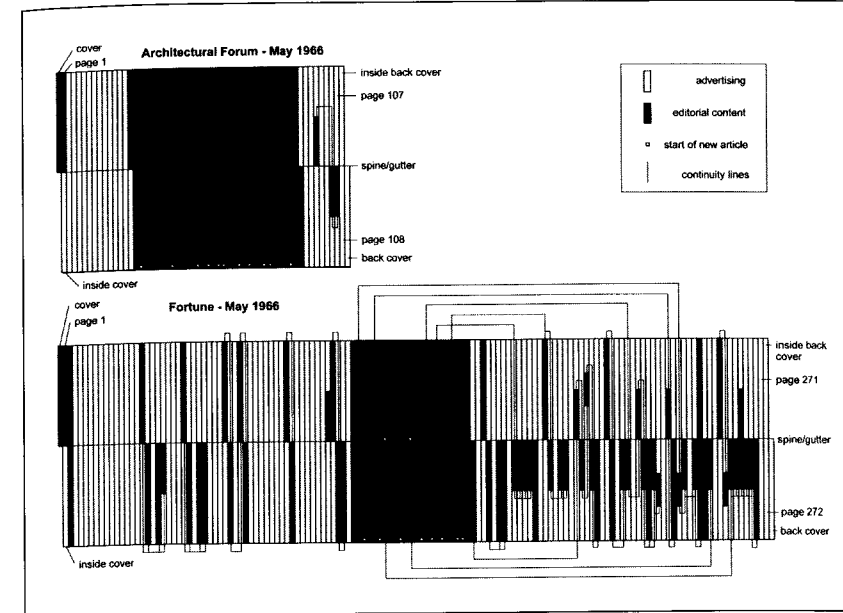
the magazine that are otherwise hidden can be made explicit. Using as inspiration the photographic mappings of the Las Vegas strip found in Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour's *Learning from Las Vegas*, Stein creates a graphic tool to represent the content of a single issue of a magazine. She writes:

By "exploding" the magazine into a vertical bar in which the right-hand page appears above the center line (representing the "gutter" or "spine" of the magazine) and the left-hand page below – patterns of communication emerge that would have been experienced less consciously when the magazine is looked at page by page.¹⁵

The diagramming method she created represents editorial content in white and advertising shaded in black, with internal and external lines illustrating how the magazine's stories were broken and continued elsewhere in the same or subsequent issues.

Using this analytical tool, Stein demonstrates that the *Ladies' Home Journal* increasingly integrated its editorial content and advertising over the time period of her study. Stein posits that the two were purposefully woven together to cause readers to simultaneously become immersed in the *Journal*'s content and advertising. Her diagram of the October 1939 issue from the end of her study (not reproduced here) shows editorial content and advertising thoroughly entwined. This form of magazine layout in which editorial content and advertisements coexist on the majority of pages is referred to as a *standard* format and is typically employed by general or popular magazines. Advertisers are attracted to the format because their ads are not segregated from the editorial content of the magazine, and thus more likely to be seen. *Ladies' Home Journal* further integrated editorial and advertising content by breaking stories and continuing them in the back pages of the magazine. This device causes readers to flip through the magazine in order to complete a story (thus being exposed to more of its editorial and advertising contents).

Borrowing Stein's methodology and applying it to *Architectural Forum* yields remarkably different results. Figure 5 shows a diagram of the *Forum* issue from May 1966 adjacent to a diagram of the issue of *Fortune* magazine from the same month and year. The diagrams immediately reveal that *Architectural Forum* was divided into large uninterrupted blocks of either advertising or editorial content. In publishing, this format is referred to as a *flat* format, so called because it was traditionally employed by magazines that were stapled through the back and could be opened flat on a surface. The diagram shows only small portions of the journal that combined advertising and editorial content. These sections typically contained the new projects column, the new building products column, or the book review column. The device of interrupting an article and continuing it elsewhere was rarely



5. Content diagrams (by the author after Stein) of *Architectural Forum* and *Fortune*

employed, and its use was limited to the aforementioned columns. The diagram is an almost perfect expression of the separation of editorial content from advertising, and while only a single diagram is shown here, analysis of issues throughout the 1960s and 1970s reveals the same consistent pattern of segregation.

By contrast, the diagram of the May 1966 issue of *Fortune* (also a Time Inc. publication) is very similar in structure to Stein's diagrams of the *Ladies' Home Journal* (fig. 5). Here, editorial content often sits side by side with advertising on the same page. Stories are stopped and subsequently continued, and feature stories are more evenly distributed throughout the magazine.

It may be that an architectural journal simply requires a flat format due to the nature of its editorial content. Analysis of *Architectural Record* and *Progressive Architecture* issues from this time period yields diagrams very similar to those of the *Forum*. An article on architecture is typically both a written and visual composition, and it is not surprising that advertising should be held apart so as not to compromise the composition. In the case of *Architectural Forum*, however, the degree of separation was unique. All feature articles were grouped together in the centre of the issue, as though within a sanctuary. Within that sanctuary, advertising was not permitted to intrude, not even between articles. Often, a page of introduction to the grouped articles

served as a kind of gatekeeper, visually buffering the first article from the advertising without. Significantly, the equivalent page if used for advertising, generally commands a higher rate from advertisers, owing to its adjacency to a feature article. In the *Forum* only the last page of the final feature article appeared next to an advertisement, and then only when it happened to occur on an odd-numbered page. The layout of *Architectural Forum* clearly reveals the desire of the editorial staff to keep advertising from tainting content. As the editors argued for the centrality of progressive values in architecture, they purposely chose to ignore the values of the marketplace. The role of advertising in the journal was discounted, conceptually relegating it to a place of insignificance. In doing so, however, the journal's editors failed to acknowledge advertising's ability to construct its own argument independent of the journal's editorial content.

Advertising's Counter-Argument

In journal publishing, a relatively common conflict occurs when a specific advertiser or type of product is deemed by a publisher to be in opposition to a journal's editorial stance. Confronted with the problem, the publisher may either refuse the advertisement and forgo the attendant revenue or accept the advertisement and possibly compromise the mission of the journal. In the pages of *Architectural Forum* in the 1960s and 1970s, however, a more subtle but equally powerful conflict occurred. An argument for the pre-eminence of economic concerns in design was created by the collective voice of many diverse products advertised over a number of years. In opposition to the pluralistic and optimistic view of design held by the journal's editorial staff, the advertising counter-argument suggested that standardization and efficiencies of time and money were the primary values to be used to judge design. While a majority of advertising that appeared in the *Forum* did not necessarily contribute to this counter-argument, a specific subset of product advertisements aimed at promoting the systemization of the construction process created a persuasive opposition. The collective argument created by the disparate advertising was unintentional, but powerful nonetheless. Its strength was due to three factors: the overall volume of the advertising, the visual expression of the advertising, and the content of the advertising.

To analyze these factors during the time period, six issues per year were selected for study and yearly averages were calculated based on these issues. Between 1960 and 1963 twelve issues of the *Forum* were published annually. Only eight issues were published in 1964, and again eight in 1965, due to the closure and reopening of the journal. Between 1966 and 1973 ten issues were

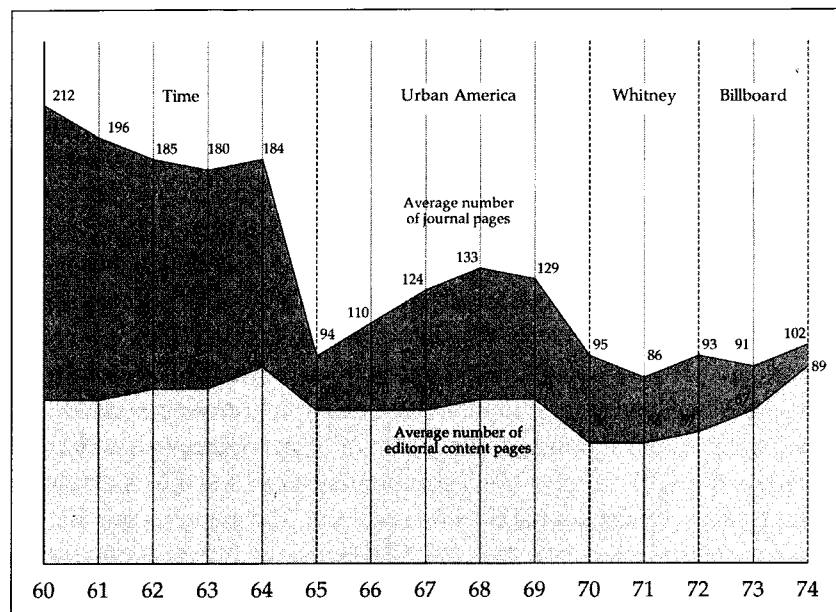
published each year, with combined January–February and July–August issues. In 1974 only two issues were distributed before publication ceased. In order to standardize the comparison across the fifteen years, the six issues chosen for study included the January (or January–February), March, May, July (or July–August), September, and November issues. For 1974, when publication ceased, the two issues published that year were analyzed.

Volume and Visual Expression of Advertising

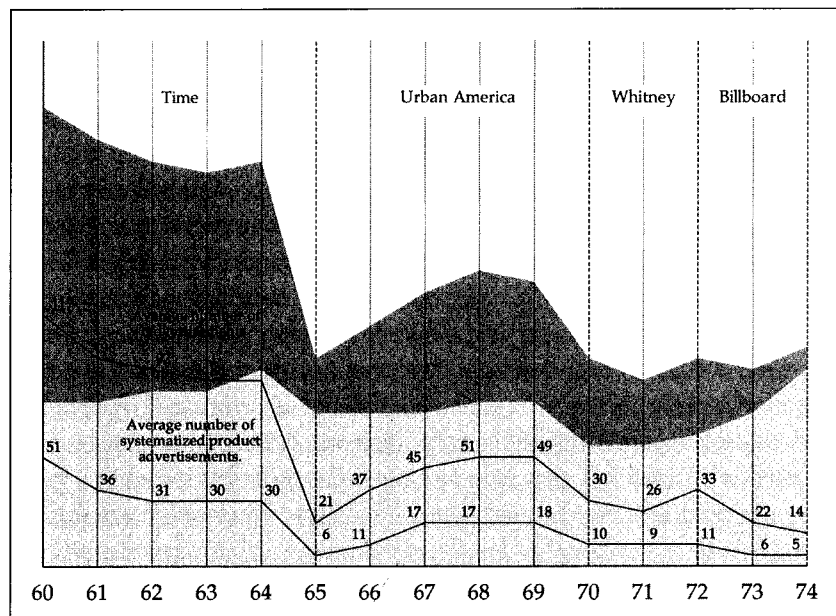
The analysis of the amount of advertising that appeared in *Architectural Forum* on a yearly basis indicates that although it declined over time, it was a very persuasive presence throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Figure 6 shows a comparison between the number of editorial content pages and the total number of pages in an average journal issue for each year. The graph reveals that for the years 1960 to 1964, more than half of the total pages in the journal were devoted to advertising content. Advertising volume dropped drastically after the sale of the journal in 1964, but then rose steadily through 1969, while the number of pages of editorial content remained fairly constant. The journal contracted again in 1970 and advertising pages as a percentage subsequently declined, reaching approximately 30 percent in 1973 and then only 20 percent for the two issues published in 1974.

Figure 7 compares the number of advertisements for systematized building products to the total number of advertisements in an average issue of the journal each year. During the fifteen-year period studied, the number of systematized product advertisements as a percentage of total advertisements fluctuated within a fairly consistent range of 30 to 40 percent. This relatively high percentage suggests that the volume of systematized product advertising was sufficient to make this advertising felt as a distinct presence in the journal (refer to figs. 1 to 4 for examples of these types of advertisements that appeared in the *Forum* at the time). It is postulated that this subset of advertisements, appearing in the journal over a period of years, was large enough to create an argument for the standardization of design and the resultant economies of time and money as primary goals in architecture. The argument was further strengthened by the repetition of much of the advertising. Compared to the wide-ranging nature of the *Forum*'s editorial content, the advertising it contained was often repetitive and narrow in focus. Advertising's argument benefited from the consistency and repetition of the advertising itself.¹⁶

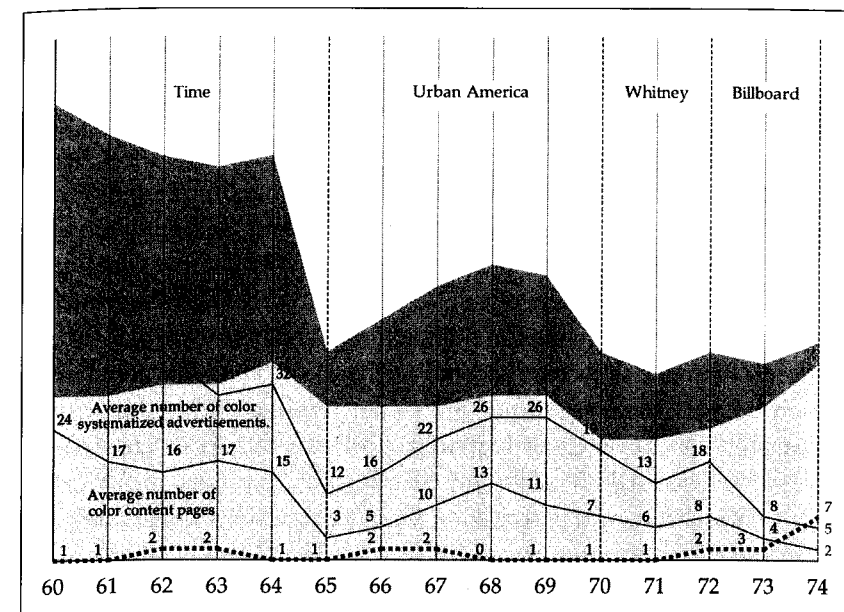
The visual expression of an advertisement is central to its purpose of convincing readers to purchase a particular product. Measuring the efficacy of



6. Comparison of editorial content pages to total number of pages (by the author)



7. Graph of advertisement counts superimposed on page count comparison from fig. 6 (by the author)



8. Graph of colour advertisement and editorial counts superimposed on page count comparison from fig. 6 (by the author)

the design of even a single advertisement is a complex task, and lies outside of the scope of this study.¹⁷ One aspect of visual expression that may be quantified, however, is the presence or absence of colour. In the case of *Architectural Forum*, it is a crucial factor because so much of the editorial content of the journal was published in black-and-white. Figure 8 shows the average number of colour advertisements appearing in journal issues over time. It indicates the total number of full and partial colour advertisements, as well as the number of full and partial colour advertisements for systematized building products. At the bottom of the graph the numbers of colour pages of editorial content are also shown. These colour content pages were typically photographs documenting architectural projects. As noted before, the comparison shown is only indirect because the number of colour advertisements (not pages of advertising) is compared with the number of colour pages of editorial content. If pages of colour advertising were counted, however, the advertising numbers would actually increase because many were multiple page layouts. Except for 1974, the average number of full-colour content pages in a typical issue fluctuated between zero and three. By comparison, the number of colour advertisements for systematized building products was typically much larger.

The presence of colour in advertisements for systematized building products contributed to an oppositional argument in two ways. First, advertisers used colour to draw readers' attention to their products. Colour made the material stand out from the typical black-and-white pages, thus contributing to the significance of the advertising in readers' minds. Surveys taken in the 1970s revealed that the use of colour in advertisements could increase advertising readership by as much as 50 percent.¹⁸ Colour effectively helped to reinforce the importance of systematized building products and the argument for the standardization of architecture. Secondly, there was an implicit economic distinction between black-and-white and colour printing during this period. Colour printing was significantly more expensive, a fact made apparent to readers by the vast majority of the journal's pages being printed in black-and-white. Colour pages were perceived to be more significant because readers understood that they were more expensive to produce. Thus, the use of colour helped to impart a sense of greater value to the message of the systematized product advertising. The relatively few colour editorial content pages published in a typical issue would have been insufficient to balance this perception.

The third element of advertising that opposed the editorial vision of *Architectural Forum* was the content of the advertising copy. A systematic analysis of the copy was not carried out as part of this study, but anecdotal evidence suggests that it often contradicted the journal's editorial viewpoint. Much of the advertising that appeared in the journal, both for systematized products as well as other products, employed copy that emphasized the importance of saving time and money. The cumulative effect of such copy was the elevation of cost savings to a high level of importance. While the editors of the *Forum* understood that design must be realized with attention to costs, they did not agree that it should be the primary consideration. Advertising copy from the period strongly suggested that a strictly rationalized approach to design was necessary in order to reduce building costs, though such an approach often resulted in designs that received harsh criticism in the journal's pages.

From 1960 to 1974 *Architectural Forum* provided a unique voice in architectural journalism in the United States. Its editorial and contributing staff embraced the world of design in all its complexity. They presented the optimistic view that, with understanding and talent, designers could work together with business and the larger community to create a better environment for the public. It is the optimistic and inclusive nature of this message that causes the counter-argument found in the same journal pages to come into such sharp relief. Advertisements for systematized building products created a collective argument for the primacy of cost and time saving in design. The large

volume of repeated advertisements, in combination with their visual expression and advertising copy, formed an unintentional but persuasive counterpoint to the progressive editorial stance of *Architectural Forum*.

- 1 Peter Blake, *No Place like Utopia: Modern Architecture and the Company We Kept* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 176.
- 2 Robert T. Elson, *Time, Inc.: The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise, 1923–1941* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 188.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 190–193.
- 4 Dwight MacDonald, “Time, Fortune, Life,” *The Nation* 144 (22 May 1937): 585.
- 5 Blake, *No Place like Utopia*, 161.
- 6 Ada L. Huxtable, “Architectural Forum Dropped; House and Home Magazine Sold,” *The New York Times* (28 May 1964): 31.
- 7 “Time, Inc., Will Cease Architectural Forum and Sell House & Home,” *The Wall Street Journal* (28 May 1964): 12.
- 8 Huxtable, “Architectural Forum Dropped,” 31.
- 9 Hedley Donovan, *Right Places, Right Times: Forty Years in Journalism, Not Counting My Paper Route* (New York: Holt, 1989), 196.
- 10 Blake, *No Place like Utopia*, 283.
- 11 Blake, *No Place like Utopia*, 313–314.
- 12 Robert Benson, “Douglas Haskell and the Criticism of International Modernism,” in *Modern Architecture in America: Visions and Revisions*, eds. Richard G. Wilson and Sidney K. Robinson (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991), 170–171.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 176.
- 14 Blake, *No Place like Utopia*, 216.
- 15 Sally Stein, “The Graphic Ordering of Desire: Modernization of a Middle-Class Women’s Magazine, 1919–1939,” in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, ed. Richard Bolton (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1989), 149.
- 16 The literature on advertising technique and efficacy is substantial and has evolved steadily over time. Of primary interest to this study is the literature dating from the 1950s to 1960s that likely influenced advertising appearing in *Architectural Forum* during the period under consideration. Vance Packard’s *The Hidden Persuaders* of 1957 introduced the public to the field of Motivational Research that had become a movement within advertising in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Packard’s book was a critical look at the work of sociologists and others in the field, including Ernest Dicter, Louis Cheskin, George Horsley Smith, and Pierre Martineau. Though Packard popularized the subject, it was largely the consultants he wrote about who had the most influence on the advertising community. Horsley Smith’s *Motivation Research in Advertising & Marketing*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954) and Martineau’s *Motivation in Advertising: Motives That Make People Buy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957) are two very good examples of books that describe the research and thinking of the time.
- 17 Dating from the time period previous to and including the study, Darrell Lucas’s and Stuart Britt’s *Advertising Psychology and Research* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950) and Stephen Baker’s *Visual Persuasion* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961) give methods used at the time to measure the efficacy of print advertising. Baker’s book is especially interesting as it reveals many received “rules of thumb” that governed print advertising of the period. In complete contrast, Marshall McLuhan’s *The Mechanical Bride* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1951) remains perhaps the most effective deconstruction of print advertising ever undertaken.
- 18 Roy Paul Nelson, *The Design of Advertising* (Dubuque, IA: W. C. Brown Co., 1981), 214.

Revues et acteurs

Periodicals and Protagonists

OPPOSITIONS

A Journal for Ideas and
Criticism in Architecture
8 West 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

212-947-0765

Mr. Peter Eisenman
c/o IAUS

1. *Oppositions* envelope with typescript label addressed to Peter Eisenman. No date.
Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies Archive, 057 ARC D10. © IAUS
Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

LOUIS MARTIN

Université du Québec à Montréal

Notes on the Origins of *Oppositions*

Oppositions, the “Journal for Ideas and Criticism of Architecture” published by the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) from 1973 to 1984, occupies a singular place in the history of the architectural press. *Oppositions* was not a professional, a commercial, or an academic publication, but a quasi-academic “little magazine” on the margins of the profession which, with its intent to develop new theoretical and critical discourses in architecture, emulated *L'Esprit Nouveau* and other polemical short lived avant-garde journals of the 1920s and 1930s. In 1988, Joan Ockman stressed precisely this aura of the avant-garde in the first synopsis of the journal's history and contents.¹ Based on archival research and interviews, the present essay examines the ten-year period that preceded the publication of the first issue of the IAUS journal in 1973.² The intention here is not to revise the currently emerging thesis, which depicts *Oppositions* as the first in a series of American periodicals dedicated to foster new kinds of theoretical discourse about architecture, but to shed some light on the origins of this mythical journal.³

1960–1963: Peter D. Eisenman's Experience at Cambridge University

None of the events described below would have occurred without the organizational skills of Peter D. Eisenman (fig. 1) and the lessons he drew from his three-year experience in England at the beginning of the 1960s. The culture shock he experienced at Cambridge University from 1960 to 1963 provides the initial line of the plot, namely the distinct conceptions English and American architects had of each other.

Animated by “the American romance with English intellectual attitudes,”⁴ Eisenman left the United States for Cambridge University, where he enrolled as a Ph.D. candidate in 1960. He soon faced what his mentor Colin Rowe had

experienced at the Architectural Association in 1959 and had considered a form of English "self-righteous anti-Americanism."⁵ This probably occurred in the spring of 1961, upon the return from Yale University of Colin St. John Wilson, the first-year Master at Cambridge. Eisenman described this state of affairs in 1970:

As late as 1961 English architects preparing for a first trip to Yale, "Tchicago," or "Hooston," could be heard to say they were going "out to America." The single word "out" seems to summarize a very complex relationship between England and the U.S. ... The phrase "out to America" is at once colonial English, condescending and pejorative. At the same time it contains a kind of De Toquevillian esteem for the "noble savage" cousin. To an English architect in the late '50s and early '60s, American architecture was considered with polite embarrassment and an irony about the financial resources Americans had available to implement their technology. On the other hand, to American architects, England was a place of debate, of ideas – a kind of intellectual refuge of the Modern Movement.⁶

Eisenman pursued his account with a description of the intellectual landscape he discovered at the time of his arrival in England in 1960:

The Architectural Association and Cambridge were two centers of intellectual debate in England. Characteristic of these two places was a phenomenon peculiar to England – the polemical group. In a general perspective, these groups must be seen as exiles both in time and space from continental Europe of the 1930s. They were often misunderstood and held in contempt by their mainland counterparts. Small group division and their particular polemic can be considered a primary characteristic of such an exile body. While these various enclaves were tiny and even marginal when compared to the number of architects in England, they were somehow effective in a way in which similar groups have not been in the U.S.

The central issue with which these factions never quite came to terms ... was ... that architecture was considered by certain of these factions to be ultimately elitist.⁷

Eisenman's epic description of England as the guerrilla ground of an ultimate confrontation between opposite ideals regarding modern architecture contrasts sharply with the image of an American intellectual no-man's land drawn by Colin St. John Wilson in his "Open Letter to an American Student."⁸ Wilson denounced what appeared to be an ingrained anti-intellectualism in American architectural culture:⁹ "In America today there is no public forum for the exchange of ideas, no group gathered around a common idea (and therefore no rebel groups), no discussion that is more than one man deep, no magazine that attempts to focus upon the state of current polemic. This is the starvation of thought."¹⁰

1964: CASE or The Creation of a Critical Context

Eisenman returned to the United States to join Princeton University's School of Architecture for the academic year 1963–1964. Among his colleagues was Michael Graves, who had been hired the previous year. Graves and Eisenman were the first teachers hired by Princeton's School of Architecture in seventeen years. At that time, the school's graduate program was still directed by Robert Venturi's former teacher Jean Labatut, a French architect who followed the teaching methods of the École des Beaux-Arts. By contrast, Eisenman and Graves, who were requested to jointly teach the second-year undergraduate studio, instilled into their students their passion for Le Corbusier and the "white architecture" of the 1920s.

Eager to bring change to Princeton, the two young teachers and Emilio Ambasz, a Princeton graduate student, organized in the spring of 1964 the first Conference of Architects for the Study of the Environment (CASE), an organization modelled on Team 10, intended to generate a critical architectural discourse in North America.¹¹ The idea behind CASE was to restore the ideological impetus of the Modern Movement (the good society) which had been drained out of American architecture by MoMA's invention of the International Style (the good life) during the 1930s.¹²

CASE intended to bring together everyone who seemed to have a brilliant future. At this first meeting, generously funded by Princeton University, the new generation of teachers at MIT, Cornell, Columbia, Yale, and the University of Pennsylvania were invited, and Kenneth Frampton, then editor of *Architectural Design*, was flown in from England for a weekend to discuss his possible involvement in a new CASE magazine. Among the guests were many of Eisenman's friends, such as his cousin Richard Meier, former colleagues from Columbia Michael McKinnell and Stanford Anderson, as well as Jaquelin Robertson and Colin Rowe from his Cambridge years and Henry Millon from MIT. At that time, Anderson had joined Millon at MIT while Rowe was concluding his first academic year at Cornell, where in September 1963 he had created a studio dedicated specifically to issues of urban design. Tim Vreeland was responsible for inviting another group of guests from Penn and Yale, which included Giovanni Pasanella, Richard Weinstein, Robert Venturi, and Vincent Scully, Jr.

During the opening Friday night session, the meeting turned into an ideological confrontation between Colin Rowe and Vincent Scully, which split the audience into two groups: Eisenman, Graves, Meier, Anderson, Millon, and Frampton, who supported Rowe, and the others, who supported Scully. On Saturday morning, Venturi (who said he wished to build rather than talk) and Scully left Princeton before the meeting was over. This was the beginning of

polarization among Ivy League schools of architecture: at one extreme the European/Modernist-oriented Cornell and Princeton and at the other the American/Regionalist-oriented Penn and Yale, with MIT and Columbia adopting various intermediary positions.

The second memorable element of the first meeting of CASE was the election of the editor for a projected magazine. As Eisenman had intended, Kenneth Frampton won, but a quarrel immediately broke out between them over the composition of the editorial board.¹³ The dispute seems to have been resolved in the following months: during the academic year 1964–1965 an editorial board composed of Colin Rowe, Peter D. Eisenman, Kenneth Frampton, Stanford Anderson, and Henry Millon drafted an editorial statement for a magazine.¹⁴ Two versions of the text survive in the IAUS archives, the second, titled “Statement of the Editorial Board, New York, May 9, 1965,” being a much reworked version of the first, undated draft, titled “Editorial Statement (CASE / Problems in Architecture).”

1964: First Editorial Draft for a CASE Magazine

The starting point of the first draft, presumably written in 1964, was the public misunderstanding of the disciplines of architecture and planning and the mutual distrust between architects and planners.¹⁵ The opening paragraph stated:

The public is hardly aware of the value of planning and completely misunderstands the role of the architect. In their turn, the architect and planner do not sufficiently understand the implications – social, psychological, and aesthetic – of what they do. Also, the architect and planner, at least in the United States, do not appreciate nor understand the goals of the other and underestimate the value of their potential contribution. The architect places emphasis on form and utility and lacks concern for the social, political, and economic implications of his proposals and goals. The planner places emphasis on social determinants and shows a lack of concern for possible effects of the form of the environment he proposes. Both appear to be unwilling to examine the implications of their positions. Both need the other and yet both eye the other with contempt and hostility.

The editors then asserted that architecture, landscape architecture, urban design, and city and regional planning were all part of a single discipline “concerned with the provision of healthy, stimulating physical environments for mankind.” Their separation had been caused by the division of labour in modern industrial society. The journal’s aim was not only to invigorate dis-

cussion between the branches and re-establish common goals, but to create a sense of direction as well:

This journal will seek to contribute to the establishment of a context within which general arguments related to predetermined and defined values can be made in favour of certain courses of actions as opposed to others. Hopefully such an exposition will provide those who make decisions in our society with a rational basis for choice instead of the current *ad hoc* random experimental non-method.

Central to the general argument was a pair of conflicting claims on which the Modern Movement in architecture was built. On the one hand, a doctrine, consonant with the contemporaneous MoMA exhibition *Architecture without Architects*,¹⁶ maintained that architecture evolved unconsciously through a natural response to functional needs and the use of materials under certain environmental conditions. On the other hand, there was the simultaneous demand that the architect-planner be “the shaper of the total environment” – a proposal that presupposed an architect with “an infinitely knowledgeable, perceptive and self-conscious personality.” Both these self-images – the anonymous craftsman determined by suprapersonal forces and the cultural hero whose “prophetic intuition can descry the form of the future” – were, for the editors, “irresponsible in relation to the great problem of providing opportunity and encouragement for individual initiative within the context of a modern society which must solve great public needs.”

Although these contradictory positions inherited from the Modern Movement were intellectually indefensible, the editors maintained that it was “vicious to criticize or deny the Modern Movement without recognizing the seminal influence, the contributions, and even the grandeur of its intellectually fallible propositions.” The task was “to re-examine the speculations of the Modern Movement in order to discover those contributions which still seem to withstand criticism.” The text concluded with three proposals. The first called for a critical testing of the verbal and visual speculations of designers; the second stressed the need for multidisciplinary interaction “to stimulate new hypotheses and the development of criteria for testing”; the third pointed to the need for a similar reflection on architectural education for the architect and the layman.

1965: Second Statement of the Editorial Board

Few parts of this early seven-page “Editorial Statement” were retained in the second version, the “Statement of the Editorial Board, New York, May 9,

1965." The latter was in effect a critique of the former. Interestingly, the various parts of the second statement are marked with the initials of each member of the board, and so it is possible to identify the author of almost every paragraph. While the statement remains collective – "we" being used throughout – one can recognize the individual voices, as in a conversation, and thus understand the specific contribution of each member of the group.

The first part of the 9 May 1965 text consists of a dialogue between Colin Rowe and Peter D. Eisenman. Rowe introduced the fundamental problem, the crisis of modern architecture. "At the beginning of this century," he wrote, "a set of circumstances occurred that were apparently more propitious for a culture of architecture than ever before, or at least since the time of the Renaissance. Today we are obliged to recognise that these propitious circumstances have been largely vitiated." Eisenman then stressed the urgent need for a reappraisal of the principles of "the new and revolutionary architecture" of the early twentieth century. He stated:

It would be injudicious to assume that these principles have become obsolete and invalid solely because they have failed to produce an extensive and vigorous culture of architecture. We shall attempt therefore in this magazine to review the theoretical basis of the early modern movement in an effort to determine clearly those principles that still appear to possess validity.

In the second part of the text, Colin Rowe and Stanford Anderson debated questions of method. For Rowe, the functionalist tradition failed to acknowledge the importance of value judgment in the creation of architecture. According to him, there were two aspects to an architectural problem: problems of facts, which could be proved to be true or false, and problems of value, which involved "a consideration for what ought to be rather than consideration of what is." Rowe added: "When these two aspects of a problem have been clearly established, there remains the necessity of maintaining a logical consistency within the problem as determined." For him, one of the purposes of the magazine was precisely the general determination of architectural problems. Stanford Anderson then intervened and stressed the importance of understanding the process of cognition and criticism in architecture:

We acknowledge that to understand architecture generally or to participate in architectural design is to engage in some form of speculation (theory, idea, form, shape, etc.). One cannot stipulate the role of rationality in the formation of such speculations, one can only state that a rational control of the design process comes in the testing of the speculation against the conditions which it has to satisfy.

We need to clarify and understand this creative activity of speculation and testing – and to this end we need to increase our knowledge about man and the environment in order that testing of our speculation can become increasingly acute.

In the following paragraphs, Anderson addressed the problem of form. First he established the anti-historicist position of the group. "The study of history," he maintained, "should be undertaken to furnish us with a greater understanding of architectural forms as they evolved within their respective historical contexts; and not to provide us with a vocabulary of type forms for arbitrary application to current problems out of context." Next he asserted the necessity of recognizing the role of visual forms "as entities capable of working within their own cognizable constructs." The use of form "to evoke learned, romantic, historicist or futuristic associations" was as unsatisfactory as the determination of form solely through some type of functionalism had proven to be. That was why the magazine's intended examination of the problem of form was "more concerned with rational reconstruction [of the creative process] and phenomenology" than with concepts such as aesthetic emotion and empathy.

Peter D. Eisenman and Kenneth Frampton signed the next three paragraphs jointly. They maintained that architecture and planning were inseparable creative activities; they denounced the lack of any ideals in the bureaucratic, expedient, and merely ameliorative practice of planning in the United States; and they affirmed that the form of certain physical patterns of the built environment possessed "far richer possibilities for human life than others." One understands that Eisenman and Frampton favoured urban patterns over the suburban pattern "of laissez-faire, automotive, low density development which is in the throes of engulfing the whole of the American continent."¹⁷

Frampton continued on his own with a description of the unprecedented "task of creating and/or controlling the form of the total physical environment so that it will be rich enough to adequately provide for human life 'en masse.'" Anticipating rapid urbanization and a requirement for 50 percent more developed square footage in the United States before the end of the century, he deplored the lack of involvement of architects and concluded:

We as architects are responsible for the quality of the built environment. There can be no doubt that the quantity will of necessity be achieved. The architect therefore must contribute to a context within which general arguments can be made in favor of certain courses of action as opposed to others, so that through such a dialectic society will be provided with a rational basis [sic] for choice, related to certain determined values.

Unlike the rest of the text, the concluding paragraphs of the editorial statement, which concentrated on the problem of architectural education for professionals and laymen, were not marked with the initials of their author(s). The editors called for a radical revision of professional architectural education, which involved work on the theoretical foundation of the discipline. They wrote:

A total culture of architecture for mass society would be realized only if environmental design became an integral part of the general education of the young.

The short list of possible contributors found in the appendix to the statement (fig. 2) demonstrates the international and interdisciplinary character the editors intended to give to the CASE magazine. Looking at this list, one

May 9, 1965

List of Possible Contributors to CASE Magazine

G. Argon	Professor of Art History, Room
R. Arnheim	Art & Perception Theoria, Room
N. Beem	Architect, London
A. Colquhoun	Architect, London
C. Correa	Architect, India
B. Dahl	Architect, India
C. G. Dencks	Architect, Bern, Switzerland
V. Gregotti	Edilizia, Moderna, Milan
S. Houbert	ETH, Zurich, Switzerland
H. L. C. Jaffe	Amsterdam, Holland
T. Madsen	Director, NGA USA, Gallery
J. Ryckert	Librarian, NEA, London
J. Sauer	Director of Historical Studies, AA, London
C. M. John Wilson	Architect, Cambridge, England
M. Sauer	Architectural Theoria, Zurich
M. Schick	Editor, Symposium, Munich
K. Vollenweider	Architect, University of Architecture
M. Wittigard	Professor of Architecture, Scuola Alta
E. Zevi	L'Architettura, Milan

[illegible]

A. Allen	Theory of Syntax & Structural Anthropology
B. Anderson	Evolutionary Psychology
C. Anderson	How Humans and Other Animals Learned
D. Aronson	Consciousness, Mind, and Culture in Evolution
E. Boring	Evolution, Human Nature
F. Brown	Genetics and the Evolution of Social
	Anthropology
G. Brown	Neuroanatomy, Mind & Brain, 1971

suspects the influence of Christian Norberg-Schulz's 1963 book *Intentions in Architecture* on the editors' formulation of the period's most urgent questions. Many problems, such as the public misunderstanding of architects, the problematic relationship with the "authorities," the lack of an adequate theory of architecture, the need for a critical revision of modern architecture, and the deficiency of architectural education, could be found almost verbatim in the diagnosis the Norwegian architect provided in the introduction to his book. The first edition of *Intentions in Architecture* had been such a success in England – where Colin St. John Wilson claimed it was "the manual of

the mid-century”¹⁸ because it offered the true morphology of the art of architecture – that MIT Press published it in the United States in 1965. Curiously, the British historian and critic Reyner Banham was not on the CASE list, although the arguments of Anderson and Millon were obviously intended as responses to his Futurist polemics.¹⁹ The CASE magazine list of potential contributors is also an index of the MIT group’s interest in scientific theories and of an emerging interest in the structural anthropology of Claude Lévi-Strauss.

No other document relating to the CASE magazine project survives in the CCA’s IAUS archives – probably a sign that the circumstances were not favourable for the realization of the project.

The next mention of a publication project in the IAUS archives is a type-written invitation letter, dated 25 April 1966, that Peter D. Eisenman and Anthony Vidler²⁰ wrote to solicit articles from guest contributors. This one-page document explains their project as putting together a collection of essays “of analytical, theoretical, or historical nature concerning formal principles and formal problems in architecture.” Their motivation was to communicate a certain number of ideas about “the implications of form as a necessary precondition to any logical discourse on the nature of architecture,” ideas that they felt were “held in an unrelated and diffused state by certain people in the United States and Europe,” representing many different viewpoints. The letter also mentions that their publication could be the first in a continuing series devoted to form “and to the general discussion about issues relevant to any architecture.” The deadline for submitting a contribution was 1 July 1966. There is no evidence that the letter was ever sent, and there is no surviving list of possible contributors. The unexpected turn of events in Eisenman’s academic career during the fall of 1966 might explain why the project did not materialize.

1967: The Creation of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies

At Princeton, Eisenman and Graves collaborated on several architectural competitions in the basement of the School of Architecture between 1963 and 1966. Probably inspired by Colin Rowe’s Urban Design studio, they also worked from 1964 to 1966 on the New Jersey Corridor Project, a visionary scheme for a linear city that would potentially link Philadelphia and New York. In 1965 Arthur Drexler, the head of MoMA’s Department of Architecture, came with Tomás Maldonado to give a lecture at Princeton. On this occasion he saw the New Jersey Corridor Project and envisioned an exhibition to be called *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal*, which would involve Princeton and other American schools of architecture.

The organizing of the exhibition occurred in the midst of a search for a new dean for Princeton’s School of Architecture, in which position Eisenman and Graves succeeded in placing their candidate, Robert Geddes, in the spring of 1966. Regrettably, Eisenman and Geddes immediately quarrelled over the composition of the team that would represent Princeton in MoMA’s exhibition. Eisenman succeeded in retaining control of the Princeton team; but in the fall of 1966 he was denied tenure while Graves was granted it, even though they both had the New Jersey Corridor Project to their credit. This disappointing turn of events ended Eisenman’s three-year collaboration with Graves and thwarted the program of research he had planned for 1966–1967.

Uncertain of his future in academia, he took advantage of his friendship with Arthur Drexler and proposed that MoMA become involved in the creation of an independent organization dedicated to the study of actual urban design problems. As he saw it, this organization would connect theoretical studies with empirical questions and “bring the real world into the academic world.”²³ Drexler presented the project to MoMA’s director, René d’Harnoncourt, who approved it. Two MoMA trustees, Lily Auchincloss and Armand Bartos, provided seed money. In addition to Eisenman and Drexler, Burnham Kelly (dean of the College of Architecture, Art, and Planning at Cornell), Gibson Danes (dean of the School of Art and Architecture at Yale), and John Entenza (director of the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts) all agreed to be on the future institution’s board.

By the time the MoMA exhibition opened, on 23 January 1967, the board for the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) had already been constituted, and discussions of future projects had begun with potential partners. Eisenman’s original intention was to create a halfway house that would bridge “the gap between the theoretical world of the university and the pragmatic world of the planning agencies.”²² His plan was to get support from private foundations and individuals so as to offer fellowships to graduate students from parent institutions. These graduate fellowships would enable students to spend an academic year at the IAUS in New York, working on actual projects under the supervision of IAUS fellows. MoMA’s exhibition created a focus on issues of urban design, and Eisenman hoped leaders of university teams would join him in his institute project. Jaquelin Robertson declined the invitation because he was at the time starting his own urban design group at Columbia with John Lindsay, but he agreed to steer projects from his group to the IAUS. Colin Rowe offered to send students from his Urban Design group at Cornell and to do some teaching at the IAUS.

While the IAUS began its activities in the fall of 1967, the future of CASE seemed compromised. Since its creation in 1964, CASE had undergone many iterations but had lost its momentum. The CASE magazine never saw the light of day, and attempts to expand the organization nationwide also came to nothing. On 21 November 1967 Tom Vreeland, who had recently been appointed chairman of the Department of Architecture at the University of New Mexico, wrote to Eisenman that he could not afford the trip to New York to participate in the January 1968 CASE meeting organized by Eisenman and Rowe at the IAUS. Reflecting on the recent history of the group, Vreeland, who was the only CASE member from the western part of the United States, predicted that the organization was doomed to dissolution. In a three-page letter dated 9 January 1968, Eisenman responded that he himself had been prepared to resign at the last CASE session, held in Boston in November 1967. He considered CASE to be his ill-formed child, now nothing more than a pleasant social amenity. In his opinion, the IAUS represented what CASE ought to have been; the problem was that CASE members had no common interests, and this situation was the result of a wrong selection of people. As for the future of CASE, Eisenman saw no possibility of creating a united group, and he thought that CASE could at best be composed of three or four loosely connected informal groups.

At the January 1968 CASE meeting hosted by Eisenman and Rowe at the IAUS, it was decided that CASE would be composed of two regional groups, CASE/Princeton–New York and CASE/Boston, while a potential CASE/Philadelphia might eventually be created. As early as 19 January 1968, Richard Meier called a meeting of CASE/Princeton–New York to discuss how their group could formulate a proposition for a “national planning policy.” In Eisenman’s surviving archives there is no indication that this project ever materialized. Correspondence relating to CASE resumes a year later, in the spring of 1969, which is when two meetings were organized: CASE 6 on “Form and Use in Architecture,” supervised by Stanford Anderson of CASE/Boston and held at MIT, and CASE 7 on “Pictorial and Literal Space: Architecture and Painting,” organized by Eisenman at MoMA. This latter meeting, during which the work of six architects was discussed, was the basis for the book *Five Architects* published in 1972.²³

As these events occurred in 1967–1968, Eisenman organized an exhibition of his private collection of books, periodicals, and ephemera for the Princeton University Library. Since his 1960 and 1961 summer travels in Europe with Colin Rowe, Peter D. Eisenman had acquired a collection significant enough to be the subject of a public exhibition. Entitled *Modern Architecture 1919–1939: Polemics*, the exhibition was shown from 16 February to 15 April 1968.²⁴ Eisenman expressed in the catalogue his dissatisfaction with the idealized picture of modern architecture presented in the secondary literature since the late 1930s, and he stressed the need to study primary sources in order to understand the revolution in architectural ideology and method that had occurred during the decades between the wars. For him, the books and magazines of the heroic period of modern architecture had not only a *historical* value, because they were representative of the period, but they had also a *theoretical* value, because they could further an understanding of the interaction between ideas about architecture and “the formal invention of an architecture.” For Eisenman, the fact that architects having different formal preferences would publish their works side by side in the same magazines implied “the ideological linking of artistic personalities whom one would have thought to be sharply differentiated.”

Eisenman’s work on the selection of items for the exhibition apparently revived his interest in creating a magazine. He went to Buffalo to discuss with Robert Slutzky and Colin Rowe the project for a magazine to be titled *RE:FORM, a Magazine toward Rational Architecture*. It is not clear if *RE:FORM* was meant to be the IAUS journal. The undated surviving draft of an editorial statement for this magazine reiterated some of the objectives of the previous statements for a CASE magazine in a much more assertive tone. *RE:FORM* was openly intended to be “intellectually aggressive.” It solicited “provocative contributions” that would focus criticism on selected architectural ideas (fig. 3). Its starting point was an apocalyptic description of the deteriorating quality of human life in “a world of rising brutality and despair, of sinking quality and hope, of sophistication of means and confusion of ends.” The editors would refuse “to capitulate to the seemingly hopeless nature of environmental problems simply because they are complex.” They also rejected the assumption that one had to choose between “an irrelevant idealism and an amoral pragmatism,” between “abstruse theory and mindless practice,” between technology and art. They did not want to waste energy making academic distinctions between the various disciplines that acted upon the environment, disciplines that in their opinion were covered by the term “architecture.” The real problem was the coordination, integration, and association of thought and sentiment.



RE:FORM provides a critical forum for selected architectural ideas; and since it is intellectually aggressive, its editors solicit provocative contributions from all relevant sources. Although (unsolicited articles are also invited for consideration.

RE:FORM represents a point of view, which will be modified, elaborated, strengthened, or weakened through an interchange of ideas. It also has a goal: the effective utilisation of architectural thought, skill and practice to increase the quality of life on this planet.

RE:FORM does not intend to stop with documentation, as it wishes primarily to create a beneficial intellectual climate. It aims to translate current humanistic, social, psychological and scientific thought into architectural relevancy to man's global situation.

RE:FORM is concerned with the nature of the subject who acts on the world, as well as the object that is acted upon. So it inquires into the attitudes, assumptions and myths which generate and ^{direct} ~~shape~~ ~~influence~~ action, as well as the concrete results that stem from these intangibles.

RE:FORM emphasizes "idea" over "thing"; considers "what should be", as well as "what is"; and stresses the significance of human value judgements in the making of a healthy architecture.

3. Statement about 'Re:Form'. No date. Typescript with notes in black ink. Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies Archive, 057 ARC 038. © IAUS Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

Regarding history, they did not conceive "present circumstances and future actions as inevitable outgrowths of historical processes, of a divine, and inescapable 'spirit of the times,'" because they assumed that judgment was "still an operative factor in human affairs." For them, tradition was not "a blessing or a curse, a model to be followed or rejected." They concluded by commenting on the necessity of providing clarification and direction to contemporary developments:

Our present task is to understand past and present values, to pick and choose, to weigh and reject so as to extend a meaningful body of values into an unknown future. We must understand which facts are relevant and which are not, to grasp which data should dictate form and which should be vetoed to promote healthy solutions.

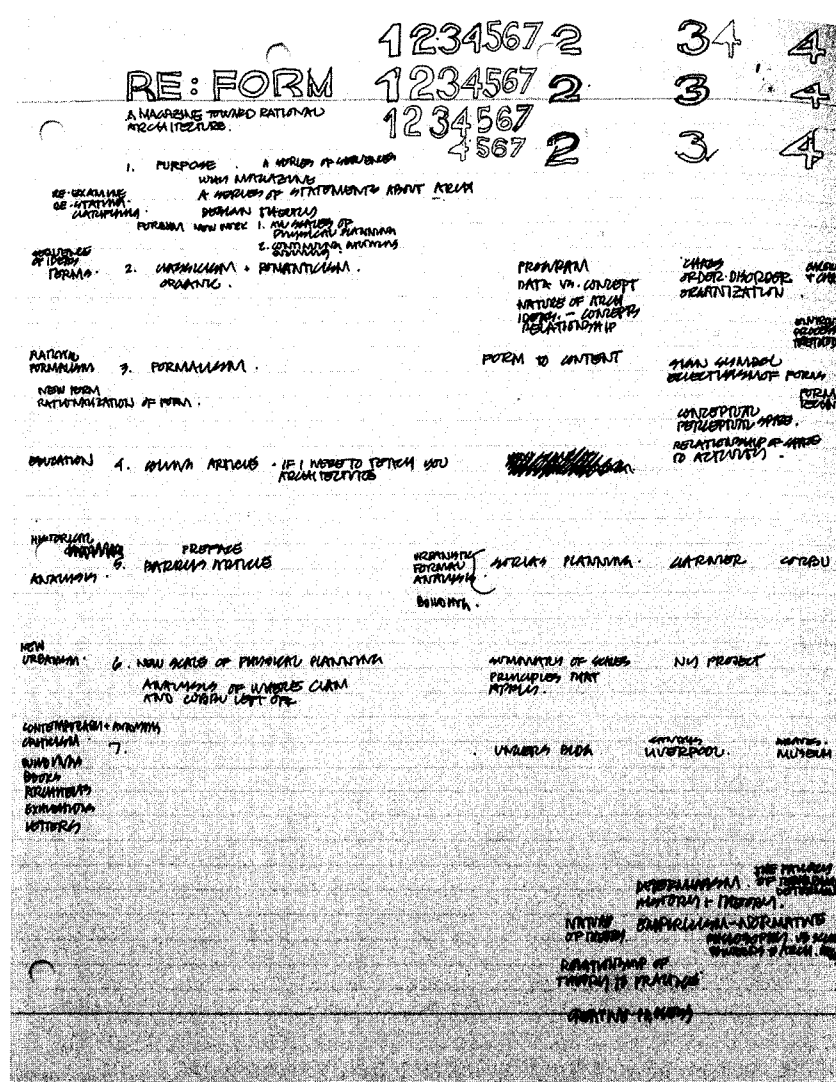
We assert that human judgment is ultimately the overriding factor that shapes our world for better or worse. And it is toward the educating, the sensitizing and the humanizing of such judgment that this periodical is devoted.

The argument of the editors was evidently inspired by the model Sigfried Giedion had proposed in his famous book *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*. As Giedion had criticized the nineteenth-century separation of thought and feeling, Eisenman, Rowe, and Slutzky demanded an integration of thought and sentiment. However, in criticizing the notions of *Zeitgeist* and tradition, they distanced themselves from Giedion for whom the new tradition of modern architecture was built upon the accumulation of constituent historical facts, which were symbolized by certain forms. If the editors accepted this general model, they contested the assumption, latent in Giedion's text, that the selection of constituent facts was historically determined and therefore an outgrowth of the spirit of the times rather than a matter of free-will.²⁵

Surviving notes for the contents of the first issues of the projected magazine indicate what Eisenman intended to discuss (fig. 4). The topics of the proposed historical studies, criticism of contemporary buildings and projects, and the theoretical problems to be addressed confirm his desire to develop new forms of rationalization of architectural form at building and city scales. The project was not pursued, probably because of tensions between Eisenman and Rowe that arose during the academic year 1968–1969.²⁶

1969: *Perspecta* and the Idea of the "Little Magazine"

Considering these events, it is not coincidental that the first piece Eisenman signed as IAUS director concerned the role of "little magazines" in the development of architectural culture – "The Big Little Magazine: *Perspecta* 12 and the Future of the Past," published in *Architectural Forum* in October 1969.²⁷ In this review-essay, Eisenman reacted against Denise Scott Brown's suggestion that Yale's periodical was not a "little magazine" but a well-produced glossy "of high academic standing." Eisenman insisted instead that *Perspecta* had the quality of a "little magazine" because it created a space for a polemical discourse "on the margins of the profession." He maintained that since its inception in the early 1950s, *Perspecta* had not only recorded history but had



4. Notes on 'Re:Form'. No date. Black ink on paper.
Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies Archive, 057 ARC 039. © IAUS
Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal

actually “created history,” both by publicizing the works of Paul Rudolph and Louis Kahn, among others, and by publishing seminal articles such as “Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal” by Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky.

More important for Eisenman, *Perspecta* 12 represented a break with the direction taken by the magazine after *Perspecta* 9 in 1965, in which Robert Venturi had previewed his *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*. Eisenman

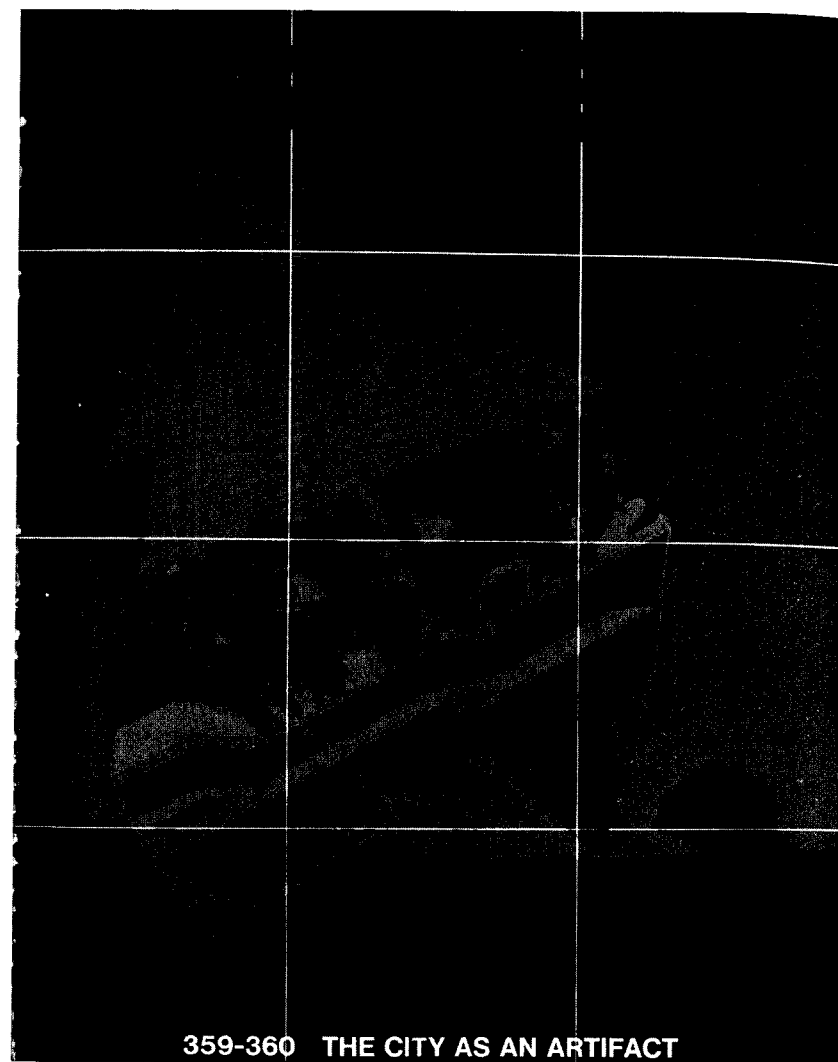
contended that *Perspecta* 12 was more polemical than its predecessors for two reasons: it manifested a new approach to history, and it manifested a search for a rational theory. In the matter of history, Eisenman praised Kenneth Frampton’s essay on Pierre Chareau’s *Maison de verre* for showing that it was possible to conceive history “as a vehicle for ideas” rather than as a means of retrieving past images as models for the future. In the matter of theory, Eisenman applauded two essays – by Emilio Ambasz, the IAUS Graham Foundation fellow for 1968–1969, and Alan Colquhoun, at the time a visiting lecturer at Princeton and Cornell – for laying the foundation of a rational discourse on architecture.

1971 – Casabella’s Special Issue on the IAUS

In hindsight, 1971 appears to have been a pivotal year in the gradual expansion of the IAUS from a design-oriented quasi-academy into a leading house in the production of discourses on architectural theory and history. On the one hand, Eisenman’s enthusiastic review of *Perspecta* 12 clearly helped in consolidating links between the Yale School of Architecture, and the Institute since the next *Perspecta*, the 13–14 double issue of 1971, included essays by several IAUS fellows, such as Emilio Ambasz, Anthony Vidler, Peter Rowe, Joseph Rykwert, Robert Slutzky and Colin Rowe, and Eisenman himself. On the other hand, the IAUS published its first collective statement in a special bilingual double issue of *Casabella* in December 1971 (fig. 5). This document was the immediate precursor of *Oppositions*.

Titled “The City as Artefact,” the IAUS *Casabella* issue was the prototype of the polemical magazine Eisenman had been dreaming of since the mid-1960s. On this occasion, he invited Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown to write an essay and asked Kenneth Frampton for a critical reply. These texts were published in the opening section of the magazine, which was titled “Cultural Debate: Existing Situation.”

Scott Brown wrote “Learning from Pop” for the IAUS’s *Casabella* issue, an essay arguing that the “pop landscape” was a legitimate subject for study.²⁸ In the next pages, Kenneth Frampton replied with a severe critique of the architectural Pop movement that Venturi and Scott Brown led in the United States.²⁹ For Frampton, Las Vegas was “the ‘manipulative’ city of kitsch.” Semiotic studies like those suggested by the Venturis canonized kitsch culture and conformed “to the sacrosanct ‘populist’ goals of our affluent society.” Moreover, the self-proclaimed value-free studies of the “dumb and the ordinary” carried out by Scott Brown and Venturi “verged on the cynical,” and far from being subversive, they were ultimately conservative. This critique prompted



5. Cover of *Casabella* 359/360 (December 1971)

a reply from Scott Brown in which she asserted that Frampton's "armchair-revolutionary" argument was useless and constituted a typically European dismissal of American society.³⁰ This spectacular polemic constituted a perfect introduction to the ensuing theoretical essays, which presented alternatives to the Venturis' position.

1971: The Project for an IAUS Magazine

The *Casabella* issue edited by the IAUS diffused new ideas and gave instant credibility to Eisenman's Institute. With the parallel contribution of IAUS fellows to *Perspecta* 13–14, it became evident to the Argentinean architect Mario Gandelsonas, on his arrival at the Institute in 1971, that the IAUS should publish its own material, and thus the idea of an IAUS journal was born.

Stanford Anderson and Anthony Vidler were put in charge of drafting a proposal for the magazine as early as the fall of 1971. In a memorandum dated 27 October 1971, they wrote that the IAUS journal was meant to fill a void in the architectural press. In contrast to scholarly journals, which dealt essentially with historical topics and were rarely concerned with twentieth-century architecture, and professional magazines, which advertised name architects and were unwilling to take the initiative in architectural criticism, the journal would elicit polemic, criticism, and letters. The projected publication was thought of as a trans-disciplinary forum "in the literal sense" for professional discussion, debate, and criticism of current issues in architecture, planning, and urban design. "The discussants," the co-editors explained, "would be drawn from a wide range of disciplines and attitudes but the issues would always involve the physical environment." The plan was to publish original articles generated both by individual contributors and through the seminar programs of the IAUS. The intention was to create a dialogue between disciplines: "These articles would be both intra- and interdisciplinary: architects and physical planners would examine their own fields in new ways; contributors from other fields would look across their boundaries and raise new issues about the physical environment."

Book reviews, ideally two or more conflicting reviews of the same book, were seen as one means to explore ideas "as much as they are in the *New York Review of Books*." The journal was thus intended for both an audience of laymen and an audience of professionals concerned with the physical environment. Anderson and Vidler concluded their proposal stressing that the projected forum would be open to all points of view. "This magazine," they pointed out, "is not conceived as the voice of the IAUS, but rather as an intellectual and communication service provided through the IAUS."

Their proposal contained annexes that identified the members of the editorial board and potential contributors. Nine pages outlined the contents of the proposed first six issues, each issue on a specific theme being produced by guest editors, and provided a list of thirty-one possible themes for subsequent issues.³¹ The original editorial board was to include six members: the co-editors Anderson and Vidler and four IAUS fellows, Peter D. Eisenman, Emilio Ambasz, William Ellis, and Kenneth Frampton. Two years later in 1973, the editorial

statement published in the first issue of the new journal, named *Oppositions* by Eisenman, was co-signed by Frampton, Eisenman, and Gandelsonas. The trio led the journal until Anthony Vidler (beginning with number 6) and Kurt Forster (beginning with number 12) joined them on the editorial board. As Michael Hays points out, the contents of the journal reflected the editors' different, even divergent, positions.³² In this respect, Eisenman's obsessions with the Anglo-American debates of the 1960s largely determined the contents of the first issues, which were evidently a means for him to establish the context – that is to say, the works of Rowe, the Smithsons, Rudolph, and Venturi – that made his theory of form critical. But his private world would soon be challenged by the ideological criticism introduced in the journal by Gandelsonas, criticism in which Manfredo Tafuri (beginning with number 3) became the emblematic figure.

As director of the IAUS and editor of *Oppositions*, Eisenman moved away from the all-inclusive orientation that was fatal to CASE. Rather than an exclusive family that exerted censorship to promote one direction like Team X, the IAUS grew into a selective gentlemen's club, to which admission was granted more on the basis of quality than ideology. Because Eisenman aimed at publishing only the best, *Oppositions* did not become an open forum.³³ The journal was to be an arena where ideological confrontations between polemical groups were carefully staged as a means to sharpen and critique individual theoretical positions. This strategy, essential in the justification of Eisenman's own theoretical development, has been formative for a whole generation of theoreticians and readers. Yet, in Eisenman's retrospective opinion, *Oppositions* did not completely fulfil the role he had envisioned for the IAUS journal, as it gradually lost its original theoretical impetus and became overly concerned with history.

NOTES

- 1 Joan Ockman, "Resurrecting the Avant-Garde: The History and Program of *Oppositions*," in *Architectureproduction*, ed. Beatriz Colomina and Joan Ockman (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 181–199.
- 2 Unless indicated otherwise, all archival documents quoted and reproduced here are found in folder B1-5 of IAUS Archive donated by Peter D. Eisenman to the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA), Montreal. Reproductions were kindly authorised by Eisenman. Interviews with Eisenman, Kenneth Frampton, and Anthony Vidler were conducted by the author for the CCA IAUS Oral History Program that was intended to provide contextual information about this archive. Although the interviews did not focus specifically on *Oppositions* or its origins, occasional mentions of CASE and IAUS publication projects were recorded. However, many recollections remained uncertain as to dates, people and locations. The author has correlated documents and recollections without filling the gaps.
- 3 K. Michael Hays, "Introduction," in *Oppositions Reader, Selected Readings from a Journal for Ideas and Criticism in Architecture 1973-1984*, ed. K. Michael Hays (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), ix–xv; Mitchell Schwarzer, "History and Theory in Architectural Periodicals: Assembling Oppositions," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58:3 (1999): 342–348; Daniel Sherer, "Architecture in the Labyrinth: Theory and Criticism in the United States: 'Oppositions,' 'Assemblage,' 'Any' (1973–1999)," *Zodiac* 20 (January–June 1999): 36–63.
- 4 Peter D. Eisenman, "Book Review: *Ordinariness and Light* by Alison and Peter Smithson," *Architectural Forum* 134 (May 1971): 76, 80.
- 5 Colin Rowe, "A Vote of Thanks," *As I Was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. 1, ed. Alexander Caragonne (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1996), 153–157.
- 6 Peter D. Eisenman, "Building in Meaning: Review of *Meaning in Architecture*," *Architectural Forum* 133 (July–August 1970): 88, 90.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Colin St. John Wilson, "Open Letter to an American Student," *Architectural Design* 35:3 (March 1965): AD6–AD7.
- 9 Stanford Anderson suggests that this was an attitude found in East Coast schools of architecture in the 1950s, where the pedagogy of Walter Gropius exerted a strong influence. "The use of the library, even the perusal of current journals, was a clear and present danger to the student's creativity." See Stanford Anderson, "Architectural History in Schools of Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58:3 (September 1999): 284–290.
- 10 St. John Wilson, "Open Letter."
- 11 There are no documents in the IAUS archives relating to this event. The following account is based on the recollections of Eisenman and Frampton. Eisenman credits Ambasz with finding the name CASE (Eisenman, interview with author, 16 August 2000).
- 12 Eisenman, interview with author, 16 August 2000.
- 13 The real matter of the dispute and the chronology of events are not totally clear. "There was a lot of rivalry between Kenneth and myself over the CASE magazine ... We had an election for editor of the magazine, and Kenneth won the election to be the editor of the magazine. And then he said, 'I want to name my editorial board.' He named everybody but me. And this was the first time we broke. And I was furious."

- I didn't talk to Ken, I guess, for a year or two" (Eisenman, interview with author, 3 October 2000). "I did participate in another CASE meeting, though I have the vaguest memory of them, to tell you the truth, and I worked on the CASE magazine project and I'm sure Eisenman has told you this also. Basically, of course, he wanted me to do that magazine, but we started to quarrel, ideologically. I didn't do what he wanted me to do, and so the magazine never existed" (Frampton, interview with author, 29 November 2001).
- 14 Frampton came to the United States in 1965. He spent one year teaching at Princeton's School of Architecture and another year on a Hodder Fellowship arranged by Eisenman.
 - 15 Two copies of the second version were kept by Eisenman, one of which was annotated.
 - 16 Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture without Architects: An Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1964).
 - 17 The search for an alternative form of urbanization to suburbia was central in Eisenman's contemporaneous research. From 1964 to 1966, he worked with Michael Graves and a team of researchers on an alternative model for the urbanization of the East Coast conurbation running from Washington to Boston. This research was applied in the New Jersey Corridor Project, a hypothetical linear city linking Philadelphia and New York.
 - 18 Colin St. John Wilson, "Intentions in Architecture by Christian Norberg-Schulz," *RIBA Journal*, 3rd ser., 71 (July 1964): 331.
 - 19 In 1963 Anderson made a spectacular debut in architectural criticism with a lecture at the Architectural Association criticizing Banham's Futurist dismissal of tradition. His text, entitled "Architecture That Isn't 'Trad Dad,'" was published in *The History, Theory, and Criticism of Architecture: Papers*, ed. Marcus Whiffen (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1965).
 - 20 Vidler studied architecture at Cambridge University with Leslie Martin, Colin Rowe, and Eisenman from 1960 to 1965. He left England for the United States in 1966, where he found a teaching job at Princeton University.
 - 21 "Three Institutes Are Formed to Study Urban Problems," *Architectural Record* 142 (December 1967): 36. The two other institutes created in 1967 were the Research Center for Urban and Environmental Planning, located in the School of Architecture at Princeton, and the Institute of Urban Ecology at the University of Southern California.
 - 22 IAUS announcement, 1967-1968, folder c3-1, IAUS Archive, CCA, Montreal.
 - 23 William Ellis was the one architect who did not publish his work in the book. CASE survived until 1974; the last meeting was held in California with the participation of the "Whites" from Princeton/New York, the "Grays" from Penn and Yale, and the West Coast "Silvers."
 - 24 *Modern Architecture 1919-1939: Polemics: Books, Periodicals and Ephemera from the Collection of Peter D. Eisenman* [Princeton, 1968].
 - 25 Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1962).
 - 26 After an apparently peaceful and productive first year, the alliance of IAUS with Colin Rowe's Urban Design studio continued in 1968-1969. Unfortunately, a personality conflict between Eisenman and the Cornell team developed in the fall of 1968. Interpreting this students's "revolt" as a ploy by Colin Rowe to take control of IAUS, Eisenman decided to suspend the monthly allocations of members of the Cornell team and to change the locks of the Institute. This crisis seriously impaired Eisenman's relationship with Rowe.
 - 27 Peter Eisenman, "The Big Little Magazine: *Perspecta* 12 and the Future of the Past," *Architectural Forum* 131 (October 1969): 74, 75, 104.
 - 28 Denise Scott Brown, "Learning from Pop," *Casabella* 359-360 (November-December 1971): 14-23.
 - 29 Kenneth Frampton, "America 1960-1970. Notes on Urban Images and Theory," *Casabella* 359-360 (November-December 1971): 25-40.
 - 30 Denise Scott Brown, "Reply to Frampton," *Casabella* 359-360 (November-December 1971): 41-46.
 - 31 The titles and editors for the first probable issues were the following: "Architecture and Political Change" (Frampton); "Architecture and Conceptual Structure" (Eisenman); "Pop Culture vs. Mass Culture: Pop Culture vs. High Art" (Drexler); "Architecture and Social Utopias" (Anderson/Vidler); "Meaning and Architecture" (Agrest/Gandelsonas); "Low Rise / High Density" (Frampton).
 - 32 Hays, "Introduction," *Oppositions Reader*.
 - 33 In the IAUS Archive there are nearly a hundred manuscripts that were submitted to the editors of *Oppositions* and never published.

***Le Carré bleu, le Team 10 et les autres.
Ambitions et réalités d'une feuille
internationale d'architecture, 1958–1978***

Jusqu'à ce jour, à la différence de quelques grandes revues spécialisées comme *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* ou *Casabella*, personne ne s'est véritablement penché sur l'histoire du *Carré bleu*. Malgré tout, dans le milieu des historiens, son nom évoque deux idées préconçues.

La première est que cette revue ait été fondée par les protagonistes du Team 10, comme organe de diffusion des nouvelles préoccupations de la génération d'architectes modernes issue des Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne (CIAM). À l'origine, cette idée repose sur l'image qu'en ont donnée eux-mêmes les membres du Team 10, en établissant notamment la liste de leurs publications sur les pages du *Carré bleu*¹. Mais cela ne prouve en rien le rôle du Team 10 dans la création de la revue. Du reste, cette idée résiste mal aux bribes d'informations sur la revue livrées par deux notices biographiques, celles des Finlandais Aulis Blomstedt et Keijo Petäjä, qui n'ont jamais fait partie du Team 10, tous deux présentés comme ses fondateurs et premiers rédacteurs en chef². Ainsi, on peut raisonnablement s'interroger sur les véritables acteurs de la revue, sur leurs motivations et préoccupations ainsi que sur leurs liens avec les membres du Team 10 – qui, tels Jacob B. Bakema, Giancarlo de Carlo, Georges Candilis ou Shadrach Woods, ne se privent d'ailleurs pas de publier aussi leurs écrits ou projets emblématiques sur les pages d'autres revues...

La seconde idée préconçue au sujet du *Carré bleu* est d'avoir été un véritable « lieu de débat », notamment durant la période 1960–1970. C'est ce qu'avance Jean-Louis Cohen pour qui le *Carré bleu* figure parmi les rares revues ayant cherché à ouvrir « des brèches dans [le] dispositif étouffant » d'une presse architecturale qui restait « avant tout l'expression de l'autosatisfaction de la profession³ ». C'est cette idée que prolonge Alexander Tzonis lorsqu'en 1999, à l'occasion des quarante ans d'existence de la revue, il rappelle que l'un de ses « points forts », comparé aux autres revues « publiant majoritairement des

réalisations en absence ou avec trop peu de regards critiques », est d'avoir toujours favorisé l'expression « de critiques théoriques et conceptuelles, urbaines et architecturales⁴ ». Si cette idée s'avère justifiée, ce qui reste à démontrer, encore faudrait-il s'interroger sur la nature de ce « débat » et de ces « critiques théoriques et conceptuelles, urbaines et architecturales » attribuées à la revue...

Seule une analyse approfondie de l'histoire du *Carré bleu* permet de répondre aux multiples niveaux de questionnement soulevés par ces idées préconçues. C'est un chantier de recherche que j'ai ouvert en 2001, avec Philippe Simon, dans la visée d'une exposition ayant pour but de rappeler l'existence du *Carré bleu*, sans discontinuité, depuis 1958⁵. Nos investigations ont fait appel à un dépouillement systématique des parutions, ainsi qu'à la mémoire d'un certain nombre de témoins, recueillie dans le cadre d'entretiens. Elles ont non seulement apporté des réponses précises quant à la création, aux acteurs et aux modalités de fonctionnement du *Carré bleu* mais elles ont, surtout, permis d'identifier ses principaux thèmes de préoccupation, au fil des ans.

Cette recherche n'a jamais fait l'objet de publication⁶. Ce que je propose dans le cadre de cet article est d'ouvrir le questionnement sur cet insolite objet historiographique qu'est le *Carré bleu* en apportant un éclairage spécifique sur ses vingt premières années de parution, de 1958 à 1978.

Un projet éditorial en phase avec son époque (1958)

C'est à Helsinki, à l'hiver 1957-1958, que paraît le premier numéro du *Carré bleu* : *Feuille internationale d'architecture* (n° 0) (fig. 1). Dans le paysage des publications de l'époque, la revue vise résolument à se situer à l'avant-garde, et ce, par deux moyens distincts. D'une part, en se dotant d'un nom inspiré d'une toile de Mondrian et lui accolant le sous-titre de *feuille internationale d'architecture* (et non *revue*), qui montre sa prétention à fédérer la réflexion sur la scène internationale. D'autre part, en optant pour un format atypique, quasiment artisanal : celui d'un dépliant sur base carrée (21 x 21 cm), imprimé en deux bandes continues contrecollées recto/verso, d'un total de 8 « pages » finement maquetées par une savante articulation d'images et de textes rédigés en français.

Cette nouvelle publication, placée sous le parrainage d'Arne Jacobsen, est le fait d'un groupe de six personnes, qui se désigne sous le nom de groupe Helsinki : constitué sous l'impulsion de l'architecte Aulis Blomstedt (1906-1979), l'un des chefs de file de la modernité d'après-guerre en Finlande, il réunit le philosophe Kyösti Ålander et les architectes Keijo Petäjä (1919-1988), Eero Eerikäinen (1918), Reima Pietilä (1923-1993) et André Schimmerling (1912), tous deux collaborateurs de Blomstedt⁷.



1. Couverture, *Le Carré Bleu* : feuille internationale d'architecture 0 (1958)

La création du *Carré bleu* se comprend en grande partie à la lumière des engagements de Blomstedt, aussi bien sur la scène locale qu'internationale, dans le contexte de la construction ou reconstruction des villes européennes. D'une part, en Finlande, ce dernier, ayant fondé son agence en 1945, s'attache à explorer des voies différentes pour la conception de l'habitat, tenant compte d'un ensemble de nouvelles notions et notamment du contexte (social, naturel et bâti) : en témoigne son projet pour la cité-jardin de Tapiola (près d'Helsinki, 1952-1965). Par ailleurs, aiguisant son esprit critique depuis 1941 au sein de la revue *Arkkitehti* (organe de l'Ordre des architectes finlandais), dont il est rédacteur en chef de 1941 à 1945, où il publie des articles jusqu'en 1978, il entend jouer un rôle actif dans l'enseignement : ce qu'il fera, à partir de 1958, à l'Université de technologie d'Helsinki (jusqu'en 1966). D'autre part, depuis

1953, Bionisist est un membre actif des CIAM : ayant rejoint le mouvement lors du 9^e congrès d'Aix-en-Provence (en 1953, où il entraîne Pietilä), il représente le CIAM-Finlande au congrès de Dubrovnik en 1956, et se sent plutôt proche des membres du Team 10 – qui, dès 1954 (Manifeste de Doorn), avaient affirmé leur désir de reprendre le flambeau des CIAM afin d'en renouveler le débat.

Conçu dans ce cadre spécifique et dans le fil du congrès de Dubrovnik, le *Carré bleu* s'affiche clairement comme une entreprise de légitimation des positions de la nouvelle génération moderne d'après-guerre, à l'encontre des dogmes et modèles sclérosant la réflexion. C'est ce qu'annonce du reste sans équivoque son premier numéro⁸, conçu comme « un bref manifeste » et affichant sa volonté de « rouvrir le débat d'idées en architecture » afin de mener une « intervention rénovatrice dans le domaine de la pensée architecturale ». La particularité du *Carré bleu* est par ailleurs – comme en attestent son sous-titre de « *Feuille internationale d'architecture* » et le choix du français (langue officielle des CIAM) – d'être envisagée d'emblée comme un organe international, fédérant tous ceux qui, comme ses fondateurs, cherchent à « changer les mentalités⁹ », et notamment les architectes de la jeune génération des CIAM. C'est du reste ce que confirment les deux thèmes sur lesquels s'ouvre sa réflexion en 1958, et qui se font l'écho des débats du congrès CIAM de 1956. Le premier est celui de la conception architecturale qui, jusque-là enfermée par un « académisme désuet » et un fonctionnalisme réducteur, doit favoriser l'émergence d'une « architecture nouvelle », « se développant d'une façon organique avec les autres courants culturels de [son] temps¹⁰ ». Le second thème, et non le moins important, est celui de l'habitat, dont est rappelé l'enjeu sous forme de trois postulats (rationnel, éthique et esthétique) : la mise en œuvre d'ensembles d'habitation de qualité, tant au niveau de leurs espaces intérieurs que de leurs relations avec « le paysage, l'îlot ou la cité », permettant l'épanouissement de la vie familiale (individuelle et collective).

À bien des égards, ces prises de positions ne sont pas sans évoquer celles d'autres revues qui se créent ou se renouvellent à l'époque, comme *Formes et vie. Revue trimestrielle de synthèse des arts* (fondée en 1951 par Le Corbusier et Fernand Léger) dont l'objectif est de « replacer l'architecture dans les courants artistiques de son temps¹¹ » ou, encore, *Architectural Forum* qui, dans son numéro de 1959 intitulé « The story of another idea », affichera également son ambition de renouveler le débat sur la création architecturale et l'habitat. Mais seul le *Carré bleu* est, à l'époque, basé sur un projet de collaboration à l'échelle internationale, dans le but d'élaborer et de diffuser une nouvelle manière de penser et de faire la ville et l'architecture. Il va sans dire que cette proposition est accueillie avec enthousiasme par les différents milieux d'architectes modernes qui, liés de près ou de loin aux CIAM et au Team 10 et sou-

vent impliqués à la fois dans la pratique et l'enseignement, se sentent en phase avec les propos du *Carré bleu*.

Ainsi, dès 1959–1960, comme suite au dernier congrès CIAM à Otterlo (auquel assistent certains protagonistes de la revue et qui marque la mort des CIAM), le *Carré bleu* s'est déjà constitué un large réseau de collaborateurs. Parmi eux se retrouvent des membres du Team 10, comme Candilis, Bakema et De Carlo. Mais figurent également bon nombre d'architectes qui, en différents pays, défendent la cause moderne, comme, entre autres, Elie Azagury (Maroc), Roger Aujame et Ionel Schein (France), Sverre Fehn (Norvège), Jörn Utzon et Henning Larsen (Danemark), Sven Ivar Lind et Sven Backström, Ralph Erskine et Lennart Bergström (Suède), George Cluzella (Argentine) et Charles Polonyi (Hongrie).

C'est de ce réseau de collaborateurs que dépendra l'avenir du *Carré bleu*. Car, indépendante et autogérée, la revue ne cherchera jamais l'apport financier de publicités (mises à part celles de Marimekko dans les premiers numéros, elle n'en comporte aucune). Ainsi, la viabilité de l'entreprise repose sur l'engagement bénévole de ces collaborateurs, avec lesquels la revue instaure du reste un principe d'échange de bons procédés : leur offrant un support afin de « débattre de leurs préoccupations sur l'architecture et de proposer de nouvelles lignes de travail¹² », elle sollicite en retour leur disponibilité pour nourrir le contenu de ses parutions, voire même assurer leur diffusion et leur promotion.

Repenser le débat (1958–1962)

Lancé de manière provocatrice, en se donnant pour mission de « rénover la pensée architecturale », le *Carré bleu* se doit, dans ses premiers numéros, de poser les rudiments de son combat militant – ou, autrement dit, d'ouvrir des pistes de réflexion. C'est ce que s'attache à faire la revue dès le numéro 1 (1958). D'une part en lançant une enquête auprès de ses lecteurs : « Comment formulez-vous le problème de l'architecture contemporaine ? », qui donnera lieu à une série de réponses dans les parutions ultérieures. Et d'autre part, en s'engageant sur un thème de réflexion, celui de « la morphologie de l'expression plastique », pour s'interroger sur l'apport à la pensée architecturale des nouvelles théories scientifiques : la théorie de la relativité, selon laquelle l'univers est en constante mutation (la transformation étant l'essence même de la vie) et la théorie systémique, envisageant cette réalité fluctuante comme une combinatoire (un tout constitué de parties en relation les unes avec les autres).

Certes, le fait de convoquer de telles théories sert d'abord l'image de la revue, attestant de son ancrage dans les « courants de son temps ». Mais ces théories lui sont autrement utiles, et pour deux raisons. L'une est qu'elles fournissent les arguments irréfutables permettant de condamner sans appel la pensée systématique alors dominante – qui, conduisant à des « solutions uniques » (ou « partis ») et à des systèmes ou structures de composition « rigides et fermés¹³ », est tenue responsable de la « déshumanisation » du cadre de vie¹⁴. L'autre est qu'elles assignent une nouvelle direction à la recherche, en élevant désormais la réflexion des objets finis (ou « formes fermées ») au système de relations entre les éléments, entre les composants (les pleins et les vides), entre les différents niveaux (ou échelles) d'organisation.

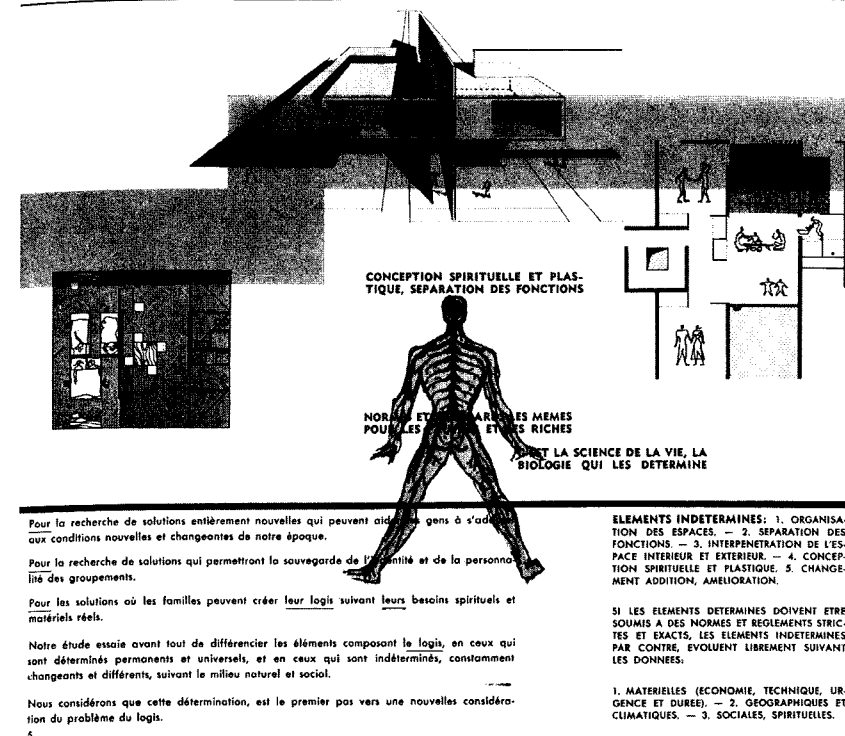
Une nouvelle théorie de la conception

Si les deux ténors du *Carré bleu*, Blomstedt et Petäjä, s'intéressent à ces théories scientifiques afin de « réintégrer » dans l'architecture les « constantes » de « l'ordre universel et naturel¹⁵ », c'est surtout au jeune Pietilä que l'on doit les contributions les plus significatives en la matière, d'ailleurs présentées dans le premier numéro de 1958¹⁶. Car ses études formelles, se référant aux mathématiques modernes (théorie des nombres, topologie) et explorant l'univers « quasi illimité » des « rapports » dans l'espace entre les éléments et les intervalles qui les séparent (considérés comme équivalents), démontrent qu'il n'existe pas de compositions limitées mais, au contraire, que toute création, quelle que soit son échelle, contient en germe une infinité de « combinaisons » possibles. Ce qui, par conséquent, ouvre non seulement des « perspectives insoupçonnées sur l'univers de la forme », mais lui permet de suggérer une nouvelle « théorie des espaces », considérant dès lors l'architecture comme « langage » ou « système de signes », habile combinaison d'« anciennes valeurs essentielles » (issues de la géométrie euclidienne, comme les lois de la statique) et certaines « caractéristiques essentielles » non euclidiennes (telles que « la continuité, les propriétés dynamiques ou les rapports »).

De l'exploration formelle au Team 10

La « morphologie de l'architecture » représente l'une des voies théoriques explorées dans le but de générer de nouveaux « systèmes » de composition qui, dynamiques, donnent naissance à une multitude de « groupes d'assemblages sujets à une certaine transformation¹⁷ ». D'autres acteurs du *Carré bleu*, abordant pour leur part les problèmes de « perception du réel » ou des relations entre « architecture et paysage », nourrissent également ce propos, en envisageant la réalité comme un « système complexe de relations spatiales » (Schimmerling) et en militant pour la « forme ouverte », « prolonga-

PROBLEME DE L'HABITAT DE NOTRE TEMPS EST LOIN D'ETRE RESOLU. AU CONTRAIRE, NOUS SOMMES ARRIVES A UN
TER : LA CONCEPTION COURANTE DES PLANS NE CORRESPOND NI A LEUR FACON DE VIVRE, NI A LEUR MOYENS ECONOMIQUES. — L
LIGNE : LA RECHERCHE DE L'HABITAT DU GRAND NOMBRE, PHENOMENE QUI CARACTERISE L'ARCHITECTURE DE NOTRE EPOQUE. DANS C
A. WOODS, UNE CONTRIBUTION A LA SOLUTION DU PROBLEME DU LOGEMENT EN FRANCE, EN MEME TEMPS QU'A CELLE DE L'HABIT



2. « Proposition pour un habitat évolutif » de Candilis-Josic-Woods, *Le Carré bleu* 2 (1959)

tion vivante du fonctionnalisme » (Voelcker)¹⁸. Ce type de réflexions est en phase avec celle des protagonistes du Team 10 qui, depuis un moment déjà, s'interrogent également sur l'articulation entre les échelles et cherchent à définir un nouveau langage des formes bâties. L'équipe finlandaise du *Carré bleu* conforte cette proximité de vues dès le printemps 1959 en s'adjoignant comme collaborateur Georges Candilis et, en prévision de la rencontre d'Otterlo (septembre 1959), en diffusant sa « Proposition pour un habitat évolutif » (conçue avec Josic et Woods; fig. 2) – projet militant pour la création d'« espaces libres de grandeur variable » afin de satisfaire les besoins changeants des habitants¹⁹. Dans le fil d'Otterlo, les liens de la revue avec le Team 10 se consolident davantage lorsqu'elle accueille comme collaborateurs bon nombre des nouveaux venus dans la « famille » Team 10, tels que Ralph Erskine, Oscar Hansen et Jerzy Soltan (en qui Alison Smithson verra de nouveaux « inventeurs de langage²⁰ »).

commentaire

André Schimmerling.

Il y eut un moment dans l'histoire de l'architecture contemporaine où les situations les plus diverses pouvaient être résumées par des formules à la fois frappantes et simples.

Aujourd'hui une confrontation d'idées et de travaux est devenue une affaire plus complexe : dans un certain sens le contrôle de la situation nous échappe parce que ses proportions sont devenues démesurées.

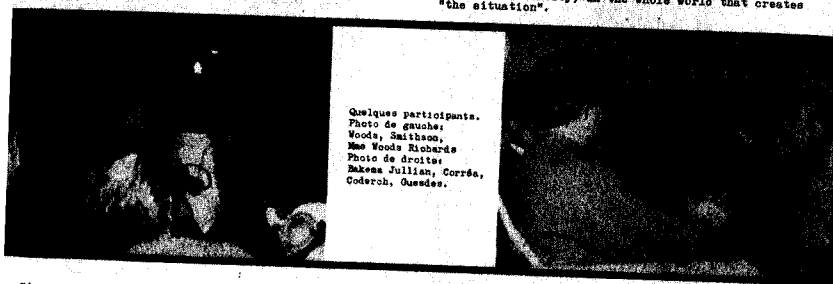
Nous vivons une ère d'industrialisation et d'urbanisation intense et c'est bien cette force motrice, présente à un degré d'intensité variable dans le monde entier, qui crée « la situation ».

Les entretiens de Royaumont furent organisés en septembre 1962 par les membres du Team 10, ancien groupe de travail des C.I.A.M. (Congrès Internationaux d'architecture moderne).

There was a time in the history of today's architecture when the most diverse situations could be resumed by formula both striking and simple.

Nowadays the confrontation of ideas and works has become a far more complicated business : in a certain way we lose the control of the situation because its proportions have become enormous.

We live an age of intense industrialization and it is this very active force present (at a variable degree of intensity) in the whole world that creates "the situation".



Quelques participants.
Photo de gauche :
Woods, Smithson,
Nee Woods Richards
Photo de droite :
Bakema, Jullien, Corréa,
Goderich, Oudiz.

C'est une force à la fois puissante et aveugle avec ses répercussions dans les domaines économiques et sociaux. Sur le plan du milieu construit elle aboutit à ignorer l'échelle humaine.

Devant cet événement, quelle peut être l'attitude de l'architecte ? Selon certains, adoucir quelque peu sa brutalité par un art des façades justement proportionnées. Puis dans des circonstances exceptionnelles et favorables, faire de l'architecture.

Pourtant, il existe d'autres points de vue. Je pense que la rencontre a permis d'ébaucher la question de la responsabilité de l'architecte dans la formation du milieu actuel.

L'architecte contemporain est censé baser son travail sur les réalités qui l'entourent et à partir desquelles il se construit une vue d'ensemble. La réalité la plus frappante qui la confronte actuellement est la nécessité de satisfaire aux besoins du grand nombre et de concevoir le milieu en fonction de cette donnée. La conception de l'architecte, artiste exclusif préoccupé de créer une œuvre d'art, comme un objet unique sans rapport avec l'entourage, s'effondre, et dans cette mutation toute notre appro-

It's force both powerful and blind with its reverberations in the social and economical grounds. It goes as far as ignoring the human scale on the ground of constructed space.

Which may be the attitude of the architect before this event ? Some say : to soften a bit brutality by an art of facades justly proportioned. Then in very exceptional circumstances to make "a piece of architecture".

Nonetheless, there are other points of view. I think the meeting has permitted to sketch the question of the architect's responsibility in the formation of the actual environment.

Today's architect is supposed to found his work on the realities that surround him and from which he creates himself a total view. The most striking reality that confronts him at present (especially in the industrialized countries) is the necessity of satisfying to the needs of the great number and to conceive the medium in function of this fact. The conception of the architect, exclusive architect, anxious to create a masterpiece as a unique object without any relation with its environment, shades

3. Le Carré Bleu 4 (1962), p. 2

Un foisonnement de recherches

En raison de l'élargissement de son réseau, et de la complexité des préoccupations de ses protagonistes, le propos du *Carré bleu* tendra à se dilater. Afin de le structurer, c'est désormais autour de plus vastes thèmes – comme « L'architecture de la nouvelle société » (n° 4, 1962; fig. 3) ou « La formation de l'architecte » (n° 2, 1961) – que la revue convoquera les contributions. À chaque parution, c'est en croisant sur ces thèmes les points de vues de personnalités différentes – telles que Ralph Erskine, Elie Azagury et les Smithson (n° 1, 1960), Aulis Blomstedt et Oscar Hansen (n° 1, 1961), Ionel Schein et Aarno Ruusuvuori (n° 2, 1961) – qu'elle tente d'identifier les fils directeurs de la réflexion. Certaines, auxquelles elle ouvre plus largement ses pages, éclairent les positions dans lesquelles elle se reconnaît entièrement : comme celles de Jacob B. Bakema et d'Oscar Hansen. Car Bakema, lors de la 2^e rencontre du Team 10 à Bagnols-sur-Cèze (France), appelle à une mobilisation de tous, à la fois « comme architecte » (intéressé à définir le « mode de groupement des élé-

ments») et comme « architecte-urbaniste » (chargé d'établir les « relations entre les choses »), afin de confronter « chaque homme » avec « le phénomène qui s'appelle la vie totale²¹ ». Alors qu'Hansen, traitant de « La forme ouverte en architecture – L'art du grand nombre », invite les architectes à poursuivre « l'analyse élargie des éléments composants, de leur interpénétration et de la structure de la société » afin de créer un « espace total continu » correspondant « à une vie psychique et une morale nouvelles²² ». Un numéro thématique condense du reste ces positions : « Urbanisme » (n° 3, 1961), dont la rédaction est confiée à l'équipe Candilis-Josic-Woods et qui, réaffirmant que « l'urbanisme et l'architecture font partie d'un même processus », assigne un objectif à la recherche : créer « un milieu organique dans lequel des bâtiments appropriés à leur fonction pourront exister » et la « vie » se développer, à court, moyen et long terme.

Si dans l'absolu ces visées théoriques font l'unanimité, en revanche, des positions souvent divergentes s'observent lorsqu'il s'agit de les mettre en pratique. C'est ce dont atteste la diversité de recherches présentées lors de la 3^e rencontre de Team 10 tenue en 1962 à l'abbaye de Royaumont, soulevant les doutes, voire le scepticisme. Dont le *Carré bleu* se fait l'écho, évoquant notamment Bakema qui déplore que l'idée de « société ouverte » ne soit qu'un « slogan » et Ralph Erskine qui en est arrivé à la conclusion « qu'on peut fort bien se trouver dans une situation où, en voulant offrir le maximum de possibilités au futur usager, on arrive à ne rien offrir du tout²³ ». En rapportant ces propos en marge de réalisations ou projets présentés à Royaumont (comme Toulouse-le-Mirail de Candilis-Josic-Woods), *Le Carré bleu* témoigne avec une certaine acuité de l'opposition amicale qui s'est instaurée entre les membres de la nouvelle famille moderne – et qui, d'ailleurs, conduira chacun à affirmer ses positions localement. Ce contexte bouillonnant aurait pu décourager le projet éditorial du *Carré bleu*; mais c'était sans compter sur la détermination de certains de ses acteurs, tels que Candilis, qui offrira alors de la reprendre en mains, depuis la France.

Pour une autre approche de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme (1962–1968)

Une nouvelle époque s'engage ainsi en 1962 pour le *Carré bleu*, alors que les fondateurs passent le relais à un nouveau « cercle de rédaction », d'abord constitué par Georges Candilis, Ionel Schein et André Schimmerling (qui intègre alors l'agence Candilis-Josic-Woods) puis conforté par l'arrivée d'autres Français – tels que Lucien Hervé en 1963, Philippe Fouquey en 1964, Denise Cresswell en 1966, Alexis Josic et Shadrach Woods en 1967. Sous la houlette de

ce nouveau collectif, qui conserve ses attaches avec la Finlande et avec ses réseaux de collaborateurs de la première heure, le propos du *Carré bleu* prendra une nouvelle coloration, plus vindicative.

Fédérer le combat

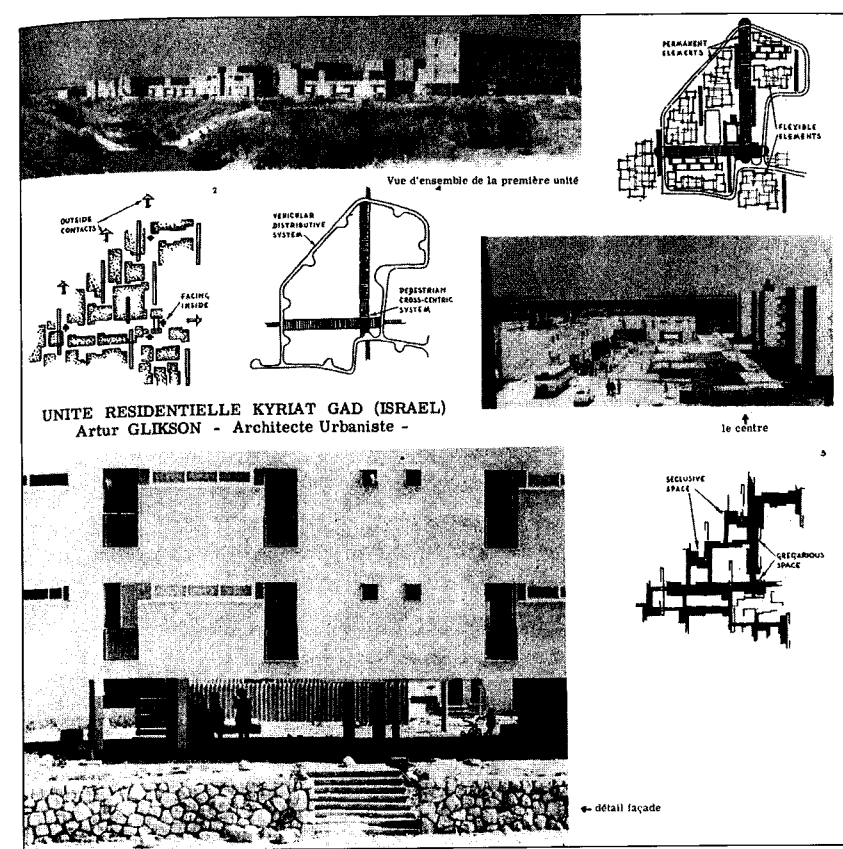
Désormais, sans pour autant énoncer clairement cette ligne éditoriale, la revue tendra à abandonner le registre théorique pour situer son propos en phase avec l'actualité des opérations de rénovation, de reconstruction et d'extension urbaines menées en Europe. Il s'agira, en somme, de rebondir sur les problèmes soulevés par cette actualité et d'assurer la promotion de projets théoriques ou réalisations qui, à l'échelle internationale et en marge de la production courante, représentent de bonnes solutions d'avenir. Ce faisant, la revue se place plus résolument dans la contre-culture. Son ancrage sur un large réseau de collaboration et de diffusion²⁴ lui permet d'assumer cette position, ce qui justifie d'ailleurs souvent des traductions ou résumés de textes en anglais. Fidèle à ce réseau, la revue aura ainsi à cœur de prolonger son enquête sur la situation de l'architecture et sa réflexion sur les grands thèmes abordés depuis 1958 – tels que l'habitat pour le plus grand nombre, l'avenir de l'enseignement et de la pratique.

Au-delà de l'unité d'habitation

Parmi les bons exemples salués par la revue figurent majoritairement des projets et réalisations conçus en tenant compte du contexte, de l'histoire, du temps, et proposant une architecture complexe et diversifiée, satisfaisant les attentes des habitants (matérielles, spirituelles et culturelles). L'«Unité d'habitation intégrale» d'Artur Glikson²⁵ (fig. 4), qui a fait appel à des enquêtes sociologiques afin d'identifier «toute la gamme des besoins humains» (des besoins d'intimité à la vie collective), est l'un d'entre eux. Mis en œuvre à Kyriat Gad en Israël, il est salué à la fois comme un premier essai concluant «en vue de répondre aux exigences urbaines élémentaires : réaliser l'unité dans la variété» et comme un nouveau modèle d'habitat facilitant «la vie de l'homme en société». L'Unité résidentielle de Tibro, «une expérience sur le plan architectural et sociologique à la fois» réalisée par Ralph Erskine en Suède, en est un autre, cette fois perçu comme une réelle «contribution à une doctrine de l'habitat contemporain²⁶».

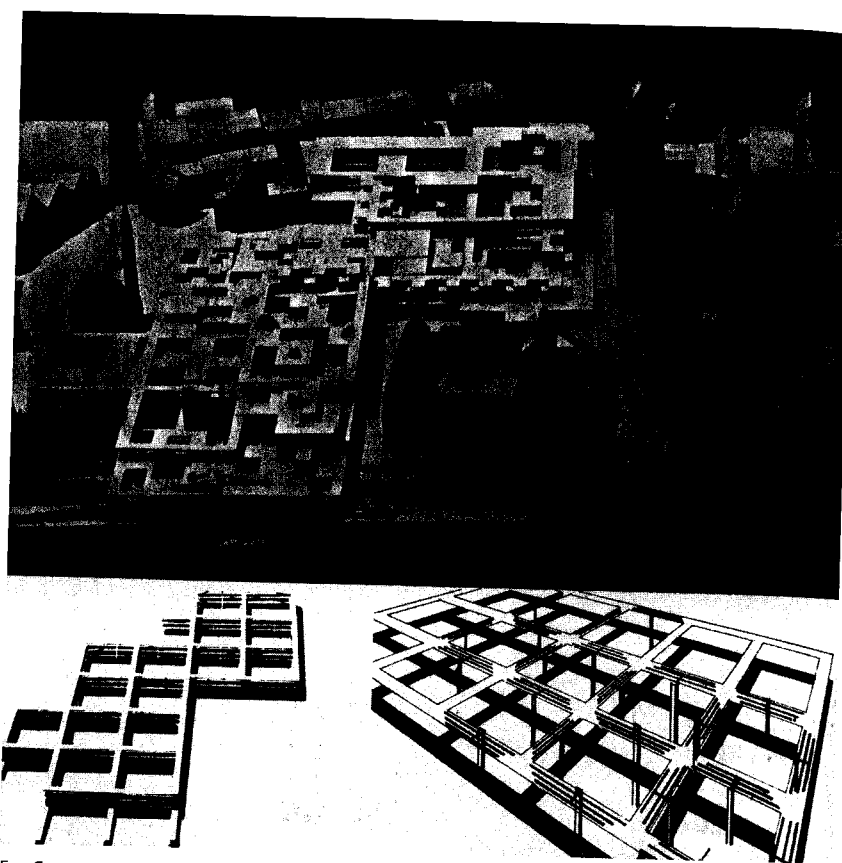
Combinatoire et système d'environnement

Différentes contributions, abordant des questions et des échelles différentes, apportent leurs pierres à ce plaidoyer pour cette nouvelle doctrine de l'habitat. Certaines, comme le projet de Piet Blom pour un village d'enfants (n° 2, 1963) et celui d'Alfred Neumann pour le nouveau centre pour Ashdod (n° 1,



4. «Unité résidentielle de Kyriat Gad intégrale» de Artur Glikson. *Le Carré Bleu* 4 (1966)

1968), prolonge la recherche sur la combinatoire des formes et sur un nouveau «langage de l'espace» qui, fondé sur la géométrie et sur un esprit de «synthèse englobant une large sphère de l'environnement humain», crée des «formes adéquates pour des situations entièrement nouvelles²⁷». D'autres s'attachent plutôt à expliciter leur démarche architecturale et urbaine. C'est ce que propose Woods (n° 3, 1962), en avançant une nouvelle notion : celle du «web» (que la revue traduit par «trame urbaine»), présenté à la fois comme une «façon de penser une organisation dans un lieu et à un moment donnés» et comme un «système d'environnement» qui, tenant compte de deux mesures, l'homme et le temps, permettra «de découvrir une vérité poétique en architecture [...] dans un monde d'une grande mobilité²⁸». Les fondements de ce système sont par ailleurs précisés par l'équipe Candilis-Josic-Woods lorsqu'elle publie ses projets de concours tels que Francfort (fig. 5) et Fort Lamy²⁹ : la ville, par excellence «le domaine des hommes en société», «ne peut être le



5. «Concours pour la reconstruction du centre de Francfort» de Candilis-Josic-Woods. Le Carré bleu 3 (1963)

fait ni d'un dessin de *zoning*, ni d'une conception de volumes ou d'espaces», mais doit tenir compte des modes de vie et chercher à «organiser le présent tout en ouvrant une porte sur l'avenir», afin de permettre «aux citadins de créer leur milieu», voire même à le faire «évoluer³⁰». Dans certains numéros, la revue verra à comparer ces différents types de contributions pour mettre en évidence leurs points de convergence et de divergence. Comme dans le numéro sur l'«université pour le plus grand nombre» où, comparant les projets pour l'université libre de Berlin de Candilis-Josic-Woods (lauréats) et de Henning Larsen (2^e prix) ayant tous deux visé à réaliser un «organisme vivant», elle identifie deux lignes de recherche : l'une privilégiant un «réseau de distribution», «cadre à l'intérieur duquel l'architecture évolue, se développe» et l'autre une «composition à trois dimensions», «modulaire», dans laquelle «les modifications ultérieures mais limitées peuvent avoir lieu³¹».

L'avenir de la profession

Certes, à l'époque, le *Carré bleu* n'est pas, tant s'en faut, la seule revue à promouvoir ce type de recherches³². Sa particularité est néanmoins de chercher, numéro après numéro, à dégager un sens afin de mettre en lumière son incidence pour la pratique et, plus encore, pour l'enseignement de l'architecture. C'est ce qu'encourage notamment Candilis, bientôt appelé à enseigner à l'École des beaux-arts de Paris (ENSBA), ainsi que Blomstedt et Ruusuvuori, tous deux enseignants à l'École polytechnique d'Helsinki. Par leur intermédiaire, l'École des beaux-arts deviendra un haut lieu de revendications. La revue s'en fera l'écho, en évoquant par exemple les débats organisés à l'ENSBA par l'atelier Camelot-Bodiansky (n° 1, 1962) puis par Bodiansky et Candilis (n° 4, 1964), dénonçant la sclérose de la production et des programmes d'enseignement. Pour étayer cette réflexion, la revue concocte en 1965 des numéros sur «l'avenir de l'architecture» et sur la «formation de l'architecte» (nos 2, 3 et 4), dans lesquels elle confronte un panorama de points de vue, relatant par ailleurs la conférence prononcée à Paris par Aulis Blomstedt – ayant appelé à «jeter les fondements d'une culture architecturale homogène, un fond sur lequel rayonneraient les véritables chefs-d'œuvre³³». D'une manière plus générale, la revue saluera toute tentative d'ouvrir l'enseignement à d'autres disciplines – notamment à l'urbanisme, mais aussi à un ensemble de «nouvelles matières» qu'il s'agit, selon elle, d'«articuler toutes, lucidement, entre elles, conformément à une éthique, en fonction des nouveaux impératifs de réalisation, des nouvelles méthodes de recherches et de production, des nouvelles formes possibles³⁴». C'est en ce sens qu'elle rend hommage au Séminaire Tony Garnier (dirigé par Robert Auzelle et André Gutton à l'ENSBA), ayant souligné «la complexité des problèmes à aborder» en matière d'aménagement du territoire³⁵, ainsi qu'à un projet de diplôme dirigé par Candilis : «une maison de l'architecture, germe de ville», proposant une «structure de participation» regroupant des «missions éparpillées» de l'État (telles que la recherche, la création architecturale et l'enseignement de l'architecture)³⁶.

Si c'est avec un enthousiasme sans faille que la revue met en avant ce combat, elle n'est néanmoins pas dupe du trop petit nombre de ses retombées concrètes, pour l'instant. Mais certains signes avant-coureurs d'un changement la confortent dans ses positions, comme l'émergence dans les discours officiels d'«un thème nouveau : la coopération pluridisciplinaire dans l'aménagement de l'espace». Ironisant en 1967 sur la «nouveau» de ce thème, elle se fait un point d'honneur de rappeler les apports des CIAM ou d'un Patrick Geddes en la matière, avant de souligner que le problème demeure de permettre à ces bonnes idées de se matérialiser³⁷. Les événements de Mai 1968 auront alors un effet déclencheur, amenant la revue à réaffirmer ses positions.

En France, la crise de Mai 68 s'accompagne d'une prise de conscience généralisée des problèmes d'architecture et d'urbanisme (fig. 6), tels que la marée déferlante de pavillonnaires, les grands ensembles ou la rénovation urbaine. S'observe également la montée de revendications pour une prise en compte accrue des attentes des habitants en matière d'environnement. Pour le *Carré bleu*, cette crise donne une nouvelle légitimité à ses thèmes de prédilection. S'associant aux revendications étudiantes, le comité de rédaction écrit : « Le mouvement de contestation nous a fait comprendre que nous devons prendre position plus ouvertement que dans le passé. Une critique architecturale permanente doit trouver dans notre revue une tribune ouverte sur les rapports fondamentaux entre les arts et les sciences de l'environnement et les problèmes politiques, sociaux et économiques afin d'arriver à provoquer un dialogue. Nous placerons les projets dans leur contexte politique et social, renforçant de ce fait le rôle critique de notre feuille³⁸. »

Les lignes de force de la critique

En vue d'assumer cette ambitieuse mission, le *Carré Bleu* verra à conforter son action, d'une part en démultipliant ses interventions publiques (organisation d'expositions, de séminaires, de tables rondes ou de soirées de débats³⁹) et, d'autre part, en intégrant de nouveaux collaborateurs (notamment issus des milieux de l'enseignement⁴⁰) et de nouveaux membres au sein de son collectif de rédaction (comme Edith Aujame et Raoul Pastrana, qui seront de fidèles acteurs). Par ailleurs, afin d'accueillir le foisonnement d'idées issues de Mai, la forme même de la revue sera appelée à changer, passant en 1970 à un format broché (parfois collé) légèrement plus grand (de 22 ou 23 cm de côté), comportant bientôt plus d'écrits que d'illustrations. Mais ce nouveau format n'infléchira pas pour autant sa politique éditoriale, bien au contraire. Pour suivre sur sa lancée, le *Carré bleu* s'emploiera à démontrer l'existence, de par le monde, de projets et de réflexions répondant à ses aspirations.

L'université, équipement culturel par excellence

Alors que les politiques appellent à une profonde rénovation des établissements d'enseignement, le *Carré bleu* élargit cette réflexion et diffuse les bons exemples de projets ayant à la fois revisité les modèles et fait de l'université un équipement culturel intégré à la vie urbaine, supprimant ainsi « la distinction entre étudiant et citoyen⁴¹ ». C'est ce dont atteste le panorama mis en forme à l'été 1968 (fig. 7), présentant entre autres la Faculté de lettres de l'Université Toulouse-le-Mirail (Candilis-Josic-Woods), l'Université de technologie de Grande-Bretagne (Arup et associés) et l'Université Simon-Fraser à Vancouver,

le Carré bleu

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3.1968



Ce que le lecteur qui nous ouvre la revue fait et qu'en particulier, lui peut-être lui-même le mieux résumé, qui n'a pas la plus grande satisfaction, c'est l'éducation nationale. Georges Pompidou

Mardi 11 juin... Le quotidien S. P. (national espagnol) écrit "la réalité dépasse la fiction". De Gaulle découvre la "philosophie"... pour de nombreux observateurs, c'est la plus grande découverte de la politique "rassemblant chaque jour davantage aux discours que le Général Franco répète inlassablement depuis treize ans". Le Monde 12-6-68

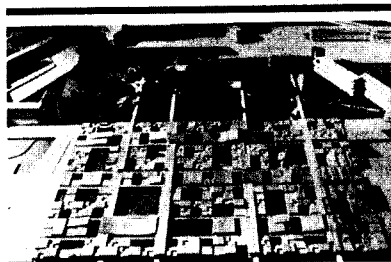
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6. Couverture, *Le Carré bleu* 3 (1968)

au Canada (Erickson et Massey). D'autres projets viendront confirmer le bien-fondé de cette « conception progressive » de l'université, s'affranchissant de la vision d'un « ensemble fini aux fonctions séparées et aux formes déterminées d'avance⁴² ». Un premier éclairage est porté sur la ville universitaire d'Hervanta en Finlande (Aarno Ruusuvuori), saluée comme une « première tentative » concluante d'« imbrication » de la vie universitaire et de la vie des habitants⁴³. Suivent des projets tels que les universités de Vilhelmsen (Anspach et Fain-silber) et de Trondheim (Henning Larsen), la cité universitaire de Tusku (Jan Söderlund et Erkki Valovirta) et la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Lyon 2 (ATECA) – qui, conçue à l'aide d'une approche « pluri-disciplinaire et souple », ayant prévu l'intégration du projet « à l'environnement et au site » et « son extension et son adaptation permanente », contribue selon le *Carré bleu* à « une réflexion plus générale sur la programmation des équipements universitaires dans le cadre évolutif de l'enseignement supérieur contemporain⁴⁴ ».

ne ville plutôt que d'envisager la construction d'un complexe entièrement nouveau hors de l'agglomération. Finalement l'une des plus importantes observations formulées au cours des discussions par la plupart des participants, a été l'absence quasi-totale des normes concernant les locaux universitaires, alors que des études plus ou moins approfondies existent pour les établissements d'enseignements primaire et secondaire. Etant donné la complexité d'un ensemble universitaire, il a été reconnu souhaitable d'entreprendre une telle étude qui servirait de guide pour les techniciens chargés d'élaborer des plans d'universités.

Roger AUJAME

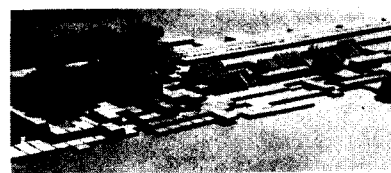


TOULOUSE, LE MIRAIL, FRANCE. FACULTE DE LETTRES
CANDLIS, JOSIC, WOODS

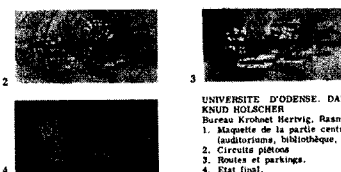
University of Bath
Grande-Bretagne
Robert Matthew
Johnson-Marshall et associés
3 600 et 5 000 étudiants



■ Existant existant.
■ Nouveaux bâtiments à construire.



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CANADA
Erickson et Massey
3 000, 2 500,
18 000 étudiants

7. Panorama de projets universitaires. *Le Carré bleu* 4 (1968)

Ville nouvelle, support de la vie nouvelle

L'attention portée par le *Carré bleu* aux nouveaux projets universitaires va de pair avec son égal intérêt pour les projets de villes nouvelles, envisagés comme support au développement d'une société urbaine renouvelée. Parmi les bons exemples cités figure un projet dans lequel Blomstedt est étroitement impliqué : la ville nouvelle de Tapiola, que la revue remet à l'honneur d'abord pour souligner combien cette « ville dédiée à la vie familiale et au bien-être » représente « un modèle d'organisation de la vie en collectivité, à la fois par ses aspects sociaux et esthétiques⁴⁵ » et ensuite pour saluer ses réalisations récentes, conçues par de jeunes architectes⁴⁶. La revue attire par ailleurs l'attention sur différentes recherches apportant, chacune à leur manière, une pierre à cette réflexion. C'est le sens de la « Proposition pour un système d'urbanisme linéaire » d'Oscar Hansen (fig. 8), militant pour une « méthode de formation du milieu ambiant de l'homme sur la base de la forme ouverte », d'un « modèle

Fig. 1

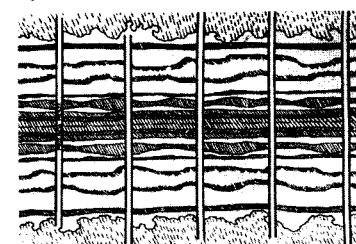


Fig. 2

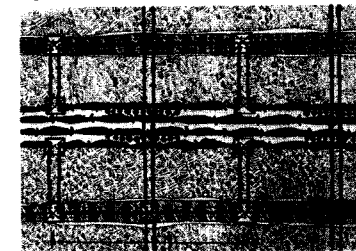


Fig. 3

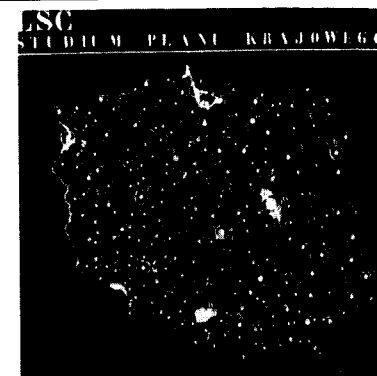


Fig. 6

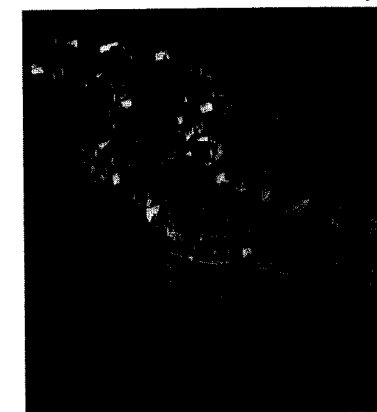


Fig. 5

8. « Proposition pour un système d'urbanisme linéaire » de Oscar Hansen. *Le Carré bleu* 2 (1969)

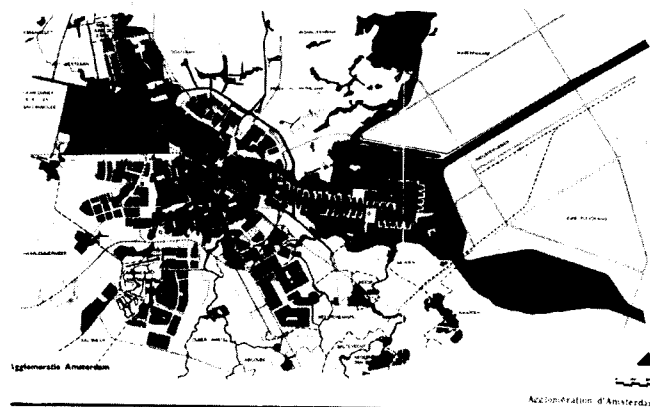
organique » permettant « l'interdépendance souple et proportionnelle des zones desservies et des zones de service parallèles⁴⁷ ». C'est aussi ce qu'illustre le dossier de projets récents de Bakema (à Amsterdam, Arnhem et Zwolle; fig. 9), qui écrit : « Je pense que la ville ouverte (expression urbanistique et architecturale d'une société ouverte) sera très souvent basée sur l'idée de la ville linéaire [...] et qu'il faudra créer une diversité de types d'habitat [...], encadrés à l'extérieur par le paysage et orientés à l'intérieur vers des éléments publics [afin de pouvoir] vivre en ville d'une manière urbaine tout en étant en contact direct avec la verdure, avec la campagne⁴⁸. »

Industrialisation et participation

Le dénominateur commun de la majorité des projets diffusés par le *Carré bleu* est leur attention aux nouveaux procédés d'industrialisation légère offerts par le cadre de production. Dès le tournant des années 1970, la revue célèbre

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développement linéaire et croissance urbaine Van den broek et Bakema



1.1970 SOMMAIRE
 • Développement linéaire et croissance urbaine par VAN DEN BROEK et BAKEMA
 • Forme et contexte
 • EN ANNEXE : English translations

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9. Couverture, *Le Carré bleu* 1 (1970)

leur avènement, y voyant enfin un moyen d'élaborer à moindres coûts des solutions d'habitat flexibles et variées et – surtout – un outil afin de «[redonner à l'homme] la possibilité d'infléchir son propre environnement⁴⁹». C'est cette recherche que conduit Marcel Lods à Rouen (chantier expérimental de La Grand'Mare; fig. 10), exploitant les «avantages de la fabrication industrielle» afin de générer «le plus grand nombre de schémas possibles» et de permettre une «souplesse d'emploi» des espaces⁵⁰. C'est aussi cette voie qu'explore Hermann Hertzberger qui, dans le but d'«améliorer la condition humaine, ou plus précisément [de] servir le peuple pour l'inciter à réaliser son propre environnement», propose à Centraal Beheer un ensemble constitué d'une variété d'espaces modulables offrant «un maximum de possibilités d'usages⁵¹» (fig. 11). Un personnage emblématique de cette «architecture de participation» est sans conteste Giancarlo de Carlo, que le *Carré bleu* met à l'honneur pour son projet de Terni (village Matteotti; fig. 12), ayant permis

LE CHANTIER DE MONTAGE

Une des caractéristiques essentielles du système GEAL est que, chaque élément qui intervient dans l'édification d'un bâtiment, arrive sur le lieu de montage, usiné, emballé, répertorié. D'où la nécessité d'un parc de stockage des éléments, d'une part, ceux qui vont être pré-assemblés dans un hangar de montage (éléments de treillis, bandeaux, garde-corps) et ceux qui, d'autre part, seront directement livrés à l'étage du logement intéressé (façades, sols, plafonds, cloisons, etc.). Les livraisons routières sont programmées selon le planning d'intervention des différentes équipes de montage, mais il est nécessaire de constituer un «volant» de stockage, afin qu'en cas où un camion n'arrive pas à l'heure dite, son absence ne contrarie pas l'enchaînement des opérations de montage. Sans s'étendre sur la préparation du terrain dont l'étude et la réalisation ont été confiées à la S.A.R.R., il faut souligner que le type de fondation employé fut celui de pieux métalliques battus résistant à l'arrachement, du fait que le poids d'un bâtiment GEAL est inférieur de 4 à 5 fois à celui d'une construction traditionnelle.

MONTAGE DES BATIMENTS

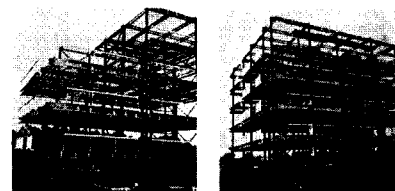
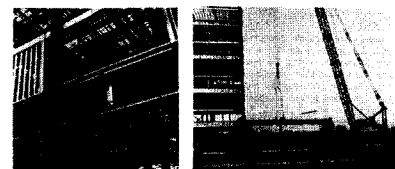
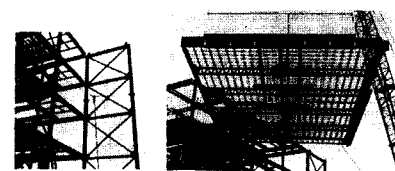
STRUCTURE VERTICALE

Réalisée en acier Corten, elle est composée de palés de contreventement reliés par des traverses, à chaque niveau, formant paliers sur lesquels viennent se fixer les limons de tôle plate des escaliers. Tous ces éléments construits et soudés en usine sont acheminés par camion sur le lieu de montage, où une grue automobile les met en place. Les palés sont directement liaisonnés par boulonnage sur les lites de pieux et haubannées jusqu'à ce que le contreventement horizontal soit assuré par le montage des paliers.

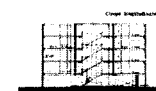
STRUCTURE HORIZONTALE

Les planchers, fabriqués en usine à partir de profilés et de ronds en Corten, soudés électriquement aux dimensions normalisées de 3,50 m x 2,10 ou 2,40 (en raison du gabarit routier de l'époque) assurent la constitution de nappes, modulées à partir de la trame de 0,90 m. L'assemblage des divers éléments de plancher se fait sur une rampe de montage à vétrina sous un hangar cubil sur le chantier. Les rives de plancher sont assemblées par boulonnage. La nappe ainsi formée, de surface correspondant au logement intéressé, est équipée en rives extérieures, de tous éléments tels que bandeaux aluminium laqué, comportant son isolation thermique en contre-face, les attaches de

1. Les palés sont haubannés jusqu'à ce que les paliers et au moins 2 niveaux de planchers soient montés - 2 et 3. Montage d'un plateau de plancher : l'opération mobilise une grue automobile, trois hommes et ne dure qu'une quinzaine de minutes - 4. Pose du courant et du câble de liaison.



Emplacement de la façade



3

10. La Grand'Mare, «chantier expérimental de 500 logements à Rouen», de Marcel Lods. *Le Carré bleu* 1 (1971), p. 3

«aux usagers de participer aux décisions en matière d'environnement⁵²». La revue saluera également d'autres démarches, comme dans son numéro de 1978 «Évolutions urbaines et participation» où se côtoient entre autres les démarches de Lucien Kroll à Louvain et de Ralph Erskine pour «Byker Wall» – l'une des premières opérations de démolition-reconstruction conçue avec les habitants⁵³.

L'environnement, une responsabilité collective

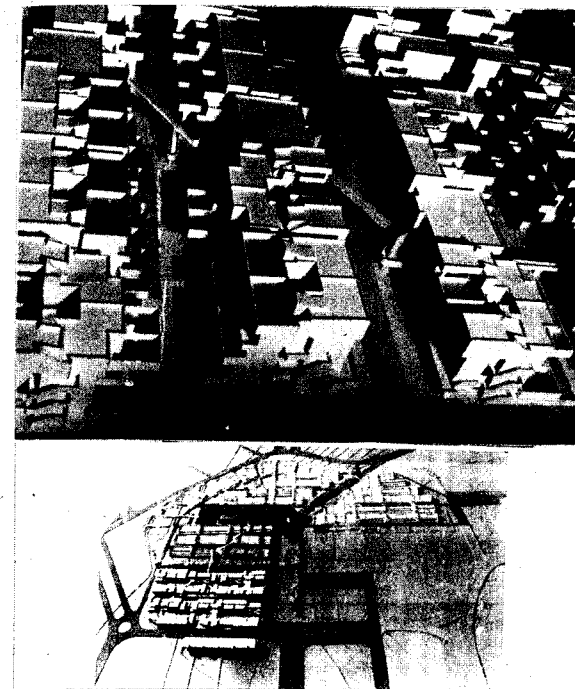
En filigrane de ces projets, le fil conducteur du propos du *Carré bleu* est sa préoccupation en matière d'écologie et d'environnement – terme qui, présent dans ses pages depuis le début des années 1960, désigne en 1970 la globalité du cadre de vie, naturel ou construit. Pour la revue, cette question relève d'une éthique, voire même d'un engagement politique. Certains événements l'incitent à réaffirmer cette position. Ainsi, en 1972, lorsque se tient



11. Centraal Beheer d'Hermann Hertzberger. Couverture, *Le Carré bleu 2* (1974)

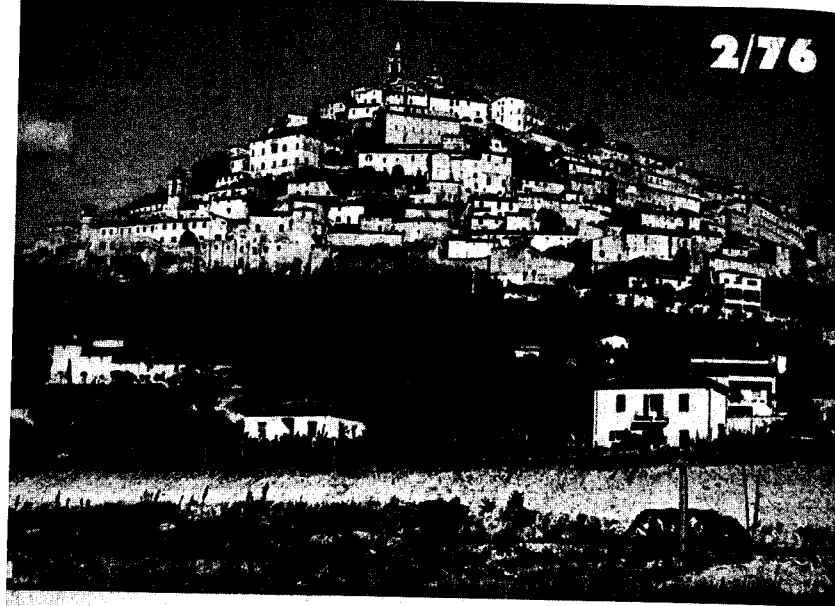
à Stockholm la première Conférence des Nations Unies sur l'environnement humain, Blomstedt, Schimmerling, Candilis et d'autres unissent leurs voix pour souligner l'urgence d'«élaborer et d'adopter une éthique du milieu dans le cadre d'une conscience sociale approfondie : une politique globale de développement de l'homme⁵⁴». À l'occasion de la première Conférence des Nations Unies sur les établissements humains tenue à Vancouver en 1976, Schimmerling rappellera l'urgence, pour les politiques, de s'interroger sur les «modèles susceptibles d'être réalisés sous forme de projets pilotes en vue de l'amélioration de la qualité de vie⁵⁵» (fig. 13).

Si durant ces années le *Carré bleu* donne souvent l'impression que ses positions sont partagées par différents milieux de la pratique et de l'enseignement, ses protagonistes ne sont toutefois pas autistes, en France, à l'émergence d'une nouvelle génération d'architectes critiquant de manière virulente les idées du Mouvement moderne dont ils se sentent les dignes héritiers. Ils sont



12. Le nouveau village Matteotti à Terni de Giancarlo de Carlo. *Le Carré bleu 3* (1978), p. 11

préoccupés, également, par l'adoption de la *Loi sur l'architecture* (1977), appelée à transformer le mode de production, et plus encore par la publication du *Rapport Peyreffite* (1978) qui rend la *Charte d'Athènes* responsable des «violences urbaines» déplorées dans les grands ensembles⁵⁶. Enfin, ils sont ébranlés par le numéro spécial de *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* de 1975 qui, consacré au Team 10, déclare que «la force créatrice [de ses postulats] s'est brisée à la recherche d'une preuve impossible», et qu'il «appartient à la génération suivante [...] de revenir aux racines de cette critique et de reprendre la quête d'une architecture autre, dans un retour à l'intemporalité de l'homme⁵⁷». Interpellé par ces événements, le *Carré bleu* finira par réagir, en organisant deux journées d'étude à la Fondation Le Corbusier dont l'objectif est de faire le point sur quatre questions : «1° Formation de l'architecte, 2° Architecture et société, 3° Approche au projet environnemental, 4° Continuité et contradictions dans l'architecture contemporaine : du mythe national aux réalités



2/76

31 MAI 1976: 1ère CONFERENCE DES NATIONS UNIES SUR LES ETABLISSEMENTS HUMAINS, A VANCOUVER

le carré bleu

13. Couverture, *Le Carré bleu* 2 (1976)

régionales⁵⁸». La tenue de ces journées montre que, déjà, un profond malaise s'est instauré au sein du *Carré bleu*, qui sonne le glas d'une époque.

Épilogue. Pérennité des idées ou vaine utopie ?

Créée sur la base d'un mouvement de remise en cause, la revue militait pour une nouvelle approche de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme, alliant toutes les échelles d'intervention au sein d'un même processus, replaçant l'homme et les réalités des contextes au centre de ses préoccupations et laissant la porte ouverte sur l'avenir. Ce combat est-il toujours marginal, voire toujours d'actualité à l'aube des années 1980 ?

Ce sont des questions que se pose le noyau dur de l'équipe de rédaction du *Carré bleu*, fédérée par Schimmerling. Ces interrogations accompagnent une

période de restructuration de la revue, marquée par le départ de certains (comme Candilis, en 1984) et l'arrivée d'autres, comme Jacob B. Bakema (en 1979, jusqu'à sa mort en 1981), Michel Duplay et François Lapied (en 1980), David Georges Emmerich et Bernard Kohn (en 1984). Elle est marquée aussi par des changements dans son mode de fonctionnement : désormais publiée par une association à but non lucratif (Les Amis du Carré Bleu) et adoptant le sous-titre de « revue internationale d'architecture » (et non plus « feuille »), son collectif de rédaction est scindé entre un « comité de rédaction » et un comité de « rédacteurs en chef » (Schimmerling, Beaux et Fouquey). Il appartiendra dès lors à cette nouvelle équipe de conforter les réseaux de collaboration de la revue, sinon de veiller à leur renouvellement (alors que les acteurs de la première heure tendent à disparaître), afin de poursuivre la publication.

Si l'on en croit André Schimmerling, son secrétaire de publication, ou encore Alexander Tzonis, la revue serait toujours demeurée fidèle à son projet éditorial, et ce jusqu'en 2001 – date à laquelle l'aventure s'arrête, après plus de quarante années de parution ininterrompue (à raison de quatre numéros par an⁵⁹). En examinant de plus près le *Carré bleu*, j'ai identifié les grands thèmes, les projets et théories privilégiés par la revue durant les années 1960 et 1970 et qui, effectivement, construisent le « débat » que les fondateurs appelaient de leurs vœux lors de sa création. J'ai également souligné les liens complexes entre le Team 10 et le plus large spectre d'acteurs du *Carré bleu*, qui pour certains s'en distinguent totalement. Pour autant, l'analyse mériterait d'être approfondie, afin de mieux situer ce « débat » et ce jeu d'acteurs dans son époque. Ainsi, je laisserai volontiers à d'autres le soin de relater ce qu'il advient du *Carré bleu* lorsque la nouvelle équipe reprend le flambeau, dans un contexte international passablement renouvelé (1978–2001).

- 1 Voir notamment Alison Smithson (dir.), *Team 10 primer*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1968 et Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Meetings: 1953-1981*, New York, Rizzoli, 1991.
- 2 Notices «Aulis Blomstedt» et «Keijo Petäjä» dans Jean-Paul Midant (dir.), *Dictionnaire de l'architecture du XX^e siècle*, Paris, Hazan, 1996.
- 3 Jean-Louis Cohen, *La coupure entre architectes et intellectuels et les enseignements de l'italophilie*, coll. «In Extenso», n° 1, Paris, École d'architecture Paris-Villemin, 1984, p. 71.
- 4 Agnès Jobard, «Compte rendu de l'intervention d'Alexander Tzonis à l'occasion des quarante années de la revue», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1999), p. 32-33.
- 5 Exposition *Le Carré Bleu, un débat continu 1958-2002* (conception scientifique et commissariat : Catherine Blain et Philippe Simon), présentée à l'UNESCO du 16 au 19 septembre 2002, dans le cadre de la VII^e conférence internationale Docomomo. L'exposition a ensuite été accueillie par différentes écoles d'architecture (entre octobre 2002 et avril 2003) et par l'Université d'Aix-en-Provence, lors du Séminaire interdisciplinaire et international de recherche *Autour du CIAM d'Aix-en-Provence (1953). Du projet de Charte de l'Habitat à la reformulation de la modernité* (22-27 octobre 2003).
- 6 En dehors d'une notice de synthèse : Catherine Blain, «Le Carré bleu. A brief history of the journal, its editorial policy and its relationship to Team 10 (1958-2001)», dans Max Risselada et Dirk Van den Heuvel (dir.), *Team 10, 1953-1981, In Search of a Utopia of the Present*, Rotterdam, NAI Publishers, 2005, p. 80-81. Voir en complément mon article «L'apparition du Team Ten en France», *Les Cahiers de la recherche architecturale et urbaine*, n°s 15-16, Paris, Éd. du patrimoine, 2004, p. 209-230.
- 7 Ce groupe de fondateurs constitue le premier «cercle de rédaction» du *Carré bleu*. Durant les premiers temps (1958-1961), Blomstedt, Pietilä, Petäjä et Eerikainen se relayent à la tâche de rédacteur en chef alors que Schimmerling, polyglotte et fort de son expérience à *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, est désigné comme secrétaire de rédaction (1959). Ces derniers sont rejoints, en 1959 puis en 1961, par deux jeunes architectes : Simo Sivenius et Aarno Ruusuvuori.
- 8 Sauf indications contraires, les citations qui suivent sont extraites du premier numéro, *Le Carré bleu*, n° 0 (1958).
- 9 Elias Cornell, «Architecture et pensée», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 2 (1958), p. 9.
- 10 *Le Carré bleu*, n° 2 (1959), éditorial.
- 11 *Formes et vie. Revue trimestrielle de synthèse des arts*, n° 1 (1951).
- 12 André Schimmerling, *Le Carré bleu*, n°s 1-2 (2001), p. 4.
- 13 Kyösti Ålander et Eero Eerikainen, «En marge d'une conception objective de l'Art», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 3 (1958), p. 2-3.
- 14 *Le Carré bleu*, n° 3 (1958), éditorial.
- 15 *ibid.*
- 16 Les citations qui suivent sont extraites de Reima Pietilä, *Le Carré bleu*, n° 3 (1958), dossier «La morphologie de l'expression plastique».
- 17 Reima Pietilä, «Réflexions rigoristes sur la notion de morphologie», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 4 (1959), p. 8.
- 18 André Schimmerling, «Architecture et pensée», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 2 (1958), p. 10; John Voelcker, «D'Aix-en-Provence à Otterlo, ou l'agonie et la mort des CIAM», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 4 (1959), p. 6.
- 19 Candilis-Josic-Woods, «Proposition pour un habitat évolutif», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 2 (1959), p. 3-6. Il est à noter qu'au même moment, cette recherche est diffusée par la revue *Techniques et architecture*, vol. 19, n° 2 (mars-avril 1959), p. 82-85.
- 20 Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Meetings...*, p. 26.
- 21 Jacob B. Bakema, «L'architecture de la nouvelle société» (conférence donnée à Bagnols-sur-Cèze, août 1960), *Le Carré bleu*, n° 4 (1960), p. 2-4.
- 22 Oscar Hansen, «La forme ouverte en architecture ou l'art du grand nombre» (commentaire sur le colloque de Bagnols-sur-Cèze), *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1961), p. 4-5.
- 23 «Entretiens sur l'architecture à Royaumont», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 4 (1962). Voir aussi Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente, «Notes sur Royaumont», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 2 (1963), p. 2-5.
- 24 Depuis 1959, la revue est notamment distribuée en Finlande et en Suède, en France, en Allemagne, en Grande-Bretagne et au Danemark.
- 25 Voir les deux dossiers sur Artur Glikson : «L'unité d'habitation intégrale», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1962), et «Humanisation du milieu», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 4 (1963).
- 26 *Le Carré bleu*, n° 2 (1967), p. 2.
- 27 Alfred Neumann et Zvi Hecher, «Un nouveau centre pour Ashdod», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1, (1968), p. 5.
- 28 Shadrach Woods, «Web», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 3 (1962), p. 1-4.
- 29 Voir *Le Carré bleu*, n° 3 (1963), n° 1 (1965).
- 30 Candilis-Josic-Woods, «Concours pour la reconstruction du centre de Francfort», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 3 (1963), p. 2-9.
- 31 André Schimmerling, «L'université du plus grand nombre», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1964), p. 1.
- 32 À l'époque, cette veine de recherches visant à générer des formes combinatoires, ouvertes, flexibles, évolutives, voire des systèmes, est notamment saluée par le n° 115 de *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (juin-juillet 1964), revue à laquelle collabore Candilis. Voir aussi Alexis Josic, «À la recherche d'une structure urbaine», *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, n° 101 (avril-mai 1962), p. 48-55.
- 33 Aulis Blomstedt, «L'avenir de l'architecture» (conférence donnée à l'ENSBA à l'occasion de l'exposition finlandaise tenue à Paris en décembre 1964), *Le Carré bleu*, n° 2 (1965), p. 4-5.
- 34 Philippe Fouquey, *Le Carré bleu*, n° 4 (1965), p. 3-4.
- 35 *Le Carré bleu*, n° 3 (1966), éditorial.
- 36 Thierry Gruber, Michel Macary et Philippe Molle, «Un diplôme. Une maison de l'architecture : germe de ville», *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1967), p. 8-9.
- 37 *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1967), éditorial. Voir en complément : Georges Candilis, «Le fond du problème», *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, n° 130 (février-mars 1967), éditorial.
- 38 *Le Carré bleu*, n° 3 (1968), éditorial.
- 39 L'une des premières «tables rondes» organisées par *Le Carré bleu* se tient à la Fondation Le Corbusier le 15 décembre 1970, sous le thème «De l'école à la vie»; elle est accompagnée d'une exposition des travaux des étudiants de l'École d'architecture d'Helsinki. Voir *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1972). La même année, la revue est à l'origine d'un «séminaire sur l'architecture, l'urbanisme et le design finlandais» tenu à Helsinki (du 24 août au 4 septembre 1970).
- 40 Les acteurs de la revue contribueront à ces changements en favorisant la circulation des professeurs et étudiants. Des collaborations s'instaurent notamment entre les nouvelles Unités pédagogiques créées en France et, entre autres, l'Université de Tampere (Finlande), l'Institut Berlage d'Amsterdam (Pays-Bas), la Graduate School of Design de Harvard (États-Unis), l'École d'architecture de l'Université de Thessalonique (Grèce), l'Université de Salerne (Italie), l'Unité d'architecture de l'Université catholique de Louvain (Belgique) et l'École d'architecture de Lausanne (Suisse).

- 41 Roger Aujamé, « Lendances de la construction universitaire », *Le Carré bleu*, n° 4 (1968), p. 3.
- 42 *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1969), éditorial, p. 1.
- 43 « Ville universitaire nouvelle en Finlande : Hervanta », A. Ruusuvuori architecte, *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1969), p. 3.
- 44 Université de Villeteuse, *Le Carré bleu*, n° 4 (1968), p. 7-12; Cité universitaire de Tusku, *Le Carré bleu*, n° 2 (1971), p. 8-10; Université de Trondheim, *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1971), p. 10; Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Lyon 2, ATECA : Atelier d'études coordonnées et d'architecture (René Dottelonde, Raul Pastrana et coll., architectes; J.-P. Flamand, sociologue; J. Prouvé, L. Petroff, ingénieurs-conseils; L. Tribel-Grunig, paysagiste), *Le Carré bleu*, nos 3-4 (1971), tiré à part.
- 45 André Schimmerling, *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1969), p. 3.
- 46 Erkii Juutilainen, Erkii Kairamo, Kirmo Mikkola et Juhani Pallasmaa, « Extension du centre de Tapiola », *Le Carré bleu*, n° 2 (1971), p. 4.
- 47 Oscar Hansen, « Proposition pour un système d'urbanisme linéaire », *Le Carré bleu*, n° 2 (1969), p. 2-3.
- 48 Johannes Hendrik van den Broek et Jacob B. Bakema, « Développement linéaire et croissance urbaine », *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1970), p. 3.
- 49 *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1970), p. 2.
- 50 Marcel Lods, « Comment devrait être comprise l'industrialisation du bâtiment », *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1971), p. 1-2.
- 51 Hermann Hertzberger, « Pour un habitat plus accueillant », *Le Carré bleu*, n° 2 (1974), p. 1-3.
- 52 Giancarlo De Carlo, « Une architecture de participation », *Le Carré bleu*, n° 3 (1972), p. 8-10. Voir en complément le dossier sur De Carlo dans *Le Carré bleu*, n° 4 (1978).
- 53 « Byker par les habitants de Byker », *Le Carré bleu*, n° 4 (1978), p. 17-19.
- 54 « Aix-en-Provence 9 VII 72. Conclusions d'une réunion », proposition signée par Aulis Blomstedt, Georges Felici, Paul Nelson et André Schimmerling, à laquelle s'associent E. Aujame, G. Candilis, Ph. Fouquey, L. Hervé, F. Lapied, H. Pingusson, I. Schein, *Le Carré bleu*, n° 3 (1972), p. 13.
- 55 André Schimmerling, « Optique : établissements humains », *Le Carré bleu*, n° 3 (1975), quatrième de couverture.
- 56 Alain Gautrand, « Le coupable! », *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1978), p. 1.
- 57 Kenneth Frampton, « Des vicissitudes de l'idéologie », *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, n° 177 (janvier 1975), p. 62-65.
- 58 Une synthèse de ces journées (21 septembre 1979 et 19 janvier 1980) est présentée dans *Le Carré bleu*, n° 1 (1980).
- 59 Le dernier numéro paru est le 1-2, 2001. La collection complète compte cent cinquante-six numéros, dont dix-sept numéros doubles et un numéro « hors série », parutions sans dépôt légal dont le tirage n'est pas indiqué sur les exemplaires. L'association « Les Amis du Carré bleu » a, quant à elle, été dissoute le 23 avril 2003 et une nouvelle structure a été créée en 2006 pour prendre la suite de la revue (voir <http://www.lecarrebleu.eu/>).

“The Fountain of Technological Culture”: Architectural Design and American Culture, 1965–1969

In America today there is no public forum for exchange of ideas, no group gathered around a common idea (and therefore no rebel groups), no discussion that is more than one man deep, no magazine that attempts to focus upon the state of current polemic. This is the starvation of thought. It has been suggested to me that this absence of intellectual debate is common to all fields of American life, that it stems from the notion that the revolution has already happened, long ago, that ideas are not to be dangerous any more. . . .¹

Thus writes Colin St. John Wilson in an “Open Letter to an American Student,” published in the British journal *Architectural Design* in March 1965. To read Wilson’s lament is to reveal a generational prejudice of British architects writing in *AD* about American architectural culture. For Wilson’s generation – described by Reyner Banham as those who “interrupted their architectural training in order to fight a war to make the world safe for the Modern Movement” – the evaluative criteria for American architecture lay in a “realm hard to define which borders simultaneously upon aesthetics, morality and politics and can best be described as the word ‘probity.’”² The cultural value of built work was marked by an ongoing belief in the ethical import of the modern movement, especially as it was assumed to be reconstituted in the United States. That it was not so was of little concern to an emerging generation of British architects who eschewed Wilson’s probity in favour of an increasingly intense technophilia. Under the editorship of Robin Middleton from 1965 to 1972, *AD* reengaged America by focusing on the entire technological output of its society. With a turn to objects largely outside architecture, combined with an embrace of popular culture, *AD* presented the material of everyday life and of rarefied techno-science – the apparitions of the automobile and the freeway, the space suit and the rocket launcher – as *extra*-architectural sources in which the original values of their potent imagery were eclipsed by their

oduction as liberative icons suggestive of a newly-emergent social life dedicated to "freedom" and "mobility." This expansive *technoscape* offered a powerful agency of change to the English profession. Seen through *AD*, it implied a kind of view or scene of technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, in which its objects were accorded an aura in excess of their inherent functional properties. That the technoscape could appear only in America was implied by Middleton in his dismissal of Philip Johnson's formalism because "it seems so prissily opposed to all the buoyancy and vigour that is represented to us by the USA itself."³ On the one hand, British architects tried to bring the objects of the technoscape closer as models to copy, a condition Peter Smithson would describe as "cultural reversal"; on the other hand, architects like Archigram and Cedric Price looked to America not for its forms *per se*, but only for their suggestion of flexible, non-hierarchical situations. Yet *AD*'s reconciliation between these poles remained unclear because of an inherent structural limitation: the absence of any definitive editorial statement. The contours of the American technoscape would be defined, therefore, by the perspectival constructs of contributors and guest editors. Their collective emphasis on the *imagery* of American technology signified the key processes they wished to emulate. Read collectively, their polemic presents *AD* as a kind of seismograph of the late sixties; it registered the tremors of an American technoscape that would ultimately remain marked by the aesthetic and ideological fault lines between the Old and New Worlds.

Lavatories

Buildings that were good-looking up to yesterday are now squat and trivial. They must wear glaring makeup in order not to be passed over, or else they are too aristocratic to forego their character and adapt to the new era.

It is impossible to image what mind is ever to bring order into all this.

ERICH MENDELSON, *Amerika: Bilderbuch eines Architekten* (1926)

In August 1965, the English architect Peter Smithson turned to the monuments of American corporate architecture to seek what he believed was the "fountain of technological culture." Writing in *Architectural Design* in an essay titled "The Fine and the Folk," Smithson looked along the Anglo-American axis and noticed a peculiar "cultural reversal." Admitting "the cargo-cult feelings of foreigners" for the sumptuousness of American corporate architecture, Smithson traces the work of McKim, Mead and White to their modern antecedents Skidmore, Owings and Merrill to suggest that "as with Detroit

cars," British architects admire the architecture of SOM "without the restraints that would operate against the admiration of such architecture were it a product of their own culture. It is admired for its unmatched technological competence."⁴ The competence of this work – based on technical skill and not on artistic acumen – is "outside a foreigner's experience of the possible." As Smithson admits, "The square lengths of granite that lie so simple, so expensive, so eloquent, between the pavement and the building at the new Museum of Modern Art are impossible for us for we are outside that special tradition of concentration on detail which Americans enjoy."⁵ While a handful of American architects provide models at par with European sensibilities – "American architects who are thoughtful about the making of spaces, H. H. Richardson or Louis Kahn, make *our* sort of architecture" – Smithson looks specifically to corporate production to situate the English yearning for American models in British cities.

The English desire, however, masked an insecurity; on the one hand, Smithson argues, "we will build no copies" of SOM's Chase Manhattan Bank because "this cargo-cult architecture of technology is un-exportable" for "it is built with unimaginable wealth and resources"; on the other hand, the "much lesser thing that is exportable" – SOM's Lever House – "is intended to be read as a gauge of our nearness to the fountain of technological culture."⁶ This is not a "thoughtful" piece of architecture governed by Wilson's "probability"; rather, it exemplifies an "architecture autre" because, to the English eye, it is "so well made and of such expensive materials that one cannot imagine who could have made" it. For Smithson, then, the identifying characteristic of a technological culture is that "its key objects – those things in which the discipline of their evolution is most clear and most assured – should appear as a by-product of concentration, not on old-world notions like 'the discipline,' but on perfection of process and of detail."⁷ The "utmost banality" of the Lever House can, therefore, be "copied by an average team of average architects with a fair amount of money and a developed industry." As Smithson realised, the British enthusiasm for imitating the Lever House was in evidence everywhere, not least in the *AD* advertising pages where neoprene gaskets, aluminium curtain walls, and double-glazing were pitched by photos of any number of anonymous corporate office towers. Given this "perfection of process and detail," Smithson wryly remarks:

And the lavatories are what we envy the most of all. Those luxe vitreous enamelled partitions, the thick-glazed pans, and the flush brush-finished stainless steel towel dispensers. All from catalogues. What a culture that can produce such pleasure for every man! And they really are potentially for most men, as Detroit has shown.⁸

In the development of an architectural vocabulary it is generally assumed that the value of a particular system of order lies in its ability to accept and give heightened meaning to the exception of the rule. The existence of such dialectic is almost a necessary condition for the creation of any system of reference. In Holmdel, as in much present American work, it becomes evident that the system is not one of order, but of technique, developed with a literal-minded passion that not only cannot express the various levels and kinds of activity that make up the whole, but in the end work to their exclusion.¹⁶

The “literal-minded passion” for technique appears in the endless expanse of the exterior mirror glass and its modular correspondence with the interior partitions and office furniture. The impossibility to “give heightened meaning to the exception of the rule” is evident in the description of the Laboratory’s organisation: “The shorter ends of each block contain cloakrooms and utilities and parallel to these there is an alternation of offices, corridor, laboratories, service and column duct, laboratories, corridor, offices, storage wall, offices, corridor, etc.”¹⁷ The seemingly infinite repetitions codify the “system of technique.” The uniformity of architectural expression presupposes the suppression of social life to corporate consent. The impossibility of deviation within the corporatist scheme is unveiled further by Kenneth Frampton in the July 1968 issue of *AD*. Examining the Ford Foundation headquarters in New York, completed by Kevin Roche & John Dinkeloo, the successors to Saarinen’s firm, Frampton notes that this massive “House of Ivy League Values” is merely a stylistic pretension to cultural status. The sophisticated interior customisation works to the exclusion of the foundation’s public mission since the smallest intrusion upsets the institutional value system:

The *objet trouvé* and the *objet type* of the civilisation at large cannot be welcomed into its consensus system of order. The presence of a cheap mass-produced wire paper basket would, unavoidably, have to be regarded as an object of subversion.¹⁸

Both the *objet trouvé* and *objet type* of avant-garde art, assuredly conjoined in their dialectical relation to mass production, are here, literally and figuratively, consigned to the dustbin of history. What Vidler and Frampton realised was that while American buildings were related to the technological capacity of the whole society, they did not create any “system of reference.” The inability to introduce non-aestheticised standard elements left American architecture incapable of expressing “the various levels and kinds of activity” that made up its culture. Like the dustbin, the “thick-glazed pans” of Smithson’s venerated lavatory could not, in the American context, lead to a liberative “as found” aesthetic as they had in England; within the exclusionary refinement of pri-

vate enterprise, the consensus system of order could not admit an object of subversion.

Smithson ended his delineation between the “fine” and the “folk” with a startling wish: “American architects have it made: if they could only stop worrying about architecture.” He understood that American architects were exemplary at creating the rules but not their exceptions. Yet the closed aesthetic of, say, Mies provided little by way of new sources for an *architecture autre*. These would emerge, like Smithson’s deliberately displaced lavatory, in *AD* from regions of the American technoscape previously outside established aesthetic norms. In this dislocation, the magazine’s focus on California was crucial.

Impermanence

The sighting by *AD* of Charles and Ray Eames on the sandy shores of Santa Monica confirmed that latent in the technical artifice of mainstream modernism lay another trajectory, a vanguard of experimentation guided by the hedonistic pursuit of the “good life.” In the September 1966 *Eames Celebration*, a special issue of *AD*, Peter Smithson describes Charles Eames as “a natural Californian Man using his native resources and know-how – of the film-making, the aircraft and the advertising industries – as others drink water;”¹⁹ Alison Smithson owes to the “courage to make sense of anything that attracted;”²⁰ and Michael Brawne, writing under the apt title “The Wit of Technology,” celebrates the Eames House in which an interior filled with “museum-like collections of objects from all over the world” corresponds to the “additive process” of the exterior assembly (fig. 3).²¹ The “designed” probity of Mies is here confronted by not only the playful potential of an “assembled” kit-of-parts but also by the influence of films, furniture, and toys. As Geoffrey Holroyd notes in the same issue, Mies’s “crystalline transparency is blasted away” to “create out of it a context sympathetic to the many objects placed inside.”²² The combinatorial building systems and the folkloric interior decoration promised “more potential in the *sphere of growth*.” Yet “growth” implied just its opposite: an architecture that could be dissembled and its system re-adapted for a new context. Buildings, therefore, could have programmatic half-life.

In the lessons of the Eames House lay a discernible shift in the editorial line of *AD*. As the decade progressed, the magazine began to synthesise the source material to which the ethos of the Eames House only obliquely pointed. *AD* discovered in America what Warren Chalk of Archigram had dubbed the “hardware of a new world.” The “2000+” issue of February 1967 – a “special number of *AD* dealing with the future” – contextualised these extra-architectural



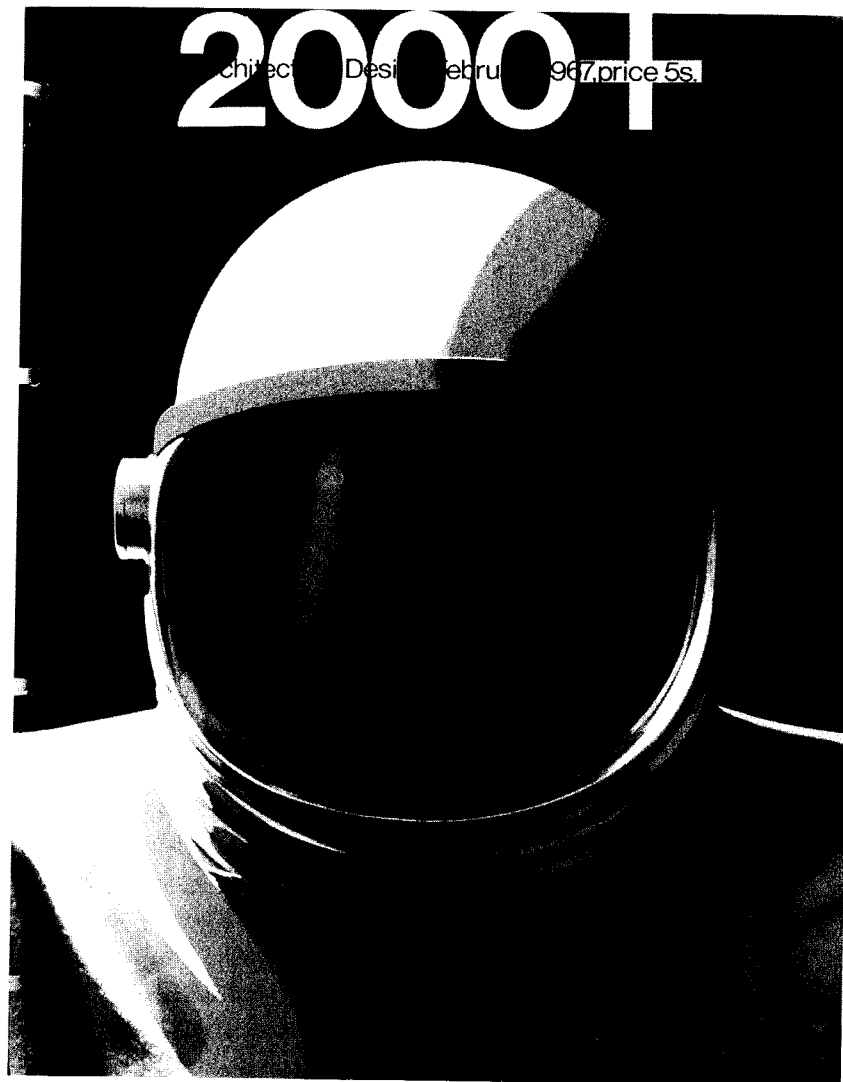
3. "An essay on the Eames-aesthetic" by Peter Smithson. *Architectural Design* 36 (September 1966), pp. 443–444

precedents. The guest-editor John McHale, former member of the Independent Group and erstwhile acolyte of Buckminster Fuller, declared: "The issue began with the suggestion from *AD* that more attempts might be made 'to communicate the idea of technological innovation to an architecture still largely hidebound by a vision of the fine arts'. Traces of this original bias may still be found in its pictorial emphasis on the visible 'hardware' aspects of a technological revolution whose more characteristic features are now largely invisible."²³ The millenarian impulse of "2000+" was shaped Fuller who opened the issue with his rumination on "The Year 2000" in which he subsumed all social, cultural, and economic relations – to say nothing of aesthetic ones – to the discipline of techno-science. Fuller had been in the British consciousness for some time and had famously been upheld by Reyner Banham as the seer of a Second Machine Age. Banham had concluded his *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* with an appeal to an anonymous architect to "discard his cultural load" and "run with technology"; if not, "he may find that a *technological culture* has decided to go on without him."²⁴ The emergence of a technological culture implied, as McHale argued, that "the future of architecture may no longer be distinguished as a separate strand in the overall development of environmental control. The 'attitudinal' discipline called architecture, as more concerned with the symbolic shaping of man's intimate environs, may survive – but only if its practitioners become, and remain, more aware of the

technologies impinging upon their function."²⁵ "2000+" thus rejected the "pictorial" representation of "visible" architectural "hardware" – the "designed" bias of Peter Smithson vis-à-vis Mies and the Eames – to embrace technologies largely outside the purview of most architects – computing, technology, bionics, and, of course, the space race, a position immediately evident from the appropriately attired astronaut on the cover (fig. 4). At the heart of this polemic lay two notions: first, that "the 'imagery' of technology may be as powerful an agency of change as the rational understanding of its scientific and technical basis; second, that technology "should not dictate the forms of human environment, but rather be used by men to flexibly determine the kinds of environment of their choice."²⁶ By emphasising the *imagery* of technology – especially American technology – *AD* offered otherworldly artefacts whose forms were not to be copied but whose processes were to be approximated; with this strategy the magazine itself stood as a fountain of technological culture.

Given the editorial emphasis on "the visible 'hardware' aspects of a technological revolution," the provocation of, say, the Eames House suggested ways in which people could "flexibly determine the kinds of environment of their choice." Unsurprisingly perhaps, the demountable ideal of impermanent architecture would, once again, be found in California. In July 1965 and November 1967, *AD* offered detailed coverage of the California Schools Construction Systems Development (SCSD), an experiment in pre-fabrication.²⁷ The SCSD "control" established performance specifications from which competing manufacturers bid on four compatible systems – structure, lighting and ceiling, partitions, and air conditioning. Architects designed the schools by using the component assemblies. What the SCSD promised – seen in *AD* in images of a Sikorsky sky-crane ferrying building components and in the detailed axonometrics of structural and mechanical systems, interior partitions and modular storage units – was a totally rationalised system for a ubiquitous building with programmatic indeterminacy.

In an echo of McHale's "2000+" editorial, the *AD* analysis of the SCSD speculates: "It is our belief that if the profession of architecture is to survive as an active and productive contributor to society, rather than as a quaint anachronism, then some of the working directions indicated by the SCSD must be developed by the profession."²⁸ The refusal of anachronism was, of course, a denial of architecture "hidebound by a vision of the fine arts." Yet the internalisation of "the working directions indicated by the SCSD" was not simply a call for planned obsolescence; rather, it was an appeal for a much more open-ended system of design. The translation of the SCSD project in methodological terms gave impetus to planning for and responding to a welcome fragmentation of urban social life.



4. Cover of *Architectural Design* 37 (February 1967)

This reorientation of the English profession was most evident in Cedric Price. In his essay "Life Conditioning," published in *AD* in October 1966, Price argues that architects associate change and flexibility "most progressively with the limited life of structures and organisations"; thus, he claims, "I consider it unlikely that architecture and planning will match the contribution Hush Puppies have made to society today, let alone approach that of the transistor or loop, until a total reappraisal of its particular expertise is self-

imposed, or inflicted from outside."²⁹ The architectural equivalent of Hush Puppies was a flexible infrastructure without an attendant project of social engineering. Services are provided but life-spans are indeterminate. Price's essay introduced his Potteries Thinkbelt regional plan for the radical reorganisation of technical education in the economically-depressed British Midlands. In the open-ended framework of the Potteries Thinkbelt an "availability-network" of demountable buildings for university classrooms, laboratories, and residences is deployed along an existing triangular road and rail corridor. This "next phase of life-conditioning... demands a far more deliberate application of an expendable aesthetic in which, of course, determination of valid social life will be required for all artificial decisions, being a necessary constituent of such an aesthetic."³⁰ Price's populist and technocratic tendencies are united in his decentralised technology for mass education. The dispersal of expandable and expendable prefabricated structures along the existing infrastructure makes clear the "consciously planned and purposely built environment that exploits the potential unevenness of environmental conditioning."³¹ The deliberate lack of hierarchy negates any pretension to "a self-conscious and artificial student community." The combinatorial equipment of Potteries Thinkbelt avoids formal expression; design is leveraged to address an evolving social programme, not a fixed ideal. The life span of built forms follows the time span of social mores.

Price's preoccupation with the flexible architecture of education appears again in *AD* in his ATOM project collaboration with Rice University architecture students. Published in *AD* in May 1968, ATOM provides a "set of tools (buildings, equipment, etc.)" together with a "sufficiently indeterminate" plan to indicate where a designed environment, "static or mobile," can reinforce an educational programme.³² In a curious reversal of Smithsonian's "cultural reversal," the static and mobile environment of ATOM is found in the American "strip." The project takes photographs of an existing "strip" – with its freeways, service stations, billboards, and grain elevators – into which it inserts new educational software – film projectors, two-way telephones, and television monitors. The re-materialisation of "found" conditions by a dematerialising electronic technology reflects Price's enthusiasm for a "high degree of well-served anonymity." The anonymity of the strip – with its decentralised, non-hierarchical, mobile society – was the ideal site for Price's indeterminate infrastructures. In this, he followed an American influence. In his response to a 1962 lecture at the Architectural Association by Victor Gruen, the doyen of American suburban shopping mall design, Price was to comment on the need for architects to recognise the unavoidable fact of sprawl.³³ Suggesting that "the heart of the city is no longer valid" and questioning whether "we should be using words like 'town' and 'city' and more," Price proclaimed that given

"the new freedom that we have through extra leisure and through 100 per cent mobility" the "resultant civilisation patterns can be free and multi-directional."³⁴ In the ATOM project Price argues that mobility of labour and the rapid spread of "invisible servicing (e.g. water, National Health, TV, Mars Bars, gas, credit cards, wired power)" are "additional generators of an increasingly fragmented (both spatially and in time) humane society."³⁵ This emerging society is defined by its *mobility*. By championing sprawl and the strip, Price anticipates what Archigram member Warren Chalk would describe as the technological splendour of American "autopia" – an automotive utopia in which the *imagery* of the American freeway provided British architects with a liberative aesthetic of a free and multi-directional society.

If the "2000+" issue had looked to the "outer space" of futuristic technology, the challenge of Price's amplification of the existing technoscape was met by *AD* in its increasing coverage of the "inner space" of American automotive culture. In the May 1967 special issue devoted to "Mobility," the young English architect Raymond Wilson captured the vastness of the American freeway system and the nomadic birthright of the automobile in his study of trailers and mobile homes. In a fashion similar to the *AD* coverage of SCSD, Wilson presents a series of typological tables titled "Expandability variants from mobile genotypes" to develop a combinatorial strategy for future habitation based on the portable capacities of different modes of transportation.³⁶ The "genotypes" of a rucksack carried by a pedestrian, a pannier mounted on a bicycle, or a trailer hitched to an automobile, expand to provide "the maximum amount of volume from any given package."³⁷ Their flexibility assures their "impermanence," a concept, Wilson admits, with which designers flirt to suggest "relativity, flexibility, freedom of choice, democracy and so on." Implicit in "impermanence" was the impossibility of any notion of cultural fixity. As Wilson argued, "We now have such colossal means of destruction that even permanent architecture is ludicrously impermanent. Destruction of many of our so-called 'roots' through wars, migrations of population, and communications has developed new attitudes to permanence, and perhaps, a sensitivity or wariness to that most solid and monumental architecture, the architecture of political arrogance and tyranny."³⁸ The last page of Wilson's essay gives aerial views of mobile home communities including a view of "an International Rally of Wally Byam's Airstream Landyachts." With thousands of trailers arrayed in concentric rings it is impossible to discern if this is, in fact, the layout of an American suburb or a Cold War diagram for a progressively decentralised urban plan in the event of a thermonuclear blast.

In the fallout of Wilson's rejection of "roots" and embrace of "impermanence" lay an increasing ambivalence in *AD* about the built environment. The

mantras of "choice" and "flexibility" are endlessly repeated in the magazine throughout the latter half of the sixties. The title of Reyner Banham's seminal essay "A Home is not a House" said it all: the obviation of all architectural norms. In a rare editorial disclaimer to its 1969 reprinting of Banham's article, four years after its appearance in *Art in America*, *AD* argues that "its central theme has not yet penetrated the thought processes of architects in England or the rest of the world."³⁹ Celebrated for Francois Dallegret's illustrations of him and Banham unwinding in an inflated "environmental bubble" served by a "clip-on" that "keeps the pad swinging," Banham's essay insists that "if dirty old Nature could be kept under the proper degree of control (sex left in, streptococci taken out) by other means, the United States would be happy to dispense with architecture and buildings altogether."⁴⁰ Architecture, therefore, is only a system of environmental control. Indeed, Banham rereads Philip Johnson's Glass House as nothing more than a "standard-of-living package" because it consists of a heated brick floor and a chimney core with a bathroom on the other side. He dismisses the "insubstantial shell" of glass as a monumental form because it exists only "to prove this a work of architecture in the European tradition."⁴¹ "In the open-fronted society," argues Banham, "with its social and personal mobility, its interchangeability of components and personnel, its gadgetry and almost universal expandability, the persistence of architecture-as-monumental-space must appear as evidence of the sentimentality of the tough."⁴² For Banham, the "European tradition" must be replaced by an American "tradition" of mobility, interchangeability, and expandability. The promise of interchangeability would not only imply the mechanical reproduction of a work of architecture; coupled with the spirit of mobility, it would assume the complete redeployment of architecture outside its established contexts.

Banham, like contemporary contributors to *AD*, elevated the technological artefacts of America to the level of gestalt entities. This was not, at first, a strategy of looking for aesthetic unity; rather, it was a kind of synthesis of "high" architecture – like Johnson's house – with "low" architecture – like the "strip" – to re-imagine their capacity to suggest new modes of socialisation. That this determinism increasingly became a *written* polemic, a kind of travelogue, enabled a much broader reading of the American technoscape. Much of this new sensibility appeared in *AD* through the accounts of Archigram in America; in particular, Warren Chalk would look to the ordinary and quotidian spaces of Los Angeles – the ur-form of Cedric Price's "sprawl" – as the site of a popular and thus emancipatory aesthetic.

In a series of articles published in *AD*, Chalk would translate the cybernetic controls of objects of everyday life and of advanced technology as fundamental to an analysis of urbanism. In a 1966 piece titled after the Beatles song "Nowhere Man," Chalk analyses a photograph of a man wearing a survival suit, a "compromise situation between suit and skin with artificial arteries containing heating and cooling fluid."⁴³ The self-regulating internal mechanism of the suit offers, for Chalk, a model of "things that do their own thing," a phrase he applies to his 1969 analysis of the mechanistic and ludic properties of toys. Faced with a new generation of electronic toys, a child "acts as controller and supervisor, or as monitor to override the result."⁴⁴ The feedback loop between human control systems and complex electronic systems provides a method – as opposed to a model – for reorganising the environment. Urbanity and, by extension, society are decentralised with no one level in control; "urbanism," Chalk announces, "if it is to mean anything at all, is a fluid matrix of things that do their own thing."⁴⁵ The inherited ideal of planning as a pre-determined aesthetic and ethic is thus obviated, as Chalk would argue in his 1967 description of Archigram's "Living 1990" domestic environment:

The public is not interested in the current betrayal of the Bauhaus achievement; it is equally reluctant to suffer the inefficiencies of Welfare State housing. The only way to involve the public in architecture is to give them what they want. We see self-selection as the obvious solution.⁴⁶

By condemning the trajectory of the modern movement and the pieties of the post-war British establishment, Chalk's turn to "self-selection" reflects the "2000+" editorial that technology should "be used by men to flexibly determine the kinds of environment of their choice."⁴⁷ By giving the people what they want, Chalk embraces the detritus of consumerism that would inevitably appear:

...we are delighted to get our kicks and ideas from all kinds of material outside the normal range of architecture; from comic strips to fashion magazines, neon signs to movies, and collect them under one notional umbrella we call for the sake of convenience, environment. It's all one bag so let's forget the ethics. Master planning is obsolete.⁴⁸

Each medium "does its own thing"; comic strips, fashion magazines, neon signs, movies, and architecture, operate in a feedback loop that regulates the organic whole of the built environment. Largely following the stress on imagery put

forth by *AD* in "2000+," Chalk insists that every part of the social milieu can be interpreted as approximating architecture.

The self-regulating and non-hierarchical environmental control that Warren Chalk had sought to leverage in toys is discovered by him in the indeterminate morphology of Los Angeles. Writing in the September 1968 issue of *AD*, Chalk realises that the city is "an ephemeral experience of low key or non-architectural situations"; he continues:

This is not a city for aesthetics or architects' architects, who, although they may deny it, arrive, grub around looking for Schindler houses, and pass on angry, bewildered, or even hopefully feeling obsolete.... Here everything works, but nothing is more important than anything else, it's all the same. But if one has to single out one major coherent factor – significant city object – it would be those land piers, the freeways.⁴⁹

The decentralised but legible ubiquity of the Angeleno freeways gave force to Chalk's suggestion that this was "Autopia, the mobile city." Anchored to these "land piers," the car "is not just a means of transportation, it is a way of life"; it is also "a communications medium" which "passing through the environment... conveys a message."⁵⁰ The entire environment of Los Angeles is thus mediated by the automobile. Photographs accompanying Chalk's article depict a "Drive-in car wash," a "Drive-thru restaurant," and, ultimately, a "Drive-in mortuary."⁵¹ These "second generation parking structures" are the "outward signs of mobile society." The extensive network of freeways mobility patterns – the loop from car wash to restaurant to mortuary – have "undermined and destroyed the concept of a single centre city"; in its wake is "neither city nor suburbia, but megasuburbia."⁵² Given the "ephemeral experience of low key or non-architectural situations," megasuburbia presents a new cultural frontier, literally at the edge of the New World, against which the English "betrayal of the Bauhaus achievement," as Chalk had witheringly put it, could be measured.

The "categorically different environment" of Los Angeles yields the "replacement to architecture" of Archigram's Instant City. Published in *AD* in May 1969 (fig. 5), Instant City is an assembly of "tents, serviced trellises, a range of optional extras to the pylon/robot system, basically things that are readily available in the theatrical and teaching-aid world" used to tour English provincial towns and deliver "a high-intensity boost" of educational entertainment.⁵³ Offering "a number of variables that can be chosen by the person in the 'driver's seat,'" the aim is to provide "a replacement to architecture."⁵⁴ Indeed, Archigram claim that Instant City replicates "the intensity of a city without its permanence or size." Yet the size and corresponding intensity of the city remain vague. In some sense, Archigram were referring to London if only because Instant City responded to the sense of "being left out of things" prevalent in

"Planning. In a country such as England, vast upheaval is unlikely. We may have to capitalize existing institutions and existing facilities rather than constantly complain about their inefficiency. England in the next half century must live by its wits or perish. The attempt here is to draw upon a very wide field in order to sustain a travelling circus of the intensity of a city without its permanence or size. Its impact would need to be electric in every sense: the local place jolted out of its sleep for a marvellous, heady week; and then the thing rapidly followed-up by some serious tinkering with the landline links to other towns, to London, to some place in the town where people can make things, watch things, and ways in which they can feed into the rest of the network.

Programme
A series of test assemblies that require approximately 20 vehicles, can operate in most weathers, and can carry a complete programme. A strategy for the effect and mechanics upon selected English locations.

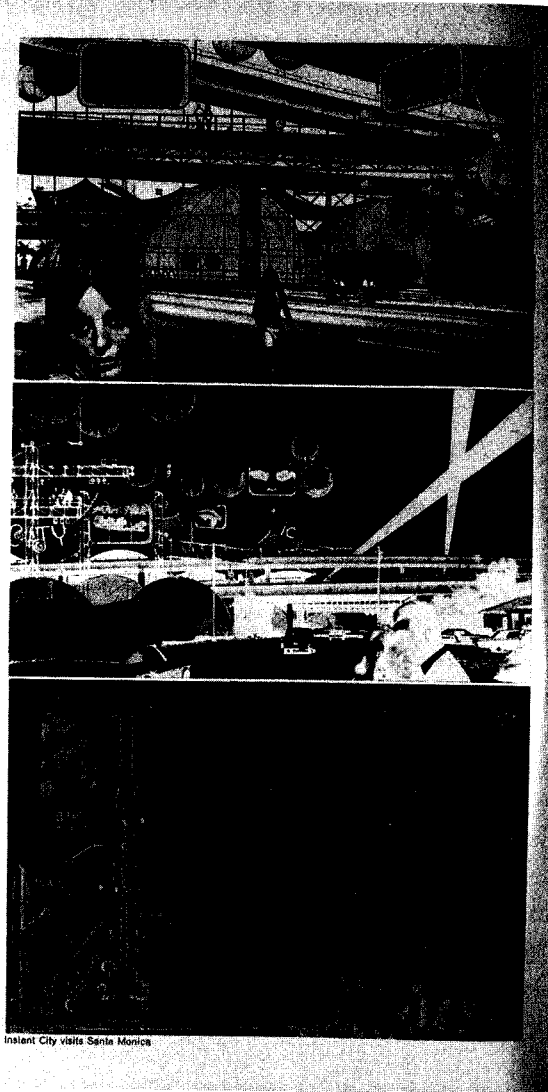
A similar strategy for locations in the Los Angeles area.

Further detailed work on selected functioning parts.

The work illustrated is at an interim stage; a number of *Archigram* projects will be linked to it in the near future. The locations selected are Bournemouth and St Helens in England, as well as Los Angeles. These were chosen partly because they are well known to members of the *Archigram* Group, and the effect of IC upon the place and its interface with what is already there can be accurately predicted. They are also typical of different intensities.

The 'St Helens Instant City in a Field' illustrates a fairly full range of parts: Pneumatic structures are suggested where quick, cheap enclosure is needed. 'Pylons' and 'robots' are antennae which provide something like the cage of a television studio—with its high flexibility, but without the studio as such. An arena area is provided for crowds to gather: events like last summer's Hyde Park beatgroup afternoon proved that the environmental effect of four people lucked up with a truckload of amplification says much about the non-significance of the enclosure. An important aspect of IC's operation should be that outside facilities can be absorbed and augmented. In the Environmental jukebox you can choose your own 'place' for sixpence or a dime. In the 'Thinkplay' area you can learn and reprogramme, or get help, tune into anywhere in the world for a consultation, or play games that train you to fly. Local schools will be tuned into IC, but also offered a tent for a day to do their own programme.

Equipment includes trailers, ordinary (non-pneumatic) tents, serviced trellises, a range of optional extras to the pylon/robot system, basically things that are readily available in the theatrical and teaching-and world. The use of electrics-as-place is important. Las Vegas suggests that a really powerful environment can be created simply by passing an electric current—in daytime the hardware is nothing. Lights combined with cinema projection can make the whole place a city, where there is no city. It is suggested that the visitor himself could play with large areas of this lighting so that he makes it happen rather than gawp at it.



Instant City visits Santa Monica

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5. Page from "Instant City" by Archigram. *Architectural Design* 39 (May 1969), p. 280

English provincial culture. But the ideal of impermanence surely suggested the layout of Los Angeles; unsurprisingly, Instant City is deployed not only in Bournemouth and St Helens, but in Santa Monica.⁵⁵

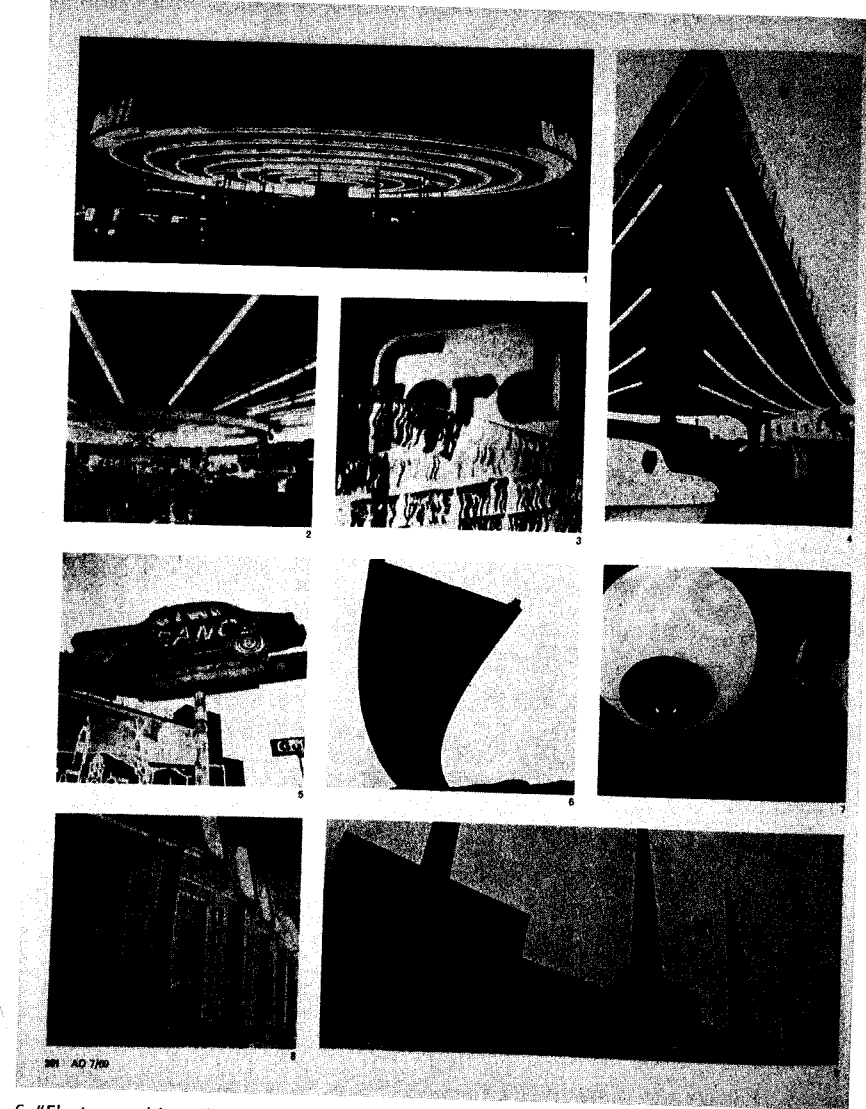
From "instant feedback" to "Instant City"; from Los Angeles to Bournemouth and back again: the "non-architecture" of American autopia, reconstituted in provincial England, is redeployed at the intersection of the Santa Monica and San Diego freeways. Yet the "pop" vernacular leveraged by Archi-

gram for its "electrics-as-place" becomes, in turn, the basis of a counter-critique. At the very intersection of "land piers" and "landline links," an American challenge is mounted in *AD* against the over-determined technological aesthetic marking much of the radical British work. At the root of this critique lay the re-evaluation of the technoscape not as model of cybernetic controls, but simply as scenography.

Electrographic Architecture

In learning from Los Angeles, Archigram celebrated the city's "undifferentiated structure" as a means to inspire an architectural intervention. In this, they mirrored the larger polemic of *AD* in the late sixties which remained hidebound not, as the "2000+" issue had warned, "by a vision of the fine arts" but by the *imagery* of a technological aesthetic. This was reinforced by an idealisation of America not as the site of this aesthetic, but as the departure point for its development. In this fetish for American technology was a blind-spot. The British critique was unable to accept the inherent ludic dimension of the city which was already "electric in every sense," to use Archigram's description of Instant City. Yet the emergence of an American presence in *AD* would look to the existing conditions of the American technoscape as an end in itself, as a closed aesthetic.

While Warren Chalk's autopia had spawned Instant City, it had also created its own vernacular. Thus, Archigram's insistence on a new environment "electric in every sense" is met by the gadfly journalist Tom Wolfe's exultation of an existing "Electrographic Architecture." Wolfe's paean to the strip signage of Los Angeles and San Diego appears in *AD* in July 1969 (fig. 6). Unlike Chalk, whose sought in his autopia the "customised responses" to freeway signs that influenced the "electrics-as-place" interfaces of Instant City, Wolfe analyses the electrographic architecture for "the eyes of people moving" as an end in itself. It is "designed to express not a *structural form*," argues Wolfe, "but a *graphic form*."⁵⁶ To Wolfe's eyes, this *graphic form* – "This is a show, this is a set of pictures" – is free of "the whole historic baggage of serious architects" because commercial artists and engineers "combine lighting, graphics and building structures in a single architectural form" to "convert the building itself into one vast electrical advertisement."⁵⁷ In a sense, this was exactly what Instant City proposed; as Archigram realised, "the use of electrics-as-place is important. Las Vegas suggests that a really powerful environment can be created simply by passing an electric current."⁵⁸ Wolfe denies, however, the technocratic ends of Archigram's analysis; "Functionalism," he shouts, "the hell with it!" While he also acknowledges



6. "Electrographic Architecture" by Tom Wolfe. *Architectural Design* 39 (July 1969), pp. 379, 381

that the only "landmarks" in Los Angeles are its freeways, the popular architecture which grew around them had "no function whatsoever than display." The "exterior decoration" of coruscating neon flashes and dizzying billboards did not, for Wolfe, suggest an inspiration for the hardware of a new world.

Yet in a footnote Wolfe points to a specific instance of architectural intervention in the "electrographic car fantasy mobile architecture": "Robert Venturi is one of the few serious American architects to comprehend the possibilities

of electric sign technology and to conceive of full-scale electrographic architecture. In fact, this month he has taken his third-year studio class at Yale to Nevada to study the electrographic landscape of Las Vegas with the same objective and scholarly thoroughness that might be applied to Athens or Pompeii."⁵⁹ Along with Denise Scott-Brown, Venturi had already published "A Significance for A&P Parking Lots, or, Learning from Las Vegas." What Wolfe recognised in Venturi and Scott-Brown, despite his inclinations to the contrary, was that "objective and scholarly" study of the electrographic fantasy would, inevitably, result in some new architectural *form*. This form, however, was to be decidedly populist and ironic; indeed, by realising that the "shed structures" of car washes and drive-ins "are given a massive and often whimsical treatment" – "a kind of pure Low-Rent LA exuberance" that violates "all the canons of 50-year-old Modernism with a verve that would drive Mies off the platter"⁶⁰ – Wolfe hails what Venturi and Scott-Brown would call the "decorated shed."

Wolfe's pop enthusiasm was articulated several months earlier by Venturi and Scott-Brown in a curious fit of "cultural reversal." Writing in *AD* in January 1969, Venturi and Scott-Brown turn to the work of James Gowan, former partner of James Stirling, to "leaven the diet of criticism which is *AD*'s staple on American architecture; Americans must be given a chance to slang-back at an (*AD*-nominated) Englishman."⁶¹ Gowan's work had been chosen by *AD* because the "gap between his concerns and ours is an "interesting one to illuminate through a discussion of photographs." But Venturi and Scott-Brown are not particularly interested in "the return march, Venturi versus Gowan"; their ire is directed at someone else: "we don't particularly feel like hitting at James Gowan or any other Englishman, unless it be Reyner Banham for his recent inaccuracies in *Progressive Architecture*."⁶² In an unexpected footnote Banham replies: "PA 5/68 p.6 – the letter, privately aimed at Jan Rowan's narrow-minded attitude to Los Angeles, was not intended for publication." Banham had attacked the February 1968 editorial in which Rowan condemned the urban sprawl of Los Angeles. Banham argued that LA sprawl was unlike that of any other American city because "other cities have never had the same pre-automobile constraints and energies." Recognition of this fact, however, was left to "a number of us who dig Los Angeles and do not live here"; thus "we explain the reasons in magazine articles in Europe which, mysteriously, never get printed in U.S. magazines."⁶³

Venturi and Scott-Brown's distaste for Banham's provocation surely lay in his question, "Why do we Europeans have to do you Americans' intellectual dirty work?" Following Venturi's conclusion to his 1966 book *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, in which he asked "is not Main Street almost all right?," Venturi and Scott-Brown do the "dirty work" of pinpointing the "gap"

imagery of architectural influence in the Old and New Worlds. Venturi and Scott-Brown criticise Gowan's work for the indirect appropriation of an "industrial vernacular" which gives his work an "uncomfortable archaeological flavour."⁶⁴ They diverge from Gowan's attempt at aesthetic unity through his quotation of functionalist forms, by asking "what has the nineteenth century industrial architecture to do with us here today? We have our own horror-giving energizer in the commercial strip."⁶⁵ In the "horror" of the commercial strip were Venturi and Scott-Brown's formal sources: "suburbia, the tract house, the trailer camp and the architecture of the roadside and parking lot seem to us more relevant than the nineteenth-century city or Säynätsalo."⁶⁶ This was not then the technological sublime of "2000+"; it was instead the surplus kitsch of consumer culture. These types constituted a new technoscape well outside the assumed legibility of both the planned nineteenth-century city and the forms of modern architecture. Unlike Cedric Price, whose ATOM project plugged-in to the American strip, Venturi and Scott-Brown extract from it the material to define architectural form but not to provide a social programme. As a by-product of advanced consumerist society, the validity of the strip as an architectural type demanded that any "electrographic architecture" would be measured by its commercial success, by its successful service to the marketplace.

Perhaps this was already evident in Peter Smithson's collagist equivalence between the jeep, the pin-up, and the curtain wall; if at some point these images suggested the ongoing modernist hope of conjoining art and technology, by the end of the sixties these ciphers of American glamour could operate only within a fully-commercialised landscape. The reappearance of Instant City in Archigram's competition-winning entry for an "entertainments building" in Monaco, published in *AD* in January 1970, pointed to its complete commodification; if it originally was agitprop for civic and cultural enhancement it now became "a circus, a grand-prix, a variety-show," something "deliberately 'architectural' and formal" in which one can find "the typical 1960's linear planning, the GLC auditorium, spot the wave in the direction of van der Rohe, Venturi and all the rest."⁶⁷ In the collapsed trajectory leading from the Mies to Venturi, the terrain of the American technoscape ceased to be a broad expanse of pop culture and techno-science but instead a field of instantly-reproducible architectural styles. Was, then, Archigram's "big tent" of architectural sources in Monte Carlo the ultimate formation of freedom, choice, and mobility promised by them in Los Angeles? In a curious ending to his analysis of Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse, published in *AD* in October 1969, Kenneth Frampton would caustically describe Los Angeles as "the instant utopia" in which "that we would desire fortunately, by divine grace, appears to exist already."⁶⁸ That the technoscape enabled the transactional promises of

this consumerist paradise through its models of the sublime – whether Venturi's "strip" or Archigram's "autopia" – made impossible the suggestion of a "metabolically valid environment," as Frampton portrayed the Ville Radieuse.

In this vacuum, in the emptying of American autopia, *AD* returns one more time to the Wild West. In September 1973, the *AD Goes West* special issue follows a trip made by the Architectural Association to Los Angeles. In the place Warren Chalk's "autopia" is the dystopia of Royston Landau's "Mickey Mouse the Great Dictator"; electro-graphic architecture is replaced by Disneyland's "(optically-psychologically) scaled-down Main Street USA";⁶⁹ and Bernard Tschumi maps the "sanctuaries of affluence" that escape the barrios and ghettos of the city. Despite Charles Jencks's efforts to the contrary, the city can no longer be delineated by the pop signifiers of its "four ecologies" that Reyner Banham had identified just a couple of years earlier.⁷⁰ The magazine cover is a montage in which a photograph of AA students hanging out of their car is juxtaposed against the immensity of the Mojave Desert. There is no city and no freeway. Los Angeles has disappeared. Emptied of its iconic potential by this final "cultural reversal," the American technoscape is subsumed into the geologic strata from which it arose.

- 1 Colin St. John Wilson, "Open Letter to an American Student," *Architectural Design* 35:3 (March 1965).
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Robin Middleton, "Dear Philip," *Architectural Design* 37:3 (March 1967): 107.
- 4 Peter Smithson, "The Fine and the Folk," *Architectural Design* 35:8 (August 1965): 397.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid., 394.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid., 397.
- 9 The everyday aesthetic of bathroom fittings had been crucial for Smithson and his wife Alison during the 1950s; its "brutalism" was notably celebrated in the exposed plumbing of the wash basins in their Hunstanton School, completed in 1954. A decade later, however, the Smithsons move toward a much more refined corporate sensibility in their Economist Group. As Kenneth Frampton, technical editor of *AD* from 1962 to 1965, reveals, "the declared aim of the designers has been to produce a deliberately dry and didactic building." See Frampton, "The Economist and the Hauptstadt," *Architectural Design* 35:2 (February 1965): 62.
- 10 Smithson, "The Fine and the Folk," 397.
- 11 Peter Smithson, "The Rocket," *Architectural Design* 35:7 (July 1965): 323.
- 12 Alison and Peter Smithson, "Mies van der Rohe," *Architectural Design* 39:7 (July 1969): 366.
- 13 Smithson, "The Fine and the Folk," 397.
- 14 Michel Ragon, "An Architectural Journal: Notes on a Tour of the United States," *Architectural Design* 35:8 (August 1965): 398.
- 15 Middleton, "Dear Philip," 107.
- 16 Anthony Vidler, "Bell Laboratory," *Architectural Design* 37:8 (August 1967): 355.
- 17 "Bell Telephone Laboratories," *Architectural Design* 37:8 (August 1967): 359.
- 18 Kenneth Frampton, "House of Ivy League Values," *Architectural Design* 38:7 (July 1968): 311.
- 19 Peter Smithson, "Just a Few Chairs and a House: an Essay on the Eames-aesthetic," *Architectural Design* 36:9 (September 1966): 443. The Eames had been on the Smithsons' radar since the mid-1950s – one is reminded of the brooding image of the Independent Group sitting on Eames chairs in the streets of London.
- 20 Alison Smithson, "And now the Dhamas are Dying out in Japan," *Architectural Design* 36:9 (September 1966): 447-448.
- 21 Michael Brawne, "The Wit of Technolog," *Architectural Design* 36:9 (September 1966): 450.
- 22 Geoffrey Holroyd, "Architecture Creating Relaxed Intensity," *Architectural Design* 36:9 (September 1966): 466.
- 23 John McHale, "2000+," *Architectural Design* 37:2 (February 1967): 64.
- 24 Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1960; reprint, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981), 329-330. Emphasis added.
- 25 McHale, 64.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 SCSD was organised by Ezra Ehrenkrantz who, before becoming project architect for the SCSD, had worked at the Building Research Station in Hertfordshire from 1954 to 1956, where he immersed himself in the study of modular coordination.

- Under auspices of the Ford Foundation, Ehrenkrantz prepared a feasibility study out of which the SCSD grew. *AD* notes that SCSD had "its origin at a conference sponsored by *Architectural Forum* in September 1961" at which "interest was aroused . . . by details of some of the British systems described by Antony Part of the British Ministry of Education."
- 28 "SCSD Project, USA," *Architectural Design* 35:7 (July 1965): 339.
- 29 Cedric Price, "Life-conditioning," *Architectural Design* 36:10 (October 1966): 483.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid. Price's provocation of "potential unevenness" is articulated best when, in a parenthetical aside, he quips in: "The best technical advice may be rather than build a house your client should leave his wife."
- 32 Cedric Price, "ATOM," *Architectural Design* 38:5 (May 1968): 234.
- 33 Cedric Price, response to Victor Gruen's "Approaches to Urban Revitalisation in the United States," *Journal of the Architectural Association* 78 (December 1962): 191.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Price, "ATOM," 234.
- 36 Raymond Wilson, "Mobility," *Architectural Design* 37:5 (May 1967): 213.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid., 217.
- 39 Reyner Banham, "A Home is not a House," *Architectural Design* 39:1 (January 1969): 45.
- 40 Ibid., 46. Banham defined the clip-on as a "small concentrating package of machinery" that "converts an undifferentiated structure into something having function and purpose." See his "A Clip-on Architecture," *Architectural Design* 35:11 (November 1965).
- 41 Ibid., 48.
- 42 Ibid., 48.
- 43 Warren Chalk, "No-where Man," *Architectural Design* 36:10 (October 1966): 478.
- 44 Warren Chalk, "Things that Do Their Own Thing," *Architectural Design* 39:7 (July 1969): 375.
- 45 Ibid., 376.
- 46 Warren Chalk, "Living, 1990," *Architectural Design* 37:3 (March 1967): 147.
- 47 McHale, "2000+," 64.
- 48 Chalk, "Living, 1990," 147.
- 49 Warren Chalk, "Up the Down Ramp," *Architectural Design* 38:9 (September 1968): 404. Chalk pays his debt to Cedric Price's response to Victor Gruen: "It was one of the first significant documented recognitions of Los Angeles as an alternative city prototypes; an acknowledgement of suburbia and of the significance of the automobile."
- 50 Ibid., 404-405.
- 51 Chalk's article included snapshots from Ed Ruscha's *Twenty-six Gasoline Stations* (Alhambra, Calif.: Cunningham Press, 1969) and *Thirty-four Parking Lots* (n.p., 1967).
- 52 Ibid., 407.
- 53 Peter Cook, Dennis Crompton, and Ron Herron, "Instant City," *Architectural Design* 39:5 (May 1969): 280.
- 54 Ibid., 277.
- 55 Archigram claim that since the three locations of Instant City are "well known to members of the Archigram Group . . . the effect of IC upon the place and its interface with what is already there can be accurately predicted."
- 56 Tom Wolfe, "Electrographic Architecture," *Architectural Design* 39:7 (July 1969): 382.

- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Peter Cook, Dennis Crompton, and Ron Herron, "Instant City," 280.
- 59 Wolfe, "Electrographic Architecture," 382.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown, "Venturi vs. Gowan," *Architectural Design* 39:1 (January 1969): 31.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Reyner Banham, "Los Angeles Editorial Stirs West Coast Architects," *Progressive Architecture* 49:5 (May 1968): 6.
- 64 Venturi and Scott-Brown, "Venturi vs. Gowan," 31.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid., 34.
- 67 Peter Cook, "Monte Carlo," *Architectural Design* 40:1 (January 1970): 14.
- 68 Kenneth Frampton, "The City of Dialectic," *Architectural Design* 39:10 (October 1969): 546.
- 69 Royston Landau, "Mickey Mouse the Great Dictator," *Architectural Design* 43:9 (September 1973): 592.
- 70 Banham's enthusiasm for LA had coalesced in his *Los Angeles: the Architecture of Four Ecologies* (London: Allen Lane, 1971). He identified the four ecologies as "surfurberia," foothills," "the plains of Id," and, unsurprisingly, "autopia," in an attempt "to present the architecture (in a fairly conventional sense of the word) within the topographical and historical context of the total artifact that constitutes Greater Los Angeles."

Revue et discours critique

Periodicals and Critical Discourse

Technology and Phenomenological Criticism in Italian Architectural Discourse: The Case of *Superfici*

In 1962 Reyner Banham published a short text in the Italian architecture review *Superfici* that took aim at the state of contemporary Italian architecture. Writing nearly three years after the controversy that conferred questionable legitimacy upon the term Neo-liberty as an architectural style, Banham's criticism once again focused on the use of historical motifs in recent Italian architecture. Staying true to the polemic he first launched in the *Architectural Review* in 1959, Banham chastised Italian architects for, among other things, their servile appeal to clients who were, as he put it, "rich snobs without brains."¹ The Neo-liberty debacle, remembered as one of the more vindictive editorial skirmishes over the direction of postwar architecture, provided the new magazine with a topical point of departure. Attempting to surpass the Banham-Casabella controversy, *Superfici* sought to connect research on building technology to the discourse that had sponsored the turn to history in Italian architecture. Still, it is surprising that *Superfici* would publish yet another of Banham's invectives, given the insult he had inflicted several years earlier. What had roused Banham to write to *Superfici* and why did the review publish the letter? Banham's text provides part of the answer. While he charges *Superfici* as well as other Italian reviews with misrepresenting his position on "the machine age," he at the same time commends its editorial agenda.² Unlike *Casabella continuità*, which Banham held responsible for all that was wrong with Italian architecture, *Superfici* showed promise for a future direction.³ For *Superfici* it was a strategic choice to publish Banham. It proved that the magazine was a forum for debate, particularly since *Superfici* was as skeptical of Banham's position on technology as it was of the *Casabella* group's view on the tradition of Modernism.

The Milan-based *Superfici* ("Surfaces," subtitled "Problems in Architecture and Technology, Magazine of Floorings, Wall Coverings, and Roofs") had a short publishing life, from 1960 to 1963, producing just six issues – including

the experimental debut issue of May 1960, bearing the title "Milano chiama" (Milan calls). The editorial board was composed of the editor and architect Leonardo Fiori and a team of young Milan-based designers and architects.⁴ Joseph Rykwert, listed as the London correspondent, now stands out as the most internationally recognized name on the masthead. The editorial objective announced in the experimental issue identifies the dual goal of serving the building sector as well as providing a forum for lively and, in the editors' words, integrated experiments in technology and architecture. A short note addressed "to the producers of floorings and wall coverings" appeared in small type on the editorial page. It called for articles or reports on new products, the organization of agencies, product legislation, and reviews of technical literature, suggesting rather optimistically that the magazine become a vehicle for the professional exchange of information rather than merely an advertising opportunity. *Casabella continuità* acknowledged the arrival of *Superfici* in a review that noted its editorial mandate presented a unique position in the panorama of Italian magazines.⁵ Nevertheless, the reviewer complained that sponsorship from the building industry had resulted in an enormous amount of advertising. In fact, nearly half of the experimental issue was devoted to advertisements for ceramic tiles, roofing, wall coverings, new plastics, floor-finish products, and other such items. When the official first issue appeared in March 1961, a short synopsis published in *Casabella continuità* curtly characterized *Superfici*'s mandate as an attempt to integrate architecture culture and the world of production.⁶

Despite sponsorship from the building industry, *Superfici* did not privilege reports on building materials or technology over what might be broadly termed architectural criticism or cultural topics. *Superfici*'s goal was to bring disparate areas of research into critical proximity within a single publication. To achieve this goal, the magazine began by republishing, in whole or in part, a wide selection of texts taken from newspapers, books, and magazines in addition to newly authored essays. The topics were wide ranging, from the history of industry in Italy, an excerpt from Antonio Gramsci's *Americanism and Fordism*, an article by Carlo Aymonino on town planning, to an excerpt from art historian Cesare Brandi's *Eliante o dell'architettura*. Introduced without any overarching interpretative key, they stood side by side without a unifying commentary leading one to surmise that there existed a sophisticated readership interested in prefabrication, town planning laws, and the speculations of, for example, the Milanese philosopher and architectural advocate Enzo Paci on topics such as "L'applicazione del metodo industriale all'edilizia e il problema estetico" (The Application of Industrial Building Methods and the Aesthetic Problem).⁷ Given this, the magazine's intellectual and cultural ambitions could not be summed up as merely a corrective to Banham's

charges of technological backwardness or partisan disdain for the *Casabella* group. *Superfici*'s intentions exceeded Banham's depoliticized and, in their view, uncritical interpretation of the technological mandate of modern architecture.⁸ And while *Superfici* launched criticism at philosophical posturing, the review engaged current theoretical fashion in an effort to advance debate beyond what they viewed as mere critique. No doubt its editorial premise was exemplary within the context of Italian architectural publications at that time, and yet its initial point of departure was indebted to and a product of the intellectual preoccupations of the Milanese architectural milieu.

Superfici's mandate responded to what the editors diagnosed as a lack of critical inquiry into technology within Italian architectural discourse. Despite voicing skepticism of the philosophically motivated preoccupations of some Italian architects, many of the authors writing for *Superfici* readily enlisted the same extra-disciplinary sources. For example, Paci's phenomenological Marxism as well as Adorno's aesthetic and social critique were repeatedly called upon to address the problems of architecture and contemporary society. The first four issues were preoccupied with the Milanese architectural scene – that is, with the changed form of the city, and with the work and theoretical premises of mostly Milan-based architects. The fifth and sixth issues shifted the focus to topics such as the social, administrative, and physical problems of Italian cities and were supported by more politically oriented criticism. This redirection of *Superfici*'s mandate reflected an important turn in Italian architectural debate from what might loosely be identified with the phenomenological orientation of Rogers's *Casabella continuità* to an incipient Marxian stance that would influence architectural theory in the following decades.

Superfici struck, as *Casabella continuità* recognized, a unique stance. Given its short life span and the lack of information on its circulation it would be easy to dismiss *Superfici* as questionable material evidence. However, its editorial stance – to provide up to date discussion on technology as well as cultural criticism – points to an overlooked aspect of postwar Italian architecture. *Superfici* not only documented a changing of the guard but it attempted to fill a gap between the privileging of a meta-technological politicized discourse and the engagement of technology. The problem *Superfici* signals in its attempt to bring technology, the building industry, cultural critique, and architecture into discussion lies at the core of postwar Italian discourse. Architects associated with Neo-liberty mounted a critique of technique-dominated society and Modernism as a movement. In issues 5 and 6 a group of young architects from Rome initiated an ideological critique of the techniques of administration as evidenced in the city of the Italian economic miracle. In contrast, *Superfici* attempted to address technology from both applied and theoretical

perspectives. Banham and the *Architectural Review* took an altogether different view, applauding *Superfici* for producing “shrewd” coverage of “good fighting stuff,” that is, for polemical value rather than erudite cultural inquiry.⁹

Superfici's unique contribution lies in its attempt to mobilize critical thinking from other disciplines to better understand what its authors perceived to be the crucial problems facing postwar Italian architects. The magazine functioned as a tangible support for architecture debate. In its brief life it honed in on a set of issues specific to Italian architects, it offered a forum for young architects to voice opinion and it caught the eye of the major international magazines in doing so. From its first issue to its last, *Superfici* tracked a transformation in architectural discourse in telescopic fashion, as it struggled to broach the disparate strands coursing through Italian architectural criticism, the evolving politics of technology, the critique of technique-dominated society, and the effects of Italian socio-economic transformation on the profession.

Enlightened Critique, Aesthetic Reactions?

The May 1960 issue of *Superfici* announced an editorial commitment to navigate a course of inquiry between cultural and practical interests. Later referred to as the experimental issue, it had three articles addressing so-called cultural topics and more than ten texts of varying length on subjects ranging from thermoplastic flooring to the use of structural steel in current building. The editors confirm their technological agenda by announcing that the engineer Giuseppe Ciribini, director of the Centre for Applied Research on the Problems of Residential Building, was to contribute to the magazine on a regular basis. Ciribini, the author of *Architettura e industria*, on the application of industrial methods to housing production, became an authoritative contributor to *Superfici*. Despite this promise and the plethora of information on trade, plastics, and new materials, the focus was clearly set on the architecture scene in Milan – in fact, the issue was framed thematically by the heading “Milano chiama” (Milan calls). An article titled “Unità di vicinato o città aperta?” (Neighbourhood Units or Open City?) documented a roundtable discussion between Milanese architects, planners, and politicians on the state of regulatory planning and queried the future development of a city wrestling with the problems of rapid expansion, automobile traffic, and a burgeoning immigrant population. Black-and-white photographs accompanying the text presented a strikingly dismal portrait of Milan and its suburban area.

The key article revealing *Superfici*'s critical agenda was titled “I baroni rampanti del movimento moderno: Tre generazioni di architetti nel dopoguerra” (Rampant Barons of the Modern Movement: Three Generations of

Architects after the War). The article surveyed Italian architecture beginning with pre-war rationalism and concluding with an unfavourable and tendentious assessment of the present. It complained that Italian culture and thus Italian architecture had since the Risorgimento preferred rhetorical flourish and imitation to authentic engagement. Blame was placed on Italy's failure to engage the “world of production.” Penned by three young designers – Mario Bellini, Roberto Orefice, and Lucilla Zanon Dal Bo, this polemical account of postwar Italian architecture so impressed Banham that the phrase “baroni rampanti” and “rampant baronism” began appearing in some of his articles on contemporary Italian architecture. For Banham, Ernesto N. Rogers of BBPR was the patron of a young generation of “baroni rampanti,” comprised of architects associated with Neo-liberty, such as Vittorio Gregotti and Aldo Rossi. Borrowing from *Superfici*'s definition, Banham claimed that the rubric “rampant baronism” aptly identified architects who as “ex-modernists had abandoned the accepted moral, social, and mechanical imperatives of the modern movement,” and “gone native in the thickets of *gusto*, *cultura*, *storia*, and so forth that grow densely in Italian critical discourse.”¹⁰

In *Superfici* 1, which appeared in March 1961 (fig. 1), the attempt to merge technology and architectural criticism was more fully addressed. The magazine was organized into two independently framed sections: the first contained reprints from current publications on architecture and building, and the second, forming the main body, was introduced by the editorial “Questo numero.” Included in the first part were several short texts on the construction of cooperative housing in Milan, reprinted from *L'informatore moderno*, as well as a text comparing recent films by Luchino Visconti and Michelangelo Antonioni. An article from Nikolaus Pevsner's BBC commentary on the historicist tendency in recent architecture was unsurprising, given the context. Pevsner expressed alarm at the appearance of revivalism, particularly in Italian architecture, and wondered if historians were not in part to blame.¹¹ As he put it, historicism choked original action, and instead of producing its own expression as each age should, it indulged an overabundance of unrestrained individualism. Articles such as “Ambiguità dell'architettura milanese” (Ambiguity of Milanese Architecture), “L'evoluzione della funzione” (The Evolution of Function), and “La nuova ondata” (The New Wave) signalled *Superfici*'s close monitoring of Milanese architectural discourse. In general, the articles drew critical comparisons between the existential drift of Neo-liberty and the urban consequences of the economic “boom” on Italian cities.

The literary, cinematic, and philosophical sources cited in *Superfici* were unconventional by the standards of architectural critical writing. Adorno was cited next to Merleau-Ponty, next to Lukács, Valéry, and Paci. While it may seem all very serious, the criticism was balanced with visual humour. Cartoon

SUPERFICI¹

Problemi di architettura e tecnologie edili
Rivista dei pavimenti, rivestimenti e coperture

AMBIGUITÀ DELL'ARCHITETTURA MILANESE

A Milano "tempo" e "spazio" hanno altri significati da quelli della versione umanistica rimpianta nelle Università.



NIKOLAUS PEVSNER

Ritornano i "revivals" in architettura

Lo storico dei "pionieri" fa un esame preoccupato di questi anni cruciali del movimento moderno.

Tre scritti di
REYNER BANHAM

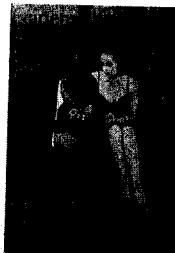
Facciate in acciaio a Milano

Cronache e problemi aperti da una applicazione di moda

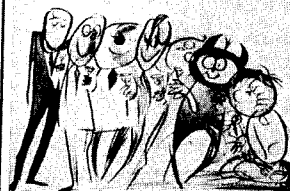
LA MILANO TEDESCA DI ANTONIONI E VISCONTI

La decorazione islamica
dal naturalismo all'astrazione

GIUSEPPE CIRIBINI:
Per una classificazione dei nuovi materiali edili



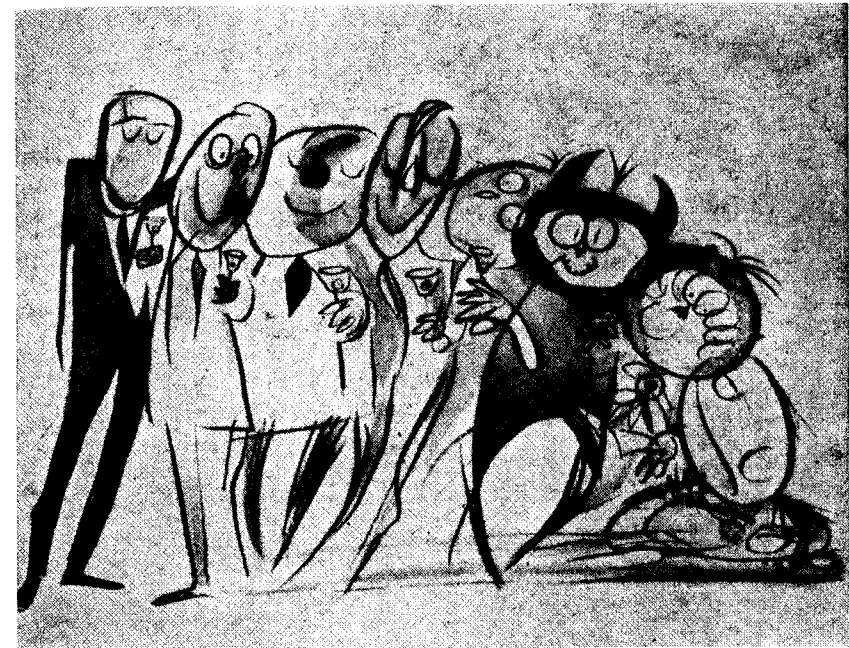
CAVALIERI, LIBERTINI E FRÈRES MAÇONS
sulla scena milanese



TONO E DECORO NEI RIVESTIMENTI MILANESI

1. Cover of *Superfici* 1 (March 1961). *Problemi di architettura e tecnologie edili. Rivista dei pavimenti, rivestimenti e coperture*

sketches accompanied many of the articles, such as one titled "Trucchi e galateo di un 'Aufklärung' milanese" (The Tricks and Good Manners of the Milanese Renaissance), which depicted elegant cocktail-clutching young men in what appears to be an inebriated sway (fig. 2). The cartoon mocked the coterie of Milan architects, showing them intoxicated not just with alcohol but (given the content of the article) with ideas, and perhaps not a little too full of them-



2. "I Baroni rampanti." *Superfici* 1 (March 1961), p. 43

selves. The article "Cavalieri, libertini, e 'frères maçons' sulla scena milanese" (Knights, Libertines, and Freemasons on the Milan Scene), following the reprint of two articles by Banham, was illustrated with cartoons poking fun at his comparison of BBPR's Torre Velasca and Gio Ponti's Pirelli building.¹² The "serene, elegant, superb, and modern" Pirelli, a favourite of Banham's, was represented as a rotund business type calmly sitting with a cigarette dangling from one hand and six telephones placed between his other hand and his ears, shoulders, and lap. The Torre Velasca, caricatured as a griffin of sorts, was called "confused and embarrassed." The illustration accompanying "La nuova ondata" (The New Wave, referring to current French cinema) spoke plainly of *Superfici*'s assessment of intellectual posturing. The high drama of "I baroni" was represented by an overwrought-looking gentleman dressed in an ankle-length coat and top hat, holding a smoking gun, turned away from his victim, a high-back chair lying in a pool of blood on the floor (fig. 3). The comic blow dealt to the ineffectualness of "I baroni" was well landed. The article claimed that these architects registered their critique of alienated industrial society by retreating to a private world. They retreated from the reality of architecture by limiting their designs to furniture and private houses, that is, to areas of research that easily accommodated individualistic expression.¹³

of technology, industry, and planning for research interests that reflected those of the bourgeois cultural élites and, paradoxically, market demand.¹⁸

Architects such as Gardella and Albini (whom *Superfici* considered two of the better architects of the postwar era) and the Novarese firm of Gregotti, Meneghetti and Stoppino received criticism and praise in equal measure. The first two were characterized as anti-intellectual, producing architecture of “savoir faire,” and the latter as an overly intellectualized practice.¹⁹ Gardella’s work was judged to be profoundly humanist and engaged with varied processes that advanced the idea of architectural function beyond the constrictions of high Modernism. Whether true or not, this is an important point. For underpinning the critique of technology and discussion of postwar consumer society was the need to uncouple the forms of Modernist architecture from reductive definitions of functionalism. Gardella’s work apparently exceeded Modernist mechanical determinism to include decorative, social, and psychological functions – in phenomenological terms, his architecture was an expression of coherence. In contrast was the recent work by Rogers’s firm BBPR. Banham had described their pavilion for the Brussels World’s Fair of 1958 as representative of “chandelierism,” and the Torre Velasca (1954–1956) left many critics perplexed.²⁰ In the latter project, the architects took the modern building type par excellence, the skyscraper, the symbol of technological innovation and reinterpreted it through a figurative language that invoked the Gothic Duomo located several blocks away in the historic centre of Milan. While all agreed (*Superfici* and Banham included) that the Torre Velasca was a masterwork, it represented all the contradictions inherent in postwar Italian architecture.²¹ It collapsed the present with the past, and technological innovation with a legible historicism in its flying buttresses. While some argued that it was “a defence against the extroversion of the anonymous city” others deemed it reactionary, supplanting banal functionalism with aesthetic function.²²

Explaining the Torre Velasca

In *Casabella* 232 (October 1959), BBPR explained that the tower’s figurative expression was derived by means of a methodology that took into account the architect’s creative process and intuition and the environment (fig. 4).²³ They believed that the tower’s form presented a possibility for the continuity of the Modern Movement, and that this possibility did not resort to a *a priori* style – referring to the formulaic treatment of Modernism as a style. They argued that the tower was neither revivalist nor historicist: it expressed the dialectic of old and new, its form spoke to the sedimentation of past, present



4. Cover of *Casabella-Continuità* 232 (October 1959). Detail of the Torre Velasca, Milan

and future. The explanation was founded on Rogers’s notion of “preesistenza ambientali” (environmental pre-existences) and was indebted to the Italian philosopher Enzo Paci’s phenomenology. Rogers first coined the phrase in a *Casabella* editorial of 1954.²⁴ It identified, among other things, his critique of Modernist *tabula rasa* planning and the mono-functionalist rationale underpinning canonical Modernism. It presented an alternative approach, or a rationale, for architecture that at face value appears sensitive to building in the historic centre but should not be confused with contextual or formalist responses to the existing urban fabric.²⁵ The term environment, following Paci, did not refer to the mundane objective world but the truly experienced, pre-scientific and intuitive world. According to Paci, every “category (for example, scientific, philosophical) rises from the environment, from the surrounding

world, or the precategorical Umwelt.”²⁶ The experience of the life-world (Lebenswelt), although relative, has “fundamental structures, reducible to perceptions and operations of subjects in their spatio-temporal and causal environment.”²⁷ Paci’s idea of history relative to environment was key to Rogers’s elaboration of pre-existent environment. “Everything originates in present life” – in other words, history was always present, it contained the past, and, in a teleological sense of becoming, it presented the horizon of the future.²⁸ Following Paci, history did not proceed mechanically, it was temporal, with interruptions and recollections. When considering history, one was “free to skip from century to century because it begins in the present.”²⁹ Following this dynamic notion of history-environment, Rogers conceived the pre-existent environment as a method that evaded the occlusion of concrete existence in the present, thus resisting the merely formalist. A method that understood history within the present environment might constitute an architectural response that pushed beyond a limited repertoire of preconceived forms or the reification of architecture in a timeless universal space of abstraction. Obviously, from this philosophical construct it is not difficult to arrive at what Banham and Pevsner termed architectural historicism. Yet for BBPR every work of architecture was, like art, an original act, registering an unrepeatable event in a specific *spatial* and *temporal* environment. This implied that within architecture, phenomenological intentionality could initiate a dismantling of false concreteness for collective, authentic, and intuitively graspable immediate experience.

In *Zodiac* 4 (1959), Paci published an appreciation of the work of BBPR that included the Torre Velasca. Paci, who was a member of the *Casabella* editorial board, follows BBPR’s explanation that the form of the tower resulted from a method that synthesized, in a specific time and place, the architects’ intuitions as a creative act.³⁰ Paci writes that “according to Rogers, architecture is the continual verification of a dialectical synthesis in which the relationship between tradition and modernity, between historical setting and, in general, modern rationalism acquires its real meaning.”³¹ Function was interpreted, following Rogers, as a synthesis of “utility and beauty,” the rational and the technical, invention and pre-existent environment, tradition and renovation.³² The references to the “coherence” of the building, to the dynamic conception of architecture and environment, to organic functionalism as open rather than closed off in a preconceived formula, cue to Paci’s subtle rather than overt phenomenological interpretation. BBPR’s architecture is cast as a critique of Modernist architecture – functional, technical, in the International Style – and as resistant to the scientism of modern rationalism.³³ Such architecture might enable collective or, in the phenomenological sense, intersubjective experience. The phenomenological stance implied that against

objectification – an enmeshed subject and object – the intentions of the architect and the user-spectator might facilitate the experience of non-alienated subjectivity.³⁴ In Paci’s view, the Torre Velasca was not a revival but a wilful synthesis in becoming, that is, it was not an end in itself. It was neither a repetition of past forms nor a declaration of the end of the Modern Movement but constituted a moment in a continuum of reappraisal and renewal of the tradition of Modernism, one that was full of the present with potential for the future.³⁵

Although well versed in the phenomenological perspective, the critics at *Superfici* were not convinced of the idea of pre-existences or of the idea of architectural dialectical synthesis. They argued that the turn to historical reference was not the result of the phenomenological technique of the “suspension of judgment” but the expression of a prefigured private poetic.³⁶ As such, it was every bit as formalist and tautological as were the tired forms associated with the International Style. The concept of the pre-existent environment was characterized as a pseudo-critical method that merely rationalized the architects’ taste. In “Ambiguità dell’architettura milanese,” for example, Annarosa Cotta and Attilio Marcolli argued that the real space and time of the city are rather different from how they are interpreted by academics. Space and time as discussed at “the University” (their term) was remote from the social and physical realities of the Milan of the economic miracle. The notion of pre-existing environments or the theoretical articulation of alienation offered little comfort when the city’s architecture was determined for the most part by unchecked real estate speculation.³⁷ *Superfici* suspected BBPR of over privileging aesthetic function, of fetishizing the architect’s creative process and likening the architectural experience to that of an individual work of art. Indeed, one could argue that the tower represented the taste of a cultural elite and personal preference rather than a moment in the teleology of phenomenological becoming. It would appear that the phenomenological conception of “renewal in the present of the past for the future” produced architectural forms that spoke of a time prior to the full emergence of the economic form of capitalism. In doing so, it evaded – or, in phenomenological terms, occluded – the ideology of Modernism and the social effects of capitalism on architecture and the form of the city.³⁸

To leverage a critical position, *Superfici* fought fire with fire, exploiting the same sources used by the *Casabella* crowd to rather different ends. For example, Adorno’s recently translated text on Igor Stravinsky is cited in a comparison between the use of historical forms in architecture and eclecticism in musical composition.³⁹ As Adorno put it, Stravinsky “fused old forms with contemporary means so that they were robbed of their historical specificity.”⁴⁰ In such a process the artist imagines he or she has free access to all forms, past

and present, and assumes that the unprejudiced selection from the breadth of history – “the suspension of judgment” – is objective. In fact, as Adorno argued for music, the actual choice of historical form was a matter of subjective arbitrariness and exposed not, as the architects claimed, the dialectic between old and new, but the *undialectical* will of the composer or architect at work.⁴¹ From this perspective, the Torre Velasca, for example, was not a happy synthesis of the present-historical becoming the future but the false reconciliation of the architect’s taste and the desired content. Architecture that indulged in revivalist modes veiled rather than revealed the contradictions in contemporary society. Adorno offered a repeatable moral injunction that lent support to *Superfici*’s editorial objectives: he who does not collaborate runs the risk of believing himself to be better than the others and risks making the critique of society an ideology in the service of private interests.⁴²

***Superfici* beyond the Neo-Liberty Debate**

It would be misleading to represent *Superfici* solely in terms of a debate revolving around “I baroni,” *Casabella*, or the Neo-liberty incident. Although these matters provided a point of departure for the magazine, and inspired polemical rebuttals in the first two issues, by *Superfici* 2–3 it was all but put to rest. The article “Casabella 251: L’anti 215?” closes the door on the Neo-liberty–*Casabella* episode. The title cleverly refers to *Casabella* 215 of 1957 – the issue that brought Neo-liberty to international attention – and juxtaposed it to *Casabella* 251, a monographic issue dedicated to postwar Italian architecture. *Superfici*’s reaction to *Casabella*’s critical self-scrutiny is neatly summed up in their response to Rogers’s convoluted editorial “Il passo da fare.” Rogers claimed that architects were forced to put aside some issues in order to focus on others, seemingly to explain why *Casabella* had failed to address the relation of architecture and technology more persistently. *Superfici* answered: “No, we are sorry, but we do not agree.”⁴³ *Superfici* concluded their assessment of the architecture scene triumphantly: “It seems to us that the debate on technique and design is finally opened in Italy, and now it must continue.”⁴⁴

Superfici’s commitment to addressing technological and cultural problems was ambitious and difficult to realize. Issue 2–3 of 1961 reasserted the editorial quest with a compilation of texts that show an impressive breadth of interest and determination to include critical literature on mass culture and the “machine age” and actual product information. In a thematic section titled “La pianificazione negli studi di sociologi e moralisti,” texts excerpted from John Kenneth Galbraith’s *The Affluent Society*, C. Wright Mills’s *The Power Elite*, and Theodor Adorno’s *Minima Moralia* are juxtaposed with essays by and on

Konrad Wachsmann, an excerpt from Walter Gropius’s *The Architect and Industrial Society*, and various reports from daily newspapers. More focused but perhaps less inspiring was *Superfici* 4 (November–December 1961), a monographic issue devoted to the city of Milan. Selections from daily newspapers give a blow-by-blow account of Milan’s planning problems. There is, for example, a report on “61,000 residences without potable water in the city of the ‘economic miracle.’”⁴⁵ The discussion of technology is presented in articles on topics such as prefabrication and industrial design. Two short texts, one by Paci on fetishized technique and language and another by literary critic Elio Vittorini on the need for a new technical language in literature, fill out the extra-theoretical critical component.

The City and the Political Critique of the Techniques of Town Planning

Superfici 5 (April 1962) and 6 (September 1963) registered a substantive shift taking place taking place in Italian architectural discourse. In plain terms, the magazine’s focus turns from Milan to Rome, and in doing so it leaves behind the squabbles over Neo-liberty for the problems of the city and the techniques of town planning. It also leaves behind the attempt to insert into mainstream architectural discussion enlightened and materially informed views on technology, technique, and industrial design. In *Superfici* 5 and 6, reports on technology take more conventional forms via essays on curtain wall construction and wood construction and an article that includes a discussion of Buckminster Fuller’s geodesic domes titled “Punto . . . e da capo per la prefabbricazione.”⁴⁶

The remarks by Banham quoted at the beginning of this essay were published in *Superfici* 5. Now seen in context, Banham’s complaints seem out of touch with the socio-political thrust of Italian critical discourse, particularly the problems associated with the radical transformation of Italian cities. From *Superfici* 2–3 onward, discussion turned from criticism of the phenomenological crisis of science to the city and an emergent Marxian critique of the crisis of capitalism. Within these parameters, technology and technique are construed rather differently than either Banham or *Superfici* could have imagined.⁴⁷ Dedicated to the city of Rome, *Superfici* 5 and 6 were guest-edited by a group of architects from the University of Rome and members of the Roman collaborative Architetti e urbanisti associati (AUA). In *Superfici* 5 (April 1962), a young Manfredo Tafuri published a substantial essay on postwar Roman architecture, which would serve as the template for his later analysis of Italian architecture. The scope of “Neorealismo, neocletticismo e

revivalismo nella vicenda architettonica romana dal 1946 al 1961" displays a complex yet synthetic analysis of postwar political-cultural forces on Roman architecture (fig. 4). Although the article dealt almost entirely with Rome, Tafuri had a few words for the intellectual climate sponsoring Neo-liberty along the Milan-Turin axis. He impatiently summed up their concerns as "protest against the alienation of mass society and the disintegration of the individual and the unnatural human condition dominated by myths of the technology of neocapitalism."⁴⁸ Neo-liberty as well as the Roman dalliances with Neorealism and eclecticism were for Tafuri simply verbal solutions – in other words, theoretical and formal – to deeper structural problems. Enlisting a range of authorities to make his case – historians of art and economics, sociologists along with the radical left – Tafuri grappled with a nascent ideological critique. Perhaps most telling of his future political and intellectual development was a citation from *Quaderni rossi*, the short-lived review of the Italian New Left.⁴⁹ Tafuri quotes the editor Rainiero Panzieri: "It is precisely capitalist 'despotism' that assumes the form of technological rationality. In the capitalist use of, not only the machine, but also the 'methods,' the organizational techniques, etc., are incorporated into capital, they are counterpoised to the worker as capital: as 'rationality estranged.'"⁵⁰ The distance travelled between the Casabellian scrutiny of Modernism, techniques, and the phenomenological subject was obliterated as the conception of technology and technique were catapulted beyond materials, applications, and the critical engagement imagined by the designers at *Superfici*. A critique of capitalist technique as systematic repression attributable to an economic form had taken hold. To engage capitalist technologies as potentially free of the mechanism producing them could only be deemed naïve from this point forward.

The Roman architects who guest-edited *Superfici* 6 were, in 1963, still committed to the Modern Movement, not in Rogers's sense of the continuity of the tradition of Modernism but as the continuation and evolution of its ethical and political goals. At stake was the authority of the profession.⁵¹ Citing current research on the Italian postwar city, they argued that the scale of problems confronting the architect had changed and the reality of the technological, social, and economic forces transforming the world demanded a radical reconsideration of the profession. Articles chronicling the consequences of the postwar planning of Rome and the prospects of the 1962 national election for new town-planning laws drew attention to the profound changes Italy had experienced. In addition to pieces such as "5 1/2: I gatopardi dell'urbanistica" that leave little doubt as to their author's political-critical perspective *Superfici* 6 also published articles on prefabrication, building processes and on art. But perhaps the more significant indications of change are evident in a seemingly benign report on problems at schools of architec-

ture and the short summaries in *Superfici* 5 on the formation of new professional and student organizations in Rome.⁵² These articles document the beginning of institutional turmoil that in the 1960s would challenge and subsume any abstract and philosophical talk about technique-dominated society or the continuity of the tradition of Modernism. It is worth mentioning that the first student revolts in Italy took place at the schools of architecture at the University of Rome and in Florence in 1962–1963. Students protested the inadequacy of architectural education and its lack of preparation for what they thought were the real and pressing problems confronting the profession.

Conclusion

Superfici judged Banham's interpretation of postwar Italian architecture an exaggeration comparable to the exotic stories Marco Polo told upon his return from the Orient.⁵³ The distance between Banham and Neo-liberty, between English and Italian architectural culture, is put in perspective when considering the incompatible and irreconcilable viewpoints within Italian architecture that were played out on the pages of *Superfici* during its short publishing career. *Superfici*'s original premise alerts us to the lack of culturally informed discussion about technology and industrial design within Milanese architecture. It signals the absence of critical discussion about the relation of architecture and technology in mainstream reviews such as *Casabella*, *Domus*, and *L'Architettura*. The inaugural issues revealed the breadth of disciplinary influences, particularly phenomenology, employed as a means to justify an architectural preoccupation with history and as leverage for a critique of Modernism. Over six issues *Superfici* struggled to establish its own ground – as opposed to reacting to or describing the current situation – and sought the critical means to examine the effects of and relation between technique and technology, design and industrial production. That the editors were unable to articulate a more precise critical position or overarching editorial stance – as Rogers had or Tafuri would – was important, for the magazine remained a vehicle that permitted the playing out of various positions.

The brief life of *Superfici* appears as a symptom in the history of postwar Italian architecture. At its inception it identified with and confirmed the authority of *Casabella* in the formation of Italian architectural discourse of the 1950s. Moreover, its articulation of the influence of phenomenology, specifically on Milanese architecture, makes explicit a strand of thought that penetrated architectural discussions at *Casabella continuità* during this period.⁵⁴ Despite the criticism levelled at the *Casabella* group, *Superfici*'s theoretical thrust remained within its orbit – its writers spoke the same language, consulted the

same sources, and had similar frames of reference. This shared language points to a discursive formation about which questions could be asked and for which designers writing for *Superfici* struggled to find, if not an alternative, a wider set of references and critical tools to put into circulation. It is concrete evidence of the transformation from phenomenological critique of rationalism to the Marxian critique of the rationality of technique-dominated society under capitalism. This critique would develop elsewhere, and its evolution can be found in Italian critical practices that seem barely related, from the Florentine neo-avant-garde to Manfredo Tafuri, Aldo Rossi, and Ezio Bonfanti. To varying degrees, all are marked by Italian phenomenological Marxism. For a few years in the early 1960s *Superfici* provided a forum for discussion and acted as a barometer of sorts, beyond the monopoly of the big magazines. From that perspective, there is much to learn from this minor magazine.

NOTES

- 1 Reyner Banham, "Alla ricerca di una intesa," *Superfici* 5 (April 1962): 15; Reyner Banham, "Neo-Liberty: The Italian Retreat from Modernism," *Architectural Review* 747 (April 1959): 231–235. On Neo-liberty see Mary Louise Lobsinger, "Monstrous Fruit: The Excess of Italian Neo-liberty," *Thresholds* 23 (Fall 2001): 44–51.
- 2 See Ernesto N. Rogers's response to Banham's attack in "L'evoluzione dell'architettura: Risposta al custode dei frigoriferi," *Casabella continuità* 228 (June 1959): 2–4. Banham was clearly aware of the critical review of his *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1960) by Francesco Tentori in *Casabella continuità*.
- 3 Banham, "Alla ricerca di una intesa," 16.
- 4 Among the regular contributors to *Superfici* were Roberto Orefice, Attilio Marcolli and Anna Rosa Cotta. These designers and writers also published in *Casabella continuità*, *Marcatré*, *Argomenti di architettura*, *Edilizia moderna*, *Ulisse*, *Arte oggi*, and other reviews.
- 5 *Casabella continuità* 248 (February 1961): 55. The "World" section of the *Architectural Review* included favourable reports about *Superfici* on several occasions over its publishing career.
- 6 "Dai giornali e dalle riviste d'architettura," *Casabella continuità* 252 (June 1961): 52.
- 7 Reyner Banham wrote that to understand the *Superfici* group in Milan one needed detailed knowledge of contemporary history, for example on the workings of the Democratic Christians in Italy. He seemed to overlook the philosophical influences. See Reyner Banham, "Historical Studies and Architectural Criticism," *Transactions of the Bartlett Society* 1 (1962–1963): 47.
- 8 See, for example, Luigi Airaldi's circumspect reply to Banham in *Argomenti di Architettura* 4 (December 1961): 45–46.
- 9 "Superfici 5: Milan Surveys the 'isms' of Postwar Architecture in Rome," *Architectural Review* 786 (August 1962): 75.
- 10 Reyner Banham, "Milan: The Polemical Skyline," *The Listener* (1 September 1960): 338; translated and reprinted in *Superfici* 1 (March 1961). Although *Superfici* harboured similar sympathies, the article was more critically inquisitive and offered a subtler interpretation than Banham's citation admits. In their view Banham was prejudiced and his knowledge of history was partial or, as the authors put it, somewhat "deformed." See Roberto Orefice, "Trucchi e galateo di 'Aufklärung' milanese," *Superfici* 1 (March 1961): 41.
- 11 Pevsner's BBC presentation titled "Return to Historicism in Architecture," published in *The Listener* (16 February 1961): 299–301, was translated and published in *Superfici* as "Ritornano i 'revivals' in architettura," *Superfici* 1 (March 1961): 5–6.
- 12 "Cavalieri, libertini e 'frères maçons' sulla scena milanese: The Reyner's Progress," *Superfici* 1 (March 1961): 40. This article discusses Banham's "Milan: The Polemical Skyline" and "Venezia – Incurabili 401," from *The Listener* (1 September 1960), and *The New Statesman* (20 August 1960), and included in translation in *Superfici* 1.
- 13 The catalogue for the furniture show "Nuovi disegni per il mobile Italiano of 1960," sponsored by the *Observatore delle arti industriali*, featured furniture and writings by Vittorio Gregotti, Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola, Aldo Rossi and Luca Meda, and Guido Canella that were particularly distressing to *Superfici*. The furniture reflects the influence of Adolf Loos, Henry Van De Velde and early twentieth-century design. See "Neoliberty Furniture," *Architectural Review* 760 (June 1960): 368. "The liberty craze (Neo- or otherwise) continues to provide marginal diversions on

- the lunatic fringe of Italian design." Gabetti, Gregotti, Meneghetti, Aulenti, Rossi, Asti, and Stoppino are listed as representatives of what is referred to as a movement.
- 14 "Studio Valle," *Architectural Review* 772 (June 1961): 327. "Some form of anti-rationalism, in which the views of Italo Calvino, which were being used to beat up the irrationalities of Neo-liberty only a few months back, are cited to excuse the architects from being paralyzed by wisdom or sinking in a sea of objectivity!"
 - 15 Mario Bellini, Roberto Orefice and Lucilla Zanon Dal Bo, "I baroni rampanti del movimento moderno," *Superfici* 1 (March 1961): 8.
 - 16 Reyner Banham, "Venezia: Incurabili 401," *Superfici* 1 (March 1961): 38.
 - 17 Orefice, "Trucchi e galateo di 'Aufklärung'" milanese," 42.
 - 18 Annarosa Cotta and Attilio Marcolli, "Ambiguità dell'architettura milanese," *Superfici* 1 (March 1961): 16.
 - 19 "L'evoluzione della funzione," *Superfici* 1 (March 1961): 18.
 - 20 Banham, "Neo-liberty," 233.
 - 21 Banham, "Milan: the Polemical Skyline," 340.
 - 22 "Le nuove dimensioni dell'utilità e della bellezza," *Superfici* 1 (March 1961): 26.
 - 23 Studio architetti BBPR, L. B. Belgiojoso, E. Peressutti, E. N. Rogers, "Tre problemi di ambientamento: La Torre Velasca a Milano, un edificio per uffici e appartamenti a Torino, Casa Lurani a Milano," *Casabella continuità* 232 (October 1959): 4-8. The article was interpreted as a defence. See "Clarification from Milan," *Architectural Review* 755 (January 1960): 1. "Apparently stung by the world-wide bewilderment and hostility aroused by their Torre Velasca in Milan, the BBPR partnership have offered in *Casabella* (232 [1959]) a *chiarimento* of their intentions in the tower, and some more recent works from the office for comparison." BBPR's work is cast negatively as a deviation from the mainstream of development. It is interesting to note that in *Architectural Forum* the reception was equally quizzical but less hostile. It is described as shocking, evocative, memory-loaded, and at once registering associations. See G. M. Kallman, "Modern Tower in Old Milan," *Architectural Forum* 2 (February 1958): 108-144. See also G. Samonà, "Il grattacielo più discusso d'Europa: La Torre Velasca a Milano," *L'Architettura: Cronache e storia* 10 (February 1959): 658-675.
 - 24 Ernesto N. Rogers, "Le preesistenze ambientali e temi pratici contemporanei," *Casabella continuità* 204 (February-March 1954): 3.
 - 25 Ezio Bonfanti and Marco Porta, *Città, museo e architettura: Il gruppo BBPR nella cultura architettonica italiana 1932-1970* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1973), 161.
 - 26 Enzo Paci, *The Function of the Sciences and the Meaning of Man*, trans. P. Piccone and J. E. Hansen (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1972), 19; originally published as *Funzione delle scienze e significato dell'uomo* (Milan: Saggiatore, 1963). Paci's phenomenology closely follows Edmund Husserl, with particular attention to his *Crisis of the European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology: An Introduction to Phenomenological Philosophy*.
 - 27 André de Muralt, *The Idea of Phenomenology: Husserlian Exemplarism*, trans. G. L. Breckon (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1974), 458.
 - 28 Paci, *The Function of the Sciences*, 24.
 - 29 Paci, *The Function of the Sciences*, 22-23 and passim. The phenomenological idea of *epoché* or the suspension of judgment involving the bracketing out of misplaced concreteness is part of the "method" implied by the architectural adaptation of Paci's philosophy.
 - 30 See the following by Enzo Paci, "Il cuore della città," *Casabella continuità* 202 (August-September 1954); "Problema dell'architettura contemporanea," *Casabella continuità* 209 (January-February 1956); "La crisi della cultura e la fenomenologia

- dell'architettura contemporanea," *La Casa* 6 (1959); "L'architettura e il mondo della vita," *Casabella continuità* 217 (December 1957); "Sull'architettura contemporanea," in *Relazioni significati* (Milan: Lampugnani, 1966).
- 31 Enzo Paci, "Continuità e coerenza dei BBPR," *Zodiaco* 4 (1959): 104.
 - 32 Ibid. On beauty and utility, see Ernesto N. Rogers, "Pretesti per una critica non formalistica," *Casabella continuità* 200 (February-March 1954) and in *Esperienza dell'architettura* (Turin: Einaudi, 1958) specifically the essays in the second part, titled "Utilità e bellezza (Metodologia della composizione architettonica)."
 - 33 Paci, "Continuità e coerenza dei BBPR," 104. "But all these problems find expression in the need for a coherence through which 'style' immediately becomes part of an emphasis on content and on a moral critique of architecture."
 - 34 Fred R. Dallmayr, "Phenomenology and Marxism: A Salute to Enzo Paci," in *Phenomenological Sociology*, ed. George Psathas (New York: Wiley, 1973), 327. From a phenomenological perspective one might argue for architecture that moved through history as "a progressive self-realization of what is hidden; and what is hidden is original man: both his meaning and his telos."
 - 35 Paci, "Continuità e coerenza dei BBPR," 105.
 - 36 "Le nuove dimensioni dell'utilità e della bellezza," *Superfici* 1 (March 1961): 26.
 - 37 "Ambiguità dell'architettura milanese," *Superfici* 1 (March 1961): 18.
 - 38 Dallmayr, "Phenomenology and Marxism," 327.
 - 39 Bellini et al., "I baroni rampanti," 8. The authors also quote from R. Mazzoletti, "Adorno e la nuova musica," *Comunità* 73 (October 1959).
 - 40 Susan Buck-Morss, *The Origin of Negative Dialectics* (New York: Free Press, 1977), 38.
 - 41 Paraphrased from Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923-1950* (Boston: Little Brown, 1973), 182.
 - 42 "Ambiguità dell'architettura milanese," 18. The phrase is repeated by Manfredo Tafuri in "Albini: Riesame di un edificio," *Superfici* 6 (September 1963): 63.
 - 43 "*Casabella* 251: L'anti 215?" *Superfici* 2-3 (May-September 1961): 24.
 - 44 Ibid.
 - 45 "I problemi di Milano attraverso la stampa," *Superfici* 4 (November-December 1961): 2.
 - 46 Anna Rosa Cotta and Attilio Marcolli, "Punto . . . e da capo per la prefabbricazione," *Superfici* 6 (September 1963): 72-80. The article discusses Fuller, Tange, the C.L.A.S.P. system, the philosopher Suzanne Langer, Rosa Luxemburg, and the art historians Lionello Venturi and Giulio Carlo Argan - which is to say, it is no ordinary report on prefabrication.
 - 47 See Dallmayr, "Phenomenology and Marxism," on the complicated marriage of phenomenology and Marxism.
 - 48 Manfredo Tafuri, "Neorealism, neoecclettismo, revivalismo nella vicenda architettonica romana dal 1945 al 1961," *Superfici* 5 (April 1962): 35.
 - 49 On *Quaderni rossi*, see Rainero Panzieri, *Spontaneità e organizzazione: Gli anni dei "Quaderni rossi" 1959-1964*, ed. S. Merli (Pisa: Biblioteca Franco Serantini, 1994).
 - 50 Manfredo Tafuri, citing Panzieri's seminal "Sull'uso capitalistico delle macchine," from *Quaderni rossi* 1:69, in "Neorealismo, neoecclettismo, revivalismo nella vicenda architettonica romana dal 1945 al 1961," *Superfici* 5 (April 1962): 33.
 - 51 On the new dimension of architecture, see Mary Louise Lobsinger, "Architectural Utopias and La Nuova Dimensione: Turin in the 1960s," in *Italian Cityscapes: Culture and Urban Change in Contemporary Italy*, eds. R. Lumley and J. Foot (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004), 77-89.
 - 52 See *Superfici* 5 (April 1962): 42-43, for Tafuri's "Attività politica e critica di architetti romani: Antologia a cura di Manfredo Tafuri," including summaries of ASEA:

- Dichiarazione programmatica dell'associazione studenti e architetti; SAU:
Dichiarazione programmatica della società di Architettura e Urbanistica; INARCH:
Alcuni passi del discorso di Bruno Zevi all'atto della costituzione, APAO:
Dichiarazione programmatica dell'associazione per l'Architettura Organica.
- 53 "Cavalieri, libertini e 'frères maçons' sulla scena milanese," 40.
- 54 Phenomenology continued to exert an influence on architectural criticism through Rogers's protégés, such as Ezio Bonfanti and Aldo Rossi. See Paolo Scrivano, "Where Praxis and Theory Clash with Reality: *Controspazio* and the Italian Debate over Design, History, and Ideology, 1969–1973" in the present volume.

PAOLO SCRIVANO

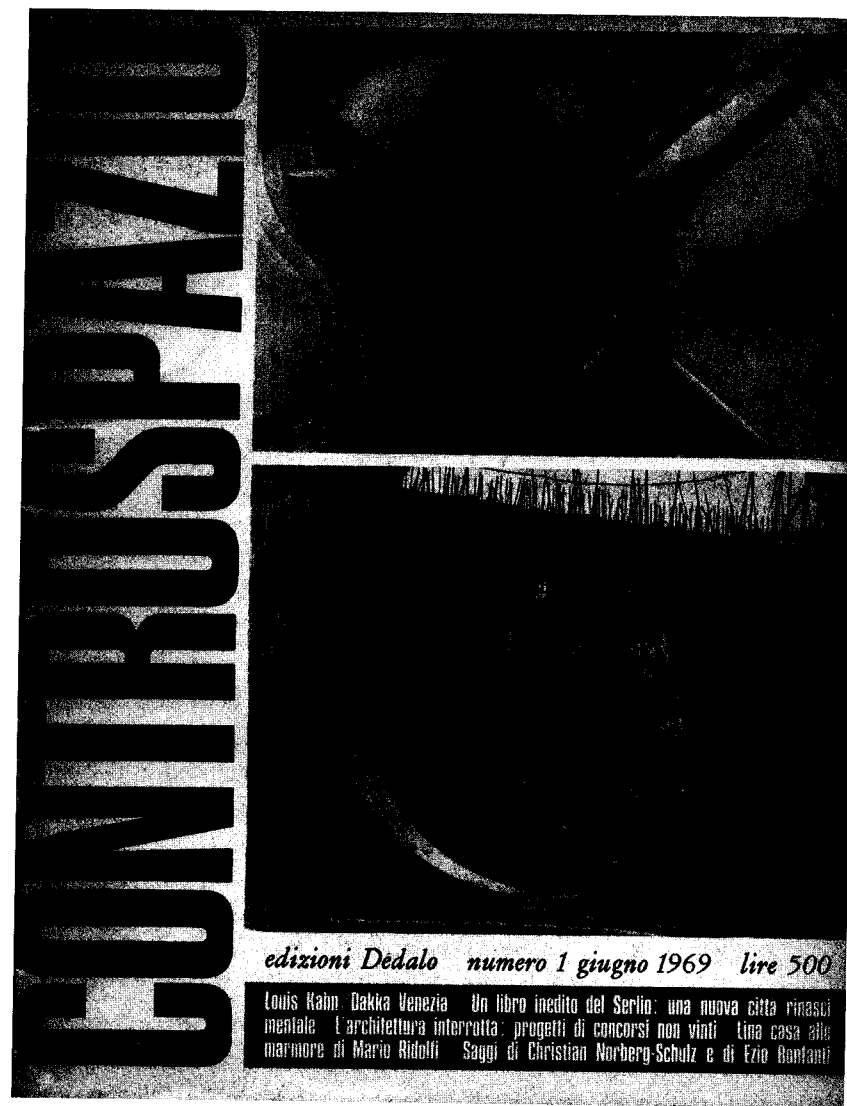
Boston University

Where Praxis and Theory Clash with Reality: *Controspazio* and the Italian Debate over Design, History, and Ideology, 1969–1973

1969: Beginning of a Milanese Venture

In February 1969, an agreement signed by the architect and historian Paolo Portoghesi and the owner of the Bari-based Dedalo publishing house, Raimondo Coga, gave birth to the architectural magazine *Controspazio*.¹ According to the document, Portoghesi, who at the time held a position at the Politecnico di Milano as professor of art and architectural history, was to assume the role of both director and editor-in-chief. At that stage, the future success of the venture was far from certain. Portoghesi and Coga, in fact, concurred in the agreement that *Controspazio*'s survival depended on two crucial factors: advertising revenues would have to reach a minimum of 2,000,000 liras per issue and sales would have to average at least 10,000 copies per month. Apart from delineating these rather optimistic targets, the contract also detailed some of the technical specifications, such as the format and the number of pages, and proposed a tentative date for the first issue, April 1969.²

Slightly later than initially planned, *Controspazio* 1 appeared in June 1969. (fig. 1) The date is noteworthy: 1969 was a year marked by intense political upheaval and strong social unrest in many parts of Italy. Inspired by similar events in Europe and North America, student revolt had begun around the end of 1967, with the occupation of the University of Trento, the Università Cattolica of Milan, and the University of Turin.³ The uprising soon spread across the country, culminating in February 1968 in the occupation of the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Rome and a violent confrontation between students and police forces in what came to be known as the "battle of Valle Giulia." By the beginning of 1969, the student movement had lost some of its momentum, but a general feeling of tension and anxiety about the ongoing social and political situation still pervaded academia and various cultural spheres. The publication of *Controspazio* reflected this specific historical



1. Cover of *Controspazio* 1 (June 1969)

context: like other European and North American periodicals, it provided a space for articles in which design, history, and theory frequently gave rise to passionately ideological criticism.

This agenda shaped *Controspazio*'s editorial policy from the very beginning. In fact, the colophon published in the first issue stated that *Controspazio* was "open to any contribution considered useful to the advancement of the debate: projects, architectures, theoretical research." At the same time,

it emphasized the need for an involvement with the political disputes of the time by asserting that its intended aim was to identify "new spaces of cultural production that less and less coincide with the cramped ambits of the architectural profession."⁴ An editorial signed by Portoghesi and published in the same issue further confirmed this goal. Portoghesi wrote, for example, that the name *Controspazio* ("counter-space" or "anti-space") – a word that does not appear in Italian dictionaries – referred to what in architecture "is not space but its objective and historical setting in reality."⁵ Thus he advocated an analysis of architecture within its social and economic context, one aimed at finding in architectural praxis and theory "the point where they clash with social reality."⁶ More importantly, Portoghesi challenged the current narrative of modern architecture. In fact, while he conceded that architecture could initiate social transformation, he refused to consider any deterministic relationship between architecture and society, challenging what he called the "moralist" and "dogmatic" attitude of the Modern Movement.

The name *Controspazio* echoed that of another magazine published in Italy in the same years, *Contropiano*. Founded in 1968 by Alberto Asor Rosa, Massimo Cacciari, and Toni Negri as a journal of Marxist criticism, *Contropiano* followed the course of left-leaning publications such as *Quaderni Rossi*, *Classe Operaia* and, more importantly, *Angelus Novus*.⁷ As it turned its attention to the role played by intellectual élites within the context of class conflict, *Contropiano* did not limit its interests to philosophy or politics: themes dealing with architecture and planning – and, in particular, with the relation between architects and society – were discussed frequently, thanks to a pool of authors that included architectural scholars such as Manfredo Tafuri, Francesco Dal Co, Marco De Michelis, and Giorgio Ciucci. While the assonance between the two mastheads might be coincidental, it is revealing that in the pages of *Contropiano* Tafuri had rejected as "controspazi architettonici" any attempt to look for radical alternatives in the realm of architecture that withdrew from revolutionary social change.⁸ It is difficult to prove that the founders of *Controspazio* chose the name as a polemical reaction to *Contropiano* or that Tafuri was explicitly referencing it, but it is certain that the two magazines frequently differed in their respective approaches to architectural criticism.⁹

Without doubt, the presence of Portoghesi placed *Controspazio* in a different orbit in the complex galaxy of the Italian architectural debate of the time. For instance, when compared to the authors who regularly contributed to *Contropiano*, such as Tafuri and Dal Co, Portoghesi's intellectual and cultural background was much more eclectic.¹⁰ Early in his career Portoghesi had been the architecture editor of the bi-monthly *Marcatrè*, a publication closely related to the neo-avantgardist movement Gruppo 63, which followed a non-orthodox Marxist line and counted among its collaborators Umberto Eco and

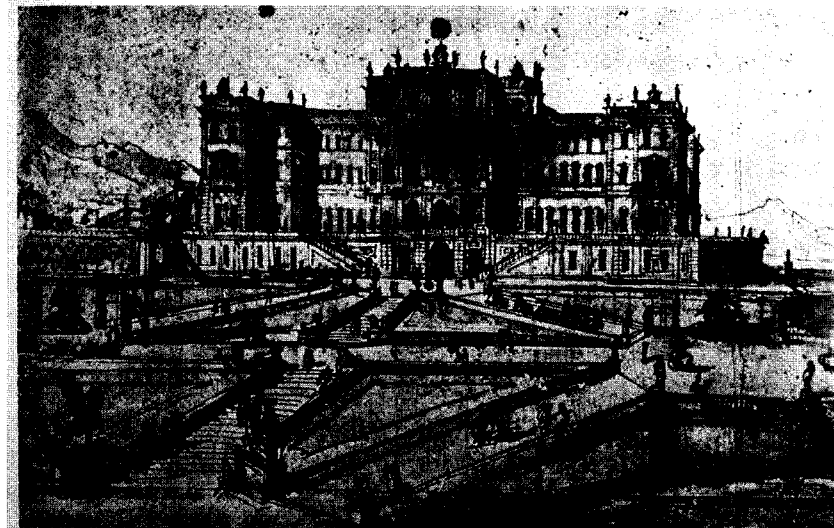
Gillo Dorfles.¹¹ While working for the magazine, Portoghesi developed a strong interest in some rather controversial figures from architectural history, such as Saverio Muratori.¹² This inclination to rediscover forgotten passages of the historiographical narrative was further confirmed by his groundbreaking research on Baroque architecture, and particularly on the eighteenth-century architect Bernardo Vittone.¹³ This became a defining trait of Portoghesi's work as an architectural historian. Mario Valente, in his account of his experience as editor of *Marcatré*, noted that Portoghesi's theoretical perspective consisted in "the recovery – but without any imposed political or social topic – of the disruptive capacity of certain cultural models created by the avant-gardes of the nineteenth century in opposition to the way of life of the bourgeoisie."¹⁴ For the future of *Controspazio*, it did help that Portoghesi coupled this approach with unusual political skills. As dean of the Faculty of Architecture of the Politecnico di Milano between 1968 and 1976, he supported the call for a renewal of pedagogy that pervaded the school, at the same time successfully steering his way through the turbulence of the student protest movement.

The Role of Ezio Bonfanti and the Debate over Phenomenology

Portoghesi was not the sole protagonist of *Controspazio*'s venture. In its initial years, the magazine revolved around the figure of Ezio Bonfanti, even though Portoghesi was nominally still the director. The agreement signed between Portoghesi and Dedalo in fact gave the director the right to benefit from the collaboration of "others in whom he could trust" and to make use of the publisher's offices in Milan.¹⁵ In the regional capital of Lombardy, Portoghesi could rely on a generation of young graduates from the Politecnico, many of whom were former students of Ernesto Nathan Rogers. This was the case with Bonfanti. Born in 1937, Bonfanti had attained a degree in architecture in 1963. A collaborator of *Casabella-Continuità* (whose director was Rogers) and an assistant to Rogers and Portoghesi at the Politecnico from 1967, he had begun his scholarly career with a varied series of studies ranging from Gothic architecture to twentieth-century planning.¹⁶ His first work, on the Piedmontese Baroque, had been published in 1963 in *Casabella-Continuità*, a detail that should not be underestimated, as it points to the convergence of its interests with those of Portoghesi.¹⁷ (fig. 2)

The influence of Rogers was certainly essential for Bonfanti's education and intellectual growth.¹⁸ Rogers not only directed Bonfanti toward the study of architectural history but also introduced him to the Italian postwar debate over phenomenology and to the work of Enzo Paci.¹⁹ A student of the Italian philosopher Antonio Banfi and a Husserl scholar, Paci had made in the 1950s

EZIO BONFANTI CITTÀ E CONTADO NEL BAROCCO PIEMONTESE



Filippo Juvara, Castello di Rivoli, fronte meridionale (Rivoli: Kucchi/Alinari).

2. "Città e contado nel Barocco piemontese" by Ezio Bonfanti. *Casabella-Continuità* 282 (December 1963), p. 41

an attempt at mediating between phenomenology and existentialism. His work had investigated the dialectic between subject and object, between the experience of reality and moral values. Widely circulated in Italy's postwar intellectual circles, Paci's work became an important reference for the debate on aesthetics, particularly as it stood in contrast to the dominating thought of Benedetto Croce, who treated art as "lyrical intuition." Bonfanti also read Lukács and Benjamin, authors whose main works became available in Italian translation in the second half of the 1960s.²⁰ This process of self-education coincided with a renewed discussion of both idealism and Marxism in Italian culture. Although the agreement of February 1969 had assigned the role of

editor-in-chief of *Controspazio* to Portoghesi, it was Bonfanti who assumed the position. In this capacity, he assembled an editorial board comprised of a group of young Milanese architects and intellectuals that also formed a nucleus of preferred authors. Staffed by Massimo Scolari (editorial assistant), Virgilio Vercelloni (editorial coordinator), Benigno Cuccuru, and Luciano Patetta, *Controspazio* rapidly found itself at the centre of debate in Italy. In fact, Bonfanti steered its contents toward themes that were relevant to the current historical moment, such as the relation between design and ideology, or between design and history.

Thanks also to the presence of Bonfanti, *Controspazio* focused particular attention on the latest developments in the fields of history and theory, acting at times as a direct protagonist. It opened discussions on the current state of the profession and, more generally, on the intellectual foundations of the discipline. A good case in point is represented by Bonfanti's article "Autonomia dell'Architettura" (Autonomy of Architecture), published in the first issue.²¹ In this piece, Bonfanti considered the dialectic relationship between autonomy and heteronomy, that is, the potential interconnection of a notion of architecture as a self-sufficient discipline with one that subjects it to a variety of surrounding factors. Bonfanti did not axiomatically favour autonomy. In fact, in his opening paragraphs he admitted that a "situazione di limitato arbitrio," a situation of limited arbitrary power, curbed the potential autonomy of the architect, generating *de facto* a condition of heteronomy. Still, in the same paragraphs, Bonfanti declared his intention to "vouch for a certain conception of the autonomy of architecture," derived explicitly from art.²²

Bonfanti's reference to the dualism of autonomy and heteronomy clearly echoed the work of the philosopher and literary critic Luciano Anceschi, in particular his *Autonomia ed eteronomia dell'arte* (Autonomy and Heteronomy of Art). As Marco Biraghi has reported, Bonfanti's library contained a copy of the book, apparently purchased in 1969.²³ *Autonomia ed eteronomia dell'arte* was originally published in 1936 with the subtitle *Sviluppo e teoria di un problema estetico* (Development and Theory of a Problem in Aesthetics) and reissued in 1959 with the new and particularly revealing subtitle *Saggio di fenomenologia delle poetiche* (An Essay on the Phenomenology of Poetics).²⁴ At the time, Anceschi was at the centre of the literary scene in Italy (in 1956 he had founded the review *Il Verri*, a platform for movements such as Gruppo 63) and was one of the protagonists of the debate over phenomenology (he too, like Paci, had been a student of Banfi).²⁵

In the introduction to the 1959 edition of *Autonomia ed eteronomia dell'arte*, Anceschi explained how the discussion of the autonomy-heteronomy antithesis had emerged from the legacy of late Idealism and from a critical reconsideration of the concept, elaborated by Croce, of art's autonomy as a

"form of the Spirit."²⁶ Here the work of Anceschi converged with that of Paci, in particular the latter's *Dall'esistenzialismo al relazionismo* (From Existentialism to Relationism) of 1957.²⁷ In fact, Anceschi recalled Paci's recourse to Edmund Husserl's category of *Lebenswelt*, the primal level of experience where "autonomy and heteronomy converge," to initiate the discussion about autonomy. In a passage in which his thought merged with that of Paci, Anceschi explained that the *Lebenswelt* is a sphere that anticipates a level of reflection and interpretation, a world of "things themselves," before any prejudicial vision. It is at the level of phenomenological speculation, continued Anceschi, that "the identification of autonomy with heteronomy will never be possible."²⁸

The contours of this debate were reflected in Bonfanti's article. In a historical context characterized by intense political confrontations and where architecture was recurrently subjected to ideological interpretation, Bonfanti approached the subject by speculating on the level of autonomy that was left to the artistic disciplines in modern times. "The problem of autonomy," he wrote, "concerns ... the question: is the part of our action, however small or large, that appears to us to be under our full control ... bound to and relentlessly determined by external and extra-artistic factors?"²⁹ This issue seemed particularly crucial to architecture. Bonfanti's answer made implicit reference to the lesson of phenomenology. He rejected the idea of autonomy as "an end in itself" and proposed considering a "motivated and historically determined" form of autonomy to be eventually transformed in a concrete social "value." Both the Crocian and Marxist systems – the opposing forces that dominated the philosophical and cultural debate in Italy at the time – were placed under discussion. At stake was the possibility of recovering an approach to the study of architecture that could combine formal and visual analysis of the architectural object with a historical and critical interpretation of the relationship between architecture and society. As Bonfanti conjectured in "Autonomia dell'Architettura," the problem was "whether there could or should exist a discipline that sees its function as taking on ... the problem of form."³⁰

Certainly, the question of the possible autonomy of architecture in contemporary society pervaded the debate of the time and was also deemed central to *Controspazio*'s cultural aims. In the first editorial, Portoghesi made reference to the centrality of autonomy and, at the same time, its limits: "*Controspazio* does not ignore the realm of architecture's autonomy but it refuses to use it as a screen."³¹ Aldo Rossi was the obvious counterpart in this investigation of autonomy – his *L'architettura della città* implicitly touched on this theme when dealing with what was referred to as the individuality of urban artifacts.³² Bonfanti and Rossi's work converged at other points as well. For example, in his article Bonfanti proposed the investigation of the possible

interconnections between Marxism and Freudianism, paralleling Rossi's interests during those same years.³³

Louis Kahn and the Autonomy of Architecture

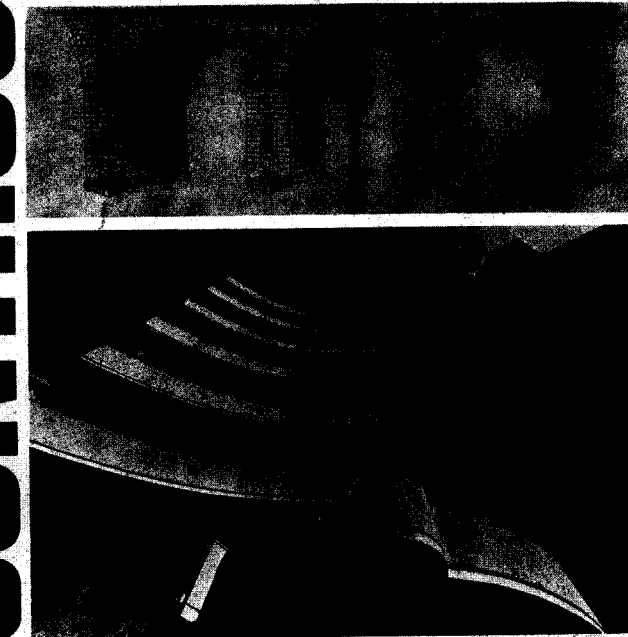
Bonfanti's was not a merely theoretical and abstract discussion. It had implications that were relevant to the current architectural debate, as is well demonstrated by a polemic that originated in *Controspazio* after the publication of two articles discussing recent projects by Louis Kahn. Appearing in the same issue as Bonfanti's piece on autonomy was an article by Claudio D'Amato and Sergio Petrini that examined the Parliament building in Dhaka. In addition, Andrea Silipo discussed the proposal by the same Kahn for a Palace of Congresses in Venice.³⁴ Both essays were sharply critical of the work of the American architect. Silipo depicted the project for the Palace of Congresses as "one of the most striking mystifications on the part of the political-cultural establishment that is called upon to give an answer to the problems of Venice."³⁵ In the case of Dhaka, D'Amato and Petrini charged Kahn with seconding the Pakistani authorities (Bangladesh had still to gain its independence) by importing a culture to be "passed off as an absolute model." The American architect was deemed guilty of referring to "forms of the past deprived of their content" in the design of the Parliament building: he was accused of resorting to a "stifling reading of the past," making a "pop" use of "Roman architecture."³⁶ Kahn's work, D'Amato and Petrini concluded, attested to the "fatal dissolution" of both modern architecture and Western society.³⁷ In short, D'Amato and Petrini accused Kahn of having acted like a "colonialist."

In the September–October issue of the same year, Bonfanti and Scolari published a reply to the articles by D'Amato and Petrini and Silipo.³⁸ (fig. 3) Reservations had already been expressed in the short introduction to the two pieces and then fine-tuned in a long preparatory work.³⁹ Interestingly, Bonfanti and Scolari used the response as an opportunity to prolong the discussion of a subject that seemed especially dear to them, that of the autonomy of architecture. The two authors first posed a problem of deontology. In their view, issues of "professional ethics" could not be underrated: one cannot be "consoled," they argued, by a position that "declines to make architecture" in contexts particularly compromised from a political and social point of view. In other words, inaction was considered a non-option. They felt that there ought to be no confusion between refusing a client "for what it is," independently from "what it asks us to do," and refusing a client "for what it asks us to do," independently from "what it is."⁴⁰ The example used to illustrate this case was that of the hospitals built in Germany under the Nazi regime, which accord-

CONTROSPAZIO

edizioni Dedalo numero 4-5 settembre-ottobre 1969 6000

Architettura milanese 2 La colonizzazione greca nel mediterraneo Architetture di Gabetti, Isola, Re, e di A. L. Rossi L'VIII libro del Serlio - 2 parte



3. Cover of *Controspazio* 4/5 (September–October 1969)

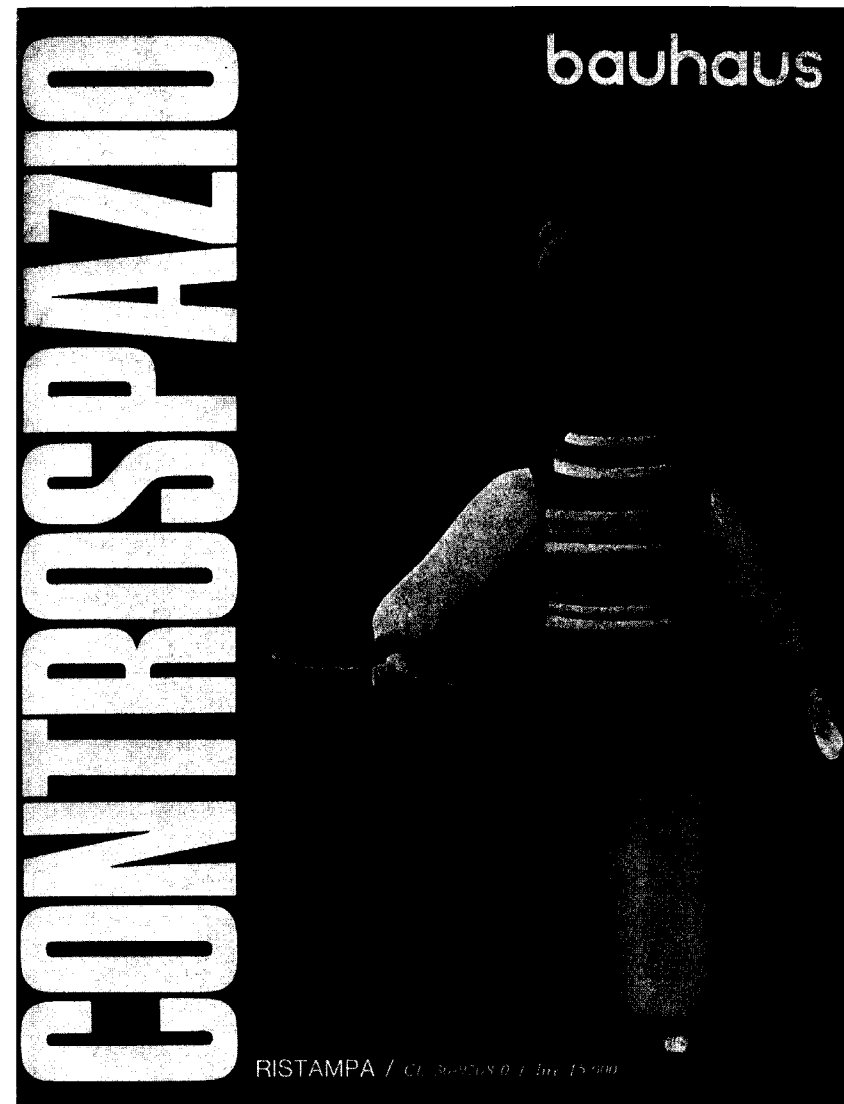
ing to Bonfanti and Scolari were not necessarily "wrong" as architectural types, even if they had been built under the "wrong" political system.

In Bonfanti and Scolari's conclusion, architecture was always an embodiment of power. As Bonfanti and Scolari saw it, D'Amato, Petrini, and Silipo, in their criticism of Kahn, had failed in not recognizing the importance of the disciplinary autonomy of architecture, an autonomy that allows for the creation of a "value judgment [that is] not predetermined in terms of its content."

Moral and architectural evaluation should be kept apart: architecture should consider the “responsibility of its own value” and the “meaning of its own instruments” with the aim not of remaining separated from other values but of complementing them with its own specificity.⁴¹ Once again, Bonfanti, with Scolari, relied on the contribution of phenomenological thought to assert that if architecture did not possess an intrinsic and aprioristic meaning, it could acquire its own value when placed in a situation of confronting and reacting to the immanent reality. “Kahn in Dhaka might be a colonialist,” Bonfanti and Scolari concluded, “insofar as he might bring in bad architecture, passing it off as good, in the same way that colonialism did with its administration.”⁴²

The Bauhaus and the Narrative of Modern Architectural History

As already noted, this discussion concerning the intellectual foundations of the discipline was accompanied in the pages of *Controspazio* by a general re-examination of the narrative of architectural history, a process that Portoghesi, Bonfanti, and the other members of the editorial board regarded as central to the magazine’s cultural strategy. Beginning in the second year of publication, special issues were dedicated to subjects such as the Bauhaus (1970), Futurism (1971), and Carlo Scarpa (1972). Bonfanti and Scolari edited a special issue of *Controspazio* on the Bauhaus, published in April–May 1970 that included articles by the social and political historian Enzo Collotti, the art historian Mario De Micheli, and well-known figures involved in the international debate on architecture such as Reyner Banham, Joseph Rykwert, and Tomás Maldonado. (fig. 4) Noteworthy was an essay by the Milanese architect and critic Giorgio Grassi on Ernst May and the housing policies of the city of Frankfurt (along with an article by May taken from *Das neue Frankfurt*), heralding Grassi’s book on the same subject, which would appear in 1975.⁴³ In their introduction to the issue, Bonfanti and Scolari made clear that the choice of the Bauhaus had not been dictated by a need “for philological revision.” On the contrary, they deemed the experience of the German school an “ever-changing field of confrontation.”⁴⁴ The two curators specified their lack of interest in what they called the “second Bauhaus,” meaning the image of the school that had been produced by years of critical analysis. They argued that the examination of the Bauhaus had to be considered in opposition to the prevailing historiographical interpretation that favoured the history of the critical success of the school over the history of its architectural pedagogy. In Bonfanti and Scolari’s opinion the importance of the Bauhaus lay in the persistence of many questions opened in the 1920s: the “meaning



4. Cover of *Controspazio* 4/5 (April-May 1970)

and nature of functionalism,” the relation of architecture to other arts as well as to science and technology, the “political and social responsibilities” of the architect.⁴⁵

Documents found in Ezio Bonfanti’s archives attest to the meticulous preparation of the issue. Bonfanti developed a long chronological synopsis (published as part of the special issue) as well as several outlines for his article.⁴⁶ His notes on books dealing with the Bauhaus and related subjects

touched on authors as diverse as Bruno Taut, Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, Peter Collins, and Jean-Paul Sartre.⁴⁷ Giulio Carlo Argan, who in 1951 had published *Walter Gropius e la Bauhaus*, a widely read book in Italy, was a fundamental reference for the preparation of the issue. The mass of material accumulated by Bonfanti also included an annotated study of Argan's work.⁴⁸ A highly respected figure on the Italian cultural scene in the postwar years, Argan had analyzed the Bauhaus under the directorship of Gropius by emphasizing the moral and political connotations of that experience – an approach that further encouraged Bonfanti to re-examine the subject.⁴⁹ Notes on writings by Manfredo Tafuri, such as his *Teorie e storia dell'architettura* of 1968, and by the literary critic Alberto Asor Rosa completed the array of sources.⁵⁰ It is indicative of the importance assigned to the preparation of the Bauhaus issue of *Controspazio* that Bonfanti and Scolari delivered lectures at the Politecnico di Milano on the occasion of its publication.⁵¹

Bonfanti's article in the Bauhaus issue was titled "Gropius e il *Bauhaus Virtuale*" (Gropius and the "Virtual Bauhaus").⁵² (fig. 5) Bonfanti's definition of "virtual Bauhaus" drew attention to the supposed existence of a stream of historical and critical interpretations that analyzed the fortunes of the German school in relation to an audience distant in "space and time." Bonfanti referred to interpretations that had been generated by the "canonical" readings that the early history of modern architecture had produced in the late 1920s and into the 1930s and 1940s.⁵³ Bonfanti argued that in putting under discussion the "self-interpretations" of the Modern Movement, the postwar critique had given birth to little more than an "adolescent attitude of rejection of the father."⁵⁴ This had led to the identification of the Bauhaus with the work of Gropius and the entire Modern Movement. "The Bauhaus as a term of reference for modern architecture," concluded Bonfanti, "is a selective synthesis of German rationalism, if not also of the European currents of Constructivism, above all Dutch and Russian. This *falsehood* became a second reality."⁵⁵

"Gropius e il *Bauhaus Virtuale*" also made a critical reference to Manfredo Tafuri's article "Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica" (Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology), published in 1969 in *Contropiano*, a piece that, in a revised and enlarged version, later became the book *Progetto e utopia*.⁵⁶ Developing a discourse that, starting from Laugier and the architectural culture of the Enlightenment, arrived at a critique of Le Corbusier's urban views of the 1920s and 1930s, the piece by the Venetian critic and historian advocated an ideological demystification of twentieth-century architecture.⁵⁷ Taking Tafuri's writing as paradigmatic of a pervasive tendency in Italian architectural criticism of the time, Bonfanti argued that the rejection of the categories of Croce's aesthetics had resulted in an extreme and deterministic use of Marxism. Still, Bonfanti found in Tafuri's positions an "implicit" recognition of the

La vicenda del Bauhaus

Gropius e il 'Bauhaus virtuale'

Ezio Bonfanti

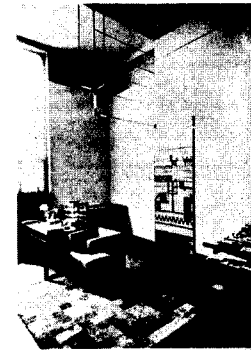
1. Nel corso della sua direzione al Bauhaus (1919-1928), e ancora di più in seguito, in quella a lunga fase di consolidamento e riproposizione a scala internazionale di un'immagine persuasiva della scuola, che accompagnò gli anni dell'esilio, Walter Gropius ha scritto la necessità di difendersi da una accusa soprattutto: quella di avere dato vita o avallato ad uno «stile Bauhaus».

Quando egli redigeva il programma iniziale del Bauhaus, insediato nei deserti locali della *Kunstgewerbeschule* di van de Velde, questa preoccupazione non doveva però essere ancora molto forte. Nove anni prima, nel suo memorandum a Emil Rathenau sulla «costituzione di una società generale per l'edilizia residenziale sulla base di principi artistici uniformi», egli propagandava esplicitamente uno *Zeitstil*, uno «stile dell'epoca»: «Una convenzione, nel senso migliore del termine, non si può sperare di conseguirla se si pone l'accento sull'individualità. Essa risulterà piuttosto dal perseguimento di una integrazione che scaturirà dal ritmo della ripetizione e dall'uniformità di forme provate e ricorrenti. La nostra età, dopo un malinconico interregno, sta ancora una volta approssimandosi ad uno *Zeitstil* che renda onore alla tradizione ma combatta il falso romanticismo». Nel momento in cui attendeva alla progettazione delle officine Fagus, Gropius si richiamava esplicitamente a quelle «culture del passato» che «rispettavano una tradizione» e ci teneva la casa in mattoni olandese, il blocco di appartamenti francesi del XVIII sec., la *terrace house* inglese, la casa urbana Biedermeier attorno al 1800 (si ricordi in proposito il fortunato libro *Um 1800*, presentando la terza edizione del quale Paul Mebes nel 1920 parlava di una lezione di *Bescheidenheit, Sachlichkeit e Schönheit* — modestia, oggettività e bellezza — che proviene da quella alla nostra epoca); le quali tutte «erano ripetute in serie impiegando le stesse forme... ogni casa del tutto simile alle successive, sparse in file ininterrotte per l'intero distretto». Questo richiamo alla storia, sia pure restrittivamente alla storia «giusta», ricompare altrettanto dichiaratamente nella suadente memoria al ministro granduca di Weimar del gennaio 1916, in fase di trattative per la successione a van de Velde. In questo documento appare chiaro quali siano le matrici dell'idea di *teamwork* di Gropius, e di

quell'«unità formale» che ne resterà un'irrisolta clausola complementare: essi si rifanno al modello delle gilde medioevali, che emerge, tanto esplicitamente da destare una certa indignazione per esempio in Reyner Banham (come vedremo più avanti), sia nel programma del '19, sia negli *Statuti* del '21 (come Wingler sottolinea): «questo dimostra che non si trattava, nel documento del '16, di una mera questione di tattica. Nelle corporazioni medioevali, Gropius rileva «il rispetto per l'unità di un'idea comune che le ispirava, e di cui si comprendeva il significato. Con la ripresa di metodi così provati, da adattarsi all'oggi, (quelli dell'alleanza fra vari mestieri, e del congiunto approfondimento di teoria e pratica, che Gropius vedeva nell'artigianato medioevale), la rappresentazione delle nostre manifestazioni di vita deve raggiungere un'uniformità, così da sfociare ancora una volta in un 'nuovo stile' che sia durevole».

Una svolta netta rispetto a questa impostazione si avrà al Bauhaus soltanto verso il 1924. Nel *Manifesto* per la esposizione del 1923 redatto da Oskar Schlemmer, ma con la funzione di rappresentare l'intera scuola, è a questo titolo approvato da Gropius (la tiratura venne poi ritirata, ma per un accento politicamente inopportuno), leggiamo infatti ancora una proposizione come: «l'esito finale è lo stile, e mai la volontà di stile è stata più forte di oggi».

Il nuovo orientamento successivo accentua i toni antistilistici avvertibili già in *Idee und Aufbau des Staatlichen Bauhauses, Weimar* (1923), ma che in quel testo non prevalevano sui residui dell'impostazione precedente: basterebbe vedere quanto Gropius lo abbia emendato e riveduto nella parziale traduzione offerta al pubblico inglese in *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus*, del 1935, libro nel quale è rivendicato al Bauhaus proprio il merito di essere stato «la prima istituzione al mondo che abbia osato tradurre in un curriculum definito il principio di non basare il proprio insegnamento «su alcuna idea preconcetta di forma»¹. Ora, se *Idee und Aufbau* è il testo del Bauhaus nel quale per la prima volta compaiono tratti «maturi», quali un programma veramente esplicito di connessione con l'industria², e coloriture nettamente futuriste³, è vero d'altro canto che in esso noi troviamo proprio alcuni elementi inequivocabilmente in contraddizione con



Ufficio del direttore a Weimar, 1923. Architetto: Gropius. Foto: Gropius.

i più tardi assunti antistilistici. «Dobbiamo conoscere sia il vocabolario che la grammatica per poter parlare un linguaggio... Il vocabolario [dell'arte costruttiva] consiste di elementi di forme e di colori, e delle loro leggi strutturali»⁴. La conoscenza di una teoria al proposito, — già possesso di «un'era più vigorosa», che è poi la stessa della memoria del '16, e rispetto alla quale le Accademie hanno mancato il proprio compito — «non può essere il risultato di individui, ma di generazioni». Allora ancora una volta si avrà — come diceva il documento del '16 — «il rispetto per l'unità di un'idea comune... di cui si comprenda il significato»: «l'unità reale può essere raggiunta per mezzo della coerente riaffermazione del tema formale, della ripetizione delle sue proporzioni integrali in ogni parte del lavoro. Così chiunque vi sia impegnato deve comprendere il significato e l'origine del tema principale»⁵. Questa contraddizione persiste. Per quanto Gropius espunga certe espressioni più ingenuamente codificate, come l'accento all'«estetica» dell'origine⁶, dalle rielaborazioni succes-

PAG. 72 - CONTROSPAZIO - APRILE-MAGGIO 1970

5. "Gropius e il *Bauhaus Virtuale*" by Ezio Bonfanti. *Controspazio* 4/5 (April-May 1970), p. 72

centrality of the issue of architecture's autonomy.⁵⁸ In his preparatory notes, however, Bonfanti had been more critical of Tafuri's essay. Marginal annotations of caustic disapproval and veiled irony punctuated the notes. Summarizing Tafuri's article, Bonfanti wrote: "The overall thesis, I would say, is as follows: there is no such thing as class architecture (only class criticism ...).

The attempt to make some architecture look progressive in terms of *class* is a sort of trick ... One may wonder what it would be like to apply class criticism to something that has nothing to do with class – like drawing blood from a pumpkin?”⁵⁹ These comments should not be regarded as a personal attack on a colleague: rather, they are a meaningful reminder of the plurality of positions that emerged within the Italian debate of the time, Bonfanti’s anti-dogmatic position colliding with Tafuri’s passionate reliance on ideology and with the radicalism that characterized his work in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The thoroughness of Bonfanti’s work indicates the wide range of sources he relied on in preparing for the issue, and also reveals how closely he followed the architectural debate of the time. For example, the reference to an article published by Alberto Asor Rosa in the short-lived magazine *Senzamargine* was an opportunity for a larger discussion of the role of architecture in contemporary society.⁶⁰ Bonfanti observed that according to the view expounded by Asor Rosa, art and architecture seemed to possess a sort of “nostalgic” distinctiveness and were therefore to be deemed fundamentally “reactionary.”⁶¹ Summarizing Asor Rosa’s writing, he noted that architecture “as an expression of freedom ... is – in the instant that it achieves its goal of becoming art – a consolation, an invitation to ... a contemplative moment.”⁶² Bonfanti rejected this declaration of “political impotence” (as he called it in his notes), arguing that if architecture could sometimes appear “reactionary,” the problem lay in the context. He pointed out that the emphasis on the latter did not necessarily erode the nature of architecture as a “value *per se*” – further evidence that once again the question of autonomy and heteronomy were to dominate the debate. Bonfanti also recognized the links connecting Argan’s discourse to Tafuri’s *Teoria e storia dell’architettura*.⁶³ Bonfanti seized on the ambiguity that in the book seemed to characterize the ideological relationship between architecture and politics: “Tafuri fabricates ... a large argument resonant of ideological connections, and of Marxist terminology in general, because he has seen ... that in order not to speak of autonomy one must speak of other things rather than of architecture.”⁶⁴ Bonfanti sarcastically wondered whether this “revival of Marxism” could, considering the times, be called “pop-Marxism.”⁶⁵

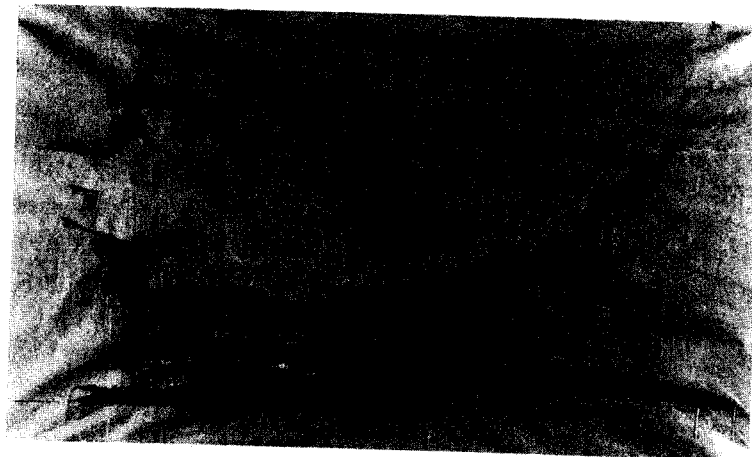
Reassessing the Architecture of the Twentieth Century

At any rate, the timing of the Bauhaus issue was significant. *Controspazio* in fact appeared on the scene during a period when the definition of architectural historiography was being reconsidered in Italy and abroad. While the magazine paid tribute to several figures of twentieth-century architectural

history, a new generation of scholars inaugurated a re-examination of the discipline and its foundations. From this point of view, it is worth noting that Stanislaus Von Moos’s *Le Corbusier: Elemente einer Synthese* – the first critical reappraisal of Le Corbusier – was published in 1968.⁶⁶ This book marked the beginning of a new round of studies on the French-Swiss architect. Norma Evanson’s *Le Corbusier: The Machine and the Grand Design* appeared in 1969, as did the seminal *Pessac de Le Corbusier* by Philippe Boudon.⁶⁷ This trend paralleled a general reconsideration of the main figures and movements of twentieth-century architecture. In the same year that Von Moos’s book appeared, Barbara Miller Lane published *Architecture and Politics in Germany*. In 1969 Dora Wiebenson published *Tony Garnier: The Cité Industrielle*, while Hans Maria Wingler’s *The Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, and Chicago* was translated from German into English (the original edition had come out in 1968).⁶⁸ In Italy, *Architettura moderna in Olanda* by Giovanni Fanelli and *Socialismo, città, architettura* – to mention just two titles – appeared in 1968 and 1971 respectively.⁶⁹

This tendency reverberated in the pages of *Controspazio*. In number 2–3 (1969), the magazine published a chapter of Paolo Portoghesi’s forthcoming book on Victor Horta (co-authored with Franco Borsi).⁷⁰ A year later, in number 11–12, an article by Eugenio Battisti revisited the subject of Horta’s work.⁷¹ Also in 1970, in number 7, Scolari published a short essay on Hannes Meyer.⁷² *Controspazio*’s effort was directed at critically reassessing the architecture of the twentieth century and bringing to light new documents and materials. A good example of this was the publication of drawings by Peter Behrens (among them a set depicting the Berolinahaus in Berlin), accompanied by a short introduction by Portoghesi.⁷³ (fig. 6) It is important to note that *Controspazio* did not limit itself to a reconsideration of the “canonical history” of the Modern Movement but expanded its view to consider other historical periods. For instance, a long commentary by Werner Oechslin on the theme of “revolutionary architecture” appeared at the beginning of 1970.⁷⁴ The article referred explicitly to a critical lineage initiated by Emil Kaufmann in the mid-1950s and reiterated by numerous publications and exhibitions dedicated to the same subject.⁷⁵ *Controspazio* also devoted space to studies whose circulation had been limited to the narrow ambits of the Italian academic press. This is the case of an essay by Roberto Gabetti and Paolo Marconi on French-Italian architectural education from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century. Previously published in 1968 at the Politecnico di Torino, it appeared in two parts in 1971.⁷⁶

The book review section offers further evidence of *Controspazio*’s interest in architectural history. Again, the effort to keep up with the latest work in the field went together with a constant re-examination of subjects that were



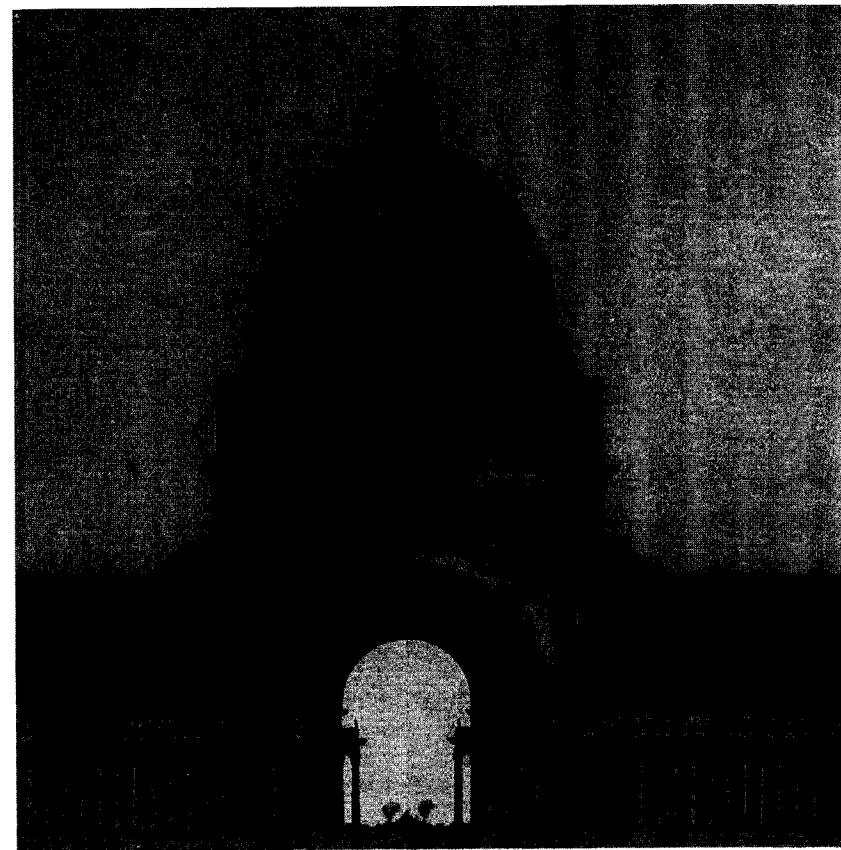
Complesso degli edifici Berolina nella Alexanderplatz a Berlino, 1929: in questa pagina vista verso l'incrocio della Königstrasse con la Landberger Allee (ora Lenin Allee), orientati; nella pagina a fronte dall'alto: due versioni di una parte del complesso. Sotto: Concorso per l'ampliamento degli uffici del Parlamento, Berlino 1929, due viste.



PAG. 24 - CONTROSPAZIO - GENNAIO-FEBBRAIO 1970

6. Peter Behrens, sketches for the Berolinahaus, Berlin 1929, "Disegni di Peter Behrens, 1922-29" by Paolo Portoghesi. *Controspazio* 1/2 (January-February 1970), p. 24

already historically and critically consolidated. To this end, the editorial staff selected books covering a wide variety of themes and periods. Benigno Cuccuru reviewed texts such as Vieri Quilici's *L'architettura del costruttivismo* and the collection of writings by Hannes Meyer edited by Francesco Dal Co,⁷⁷ while Virgilio Vercelloni examined Leonardo Benevolo's *La città italiana del Rinascimento*.⁷⁸ Bonfanti's first review for *Controspazio* treated Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos's *Étienne-Louis Boullée (1728-1799): De l'architecture classique*



JEAN-MARIE PÉROUSE DE MONTCLOS
**ETIENNE-LOUIS
BOULLÉE**

1728-1799

de l'architecture classique
à l'architecture révolutionnaire

7. Cover of *Etienne-Louis Boullée (1728-1799). De l'architecture classique à l'architecture révolutionnaire* by Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1969)

à l'architecture révolutionnaire, published in 1969 with a preface by André Chastel.⁷⁹ (fig. 7) Bonfanti went on to contribute reviews on subjects ranging from eighteenth-century architecture to postwar town planning, as well as several full-length essays in which his analysis of a given text served as the springboard for an extended discussion of the topic at hand. For example, the reissue, in French, of *La cité antique* – originally published by Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges in 1864 – offered Bonfanti the opportunity to consider

the study of ancient cities in relation to contemporary urban problems by referring to a variety of authors that included Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, Max Weber, and Marcel Poëte.⁸⁰

1973: Epilogue

In 1972, in its third year of publication, *Controspazio* began to reveal symptoms of a deepening crisis. Financial problems had led the publisher to concentrate part of the editorial operation in its Rome office. This move, justified by the need to limit the cost of preparing each issue, affected the work of the group of editors in Milan.⁸¹ Notwithstanding the perpetual shortage of funds, and despite the defection of Benigno Cuccuru (who quit the editorial board in 1972), the Milanese staff struggled on.⁸² In an effort to ensure the survival of *Controspazio*, a meeting was held in Milan at the beginning of 1973, attended by Portoghesi, Coga, Scolari, Patetta, and two new members, Antonio Monroy and Paola Marzoli.⁸³ This group approved the creation of two parallel editorial offices in Milan and Rome, specified their respective financial resources and functions (each would be responsible for the preparation of three issues per year), and established a new executive board (Bonfanti, Scolari, and Renato Nicolini) and new editorial board (Gianni Accasto, Giampaolo Ercolani, Vanna Fraticelli, Paola Marzoli, Giorgio Muratore, and Luciano Patetta). Bonfanti was unable to attend the meeting on account of his deteriorating health, the result of an untreatable illness.

Bonfanti's death, on 13 February 1973, resulted in further strains. The following month, Massimo Scolari resigned from the editorial board, citing "conditions of distrust" as his reason.⁸⁴ Frictions had already emerged during *Controspazio's* final year. They often concerned the relation between the directorship and the editorial staff, affecting in particular those members of the board, such as Cuccuru and Patetta, who were charged with important responsibilities in the preparation of the issues but whose work was often undermined.⁸⁵ In his letter of resignation, Scolari once more asserted his and Bonfanti's position. The Milanese board had agreed to discuss the reorganization of *Controspazio* with the intent of assuring its continuity despite the low wages. Scolari acknowledged that Bonfanti had played a significant role in harmonizing diverse aspirations and expectations. In April 1973, Portoghesi accepted Scolari's resignation and moved *Controspazio's* offices from Milan to Rome.⁸⁶ In Portoghesi's words, the delay in responding to Scolari was due to "a wish to find a solution to *Controspazio's* survival that would be not just adequate but coherent." Portoghesi too acknowledged the centrality of Bonfanti: "Unfortunately, the fragile balance that developed during the last meet-

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8. Cover of *Controspazio* 1 (June 1973)

ing in the presence of the publisher has been shattered with the death of Ezio."⁸⁷ After six months of postponements (the last issue to appear had been number 11–12, November–December 1972), *Controspazio* resumed publication in June 1973. (fig. 8) The colophon of the issue listed Via Gregoriana 25, in Rome, as the magazine's new address. A short note on page 6 recalled the figure of Bonfanti.

With this new framework, *Controspazio*'s life was extended until 1981, and a subsequent series was begun in 1983. Bonfanti's death, however, marked the end of a season characterized by particular attention at the ongoing debate in architecture and an original approach to architectural history and criticism. Bonfanti was by no means the sole protagonist in *Controspazio*'s venture, but he gave voice to issues that were about to move to the centre of architectural discourse in the coming years, such the question of autonomy. From 1969 to 1973, *Controspazio* was paradigmatic of a time of intense transformation. Its thematic concerns emerged in parallel to similar initiatives elsewhere, and sometimes anticipated them. For example, *Opposition*, one of the most obvious analogues to *Controspazio*, began appearing in 1973.⁸⁸ Condemned perhaps to marginality because of its limited circulation, and positioned somewhat outside the circuit of international publishing, *Controspazio* nonetheless achieved a transitory success in the late 1960s and early 1970s with its original attempt to redefine the discourse of architectural design, history, and theory.

NOTES

This examination of *Controspazio* was begun in the late spring of 1999 as part of a joint research project whose goal was the publication of a volume dedicated to Ezio Bonfanti. The other members of the group were Ilaria Abbondandolo, Marco Biraghi, Paolo Nicoloso, and Michelangelo Sabatino. I wish to especially thank Carlina Molinari Bonfanti and Massimo Scolari for granting access to archival material in their possession. I also thank Mary Lou Lobsinger, George Baird, and Carlo Olmo for their insightful comments and criticism.

- 1 "Scrittura privata fatta a Bari il 25 febbraio 1969," 25 February 1969, Fondo Massimo Scolari, Venice (hereinafter FS).
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics 1943–1988* (London: Penguin, 1990), 298–309; Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c.1958–c.1974* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 586–602.
- 4 The colophon appears in the first three issues.
- 5 Paolo Portoghesi, "Editoriale," *Controspazio* 1 (June 1969): 7. All translations from the Italian are by the author.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Toni Negri left the editorial board after the publication of the first issue. Mario Valente, *Ideologia e potere: Da "Il Politecnico" a "Contropiano," 1945/1972* (Turin: Eri, 1978), 371–386; Attilio Mangano, *Le culture del Sessantotto: Gli anni sessanta, le riviste, il movimento* (Pistoia: Centro di Documentazione di Pistoia, 1989), 125–126, 138–139, 141–144, 188–191.
- 8 Manfredo Tafuri, "Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica," *Contropiano* 1 (January–April 1969): 79. A short discussion of the passage is contained in Marco Biraghi, *Progetto di crisi: Manfredo Tafuri e l'architettura contemporanea* (Milan: Martinotti, 2005), 90–92.
- 9 The translator of the English version of Tafuri's piece – "Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology," in K. Michael Hays, *Architecture Theory since 1968* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), 35 – seems to endorse this interpretation. However, the date of publication of the article precedes that of the first issue of *Controspazio*. Another periodical, the short-lived *Spazio* – edited by the architect Luigi Moretti and the art critic Michel Tapié, and published in seven issues from 1950 and 1953 – could have been a further, indirect source of inspiration for the name *Controspazio*.
- 10 On Portoghesi, see Sergio Pace, "Portoghesi, Paolo," in *Dizionario dell'Architettura del XX Secolo*, vol. 5, P–Q–R, ed. Carlo Olmo (Turin and London: Umberto Allemandi, 2001), 138–140.
- 11 Under the directorship of art historian Eugenio Battisti, *Marcatré* was published between 1963 and 1970. Valente, *Ideologia e potere*, 355–370; Mangano, *Le culture del Sessantotto*, 162.
- 12 Paolo Portoghesi, "Un nemico dell'architettura: Saverio Muratori o la restaurazione dell'Accademia," *Marcatré* 6–7 (May–June 1964): 139–148.
- 13 Paolo Portoghesi, *Bernardo Vittone: Un Architetto tra Illuminismo e Rococò* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1966).
- 14 Valente, *Ideologia e potere*, 361.
- 15 "Scrittura privata fatta a Bari il 25 febbraio 1969," 25 February 1969, FS.

- 16 On Bonfanti, see Sergio Pace, "Bonfanti, Ezio," in *Dizionario dell'Architettura del XX Secolo*, vol. 1, A-B, 283-284; "Ezio Bonfanti: Curriculum vitae," in Ezio Bonfanti, *Nuovo e moderno in architettura*, eds. Marco Biraghi and Michelangelo Sabatino (Milan: Bruno Mondadori, 2001), 377-379.
- 17 Ezio Bonfanti, "Città e contado nel Barocco piemontese," *Casabella-Continuità* 282 (December 1963): 40-53.
- 18 On Rogers's influence on Bonfanti, see "Scomparsa di un maestro," *Controspazio* 7 (December 1969): 2. This article was probably written by Bonfanti; see the typescript "(Scomparsa di un maestro)," n.d., Fondo Ezio Bonfanti, Travedona, Varese (hereinafter referred to as FB); Ezio Bonfanti and Marco Porta, *Città, museo e architettura: Il Gruppo BBPR nella cultura architettonica italiana 1932-1970* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1973), 183-187. On Rogers, see Luca Molinari, "Alcune note sull'esperienza di Ernesto Nathan Rogers," in Ernesto Nathan Rogers, *Esperienza dell'architettura*, ed. Luca Molinari (Milan: Skira, 1997), 305-327; Patrizia Bonifazio, "Rogers, Ernesto Nathan," in *Dizionario dell'Architettura del XX Secolo*, vol. 5, P-Q-R, 258-260.
- 19 Salvatore Veca, "In ricordo di Enzo Paci il filosofo e l'architetto," in *Ernesto Nathan Rogers: Testimonianze e studi*, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Progettazione dell'Architettura del Politecnico di Milano 15 (Milan: CittàStudi, 1993): 48-50.
- 20 Marco Biraghi, "La chance Bonfanti," in Ezio Bonfanti, *Nuovo e moderno in architettura*, ix-xxi, with a list of books by Paci and Benjamin in Bonfanti's library.
- 21 Ezio Bonfanti, "Autonomia dell'architettura," *Controspazio* 1 (June 1969): 24-29.
- 22 Ibid., 24.
- 23 Biraghi, "La chance Bonfanti," xv.
- 24 Luciano Anceschi, *Autonomia ed eteronomia dell'arte: Sviluppo e teoria di un problema estetico* (Florence: Sansoni, 1936); Luciano Anceschi, *Autonomia ed eteronomia dell'arte: Saggio di fenomenologia delle poetiche* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1959).
- 25 On Anceschi, see Valentina De Angelis, *L'estetica di Luciano Anceschi: Prospettive e sviluppi della nuova fenomenologia critica* (Bologna: Clueb, 1983); Valentina De Angelis, "Luciano Anceschi tra filosofia e letteratura," *Studi di estetica* 15 (1997); Maria Giovanna Anceschi, Antonella Campagna, and Duccio Colombo, eds., *Il laboratorio di Luciano Anceschi: Pagine, carte, memorie* (Milan: Scheiwiller, 1998).
- 26 Anceschi, *Autonomia ed eteronomia dell'arte*, ix-xii.
- 27 Enzo Paci, *Dall'esistenzialismo al relazionismo* (Messina and Florence: D'Anna, 1957), 351-395.
- 28 Anceschi, *Autonomia ed eteronomia dell'arte*, xviii-xix.
- 29 Ibid., 24. "Il problema dell'autonomia riguarda ... la domanda: quella parte, piccola o grande, del nostro agire che ci appare sotto il nostro pieno controllo ... è invece vincolata e determinata irriducibilmente dall'esterno, da fatti extra-artistici."
- 30 Ibid., 27.
- 31 Paolo Portoghesi, "Editoriale."
- 32 Aldo Rossi, *L'architettura della città* (Padua: Marsilio, 1966); see also Claudio D'Amato, "Fifteen Years after the Publication of *The Architecture of the City* by Aldo Rossi: The Contribution of Urban Studies to the Autonomy of Architecture," *Harvard Architecture Review* 3 (Winter 1984): 83-92.
- 33 On Rossi's move towards the issues of psychoanalysis, see Mary Louise Lobsinger, "That Obscure Object of Desire: Autobiography and Repetition in the Work of Aldo Rossi," *Grey Room* 8 (Summer 2002): 38-61.
- 34 Claudio D'Amato and Sergio Petrini, "Dakka Kahn," *Controspazio* 1 (June 1969): 17-18; Andrea Silipo, "Venezia Kahn," *Controspazio* 1 (June 1969): 18-19.
- 35 Silipo, "Venezia Kahn," 19.
- 36 D'Amato and Petrini, "Dakka Kahn," 18.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ezio Bonfanti and Massimo Scolari, "Una risposta su Kahn," *Controspazio* 4-5 (September-October 1969): 42-43.
- 39 "1° schema di risposta (Silipo)," n.d., FB.
- 40 Bonfanti and Scolari, "Una risposta su Kahn," 42.
- 41 Ibid., 43.
- 42 Ibid. "Kahn a Dacca sarà semmai colonialista soprattutto nella misura in cui vi avrà portato cattiva architettura spacciandola per buona, come il colonialismo faceva con la sua amministrazione."
- 43 Giorgio Grassi, "Un architetto e una città: Ernst May e Francoforte," *Controspazio* 4-5 (April-May 1970): 50-52; Giorgio Grassi, ed., *Das neue Frankfurt 1926-1931* (Bari: Dedalo, 1975).
- 44 Ezio Bonfanti and Massimo Scolari, "Presentazione," *Controspazio* 4-5 (April-May 1970): 6.
- 45 Ibid., 7.
- 46 "Periodiz: Bauhaus secondo autori," n.d., FB; "Schema articolo Gropius," n.d., FB; "Bauhaus/Gropius. 4-5 pag.=40.000 battute," n.d., FB.
- 47 "[da Taut]," n.d., FB; "Sibyl Moholy-Nagy," n.d., FB; "[Peter Collins]," n.d., FB; "Extra [Bauhaus]," n.d., FB.
- 48 Giulio Carlo Argan, *Walter Gropius e la Bauhaus* (Turin: Einaudi, 1951).
- 49 "[P. M. Gropius]. 1 Metodo e sistema. Autoteorizzazioni," n.d., FB.
- 50 "Tafuri Asor Rosa," n.d., FB.
- 51 "Bauhaus e Germania," 14 May 1970, FB. Rossi apparently attended one of the lectures. See "Appunti lezione Bauhaus Scolari e discussione pomeriggio studenti," 23 April 1970 (box 1, file 31), Aldo Rossi Papers, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
- 52 Ezio Bonfanti, "Gropius e il Bauhaus Virtuale," *Controspazio* 4-5 (April-May 1970): 72-82.
- 53 On the concept of "canonical" interpretation of modern architecture, see Maria Luisa Scalvini and Maria Grazia Sandri, *L'immagine storiografica dell'architettura contemporanea da Platz a Giedion* (Rome: Officina, 1984).
- 54 Bonfanti, "Gropius e il Bauhaus Virtuale," 74.
- 55 Ibid., 80. "Il Bauhaus come termine di riferimento per l'architettura moderna è una sintesi selettiva del razionalismo tedesco, quando non lo è anche delle altre correnti costruttivistiche europee, olandesi e russe in primo luogo. Questo *falso* è divenuto una seconda realtà."
- 56 Manfredo Tafuri, "Per una critica dell'ideologia architettonica," 31-79; Manfredo Tafuri, *Progetto e utopia: Architettura e sviluppo capitalistico* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1973); *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976).
- 57 This critique of Le Corbusier was later developed into one of the most perceptive analyses of the urban theories of the French-Swiss architect. Tafuri published several versions of this essay: *Progetto e utopia*, 115-138; "Machine et mémoire: La città nell'opera di Le Corbusier. 1," *Casabella* 502 (May 1984): 44-51; "Machine et mémoire: La città nell'opera di Le Corbusier. 2," *Casabella* 503 (June 1984): 44-51.
- 58 Bonfanti, "Gropius e il Bauhaus Virtuale," 74.
- 59 "Tafuri Asor Rosa," n.d., FB. "La tesi complessiva è, direi, questa: non esiste architettura di classe (solo "critica" di classe; questo sembra quasi un orgoglio corporativo. Noi abbiamo la distinzione di classe, voi no!). Il tentativo di fare apparire progressista una certa architettura in termini di "classe" è un imbroglio ... Ci si può chiedere che

- cosa sia la critica di classe a qualcosa che non è di classe: un prelievo di sangue a una zucca?"
- 60 Alberto Asor Rosa, "Vendere libertà," *Senzamargine* 1 (1969): 11–13. *Senzamargine* – the continuation of another short-lived journal, *Cartabianca* – was published in just one number that contained, in addition to Asor Rosa's article, writings by Giulio Carlo Argan, Achille Bonito Oliva, and Gustavo Celant.
- 61 "Tafuri Asor Rosa," n.d., FB.
- 62 Ibid. "... come espressione di libertà ... è – al momento in cui raggiunge il suo fine di artisticità – una consolazione, invita ... un momento contemplativo."
- 63 Manfredo Tafuri, *Teoria e storia dell'architettura* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1968).
- 64 "Tafuri Asor Rosa," n.d., FB. "T. costruisce ... una grossa argomentazione rim-bombante di nessi ideologici, e di terminologia marxista in genere, perché ha visto ... che per non parlare di autonomia bisogna parlare di altre cose che non siano architettura."
- 65 Ibid. "C'è forse un contenuto autoironico in questa edizione-revival di marxismo ... che per la sua collocazione nel tempo e molte coincidenze (*stilistiche*) possiamo chiamare *pop-marxismo*?"
- 66 Stanislaus Von Moos, *Le Corbusier: Elemente einer Synthese* (Frauenfeld and Stuttgart: Huber, 1968).
- 67 Norma Evenson, *Le Corbusier: The Machine and the Grand Design* (New York: Braziller, 1969); Philippe Boudon, *Pessac de Le Corbusier* (Paris: Dunod, 1969).
- 68 Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); Dora Wiebenson, *Tony Garnier: The Cité Industrielle* (New York: Braziller, 1969); Hans Maria Wingler, *The Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, and Chicago* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1969).
- 69 Giovanni Fanelli, *Architettura moderna in Olanda 1900–1940* (Florence: Macchi e Bertolli, 1968); Giovanni Fanelli, *Socialismo, città, architettura: URSS 1917–1937* (Rome: Officina, 1971).
- 70 Paolo Portoghesi, "Victor Horta, il *Savant* dei *Propriétaires*," *Controspazio* 2–3 (July–August 1969): 56–61. The book was *Victor Horta* (Rome: Edizioni del Tritone, 1969).
- 71 Eugenio Battisti, "Rilettura di Victor Horta," *Controspazio* 11–12 (November–December 1970): 56–57.
- 72 Massimo Scolari, "Hannes Meyer e la pretesa negazione dell'arte," *Controspazio* 7 (December 1969): 58–59.
- 73 P.P., "Disegni di Peter Behrens, 1922–29," *Controspazio* 1–2 (January–February 1970): 16–26.
- 74 Werner Oechslin, "Premesse all'architettura rivoluzionaria," *Controspazio* 1–2 (January–February 1970): 2–15.
- 75 Emil Kaufmann, "Three Revolutionary Architects: Boullée, Ledoux, and Lequeu," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 42 (1952): 431–564.
- 76 Roberto Gabetti and Paolo Marconi, "L'insegnamento dell'architettura nel sistema didattico franco-italiano (1789–1922). I," *Controspazio* 3 (March 1971): 33–38, and "L'insegnamento dell'architettura nel sistema didattico franco-italiano (1789–1922). Secondo periodo," *Controspazio* 6 (June 1971): 37–42. Previously published as *L'insegnamento dell'architettura nel sistema didattico franco-italiano (1789–1922)* (Turin: Edizioni Quaderni di Studio-Politecnico di Torino-Facoltà di Architettura, 1968).
- 77 B.C., "Quilici Vieri, *L'architettura del costruttivismo*, 1969," *Controspazio* 6 (November 1969): 61, and "Meyer Hannes, *Architettura o rivoluzione: Scritti 1921–1942* (a cura di Francesco Dal Co), 1969," *Controspazio* 7 (December 1969): 60.

- 78 V.V., "Benevolo Leonardo: *La città italiana nel Rinascimento* 1969," *Controspazio* 1–2 (January–February 1970): 56.
- 79 Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Étienne-Louis Boullée (1728–1799): De l'architecture classique à l'architecture révolutionnaire* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1969).
- 80 Ezio Bonfanti, "Fustel de Coulanges: Istituzioni e architettura nella città antica," *Controspazio* 1–2 (January–February 1970): 54–55.
- 81 Letter from unknown sender [probably Ezio Bonfanti] to Paolo Portoghesi, 18 December 1972, FB; letter from unknown sender [probably Ezio Bonfanti] to Raimondo Coga, 18 December 1972, FB.
- 82 Note for the preparation of the colophon of the first 1972 issue, n.d., FB.
- 83 "Riunione nella sede di Milano Galleria Strasburgo 3," 9 February 1973, FS; notes for the meeting, n.d., FS.
- 84 Letter from Massimo Scolari to Paolo Portoghesi, 1 March 1973, FS.
- 85 Letter from Virgilio Vercelloni to Ezio Bonfanti, 18 October 1970, FB.
- 86 Letter from Paolo Portoghesi to Massimo Scolari, 10 April 1973, FS.
- 87 Ibid. "Purtroppo, il fragile equilibrio che si era creato nell'ultima riunione alla presenza dell'Editore, si è spezzato per la morte di Ezio."
- 88 On *Oppositions*, see Joan Ockman, "Resurrecting the Avant-Garde: The History and Program of 'Oppositions,'" in *Architectureproduction*, ed. Beatriz Colomina and Joan Ockman (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 180–199.

La critique architecturale à la recherche de ses instruments : *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* et *Architecture Mouvement Continuité*, 1960–1974

Les revues d'architecture ne sont pas nécessairement un espace privilégié de la critique. Leur engagement aux côtés d'architectes ou de tendances, leurs liens avec les annonceurs ou les groupes de presse, forment des obstacles à une véritable autonomie. Instance de consécration pour les professionnels, instrument de reconnaissance entre pairs, elles ne peuvent pas toujours garantir l'indépendance du jugement et du discours. Néanmoins, dans des périodes de remise en question de l'architecture en tant que discipline ou de contestation de son rôle social, les architectes et les rédacteurs de revue ont tenté de définir les objectifs et les instruments de la critique.

Dès le début des années 1960, des revues françaises avaient commencé à prendre acte des difficultés de la critique architecturale et à publier, très sporadiquement, quelques réflexions sur ses lacunes. Si cela a constitué un indice d'une « crise » de la critique, une telle crise est-elle à mettre en relation avec une plus large mise en cause de l'architecture en France, à la fois comme pratique, comme ensemble de savoirs et comme institution sociale ? Jusqu'en 1974, date à laquelle s'est effectué un recentrage sur l'architecture comme discipline, de nombreuses tentatives se sont en effet succédé pour refonder l'architecture d'un point de vue théorique, en recourant à des champs extérieurs, notamment les sciences humaines et sociales. Ces tentatives prennent place de 1967 à 1974, au plus fort de la contestation politique et sociale : Mai 1968 n'est en effet pas une simple toile de fond sur laquelle se déroulent ces débats¹. Ce qui est notable dans cette période, c'est précisément la convergence des interrogations épistémologiques sur l'architecture d'un côté et, de l'autre, la mise en accusation politique et sociale de l'architecture et des architectes. Tout en inscrivant ces transformations du discours dans ce contexte politique, celui de la dissolution des anciennes structures d'enseignement et de la contestation des rénovations urbaines et de l'aménagement du territoire, cet article se borne à retracer la constitution d'instruments critiques, à partir de deux exemples.

Dans la seconde moitié des années 1960, deux revues françaises, *Architecture Mouvement Continuité* (AMC; créée en 1967) et *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (LAA; fondée en 1930), ont tenté d'intégrer de nouveaux outils de lecture de l'architecture et la ville. En les évoquant, on se propose de montrer comment l'interrogation sur la discipline architecture a pu engendrer en France à la fin des années 1960 une réflexion sur la critique architecturale. Cette réflexion a-t-elle eu des conséquences lisibles dans les commentaires critiques dans ces deux périodiques? Sans retracer l'ensemble de leurs politiques éditoriales, cet article n'a pour ambition que de décrypter les transformations du discours critique telles qu'elles transparaissent dans les textes de ces deux revues², et de montrer que leurs rédacteurs importent certaines notions et méthodes issues de recherches théoriques étrangères (principalement américaines et italiennes). Outils potentiels pour la critique architecturale, ces nouvelles lectures sont tour à tour les analyses typo-morphologiques italiennes, la linguistique puis la sémiotique, les essais de Robert Venturi, de Geoffrey Broadbent ou de Charles Jencks sur le signe et la signification.

Notes sur la critique dans les revues françaises au début des années 1960

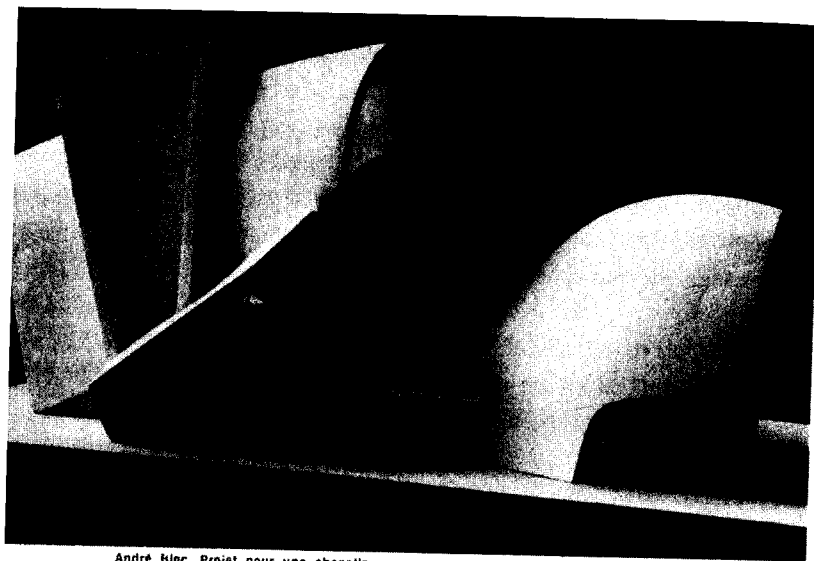
Malgré la crise internationalement propagée du langage moderne dans les années 1940 à 1960, les tentatives de révision critique et les interrogations sur les fondements théoriques de l'architecture du Mouvement moderne ont relativement peu filtré en France. À en juger par les principaux périodiques, *LAA* et *Techniques et Architecture*, elles restent encore peu diffusées à la fin des années 1960. Les centres d'intérêt des revues françaises durant cette décennie contribuent à expliquer cet état de fait.

Au début des années 1960, tout en accordant une place conséquente à une nouvelle génération d'architectes, notamment à celle de Team 10, *LAA* ne cesse de réitérer sa croyance en l'orthodoxie du modernisme. Elle rappelle régulièrement la généalogie du Mouvement moderne et en commémore les « pionniers » du début du XX^e siècle³, comme déjà elle le faisait à ses débuts. C'est la volonté d'une poursuite du modernisme de l'entre-deux-guerres et non sa révision critique – à la manière de *Casabella-Continuità* (1953–1964) d'Ernesto Nathan Rogers, une décennie auparavant – qui est au cœur de sa politique. Ce désir de poursuite n'en emprunte pas moins de nouveaux thèmes, que la revue illustre abondamment.

Pour *LAA*, ce développement qu'elle voudrait sans rupture s'incarner principalement dans deux voies : la virtuosité technique et la recherche plastique.

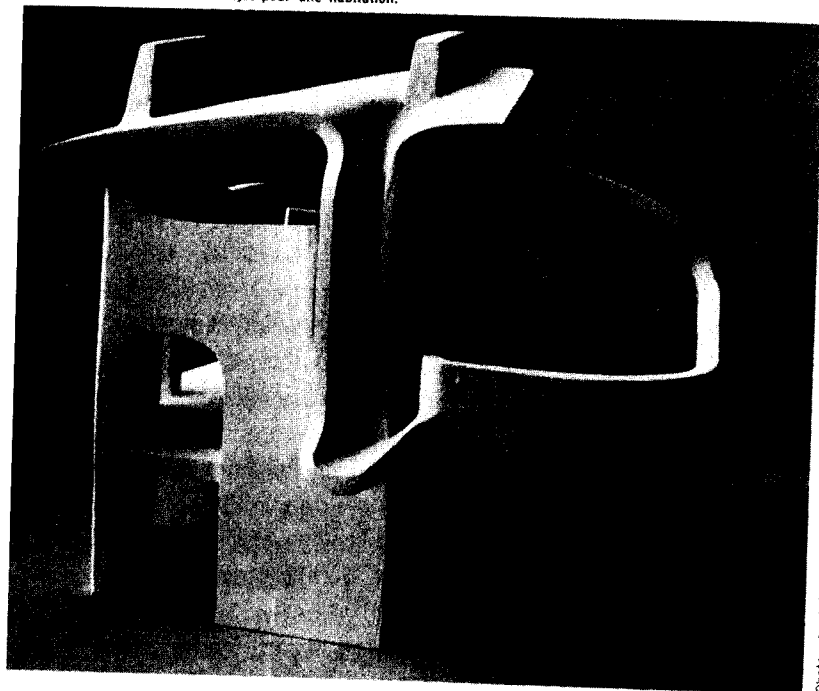
Jusqu'en 1967, *LAA* promeut les démarches architecturales qui privilégient l'aspect plastique et sculptural, dans la lignée de la nouvelle « synthèse des arts » soutenue par son cofondateur, rédacteur en chef et directeur, André Bloc (1896–1966), et développée depuis 1949 dans sa propre revue *Art d'Aujourd'hui*, devenue en 1955 *Aujourd'hui, art et architecture*⁴ (fig. 1). Seconde forme d'« évolution » du Mouvement moderne, la recherche technologique : parmi les expérimentations techniques et constructives, *LAA* concède une large surface rédactionnelle aux innovations sur les structures légères issues des recherches géométriques et morphogénétiques. Le mot « structure » y désigne les dômes géodésiques de Buckminster Fuller, ceux de la communauté de Drop City (Trinidad, Colorado, 1965–1966), les recherches de structures tridimensionnelles polyédriques de l'architecte ingénieur David Georges Emmerich⁵; il recouvre aussi les systèmes modulaires « ouverts » répondant à la flexibilité⁶ (fig. 2). Le mot « structure » semble donc être dans *LAA* une clé de lecture toute puissante. Mais, demeurant le plus souvent dans le domaine morphologique et constructif, il ne semble pas enclencher de réflexion sur l'analyse structurale de l'architecture et de la ville. À une exception près : en 1967, Françoise Choay présente dans *LAA* les méthodes de la sémiologie urbaine⁷. Cette même année 1967, le rédacteur en chef d'AMC, l'architecte Philippe Boudon⁸, engagé dans la fondation d'une épistémologie de l'architecture, souligne dans le premier numéro le lien entre le structuralisme, son emprise sur de nombreuses disciplines et le sens concret du mot structure. Dans un article illustré par des dômes et des structures tridimensionnelles, de Buckminster Fuller à Robert Le Ricolais et David Georges Emmerich, il déclare : « Le structuralisme, cette année, fut à la mode. Rares sont les revues qui n'ont pas consacré un numéro spécial au problème et tenté de débroussailler les notions confuses qu'en recouvre le terme, galvaudé dans différents domaines. Or, il est curieux de constater que, parallèlement à un désintéressement général du public pour l'architecture – qui laisse libre cours à une critique architecturale des moins responsables – de nombreuses autres disciplines font un usage démesuré du mot structure qui, à en croire la définition que donne Littré : “manière dont un édifice est bâti”, tire son nom de l'activité constructrice des hommes⁹. »

Ces deux voies (innovation structurelle, évolution plastique de l'architecture) perdurent dans *LAA* jusqu'au début des années 1970. Encore en 1971, dans un numéro intitulé « Doctrines¹⁰ », *LAA* réaffirme sa fidélité à l'orthodoxie du Mouvement moderne : un article de Marc Emery, nouveau rédacteur en chef depuis avril 1968¹¹, tire un bilan positif des CIAM d'avant comme d'après-guerre, tandis que la revue réécrit une généalogie du rationalisme fondée sur le point de vue constructif. Il y a peu de différence entre cette généalogie publiée en 1971, et celle que célébrait en 1934 le numéro intitulé



André Bloc. Projet pour une chapelle.

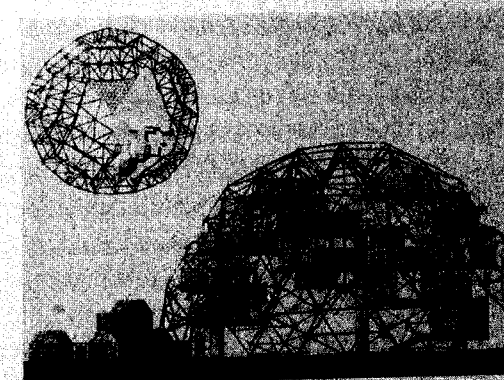
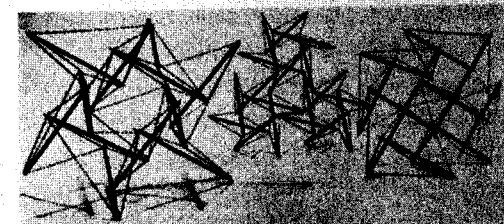
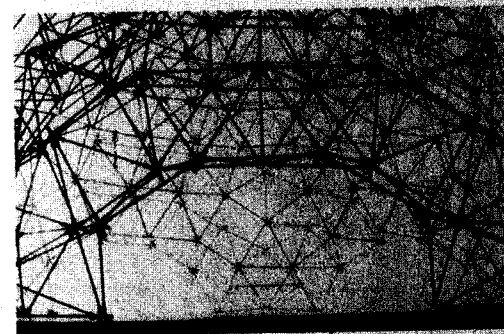
André Bloc. Projet pour une habitation.



Photos Lemi Iselin.

1. « Points de vue sur les conditions actuelles de l'art et l'esprit de recherche » de Roger Bordier. *Aujourd'hui. Art et Architecture* 45 (avril 1964), p. 10

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2. Illustrations de l'article de David Georges Emmerich, « Les Structures ». *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 141 (décembre 1968 – janvier 1969), p. 14

«Spécial France», qui tentait d'établir la suprématie de la tradition rationaliste française dans la genèse de la modernité architecturale. En parfait accord avec la doctrine de *L'AA* des années 1930, la présence en 1971 d'une telle démonstration réaffirme le rôle tutélaire de Viollet-le-Duc et d'Auguste Perret. La préoccupation commune qui se dégage de ce numéro est la nécessité d'«élargir l'étendue du vocabulaire moderne¹²» par les recherches, propres aux années 1960, de nouvelles formes inspirées par les structures naturelles.

Les formes de la critique en discussion

Au début des années 1960, les commentaires des principales revues françaises d'architecture (*L'AA*, *Techniques et Architecture*, *L'Architecture française*) se limitent fréquemment à une présentation des projets ou édifices, avec des descriptions des formes, des matériaux, du programme, descriptions parfois signées par les architectes de l'édifice. Lorsqu'il y a commentaire critique, il relève souvent d'un empirisme subjectif. Majoritairement fondée sur des critères de forme, la critique envisage l'édifice comme œuvre. La seule exception à ce registre se produit quand *L'AA* fustige les décisions de l'État en matière d'aménagement du territoire : de 1964 à 1967, ces prises de position constituent dans la revue l'essentiel des articles de fond et quasiment les seuls textes polémiques. Il n'est pas anodin que les plus virulents (les injonctions du président du comité de rédaction et ancien rédacteur en chef, Pierre Vago¹³ contre la destruction des Halles, contre l'opération Maine Montparnasse, sur les problèmes de planification de la Région parisienne) trouvent place non dans le corps principal de la revue, mais dans les pages d'information et d'actualité, situées en début de volume et paginées en romain.

Et pourtant, *L'AA* a souligné dès 1964 les insuffisances de la critique architecturale¹⁴ dans un dossier rassemblant des textes de plusieurs critiques : André Bloc, Pierre Vago, Alexandre Persitz¹⁵, alors corédacteur en chef avec Bloc, les critiques d'architecture et d'art Pierre Joly, Michel Ragon, Gérald Gassiot-Talabot¹⁶, l'ingénieur René Sarger, le critique allemand Julius Posener¹⁷, correspondant et rédacteur de *L'AA* depuis 1930, Jürgen Joedicke, Thomas Creighton, ancien rédacteur en chef de *Progressive Architecture*. L'objectif de ce dossier est de définir la spécificité de la critique architecturale non comme forme dérivée de la critique d'art, mais par rapport à l'architecture entendue comme discipline et pratique autonomes. Constatant l'absence de critique véritable, Vago appelle de ses vœux une critique faite par des experts pour des experts. Selon lui, la critique devrait d'abord, sur le plan théorique, participer à la définition d'une *doctrine*; et, sur le plan de la pratique, produire des *effets* sur les qualités esthétiques, fonctionnelles, constructives des édifices. Vago s'in-

surge contre la critique dite journalistique, qui réussit peut-être à dénoncer la destruction du patrimoine, quelque scandale financier ou politique concernant l'aménagement du territoire, mais n'utilise pas de critères spécifiques à l'homme de l'art. À travers de telles prises de position, c'est l'autonomie du champ architectural qui est revendiquée, et la séparation entre critique architecturale et débat public sur l'aménagement qui est confirmée. Est ainsi implicitement exclue une critique de l'architecture comme fait politique et social. En même temps, les valeurs et les critères sur lesquels se fonderait cette «véritable» critique architecturale restent indéfinis; elle ne recourt explicitement à aucune discipline extérieure (histoire, sémiologie, sociologie ou anthropologie). La question de la forme architecturale continue d'être dominante. Faut-il y voir une conséquence du choix de *L'AA* pour le développement d'une nouvelle esthétique, issue des recherches tantôt géométriques et constructives, tantôt plastiques?

Bien que *L'AA* publie à la fois une nouvelle génération d'architectes et de nombreuses réalisations étrangères, en 1964 de telles prises de position sur la critique révèlent une forme d'isolement par rapport aux débats théoriques internationaux. Quoique rejetant le modèle de la critique d'art, ce type de discours reste dans une conception idéaliste de l'architecture comme œuvre. Il ne prend pas en compte les réflexions contemporaines, notamment les débats menés depuis deux décennies, aux États-Unis, sur l'élaboration d'une théorie pour l'architecture moderne. 1964 est en effet l'année où s'est tenu à Cranbrook (États-Unis) le séminaire de l'American Institute of Architects, auquel participaient Bruno Zevi, Peter Collins, Reyner Banham, Serge Chermayeff, Sybil Moholy-Nagy, Stephen W. Jacobs, Stanford Anderson. Ce séminaire a tenté de clarifier les relations entre critique, histoire et théorie de l'architecture, et enseignement de la conception architecturale. Plusieurs intervenants envisagent la nécessité d'un *jugement* comme fondement et spécificité de l'activité critique et soulèvent la question des critères d'un tel jugement, «objectifs» selon Collins qui les oppose aux valeurs «émotionnelles», qu'il perçoit dans la posture du «critique comme auteur», par exemple chez Vincent Scully. Il s'agit par de tels critères «objectifs» de rompre avec l'empirisme et avec l'engagement doctrinal qui ont façonné jusque dans les années 1940 la critique et l'histoire du Mouvement moderne. À l'inverse d'une critique engagée, Collins préconise une critique normative qui permette l'analyse de l'architecture, notamment celle du Mouvement moderne, à l'aune d'un «système de valeurs architecturales» établi. Cette opinion n'est pas sans rapport avec sa conviction que l'architecture moderne a atteint après 1940 un stade de classicisme et véhicule ainsi des valeurs permanentes¹⁸.

C'est à travers le sujet de l'enseignement, central à Cranbrook, qu'est posée la question des relations entre histoire et critique. La réintroduction de

l'histoire dans l'enseignement est perçue comme l'un des moyens de reconstruction disciplinaire à un moment de crise esthétique du Mouvement moderne, reconstruction également fondée sur l'hypothèse que la critique peut être une part de la conception architecturale. Pour Collins, la critique, en tant que correction, doit participer de la pédagogie du projet dans les écoles d'architecture : « La tâche la plus urgente aujourd'hui me semblerait, donc, (a) une évaluation de la relation idéale entre théorie architecturale et histoire de l'architecture, et (b) une évaluation de l'influence que l'étude de l'histoire de l'architecture devrait avoir sur la *critique architecturale, considérée comme un aspect de la conception*¹⁹. »

Dans les revues françaises, l'écho de telles interrogations, si faible soit-il, a-t-il conduit à concevoir un nouveau projet critique ?

Dans le contexte français plutôt rétif à de fortes remises en question du Mouvement moderne, paraît en novembre 1967 le premier numéro d'AMC, publié dans le cadre institutionnel de la Société des architectes diplômés par le gouvernement (SADG). Plusieurs membres de cette Société professionnelle composent le comité de la nouvelle revue²⁰. La rédaction est néanmoins confiée à deux jeunes architectes, Alain Sarfati et surtout Philippe Boudon²¹. Conformément au programme épistémologique de ce dernier, ils entendent dans cette nouvelle publication clarifier les fondements disciplinaires de l'architecture : « Les préoccupations récentes de la SADG se sont orientées vers l'organisation de la profession d'architecte; des idées ont été proposées en ce qui concerne les structures d'exercice de cette profession. Il nous semble qu'elle doit maintenant concentrer ses énergies *sur le fond du problème lui-même, à savoir l'architecture*²². » Dès 1968, Boudon consacre un numéro à la critique. Son éditorial ironise sur l'état de la critique française, fustigeant au passage la mollesse de L'AA devant les brutales rénovations urbaines dans Paris (fig. 3). Si le séminaire de Cranbrook a précédemment été évoqué ici, c'est parce qu'il est contemporain du dossier que L'AA consacrait à la critique en décembre 1964, sans que ne filtre dans la revue française aucun écho de ces discussions. Mais également parce que, dans le numéro d'AMC consacré à ce même sujet, Philippe Boudon en appelle à Peter Collins, dont il reproduit un article paru en janvier 1968 dans l'*American Institute of Architects Journal*, pour définir la « Philosophie de la critique en architecture ». Collins s'y livre à une classification depuis la critique populaire jusqu'à la critique professionnelle (par les architectes pour les architectes), qui doit faire partie intégrante de la conception architecturale. La nécessité pour Collins de dresser une telle typologie s'inscrit dans son grand projet, concrétisé en 1971 par la parution d'*Architectural Judgement*, d'établir un parallèle entre sciences juridiques et théorie architecturale. Mais, outre cette analogie, le point le plus intéressant du texte de Collins est l'affirmation d'une *spécificité* de la critique architecturale,

EDITORIAL

Simple commentaire, examen, jugement, analyse, contestation, polémique, moquerie, diatribe ou éreintement, la critique peut se situer à des niveaux divers. En architecture, souvent, elle se passe même de commentaire. De simples notes techniques sont généralement considérées comme suffisantes pour justifier la présentation de photos judicieusement prises et non moins judicieusement retouchées. Pourtant ces photos, à elles seules, pourraient être une forme de critique.

Ci - contre : confrontation de deux nudités. Sarcasme, diront certains. D'autres y trouveront une preuve pertinente de la non - pertinence du « less is more » de Mies van der Rohe. Bien sûr, on nous rétorquerait (si la balle de la critique était échangée de revue en revue) qu'il ne suffit pas de dire que la gare Montparnasse est hideuse. Que l'esthétique n'est pas un critère assez objectif pour être satisfaisant. — qu'il faut ajouter que la nouvelle gare porte une ombre pharminieuse sur les maisons avoisinantes (ou pas d'ailleurs) — qu'avec la nouvelle tour, ce sera bien pire — que le tissu urbain est définitivement déchiré — que l'immense espace interne de la nouvelle gare est dépourvu à tel point de signification qu'il se produit un phénomène bien connu des psychosociologues, qualifié d'« anomie », à savoir la disparition de toute règle sociale tacite, la disparition de toute référence, ce qui se traduit par le fait que certains habitants des étages inférieurs ont l'avantage de voir passer devant leurs fenêtres diverses ordures et immondices jetés par certains autres habitants, ceux des étages supérieurs, ce qui

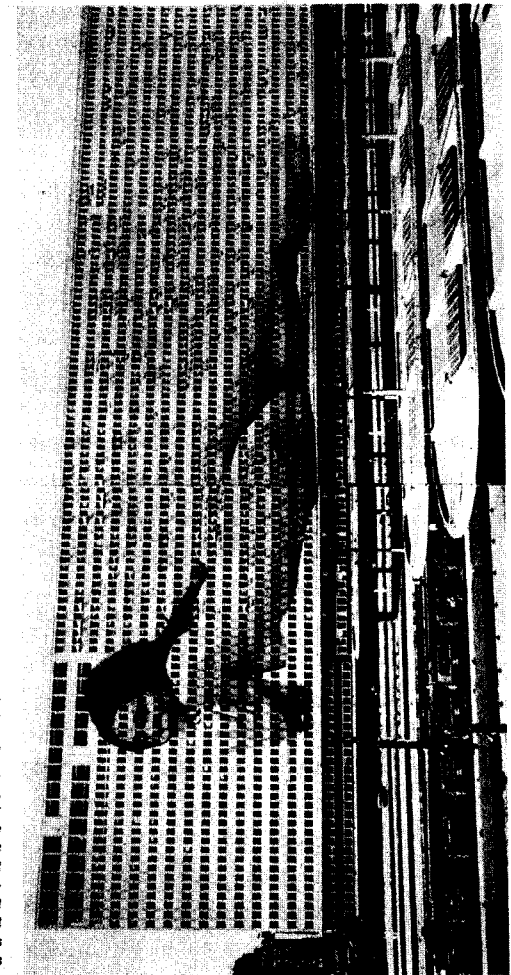


Photo extraite de l'ouvrage de PERAUER « CRAZY HORSE SALOON » Denoël-Goussard, Ed.

3. « Critique architecturale » sur fond de Gare Montparnasse, Paris. *Architecture Mouvement* Continuité 9 (1968), p. 1

l'architecture étant entendue à la fois comme pratique et comme discipline, référée à un corpus théorique. Il oppose cette spécificité à une critique architecturale qui participerait d'une *forme générale d'activité appelée critique*, englobant critique littéraire, critique d'art et critique musicale. Pour Collins,

ainsi qu'il l'affirmait en 1964 dans *Changing Ideals in Architecture*, la spécificité de la critique architecturale provient du fait que l'architecture doit être étudiée en termes de systèmes structurels et de types. Propres à la discipline architecturale, ces deux axes d'analyse ne peuvent selon lui s'accommoder des critères issus de l'histoire de l'art traditionnelle : la biographie, l'expression artistique et la forme signifiante.

Le choix de la pluridisciplinarité

Le rapport à la critique d'art et à l'histoire de l'art est en effet une question brûlante, l'une des facettes les plus apparentes du problème, récurrent, de l'autonomie de la critique architecturale. Mais si l'alternative entre critique esthétique (qui serait *a priori* issue du modèle de la critique d'art) et critique sociale est très présente, d'autres instruments sont forgés au seuil des années 1970. Le premier éditorial d'AMC s'est ouvert sur l'affirmation de la « pluridisciplinarité nécessaire ». Boudon et Sarfati décrètent en février 1968 que l'architecture est non pas *au* carrefour, mais *le* carrefour entre sciences humaines et sciences exactes. C'est dans l'optique d'une telle clarification disciplinaire, en phase avec la refonte de l'enseignement de l'architecture en France, que les numéros d'AMC de 1967 à 1969 se font l'écho de nouvelles lectures de l'édifice et de la ville, et ce, en rendant compte des recherches et des publications étrangères.

La recherche d'une théorie à caractère scientifique de l'architecture a dominé les années 1950 et 1960 aux États-Unis : dans les années 1950 se sont développées les sciences de la conception, avant que dans la décennie suivante ne deviennent centrales les réflexions sur l'architecture comme langage²³. En Italie, cette interrogation épistémologique se concrétise, dès la fin des années 1950, en une réflexion sur l'introduction de la linguistique et de la sémiotique dans la critique architecturale. Est-ce une question épistémologique de même ordre qui apparaîtrait ainsi, tardivement, en France ? Dans les premiers numéros d'AMC, dominant d'une part la lecture structurale de l'architecture analysée comme langage (les travaux de Philippe Boudon, qui bientôt collabore avec Hubert Damisch à l'analyse du *Dictionnaire de l'architecture* de Viollet-le-Duc²⁴), et d'autre part les méthodologies de la conception et les *design studies* (Christopher Alexander). Philippe Boudon affirme que ces lectures différentes ont, grâce à leurs interférences, une valeur heuristique, et que c'est d'une telle juxtaposition que naît une véritable pluridisciplinarité :

Au sein du mouvement incessant de recherches poursuivies dans des domaines différents, il semble qu'un fil conducteur puisse mettre en évidence la continuité qui lie les divers problèmes. Suivant la leçon de Christopher Alexander, nous pensons

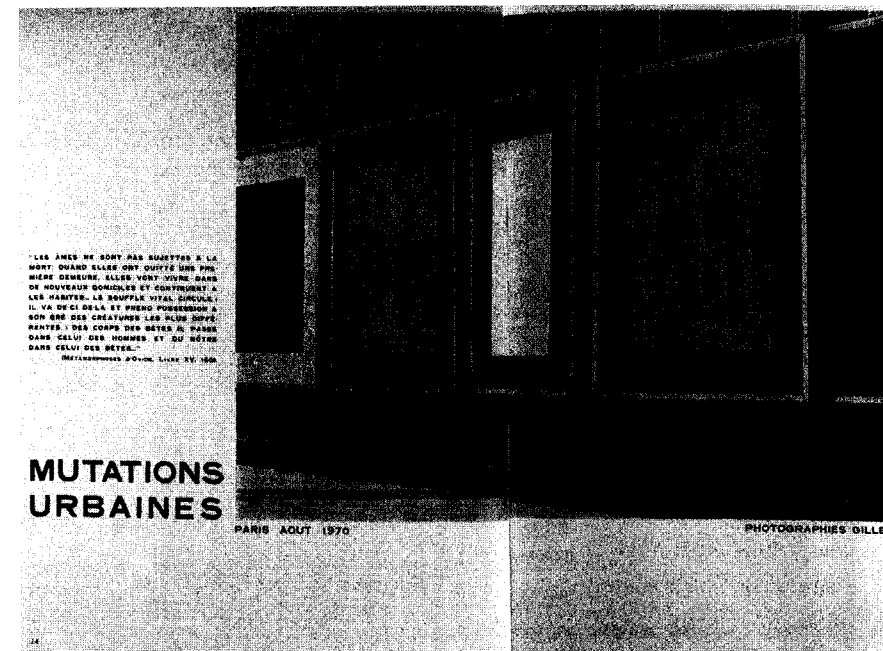
que les articles présentés ont des points communs, que certaines de leurs parties se superposent, et que le simple fait d'avoir ici réuni ces articles peut apporter, au-delà de ce qui est explicitement exprimé dans chacun d'eux de manière isolée, des éléments positifs de connaissance²⁵.

Malgré cette déclaration d'intentions, la position d'AMC sur l'apport des disciplines extérieures n'est pas toujours claire. Parmi les propositions d'outils scientifiques appliqués à la lecture de la ville, *L'Image de la cité* (1960) de Kevin Lynch est longuement discuté dans AMC, qui relève que cet ouvrage révèle implicitement une « crise sémantique de l'architecture ». Mais, assez vivement critiqué pour l'absence d'autres critères de lecture de l'espace urbain que ceux, visuels, issus de la psychologie de la forme, le livre provoque dans les colonnes d'AMC un débat sur l'« utilité des disciplines scientifiques pour la connaissance du fait architectural et urbain » : une telle démarche apporte-t-elle davantage au sociologue ou à l'architecte ? Une large part est également concédée à Robert Venturi : des pages reproduisent des extraits de *Complexity and Contradiction*, puis, conjointement à l'intérêt d'AMC pour les notions de symbole, signe et signification, de *Learning from Las Vegas*. La présentation de tels ouvrages, exposant de nouvelles clés de lecture de l'architecture et de la ville, est-elle pour une jeune génération d'architectes français une stratégie pour dénoncer l'anachronisme des anciennes valeurs de l'enseignement de l'architecture ? Ou s'agit-il, à l'aide de ces nouveaux instruments, dont certains prétendent à la scientificité, d'amorcer une transformation d'un discours critique jugé par trop empirique ?

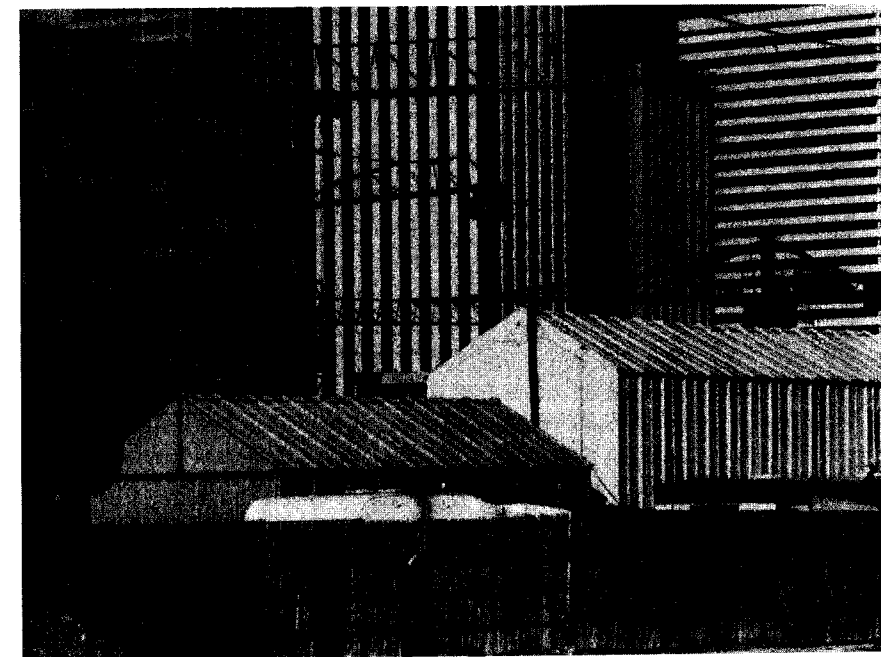
En mars 1969, alors qu'AMC est partiellement reprise en main par un comité éditorial proche des intérêts corporatistes, mais aussi des positionnements doctrinaux de la SADG, Philippe Boudon démissionnaire déclare que lors de sa fondation en 1967, la revue « [...] visait essentiellement à jeter un pont entre l'architecture et d'autres disciplines, et, plutôt que de promouvoir celle-ci par la présentation de projets (présentation qui est amplement développée ailleurs) tentait d'impliquer ces diverses disciplines ou les canaliser à travers l'architecture afin de l'en enrichir²⁶ ». Mais lors de ce changement de rédaction, malgré quelques traces d'un retour sur des positions plus traditionnelles, teintées de sensibilité « beaux-arts », – une chronique de l'architecte Albert Laprade²⁷, par exemple – l'originalité d'AMC reste jusqu'en 1974 de présenter les théories, les outils d'analyse et les tentatives de méthodologie de la conception en priorité sur toute réalisation architecturale : l'architecture est objet théorique et doit devenir objet de théorisation, avant que d'être un ensemble d'édifices ou de dessins reproduits dans les pages de la revue. AMC présente une ouverture à l'actualité internationale et aux auteurs étrangers tout à fait différente de celle de L'AA.

L'AA est très ouverte aux réalisations étrangères; poursuivant une politique amorcée dans les années 1930, elle multiplie jusqu'en 1967 les dossiers par typologie architecturale et par pays, donnant parfois l'impression d'être plus un catalogue d'édifices qu'une tribune critique²⁸. La critique y épouse plusieurs registres. À côté des interrogations sur les continuités du Mouvement moderne, elle laisse filtrer de nouveaux thèmes, donne par exemple la parole au groupe Utopie, proche des thèses situationnistes²⁹ – qui y proclame que l'architecture est un problème théorique –, en même temps qu'à Claude Parent, Cedric Price, Vittorio Gregotti et Robert Venturi, recouvrant ainsi un spectre de tendances plutôt large. Un numéro représentatif de la cohabitation de ces deux lignes critiques (l'une, purement architecturale et esthétique, l'autre, plus théorique, englobant les dimensions structurales, politiques, sociales de l'architecture) est celui de juin-juillet 1967, consacré à l'urbanisme. D'un côté, il réitère la *doxa* fonctionnaliste avec un article sur le rôle des CIAM, ouvre ses pages au représentant de l'État (Jérôme Monod, délégué à l'Aménagement du territoire³⁰). De l'autre côté, on y trouve un article du philosophe marxiste Henri Lefebvre sur l'analyse de l'espace urbain en tant qu'« espace politique » et la première publication dans L'AA de la lecture sémiologique de la ville par Françoise Choay. Une telle ouverture à la fois à des projets contestataires et à de nouvelles approches théoriques (anthropologie de l'espace, sémiologie, approche inspirée de la critique littéraire avec la référence à Robert Venturi) et politiques de l'architecture, s'intensifie avec l'entrée en fonction de Marc Emery comme rédacteur en chef (avril 1968). Formé à l'urbanisme, ayant effectué une partie de ses études aux États-Unis auprès de Louis Kahn, Emery apporte dans L'AA de nouvelles références intellectuelles. Cette réelle « pluridisciplinarité » perdure jusqu'en 1974, date de son remplacement par Bernard Huet³¹. Par exemple, le numéro de 1970-1971 consacré la ville fait à nouveau le point sur la sémiologie urbaine (Choay, Barthes), perçoit dans les bidonvilles de nouveaux objets de recherche. Mais surtout, ce cahier propose une lecture de l'espace urbain à partir de références théoriques parfois disparates³² : depuis le *Townscape* britannique et les méthodes de Kevin Lynch, en passant par la typo-morphologie italienne (à la fois Saverio Muratori, Carlo Aymonino, Aldo Rossi), mais aussi l'analyse structurale.

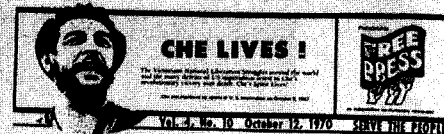
La présentation de ces méthodes d'analyse de l'espace urbain se déploie en parallèle à une critique politique et sociale des brutales rénovations urbaines alors en cours dans Paris, que ce soit l'affaire des Halles ou les rénovations des quartiers Belleville, Montparnasse ou Italie (fig. 4 et 5). L'AA met en cause les politiques patrimoniales qui ne protègent ni les ensembles urbains, ni l'architecture dite mineure, ni les édifices du XIX^e ou du XX^e siècle. La critique sociale des opérations urbaines s'exprime souvent au moyen de la photographie, voire de pages de montages qui tentent par leurs dispositifs rhétoriques de



4. « Mutations urbaines », *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 153 « La ville » (décembre 1970 – janvier 1971), p. 14



5. Rénovations, Montparnasse, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 153 « La ville » (décembre 1970 – janvier 1971), p. 20



« Je ne croirai jamais que le destin des hommes soit une vie où tous leurs pouvoirs naturels sont offensés, où sont éteintes toutes les tentations humaines. C'est là la philosophie des esclaves. Nos maîtres dans les écoles nous ont appris que toute suite de pensées débute par des positions de postures. Nous avons résisté, rebattu les ongles avec le coup de génie d'Émile sur le sujet des parallèles. Nous sommes-nous assez étonnés devant Riemann et Lobatchevsky? Nous aurons donc notre postulat, et nous n'avons aucune envie de le démontrer. Mais nous le sentons jusque dans nos jambes et dans notre peau. »



Cette affirmation sort de nos corps et de la place que nous tenons dans ce monde ruiné où le progrès de la conscience ne nous fait plus désormais illusion, et non des tables de corrélation, des nombres transis et du calcul des matrices. Le pouvoir veut passer à l'acte; ce qui peut être vu se réalise. Nous nous sentons assurés que les philosophes présents sont faussés, parce que celui qui leur est opposé nous est nécessaire de la même façon que notre respiration et que notre marche. Démontrons-nous dialectiquement avec les armes de vos visions réactionnaires et de vos raisons faussées, avec nos maîtres d'économies et d'actualités que les hommes ont grandement tort de vouloir respirer, dormir, avoir chaud, fuir, aimer les femmes qu'ils aiment, marcher où ils veulent, travailler, créer, être en paix. Prouvez-nous que nous sommes contre le courant de notre nature et de notre histoire et nous ne nagerons plus contre lui. Le temps des démolitions est revenu. » (Mizani, « Les chiens de garde ».)



TROUGH "IN or OUT"



6. L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui 157 (août-septembre 1971), p. 15

montrer l'espace urbain comme un espace de « domination ». L'esthétique photographique n'en est pas absente. La contestation des opérations de rénovation urbaine en France porte aussi le regard de L'AA vers l'*advocacy planning* américain, lui donnant ainsi l'occasion d'exposer dans ses colonnes une forme de critique sociale de la ville au moyen de la photographie (fig. 6).

Depuis la fin des années 1960, les thèses marxistes ont un poids considérable dans les recherches sur l'urbanisation et l'habitat : ce poids est sensible dans la critique, et L'AA en porte également le reflet. Or, de 1968 à 1974, les essais théoriques comportant une critique politique et sociale des structures de production de la ville, de la ségrégation, toutes thématiques alors dominantes, n'empêchent pas L'AA de continuer parallèlement à présenter des projets et des édifices – notamment ceux des grandes agences américaines – sans remettre nécessairement en cause, dans son commentaire critique, les structures de production de l'architecture. Qui plus est, la présentation des édifices reste en règle générale dans un registre extrêmement descriptif, privilégiant l'organisation spatiale, les formes et les choix constructifs.

La coexistence de ces thèmes révèle la cohabitation parfois difficile entre Marc Emery et le comité de rédaction, présidé jusqu'en 1975 par Vago et toujours dominé par des architectes proches du Mouvement moderne. Elle reflète également une difficile coexistence entre une critique nourrie par les sciences sociales ou influencée par la contestation politique, et une critique esthétique de l'architecture. En 1971, Vago réaffirme la dimension artistique de l'architecture, et s'insurge contre les lectures « sociologisantes » et la pluridisciplinarité qu'il juge erratiques. Il insiste à l'inverse sur la nécessité de réintroduire les valeurs permanentes des doctrines, « à un moment de l'histoire de la pensée où tout semble remis en question, où l'on semble refuser toute valeur absolue, douter de tout ce qui veut être permanent, rejeter tout ce qui de près ou de loin veut être un système, tout ce qui a prétention de vérité ». Il condamne sans appel les remises en question de la production architecturale et du métier d'architecte, analysés en termes de domination de classe, remises en question liées à la contestation étudiante. À mots couverts, c'est la politisation de l'enseignement qui est dénoncée dans cet article intitulé « Du chaos à l'espoir » et illustré d'une photographie prise en mai 1968 à Paris.

1974 : retour sur le projet d'architecture

Au sein des Unités pédagogiques d'architecture nouvellement créées, la pluridisciplinarité et le rôle important des sciences sociales commencent à être mis en doute au milieu des années 1970 : les fondements théoriques et disciplinaires internes à l'architecture retrouvent droit de cité. Ce retour à la discipline est revendiqué dans le colloque de 1974 sur l'enseignement organisé par l'Institut de l'environnement³³, auquel sont invitées plusieurs personnalités étrangères : Manfredo Tafuri, Joseph Rykwert, Mario Gandelsonas, Alexander Tzonis. La même année, l'architecte Bernard Huet explique que, dans les années 1960, les recherches de types systémiques et des *design studies* n'étaient qu'un

détour temporaire par rapport à la discipline architecture, dû à la nécessité conjoncturelle de se dégager des pratiques professionnelles traditionnelles et de théoriser la conception architecturale :

une grande partie des recherches anglo-saxonnes sur la méthodologie du projet tendait à occulter toute spécificité architecturale, à réduire le procès de production de l'objet architectural à une quelconque production d'objet industriel. [...] Cette démarche [...] permettait de dégonfler le mythe de l'architecte thaumaturge, "chef d'orchestre", homme de synthèse, etc., sur lequel la pratique professionnelle était fondée et qui empêchait toute analyse sérieuse des conditions objectives de la production architecturale [...] ³⁴.

Parallèlement, dans les deux revues, le recours précédemment évoqué à l'analyse des processus de conception, aux *design studies* et aux lectures sémiologiques tend à s'amenuiser entre 1973 et 1974. De 1974 à début 1977, Bernard Huet est rédacteur en chef de *L'AA* : son action constitue un épisode beaucoup plus connu et commenté que les quelques années ici décrites, épisode souvent considéré comme le premier véritable tournant de cette revue. Celle-ci aurait alors – enfin – accompli sa «révision critique» du Mouvement moderne ³⁵. Or, en matière d'ouverture aux problématiques urbaines, aux architectures «autres» (Tiers-Monde), aux disciplines extérieures, qui toutes contribuent à contrebalancer la volonté de poursuite du Modernisme à laquelle s'agrippe le comité de rédaction, les apports de la «période Emery», 1968–1973, ne sont pas négligeables. La présence de Huet est synonyme d'une ligne éditoriale certes plus radicalement critique et plus claire que celle d'Emery, mais moins pluraliste dans le choix des références théoriques et moins pluridisciplinaire. Huet se centre sur l'importation en France du travail de l'École de Venise, sur l'attaque des structures de production de l'architecture dans l'organisation capitaliste, tandis qu'il milite pour l'«architecture urbaine» et la défend avec les instruments de l'analyse historique. Cette brève «période Huet» permet un important repositionnement culturel de l'architecture en France.

Dans *AMC* (fig. 7), l'appareil théorique déployé tend à se concentrer sur la discipline architecture, aux dépens de la pluridisciplinarité revendiquée précédemment. On peut illustrer ce revirement par le trait que décoche en 1976 Patrice Noviant, devenu en 1973 nouveau rédacteur en chef, aux développements des recherches de Christopher Alexander, mentionnant la «relative inutilité de semblables méthodes eu égard à leur complexité de mise en œuvre [...] ³⁶». Aux analyses à l'ambition scientifique clairement affichée, *AMC* substitue une série de longs entretiens avec des architectes (parmi lesquels Aldo Rossi, Alvaro Siza, James Stirling, Oriol Bohigas, Peter Eisenman) qui revendiquent l'autonomie de l'architecture comme champ disciplinaire nécessitant ses propres



7. Couverture, *Architecture Mouvement Continuité* 36 (1975)

instruments. Parallèlement à cette nouvelle orientation, à partir de 1973, se sont affirmées deux principales formes de critique : la critique des projets à l'échelle urbaine (concours de quartiers d'habitations dans les villes nouvelles) et l'analyse historique. En même temps, plusieurs bouleversements touchent la rédaction. Le rédacteur en chef Patrice Noviant est accompagné à partir de

1975 de l'architecte Jacques Lucan, partisan d'une critique formaliste, et le comité éditorial accueille bientôt une nouvelle génération, formée de jeunes architectes pour la plupart engagés dans la recherche et dans l'enseignement³⁷.

Ne fermant pas ses horizons internationaux, AMC fait écho en 1974 à la création de la revue américaine *Oppositions*. *Oppositions* développe une forme de critique, rapporte AMC en saluant la parution de sa consœur, fondée sur la critique de l'œuvre construite, critique qui «réaffirme l'histoire comme moyen de décrire et expliquer les relations édifices-idéologies³⁸». Fait significatif dans sa nouvelle orientation vers l'architecture comme «discipline», AMC accorde un large espace aux propos de Peter Eisenman qui insiste sur la séparation entre architecture et idéologie politique, entre architecture et contexte culturel et enfin, revient sur la séparation entre théorie et pratique aux États-Unis. Bien que les auteurs de l'entretien ne semblent pas entièrement souscrire à cette thèse, cette insistance sur l'autonomie de l'architecture arrive à un moment où la ligne éditoriale de AMC se recentre fortement sur le projet. Enfin, Eisenman questionne le rôle de l'histoire, dans la critique et la théorie, mais aussi et surtout dans la conception architecturale : «Est-ce important si nous gauchissons l'histoire pour découvrir des idées? Qu'est-ce que l'histoire sinon des ensembles de faits qui impliquent des jugements de valeurs que l'on utilise pour construire à partir de cet ensemble un objet?³⁹»

Critique et histoire

Cette remarque d'Eisenman sur l'histoire pourrait s'appliquer à l'usage qu'en fait à présent AMC dans ses colonnes. C'est une *histoire opératoire* au sens tafurien – dont Manfredo Tafuri a dénoncé le caractère instrumental dans *Théories et histoire de l'architecture*, en 1968 – que propose AMC, en 1974, lorsqu'elle instaure de nouvelles rubriques : «l'étude des architectures passées comme éléments de connaissance, de références pour aujourd'hui, comme éléments pour ridiculiser ou exalter l'actuel [...]; l'histoire comme élément majeur de toute compréhension d'aujourd'hui⁴⁰» (fig. 8). La publication d'articles à orientation historique devient plus fréquente au moment (1973-1974) de contestation des rénovations urbaines et de la destruction tantôt de tissus urbains, tantôt d'édifices du XIX^e siècle, comme la prison de la Petite Roquette (Hippolyte Le Bas, 1826-1836). Inaugurant la rubrique «Nostalgie» en mars 1974, à propos de cette prison, AMC met en relation valeur patrimoniale, valeur historique et valeur d'exemplarité typologique⁴¹. C'est son intérêt dans l'histoire des *types* architecturaux – un critère issu de l'analyse architecturale et non de l'histoire de l'art, argument important pour cette génération d'architectes impliqués dans la recherche architecturale –



8. Rubrique «Nostalgie», *Architecture Mouvement Continuité* 33 (1974), p. 75

qui justifierait l'accession d'un édifice au titre de patrimoine historique. Ainsi s'esquisse en outre une ébauche de relation entre typologie comme instrument de l'histoire architecturale, et patrimoine.

Mais quel peut être l'objectif de telles rubriques, qui revisitent des pans de l'histoire de l'architecture (notamment le XIX^e siècle, les années 1920 et 1930)? Outre la défense d'un patrimoine méconnu ou méprisé, outre la montée en puissance, en France, des analyses typo-morphologiques en provenance d'Italie, il s'agit dès 1974 de promouvoir l'«architecture urbaine». Ainsi, la défense de la prison de la Roquette renvoie au concours du même nom, qui marque l'entrée d'une génération d'architectes dans la profession et dans la presse spécialisée. L'histoire est donc, en partie, articulée à la défense d'une position doctrinale. Dès lors, AMC publie en effet de plus en plus de projets, et de plus en plus d'architecture française : la réhabilitation des grands ensembles, les concours d'architecture dans les villes nouvelles, puis la présentation des programmes expérimentaux lancés par les pouvoirs publics (Plan architecture nouvelle, PAN).

C'est une double ouverture qu'ont permise au seuil des années 1970 *L'AA* et *AMC* : ouverture sur l'étranger, nouveaux apports théoriques, dont certains à partir d'autres disciplines. Dans le contexte de la culture architecturale française de la fin des années 1960, cela a constitué une importante transformation du paysage de la publication. Mais la recherche d'une instrumentation théorique a-t-elle *in fine* imprégné les modalités du commentaire critique ? Prenons pour conclure deux exemples. Les deux revues ont proposé à plusieurs reprises des écrits de Roland Barthes ou de Françoise Choay sur l'application de la sémiologie à l'architecture. En 1975, la publication dans *AMC* à la suite du Congrès de Milan (1974) d'un important dossier « Sémiotique » signe à la fois le sommet et la fin de l'intérêt de la revue pour cette discipline⁴². Mais concrètement, la critique dans *AMC* ne recourt pas autant à la sémiologie que ne le laisserait penser la présence de tels dossiers. Hormis quelques tentatives, plutôt isolées jusqu'en 1975, d'analyses sémiologiques d'espaces urbains, on ne peut réellement parler d'approche sémiologique dans le texte critique. Second exemple, à partir du début des années 1970, la typo-morphologie est dans *L'AA* comme dans *AMC* le mode d'analyse le plus répandu de l'espace urbain. Des recherches italiennes, de nature essentiellement théorique, les auteurs et architectes français n'ont parfois retenu que l'analyse de la forme urbaine (et non celle de ses modes de production) pour l'appliquer de manière pragmatique au projet urbain⁴³. Dans les deux revues, la typo-morphologie est utilisée le plus souvent comme mode d'analyse de l'existant, préalable à la défense d'un patrimoine (patrimoine urbain, architecture mineure, bâtiments en marge de l'historiographie officielle) ou d'une position doctrinale : la promotion de l'« architecture urbaine », fondée sur une mise en cause radicale de l'urbanisme et de l'architecture fonctionnalistes. L'intégration des analyses typo-morphologiques dans le commentaire critique est plus difficile à cerner. Mais l'appropriation de ces instruments par la critique architecturale ne peut, en effet, s'effectuer sans détournements.

Le désir de « pluridisciplinarité », la juxtaposition de discours provenant de champs disciplinaires distincts, est, pendant cette période, en relation étroite avec l'effervescence dans l'enseignement, suite à l'éclatement de l'École des beaux-arts. De nombreux rédacteurs sont enseignants et les Unités pédagogiques d'architecture, qui tentent de définir le contenu de leur enseignement, font appel à différentes disciplines (sociologie, anthropologie, sémiologie, etc.), lesquelles sont tour à tour à l'honneur dans les deux périodiques. *L'AA* et plus encore *AMC* ont en outre contribué à faire entrer la recherche architecturale, alors en train de se constituer et de s'institutionnaliser en France, sur

la scène publique. Si toutes deux semblent parfois être un collage, foisonnant, parfois désordonné, mais souvent passionnant, de références théoriques juxtaposées à titre expérimental, elles n'ont en pas moins renouvelé, au seuil des années 1970, les contenus rédactionnels des revues françaises.

- 1 Pour une étude détaillée de cette période, voir Jean-Louis Violeau, *Les architectes et Mai 1968*, Paris, Éditions Recherches, 2005.
- 2 Une étude plus complète devrait s'attacher à reconstituer les réseaux d'acteurs.
- 3 Par exemple le dossier « Un siècle d'architecture », *L'AA*, n° 113-114 (avril-mai 1964), signé par Pierre Vago, Sigfried Giedion, Georges Candilis, Walter Gropius, André Bloc, Sybil Moholy-Nagy, Jacques Tournant.
- 4 André Bloc, ingénieur (École centrale de Paris) a préparé en 1929 un projet de revue intitulée *Construire* avec Marcel Eugène Cahen. Après le décès de ce dernier, le projet devient *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* et est dirigé par Bloc (qui reste directeur jusqu'à son décès en 1966); le premier numéro paraît en novembre 1930. Dans *Art d'Aujourd'hui* (juin 1949-décembre 1954), consacrée aux arts plastiques contemporains, Bloc défend l'idée de « fusion des arts », ce qu'il fait parallèlement dans le « Groupe Espace ». Continuité de la précédente, *Aujourd'hui, art et architecture* (janvier 1955-décembre 1967) dédie une place plus importante à la jeune architecture expérimentale ainsi qu'à la sculpture habitacle, démarche artistico-architecturale à laquelle se consacre Bloc qui, par ailleurs, collabore avec Claude Parent.
- 5 David Georges Emmerich (1925-1996), architecte ingénieur, a travaillé à partir de la morphogénèse et mis au point des dômes, des structures « auto-tendantes » et auto-stables, de forme polyédrique. Emmerich a joué un rôle important dans la conception de l'enseignement lors de la création des Unités pédagogiques.
- 6 En France, Henri-Pierre Maillard est l'un des représentants de cette démarche, qui se confirme dans les premiers PAN (Plan architecture nouvelle).
- 7 Françoise Choay, « Sémiologie et urbanisme », *L'AA*, n° 132 (juin-juillet 1967), p. 8-10.
- 8 Philippe Boudon, architecte, théoricien de l'« architecturologie », discipline dont les bases scientifiques sont les propres axiomes de l'architecture et ses propres concepts, fonde le Laboratoire d'architecturologie et de Recherches épistémologiques sur l'architecture en 1972, à l'Unité pédagogique d'architecture de Nancy. Dans la phase de fondation de cette épistémologie, il publie *Pessac de Le Corbusier* (Paris, Dunod, 1969), puis *Sur l'espace architectural, essai d'épistémologie de l'architecture* (Paris, Dunod, 1971) : ce dernier ouvrage définit l'architecture comme la « pensée de l'espace » et est la pierre angulaire de cette élaboration théorique.
- 9 Philippe Boudon, « Structure, espace et architecture », *AMC*, n° 1 (novembre 1967), p. 16.
- 10 *L'AA*, n° 158 (octobre-novembre 1971).
- 11 Marc Emery, architecte et critique, publie *Un siècle d'architecture moderne 1850-1950*, Paris, Horizons de France, 1971. Il est rédacteur en chef de *L'AA* d'avril 1968 à janvier 1973, puis de 1977 à 1986. Voir François Chaslin, « Les deux périodes Emery, d'un tournant l'autre », *L'AA*, n° 272 (décembre 1990), p. 182-184.
- 12 Pierre Vago, « Du chaos à l'espoir. Vers une architecture », *L'AA*, n° 158, (octobre-novembre 1971), p. 62.
- 13 Pierre Vago (1910-2002), architecte, rédacteur en chef de *L'AA* de 1930 à 1947, joue un rôle actif comme président du comité de rédaction et comme rédacteur jusqu'en 1975, date à laquelle ce comité démissionne pour désaccord avec le rédacteur en chef Bernard Huet (actif de 1974 à 1977) et contre la décision de M^{me} Bloc de vendre la revue au groupe de presse Technic Union (Expansion). Pour ces différents épisodes, voir Rémi Baudouï, « D'hier à aujourd'hui », *L'AA*, n° 272 (décembre 1990), p. 61-76.
- 14 *L'AA*, n° 117 (novembre 1964-janvier 1965).
- 15 Alexandre Persitz (1910-1975), architecte, élève d'Auguste Perret, partage la rédaction en chef avec André Bloc de 1947 à 1964.
- 16 Pierre Joly (1925-1992) critique d'art et d'architecture dans *Le Jardin des Arts* et *L'Œil* ainsi que photographe. Michel Ragon (1924), écrivain, critique d'art et d'architecture; Gérald Gassiot-Talabot (1929-2002), critique dans *Aujourd'hui, Cimaïse et Art international*, s'insurge dans ces pages de *L'AA* contre une critique architecturale principalement tenue par les historiens d'art.
- 17 Julius Posener (1904-1996) architecte allemand, correspondant de *L'AA* pour l'Allemagne et l'un des rédacteurs principaux de la revue.
- 18 Voir Louis Martin, « Analogie ou modèle? Architecture et langage dans l'œuvre de Peter Collins », dans Irena Latek (dir.), *Peter Collins et l'histoire de l'architecture moderne*, Montréal, IRHA, 2002, p. 45-55.
- 19 Peter Collins, « The Interrelated Roles of History, Theory and Criticism in the Process of Architectural Design », dans Marcus Whiffen (dir.), *The History, Theory and Criticism of Architecture - Papers from the 1964 AIA-ACSA Teacher Seminar*, Cambridge (Mass.), MIT Press, 1965, p. 1. Nous soulignons.
- 20 *AMC* se présente à la fois comme une nouvelle publication et comme une « suite » du *Bulletin de la S.A.D.G., Société des Architectes Diplômés par le Gouvernement* : son premier numéro affiche « n° 1 » à côté de la numérotation continue du *Bulletin*.
- 21 Boudon et Sarfati forment le duo de la rédaction en chef du n° 1 (novembre 1967) au n° 11 (janvier 1969) inclus.
- 22 *AMC*, n° 1 (*Bulletin de la SADG*, n° 161), novembre 1967, n. p., signé A.S. (Alain Sarfati). Nous soulignons.
- 23 Voir Louis Martin, « The Search for a Theory in Architecture : Anglo-American Debates, 1957-1976 », thèse de doctorat, Princeton University, Princeton, N.Y., 2002, 4 vol., 902 p.
- 24 Philippe Boudon, Hubert Damisch et Philippe Deshayes, *Analyse du Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle*, par E. Viollet-le-Duc, Paris, AREA, 1978, 237 p. Cette recherche repose sur l'hypothèse, posée par Hubert Damisch dans l'introduction à E. Viollet-le-Duc, *L'architecture raisonnée* (Paris, Hermann, 1964), que le *Dictionnaire* s'accorde aux principes du structuralisme.
- 25 Philippe Boudon, « Éditorial », *AMC*, n° 1 (novembre 1967).
- 26 Lettre de Philippe Boudon à Louis-Georges Noviant (président de la SADG), « Tribune libre », *AMC*, n° 12 (mars 1969), p. 26. Cette démission a pour cause les fortes divergences sur la politique éditoriale depuis l'instauration d'un comité de rédaction qui tend à évacuer de la revue les « autres » disciplines. Du n° 14 (juillet 1969) au n° 29 (1973, date de la nomination d'un nouveau rédacteur en chef, Patrice Noviant), les contenus rédactionnels traduisent une reprise en main par la SADG.
- 27 Albert Laprade (1883-1978), représentant d'un modernisme empreint tantôt de régionalisme (reconstruction de Valenciennes, de Gournay en Bray), tantôt de langage classique (Musée des Colonies, Paris, 1927-1931), voire monumental (Annexe de la Préfecture de Paris, 1956-1960).
- 28 Voir Hélène Jannièrre, *Politiques éditoriales et architecture moderne. L'émergence de nouvelles revues en France et en Italie, 1923-1939*, Paris, Arguments, 2002.
- 29 Hubert Tonka, Jean Aubert, Jean Baudrillard, Jungmann, Antoine Stinco; le groupe est proche des thèses situationnistes. Voir Jean Baudrillard, *À propos d'Utopie*, précédé de *L'architecture dans la critique radicale*, par Jean-Louis Violeau, Paris, Sens et Tonka, 2005.
- 30 Jérôme Monod, « L'aménagement du territoire : une morale de l'avenir », *L'AA*, n° 132 (juin-juillet 1967), p. 20-22.
- 31 Bernard Huet (1932-2001), architecte (ENSBA, atelier Louis Arretche) et critique, a suivi l'enseignement de Louis Kahn à Yale de 1963 à 1965; profondément engagé dans

- la refonte de l'enseignement, il est fondateur de l'Atelier collégial avant la fin de l'École des beaux-arts puis de l'Unité pédagogique n° 8.
- 32 Jean Castex, Philippe Panerai, « Notes sur la structure de l'espace urbain », *L'AA*, n° 53 (décembre 1970-janvier 1971), p. 30-33.
 - 33 Voir Institut de l'environnement, *Histoire et théories de l'architecture. Rencontres pédagogiques 17-20 juin 1974*, Paris, Institut de l'environnement - CEDRA - Documentation internationale pour la recherche architecturale, 1975, 237 p. L'Institut de l'environnement est un institut de recherche sur l'architecture et la ville, créé en 1969 sous la tutelle du ministère des Affaires culturelles.
 - 34 Bernard Huet, « Le nouveau voyage au bout de la nuit », *Cahier pédagogique*, n° 2, Institut de l'environnement, s. d. (1974), p. 17-18.
 - 35 C'est l'analyse de Jean-Pierre Le Dantec, « La période Huet, une entreprise critique », *L'AA*, n° 272 (décembre 1990), p. 174-179. Pour une analyse historique des « années Huet », voir Valérie Devillard, *Architecture et communication. Les médiations architecturales dans les années 1980*, Paris, Éditions Panthéon-Assas, 2000, p. 288-303.
 - 36 Patrice Noviant, « La régression californienne ou la réification du mythe Christopher Alexander, une conférence », *AMC*, n° 38 (1976), p. 73.
 - 37 Jacques Lucan apparaît dans l'« ours » à partir du n° 36, 1975; parallèlement au comité formé de membres de la SADG, prend place en 1977 un « conseil de la rédaction » qui regroupe Olivier Girard, Jean-Patrick Fortin, Antoine Grumbach, Jean-Paul Lesterlin, Jean-Louis Cohen, Pierre Saddy.
 - 38 *AMC*, n° 35 (décembre 1974), p. 33.
 - 39 « Entretien avec Peter Eisenman », *AMC*, n° 41 (mars 1977), p. 66-76.
 - 40 « Architecture avec histoire / Architecture sans histoire », *AMC*, n° 34 (juillet 1974), n.p.
 - 41 Pierre Saddy, « La prison de la petite Roquette », *AMC*, n° 33 (mars 1974), p. 87.
 - 42 Dans ce dossier, plusieurs auteurs, dont Françoise Choay, évoquent également l'« échec » de la sémiologie architecturale.
 - 43 C'est l'analyse de Jean-Louis Cohen qui a souligné qu'en France, l'appropriation des recherches théoriques italiennes sur la typologie et la morphologie urbaine traduisait tantôt des enrichissements (Christian Devillers et Henri Raymond, qui croisent le discours théorique italien avec la notion de « modèle culturel » apportée par ce dernier auteur à la fin des années 1960), tantôt quelques détournements dans l'application opératoire au processus de projet. Jean-Louis Cohen, *La coupure entre architectes et intellectuels et les enseignements de l'italophilie*, coll. « In Extensio », n° 1, Paris, École d'architecture Paris-Villemin, 1984, p. 235-236.

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