WHOSE MODERNISM?

— 5. ALVAR AALTO RESEARCHERS' NETWORK SEMINAR 14.–15.6.2023 PROCEEDINGS

ALVAR AALTO

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WHOSE MODERNISM?

FOREWORD

Whose Modernism? makes interesting reading. The papers appear at first sight to have no connection to each other or the theme itself. But on closer scrutiny, this is shown not to be the case. Modern aspects of society creep into the reader's mind, one case after another. Some of us were afraid that the theme of *Whose Modernism?* would be too wide and that it might be impossible to form thematic groups for the seminar in Jyväskylä. In a way, this is what has happened – but we're not sorry that it has. Now we have a lineup of speakers from many different fields, practices, scopes and even continents. This proves to be the salt of this reading.

One shouldn't worry about the feeling of "And now for something completely different!" It's OK to feel that way. Just think about the fact that these texts were sent first as abstracts and then as papers selected for inclusion in the Alvar Aalto Researchers' Network Seminar posing the question: Whose Modernism are we talking about?

The different *moderns* are also nicely presented. It's not self-evident what we mean when talking about modern things or modern society. What is evident is that now we have a forum where all these different aspects are welcome, to join in discussions and get togethers amidst inspiring surroundings with a lot of Aalto architecture.

I want to express my special thanks to the keynote-speakers: architectural historian, critic and teacher Joan Ockman; architect and professor of architecture and design Ruth Verde Zein, and film director Klaus Härö; as well as to the almost 40 paper presenters from around the world, together with all the other contributors of both the event and the publication.

This year, 2023, marks various anniversaries and celebrations: 125 years since the birth of Alvar Aalto, 90 years since the completion of the Paimio Sanatorium, 90 years since the unveiling of the Artek Stool number 60, 50 years since the opening of the Alvar Aalto Museum in Jyväskylä and the opening to the public this year of the Aalto2 Museum Centre.

I hope you enjoy reading the proceedings of the fifth Alvar Aalto Researchers' Network Seminar!

Tommi Lindh, CEO Alvar Aalto Foundation

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WHOSE MODERNISM?

INTENT

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BEHIND AN IRON CURTAIN: WORKING IN AALTO

Ruth Baumeister

Prelude

The office building as we know it today is a paradigmatic typology of the 20th century. For modern architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Mies van der Rohe, Gio Ponti, Arne Jacobsen and Alvar Aalto, among others, it served as a testing ground for the conceptual as well as the technical and material innovations of their time. Alone in Helsinki after WWII, Aalto was involved in the design of six office buildings, the Finnish Engineers Association Building, (1948-53), Rautatalo, (1952-55), Kela, (1953-57), Enso-Gutzeit building, (1959-62), Nordea Bank, (1960-65) and Helsinki City Electricity Company, (1965-76). Some of them today are considered to be icons of modernism and I would like to argue that these buildings – including the workplaces they contain – attest to 'the hopes that belied and were pinned to modernism', as mentioned in this conference call for papers. At the same time, when it comes to the question who these buildings were made for, they incorporate some of the pitfalls modernism is criticised for today.

Rautatalo – meaning 'Iron House' – the office building originally built for the Finish Hardware Dealers' Federation, will be subject to further scrutiny here.

The Power of the Source

We know many of Aalto's office buildings from publications or history lessons – with the exception perhaps of the Kela customers office structure, the workspaces they provided remained largely unknown. This article presents photographs of workplaces at Rautatalo and hereby aims to shed light on the daily life of clerks working there. The Aalto Foundation archives holds over 1200 catalogued photographs of Rautatalo, celebrating its copper façade with the elegant entrance, its inner courtyard with upper galleries and skylights, the fountain and the restaurant with furniture, appliances and lamps all designed by Aalto. Even though the major part of this building consists of offices, there is only a handful of images showing offices. Moreover, the few photographs depicting offices which sometimes pop up in publications are misleading, because they either show the director´s office only or workplaces of the Artek design department, which was then housed under the roof

of the building. Neither one is representative of how the majority of clerks worked in the building. In this respect, Rautatalo is representative of post-war office architecture: the daily work life was and to a large extend still is subject to interest of social scientists, rather than architects.

Behind an Iron Curtain

The Helsinki City archives hold a number of photographs attributed to Aarne Pietinen Ltd. picturing office life at Rautatalo, and thus revealing interesting details of the working conditions there during the 1950s. Even though the offices appear anachronistic at first sight today, at their time they were highly innovative. Other than the typical 19th century office, which often resembled a factory with long rows of clerks working in large poorly lit spaces, not specifically designed for the work performed in it, Aalto's offices were airy and bright. The atmosphere was friendly for a good reason: the modern office had to offer pleasant working conditions in order to fight fatigue, which was identified as the major problem among office workers by scientific management at the turn to the 20th century.

Another demand for the composition of spaces was flexibility and Rautatalo's grid, free façade and open floor plan provided that. Instead of having to share one large open, noisy space, clerks sat in smaller compartments, divided by lightweight partition walls with glass elements, providing visual connections between them and making the smaller units appear bigger. Flexibility was granted as this system of walls consisting of plasterboard on a wooden frame was directly mounted on the linoleum floor and allowed for a quick change of setup anytime. The fact that such a layered system would enable easy refurbishment every time a new client moves in and by doing so nurture endless amounts of waste is, we came to realise today, a major downside of its flexibility.

The furniture at Rautatalo was chosen to fit the task performed in them most efficiently. The typist workstation, for example, was organized in such a way that no time was wasted when switching between different working tasks. Only a single turn was necessary to move from an action performed on the large desk over to the typewriter on the smaller desk on the right-hand side. The wooden office chair was adjustable in the back and in height. Some more relaxing chairs for visitors were added where needed but other than that there was no superfluous loose furniture or any kind of bric-à-brac that would distract from working. A wicker wastepaper basket under the desk was the only movable accessory, with no other objects that could serve to personalize the workplace. Roll-on cabinets would make sure that no

open door would block the way in the economically dimensioned circulation space. Office design must be understood against the background of management pressure to increase efficiency and precisely therefore, it was not subject to the design of the director's office.

The director enjoyed a generously dimensioned, single space office, with a meeting room attached. The later could be closed off with a curtain, in order to provide privacy. On the wall behind the director's desk was a custom-made, built-in cabinet and shelf unit providing space for storage and displays. His large desk and movable, chrome chair with black leather seating was less about fighting fatigue than providing comfort and showing his status. This office, apart from the workstation and the meeting space, also offered a sofa, two lounge chairs and a sofa table. It provided space and furniture for all kinds of (work) situations, ranging from concentrated working at the desk, talks with a visitor or employer, to larger, relaxed discussions, all the way to stretching out comfortably on the sofa. Several paintings – creating a legacy, as they most probably picture some of his predecessors – provide the room with a sense of dignity in the otherwise sparsely decorated but clearly representational office. Undoubtedly, office work at Rautatalo was hierarchically organized: the higher in rank, the more comfort and space, the more exquisite the furniture. All this came with the possibility to personalize the workspace. Contrary to the typists' anonymous, standardized, efficiently organized workstation, the executive office was more domestic and personalized. Clerks were anonymous and could be replaced anytime. Contrary to that, the director's office had to represent his individuality, and his standard of luxury, comfort and space attested to his individuality and exquisite taste. All of that was aimed to impress other businessmen.

The Gendered Office

Office work during the 1950s was segregated and that is also reflected in the workspaces at Rautatalo. Men held director´s and supervising positions, while women worked as typists. Even though the workspaces seem to be designed according to purely functional principles, the table size, for example, is not necessarily equivalent to the amount of work that is done at it. One of the photos shows the workstations of six typists arranged in two rows of three each in an open-space office with five women working there. At the end of the two rows is the desk of the male supervisor. From his position, he can observe the women working but the women do not see him, unless they stop working and turn around, which they are not supposed to. His superior status reveals itself not only in the positioning of his workplace in the open-space office, but also in his furniture. The chair is upholstered, more comfortable, it

allows him to lean back while the women's wooden chair, specifically designed for office work, requires them to sit up straight. Each of the typists' workstations is reduced to the absolute minimum. The standard 19th century clerk's desk had a high back with small drawers and pigeon-holes in it, which could sometimes even be rolled up and locked. It represented a small private domain, behind which the clerk could hide when tired, and in the drawers, papers that were not proceeded on one day could be stored for the next day. At Rautatalo though, the typists' desks did not offer any of such privacy; on the contrary, they guaranteed a maximum of exposure. These desks were not foreseen to store any work, but are places to make the quickest turnover of business papers. If a clerk could not keep up with the work pace, it would immediately show as the papers would pile up on the table. Privacy was a privilege that was reserved for those who were in power. The positioning of the supervisor in the office and the windows in the walls between the offices enabled a maximum of control. Even small pleasures such as taking a short break and smoking a cigarette was reserved for men only, as ash trays, at least in the photos, are exclusively positioned in the male domain.

1. Office work at the Rautatalo Office Building, late 1950's. Photo: Pietinen Aarne Oy, Helsinki City Museum.

2. Artek Design department at the Rautatalo Office Building, ca. 1959. Photo Pietinen Aarne Oy, Archive Aalto Foundation.

3. Typists at the Rautatalo Office Building, 1958. Photo: Pietinen Aarne Oy, Helsinki City Museum.

4. Director´s office at Rautatalo, 1958, Director of the Rautakonttori Oy, Mr Viljo Peltonen. Photo: Pietinen Aarne Oy, Helsinki City Museum.

5. Meeting Room adjunct to Director´s office at the Rautatalo Office Building ca. 1955.
Photo: Pietinen Aarne Oy, Helsinki City Museum.

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CLASSLESS HOLIDAYS: THE ENI VILLAGE IN THE DOLOMITES

Viola Corbari

President of the Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI) from 1953 to 1962, Enrico Mattei was one of the most significant entrepreneurs in post-war Italy. During his management period, Mattei invested in architecture and design in order to project a solid image of the state-owned company he directed, intertwining this policy with a social program for his employees. In addition to the creation of residential villages near workplaces[1] and the management of colonies for workers' children,[2] the Corte di Cadore Social Village marks the apex of his social program.

The vision that functioned as the core idea of the project is well expressed by an incisive sentence by Mattei: "*My collaborators, from managers to workers, must be able to say: I'm going to spend my holidays in Cortina* D'Ampezzo,"[3] The goal was to allow all ENI employees, regardless of class, the opportunity to spend their holidays in one of the most exclusive sites in the Dolomite mountains. In 1954 Mattei commissioned this ambitious operation from Edoardo Gellner, who was involved in the overall planning of the village, from the choice of the site, to the general layout, up to the design of the buildings and interior furnishings.

It was the dawn of the Italian economic boom – an era during which a vision of middle-class prosperity began to take shape, through the diffusion of the automobile and television, and, notably, by the spread of holidays, which became a collective ritual. Within a few years, this revolution spurred the growth of new tourist typologies conceived as self-sufficient worlds surrounded by nature: tourist villages. Despite its eminently social ambition, Corte di Cadore thus found itself anticipating themes that would become typical of these new profit-driven holiday locations: the research of relationships between architecture and landscape, the proposal of a reconciliatory contact with nature, and the offer of an informal sociability capable of erasing – albeit temporarily – class differences.

Nature, urban structure and social organization: mutual relationships

In the search for the most suitable site for the ENI Village, Gellner identified an area along the slopes of Monte Antelao, above the town of Borca di Cadore. Dubbed "a den of vipers" by locals,[4] the rocky expanse enjoys hours of daily sunlight from its exposure, but has remained sparsely timbered after deforestation during the First World War. Gellner's first intervention found inspiration from German landscaping: masses of earth from the valley floor are grafted into the "den of vipers" to adjust soil humidity and prompt the gradual regrowth of the once-luxuriant pinewood.

Mattei envisioned a residential hub of single-family houses forming the core of the village, and Gellner initially feared that such a scattered distribution of homes would look like "a camp,"[5] and intrude too much on the natural landscape. To avoid this effect, Gellner proposed at first a complex of compact, terraced housing, which Mattei resolutely rejected. In fact, the president wanted the houses to be randomly assigned – so that managers can be neighbors with workers – and he believed a certain independence between housing units is essential for this to work: "the village must achieve an associated, but at the same time autonomous, coexistence."[6]

The quality of life, the relationship of the houses with the surrounding nature, the balance between privacy and community life were a central theme in the dialogues between Gellner and Mattei.[7] The issue about the architectural density of Corte was derived from these questions, which were recurring for architecture of tourism in modernity. The ENI village thus anticipated the tension of "concentration vs rarefaction",[8] concerning the relationship between architectural settlements and the natural landscape as well as the type of sociality underlying the project.

Gellner's ultimate design adhered to Mattei's initial idea. He distributed the villas within the pine landscape, inserting them on the contour lines of the mountain, preserving the existing vegetation – taking care not to disturb even "certain crippled and undergrown Scotch pines"[9] – and rock formations. In this, Gellner was inspired by some examples of Northern European "townscaping" projects.[10] Within a few years, the now-luxuriant forest would incorporate the villas, guaranteeing the privacy desired by Mattei and dispelling Gellner's fears about the visual impact on the landscape.[11]

The village expanded in various phases over the next ten years, dividing itself into a colony for children, a campsite with fixed tents for youngsters, and two hotels for singles, as well as the 270 small villas for families. Bigger buildings were positioned

in depression points of the land further below, such that the settlement recedes into, rather than dominates, the landscape. At the symbolic fulcrum of Corte, the church of Santa Maria del Cadore – designed in collaboration with Carlo Scarpa – is similarly inserted into the landscape with scenographic accuracy: "it was not placed at the top of the existing hill, but alongside it [...] the hill, together with the vegetation of pines, junipers and undergrowth, constitutes the integration and background element of the church itself."[12]

Despite their functional diversification, the different architectures of Corte di Cadore found a common compositional denominator that facilitated their integration into the surrounding environment. In fact, Gellner deliberately contaminated the modernist language with elements of the mountain tradition: local materials such as stone and wood recur in the various buildings, and the exposed concrete features rough finishes "to create a certain analogy with the rocks of the Antelao."[13]

Gellner further realized the need to make Corte not only an autonomous center – the village had been equipped with essential services – but also attractive and vital. To Mattei, he proposed a dedicated Service Center distributed across four squares beneath the church. He imagined this as "an environment [where] vacationers feel at ease, as in a place that has drawn its origins from a natural development over time: like any village square formed spontaneously."[14] Although the Service Center would remain unrealized as a result of the sudden death of Enrico Mattei in 1962, its design had prescience. Specifically, the desire to "hide the artifice" with a social hub redolent of small towns anticipates the strategies adopted in the 1960s by the tourist villages of the Valtur company, which would incorporate alleys, small squares and other typical elements of historic villages.[15]

From the social village to the tourist village

Buoyed by his success at Corte di Cadore, Mattei undertook to construct a marine equivalent in the early 1960s, purchasing hundreds of hectares in the coastal area of Pugnochiuso in southern Italy. However, the project's idealistic goals were quickly abandoned in favour of profit motive at the death of the entrepreneur. The Pugnochiuso village – managed on behalf of ENI by the SEMI Company – was directed at attracting an elite clientele and included no provisions for the use of ENI employees.[16]

In 1966, SEMI also took over the management of Corte di Cadore. In December that same year, despite opposition from local associations and the Borca di Cadore municipality,[17] SEMI inaugurated the village's first paid tourist season, deemed nec-

essary to meet the huge costs of the mountain site. The brochure advertising the "Borca di Cadore tourist village"[18] was translated into several languages, underscoring the desire to attract international tourism and highlighting the proximity to the renowned ski resort of Cortina.

Despite internal ENI commissions' call for a political intervention to "restore those civil conditions through which state companies must represent an instrument of consolidation of social justice",[19] the "Mattei era" was definitively over, and so too its social policy, which amalgamated his egalitarian principles with the new model of modernity and middle-class prosperity.

The contemporary disjointed village

The village of Borca di Cadore, owned by the Minoter company since 2000, presents today a far less unitary reality than its initial conception. While the colony has hosted the Progetto Borca since 2014 – which promotes the former village through cultural events, artistic residencies and guided tours – the cottages are still rented by tourists in the high season, and the campsite is used for children's school holidays.

The former ENI Village embodies today a unique cultural heritage site, an extraordinary example of a social utopia that intercepted the nascent need for holiday time in the postwar period and, by doing so, anticipated crucial issues of modern tourist architecture.

References

1 The first city for workers, built in 1952, was Metanopoli. See Dorothea Deschermeier, *Impero Eni. L'architettura aziendale e l'urbanistica di Enrico Mattei* (Bologna: Damiani, 2009).

2 The marine colony of Cesenatico.

3 Archivio Eni, interview of Paolo Dina, October 6, 1989, Fund n.21, 4.

4 Michele Merlo, *Edoardo Gellner. Quasi un diario*, (Roma: Gangemi, 2008), p.81.

5 Merlo, *Edoardo Gellner,* 84.

6 Merlo, *Edoardo Gellner,* 85.

7 The decisions concerning the village are agreed directly by Mattei and Gellner, skipping the company's pyramid practices. Merlo, *Edoardo Gellner*.

8 Pisana Posocco speaks about the oscillation between the concentration and rarefaction as a recurring theme in modern architecture for tourism in Pisan Posocco, *Progettare la vacanza* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2017) 64.

9 Merlo, *Edoardo Gellner,* 87.

10 Gellner looked for potential references abroad: “in Denmark and Sweden, I saw something interesting [...] above all in the relationship with nature”. Archivio Eni, interview to Edoardo Gellner, 9 November 1989, Fund n.37, 14.

11 Thirty years later, Gellner wrote: ”Given the great development of the vegetation, today the village has in a certain sense disappeared”. Merlo, *Edoardo Gellner,* 82.

12 Archivio Eni, interview to Edoardo Gellner, 9 November 1989, Fund n.37, 43.

13 Archivio Eni, interview to Edoardo Gellner, 9 November 1989, Fund n.37 24.

14 Archivio Eni, report on the Service Center by Edoardo Gellner, December 1955.

15 Valtur’s strategies are explained in the interviews with the designers of the villages, see: “Due insediamenti turistici nel Mezzogiorno,” *L’architettura, cronache e storia*, 175 (1970).

16 Pugnochiuso is described in V. Corbari, *Domesticated Wilderness. Pietro Porcinai and the ENI holiday village in Pugnochiuso*, in: Mauro Marzo, Viviano Ferrario, Viola Bertini (eds.), *Between Sense of Time and Sense of Place: Designing Heritage Tourism* (Siracusa: LetteraVentidue, 2022), 776-783.

17 Archivio Eni, newspaper articles, Envelope 316.

18 The village changes its official name, losing the reference to the Cortemaggiore oil field.

19 Archivio Eni, Envelope 316.

1. The barren and deforested area chosen as the site for the first lots of villas in Corte di Cadore, late 1950s. Archivio Storico Eni.

2. A house in the Corte di Cadore Social Village. Archivio Storico Eni.

3. The development of the woods surrounding the villas in a photograph by Edoardo Gellner. Archivio Progetti, Fondo Gellner, Venezia

4. Edoardo Gellner and Enrico Mattei during the first inspection in Corte di Cadore, 1955. Archivio Progetti, Fondo Gellner, Venezia.

5. Cover of the brochure for the first season of the Borca di Cadore tourist village, 1966. Archivio Storico Eni.

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WHAT WAS MODERN ABOUT THE HYGIENIC STYLE?

Eva Eylers

Introduction

The tuberculosis sanatorium emerged during the second half of the 19th century to counteract the threat of TB,[1] which had spread at an alarming speed in wide parts of Europe. With the 19th century conviction that industrialized cities were true breeding grounds for the disease, there also came the theory that there were places of health outside of the city. The medical theory of the "immune place" served as the impetus for the development of the sanatorium, which, as the "place of health", was to be situated in natural surroundings, ideally the dry air of an unspoilt mountain region.[2]

As with many buildings that were needed in the course of the industrialisation, this medical institution had been without precedent and thus without a typological model, which encouraged experimentation.[3] The first medical institution dedicated solely to the cure of tuberculosis was Dr. Brehmer's[4] sanatorium in the Silesian village of Görbersdorf (1854) (today Sokolowsko in Poland). The distinctly modern, functional internal arrangement was masked by an exuberant neo-gothic facade, establishing a contrast between the building's interior and exterior. By the late 1920s, however, the "hygienic style" was coined the most appropriate formal expression for the sanatorium, the best means to restore the health of the body. The dichotomy between interior and exterior had been seemingly resolved. But was the "hygienic style" – as was claimed – indeed purely a product of medical requirements and scientific demands?

Johannes Duiker's "Zonnestraal" (1928) in the Netherlands and Alvar Aalto's "Paimio" (1929-33) are two of the style's most iconic representatives. Both became symptomatic of later sanatoria, but also almost synonymous for the look of modern architecture. First described by Duiker as "sanitary in its basic construction, execution and interior arrangement",[5] the hygienic style was said to be more than just another "style". It was declared as being scientifically justified, the functional outcome of a medical demand and thus to foster and enable for "physical and (even) mental wellbeing".[6]

This paper will challenge this narrative through a comparison with the Beelitz Heilstätten, a late 19th-century sanatorium complex close to Berlin.

Since TB was a highly infectious and deadly disease and there was no pharmaceutical cure available until the 1940s, the sanatorium had been created to strengthen the patients' defence against the infection and thus enable them healthy living in general. The principles of hygiene,[7] which were then associated with isolation and disinfection on the one hand and exposure of the body to sun and fresh air on the other, became essential in the formation of the sanatorium building type.

The use of the terrace system and the generous fenestration, as well as the spatial organisation, strictly separating the service structures from the patients' areas, together with the general importance paid to washable and therefore smooth, un-ornamented, and light-coloured surfaces, were already employed in the very first sanatoria, where often a distinctly modern interior was hiding behind neo gothic walls.

Already with Dr. Brehmer's "Görbersdorf" we find the beginnings of a practice that used the façade firstly to communicate the understanding of the institution as, for example, "the castle of the sick worker" and secondly as a surface to apply whatever was then the most fashionable style, since the building had to be trusted in providing an up-to-date and effective cure against the lung disease.

We can identify here two moments that present a rupture, since they differ fundamentally from the tradition of the rather random adaptation of facade "styles" and represent instead a unique and experimental approach:

One such moment would certainly be the use of the "hygienic style": here the discrepancy in aesthetic appearance between the interior and the exterior has been resolved.

The second moment, dating about 30 years earlier, was the use of the "Beelitz Style", where we still find this discrepancy but where – as opposed to the hygienic style – for the first time for the first time both the interior arrangement and facade served the same overall function, the patient's cure.

The "Beelitz Heilstätten" were built between 1898 and 1930 in the south of Berlin by a state insurance company.[8] Planned to host more than 1200 patients, the large complex provided its own infrastructure, from a central heating and electricity plant to growing its own food, and became almost independent from the outside world.

What I would like to call the "Beelitz Style" was a peculiar mixture of English Country house and German Heimat Style introduced during the first building phase of the complex, under architects Schmieden and Boethke in around 1900.

The Beelitz pavilions were up to 150 m in length. Yet, the fact that they were only three storeys high and employed a specific colour scheme allowed them to blend modestly with their surroundings. The park-landscape, which was supposed to play an active role in the therapy, was thus staged and complemented by the buildings and not dominated by them. The combination of romantic landscape and architecture included the use of a pitched roof, cast-iron balcony details,[9] exposed timber framing, and glazed colour brickwork.

Beelitz presented its patients with a somehow familiar environment, if of a different scale, which could be associated with being rooted in a domestic German, pre-industrial past.

As opposed to most of its predecessors, the Beelitz buildings lacked representative quality. Instead, there was an attempt to adapt to the woodland and blend in with the surroundings, which allowed the buildings and park to be read and experienced as a unity. The experience of this unity, this counter draft to the modern city life, should invite the patients to engage and find consolidation with nature, which had been supposedly disrupted by their previous life in the metropolis. The Beelitz style can therefore be regarded as functional or modern since it took the role of an active element in the curing process, an active therapeutic environment.

Yet it was the ”hygienic style”, first used in the Zonnestraal sanatorium, which was at the time promoted[10] as fundamentally progressive and “true” to the respective functional requirements, as the logic architectural outcome of the demands of medical sciences. The advantage of the hygienic style was readily apparent: it mirrored the “look” of the inside on the outside and gave the sanatorium the most modern and progressive appearance. The white plain facades became a sign for the building to be imbued with its function. Yet, if this function was purely to provide the most hygienic environment, there was no need for the facade to take on any particular colour or form.

Far from being the necessary formal outcome of an overall (hygienic) building concept, the hygienic style served, as I see it, mainly two strategic purposes:

First, it had to make the “interior readable” and radiate an image of correct, healthy living and thus educate a wider public.

Second, it had to demonstrate a certain socio-political endeavour (be it for specific trade unions [as in the case of Zonnestraal]) or a young national government (as in the case of Paimio).

But most certainly there was no medical reason for whitewashing, tiling and smoothing the building's outside shell. Although the medical theory and the demand to enable the patient's close engagement with the natural surroundings had not changed over time, the relationship between building and nature changed significantly through the use of the hygienic style. From Beelitz to Zonnestraal to Paimio we see an increasing degree of independence from the ground and the involvement with nature.

Where in Beelitz we find a number of 'attractions' placed along the extensive system of walkways through the surrounding woodland – from the daybed cure pavilions and opportunities to play games to especially created views – which helped to integrate the building with its environment, Paimio presents us with a cross-country ski-track-like walkway 'zigzagging formally toward the forest and arbitrarily circling around a series of small round pools'.[11] Maximising its length on the favourable south side of the complex, the path appears to be an efficient extension to the building rather than an attempt to engage the site.

In the case of Zonnestraal, the patient was still encouraged to walk to the workshops – dedicated to the occupational therapy – which were spread around in the surrounding woodlands. Within the daily routine, however, it is here less the engagement and more the view of nature which is provided for.

But while Zonnestraal still keeps the patients in contact with the ground (though a small wall carefully protects them from rolling onto it), Paimio renounces the ground floor access for the patients altogether and, instead, makes them look at nature from the 7th floor roof-terrace or from a carefully designed window frame. In Paimio, which actually was "designed from the view of the reclining patient", the body is placed more and more in a receptive position within the medical machine. Despite the extensive fenestration, the building inhibits direct communication with nature, which is increasingly filtered and internalized. The building at this point does it all – even substituting for the lacking winter sun through the yellow staircase.[12]

By enabling a complicated and ambiguous relationship with the surroundings – promoting the idea of opening up while at the same time distancing itself from any particular site – the hygienic style supported the sanatorium's endeavour to become a perfected medical and universal machine, radiating an image of a healthy life.

Conclusion

Promoted at the time as the ”non stylistic product”[13] of rationally addressing medical needs by means of modern technology, the “hygienic style” had in fact little to do with being the logical outcome of the overall building concept. In terms of the curing process, it played as much (or little) a role as the neo gothic style had done previously and was certainly less scientifically justifiable than the “Beelitz style”, which can be regarded as an active element in the curing process.

With the implementation of the hygienic style, which became associated with the modern sanatorium per se the previous complexity, the close link between building and site, as developed at the Beelitz sanatorium was abandoned. This understanding led the original sanatorium idea itself ad absurdum, but prepared the path for future architectural experimentation and ultimately turned the sanatorium into ‘an ideal project on which to demonstrate the principles of Functionalism’.[14]

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1 Tuberculosis or TB is a disease caused by a bacterium (“Mycobacterium Tuberculosis”). The disease can affect not only various parts of the body – the bones, intestines, and also the skin – but ultimately all organs and bodily systems. In the context of this article, I am referring to the most widespread form of the disease, the form to be predominantly treated within the sanatorium, namely pulmonary tuberculosis.

2 See Eva Eylers, “Planning the Nation: the sanatorium movement in Germany,” *Journal of Architecture* 19, no. 5 (2014): 667-92: www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13602365.2014.966587.

3 Not having to relate to an immediate architectural or urban context provided an opportunity for the sanatorium to become a space of experimentation, in terms of spatial organisation and testing different systems for communal life, but also in terms of formal expression, which led to its formative role for modern European architecture.

4 Having witnessed during his medical studies the catastrophic health conditions in Berlin, and having himself conquered TB during a stay in the Himalayan mountains, physician Hermann Brehmer (1826–1889) developed the theory of the “immune place”, which led to the attempt to actually cure the disease. Brehmer claimed that TB was curable if treated with a specific therapy (which became later known as the “dietetic hygienic therapy”) and in a particular, beneficial surrounding.

5 C.A. Alberts and E.J. Jelles, *Duiker 1890 – 1935* (Amsterdam: Architectura et amicitial, 1976), 60.

6 Le Corbusier defined the Zonnestraal as an “exemplary monument of the spirit of his epoch”, its reinforced concrete skeleton structure, its “machinistic aesthetics, hygiene, neatness and transparency” as the characteristics of a totally modern architecture.” W. de Jonge, M. Casciato, “Johannes Duiker e il costruire funzionalista,” *Casabella* 562, (November 1989): 61.

7 “Hygiene” not only concerns the practice and principles of cleanliness but also “that department of knowledge or practice which relates to the maintenance of health; a system of principles or rules preserving or promoting health.” *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

8 The “Landes Versicherungsanstalt Brandenburg“ built the sanatorium complex in order to diminish the severe financial losses caused by tuberculosis.

9 Moreover, the citation of alpine details, such as the cast-iron balcony decoration, was on the one hand a powerful stylistic means to express that those who could not access the cure in a luxurious hotel-like environment in places like Davos could nevertheless find an equally valid refuge in Beelitz.

10 In his role as chief editor of the functionalist magazine *de 8 en Opbouw*, Duiker had found the ideal opportunity to distribute his ideology He discussed all sorts of questions dealing with hygiene in the household, from garbage removal to laundry systems, mechanical kitchen ventilation, vacuum cleaner installation, etc. A correctly planned house would, for example, avoid the “unsanitary use of showers by lazy people...because this would be senseless with the shower so near...” Alberts and Jelles, *Duiker 1890 – 1935*, 131.

11 Paul David Pearson, *Alvar Aalto and the International Style* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1978), 89.

12 Juhani Pallasmaa speaks of the stair’s “sunshine and warmth illuminating the building during the dark winter months.” Juhani Pallasmaa, “Alvar Aalto: Towards a Synthetic Functionalism,” in Peter Reed (ed.), *Between Humanism and Materialism* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1998), 29.

13 Referring to the MARS Group’s “New Architecture” exhibition held at London’s Burlington Galleries in January 1938, to “explain to architects and the public the general principles [...] of the so called ‘International Style’”, John Gold recalls a disagreement amongst the group members. Gold argues that the “International Style” was in the end presented as a “Zeitstil” and not as what the other part of the group had desired, the “non-stylistic product of rationally addressing social needs by means of modern technology”. John Gold, *Experience of Modernism: Modern architects and the future city 1928 – 1953* (London: Spon, 1997) 130.

14 Richard Weston, *Alvar Aalto* (London: Phaidon, 1995), 50.

1. An early newspaper advertisement for Dr. Brehmer's sanatorium in the Silesian village of Görbersdorf (today Sokolowsko) (1887). Author's archive.

2. Zonnestraal sanatorium, Hilversum, opened in 1928, architect Jan Duiker. Photo: Eva Eylers

3. Beelitz sanatorium: pavilion with colonnades and halls for the sunbed cure. Contemporary postcard, author's archive

4. Beelitz sanatorium: pavilion for men, built between 1898 and 1902, architects Schmieden & Boethke. Photo: Eva Eylers

5. Paimio Sanatorium: top-floor sun terrace and serpentine walkway flanking the south side of the patient wing (1930s). Photo: Gustaf Welin, © Alvar Aalto Foundation.

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THE ROLE OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN THE TEMPORARY-USE PRACTICES OF URBAN ABANDONED BUILDINGS

Meiling Gong

Introduction

In the 20th century, Functionalism and art contemplation approached architectural design by considering the users as passive objects, whose actions were predicted and prescribed. However, in the modern urban living scene, there are many spontaneous and unpredictable behavioral phenomena, and people are both the experiencers of architecture and the performers of the story in the scene. At this point, architects, often as an isolated participant in the design, ignore the diversity of the users' physique, race, gender, culture and educational background, thus failing to consider thoroughly the users' behaviors and needs.[1]

Nowadays, the lack of an inclusive understanding of the technical services and functional spaces required for urban life has resulted in numerous abandoned buildings.[2] For the regeneration of such urban gray spaces, flexible and inclusive temporary-use strategies offer opportunities for the development transition of urban architectures. Architects should take into account the creativity and initiative of users in architectural design, including them as participants in the design process.[3]

This article provides a comprehensive overview to explore the contribution of citizen participation in the renewal of abandoned urban buildings within the context of modern architectural development, aiming to integrate design and social activities to organize the architects' design thinking with collective aspirations and the contributions of informal groups.

Insight into Architectural Modernism development

From the early days of the architect's development, architectural design has been confined to traditional tools of drawing and structuring, and its dominance has been unchallengeable,[4] which contradicts the modern design thinking that encourages ordinary users to participate in the design process. The authority of the architect is derived from the mastery of professional drafting and structural construction skills.[5]

Manfredo Tafuri argues that architecture can be a special form of intellectual work that provides the impetus for urban development. The sign of the intellectual work of architecture is the refinement of objective decision-making processes and technical tools such as professional design software,[6] which has led to the autonomous development of the architectural profession since the 1970s, as modern technological upgrades and the convenience of tool operation have greatly reduced the cost and threshold for learning construction technology.

Architecture as an assemblage can be interpreted in a decomposed way, but the ambiguity of architecture itself as a unit allows for different interpretations and even critiques in different eras. The modern architecture of the 20th century is considered to revolve around how architecture escaped its fate as an instrument of capitalist manipulation, rampaging towards the Avant-garde and Utopia, giving vent to autonomous and pure architectural creation as an almost ethical action that did not require any explanation regarding the structures of production and class critique.[7] Thus, the modern movement of the era created the situation whereby architects needed to independently assume the full moral pressure of their work to respond to social needs and contemporary trends.[8]

For the development of modern architecture in the 21st century, Johnathan Hill argues that “the creativity of use should be the central issue of architectural design.” He further states that the user’s sense of use and experience is subjective and should not be limited in advance by the designer; the human being’s diversity of body, race, gender, culture and educational background makes them very creative and responsive to space.[3] The key to utilizing this feature is to rescue the user from the stereotype of the ”machine”.[9]

Citizens: Spectators or participants?

The regeneration of urban abandoned spaces is a broad topic that covers a wide range of research areas including culture, economy and society, etc. Urban renewal has a direct impact on the image of the city and is of great relevance to citizens. The ”broken window theory” identifies the danger of negative urban spaces for sustainable urban development, as spaces that are not rehabilitated in time will leave a negative impression of decay, lack of maintenance, which will most likely lead to continuous decay.[10]

The identity of citizens as spectators or participants in the process of architectural and urban renewal can be categorized by their response to the space. Walter Ben-

jamin proposed that "distraction oscillates" in the user's experience of architectural space, meaning a habitual, natural response that best enables one to perceive the artistry and meaning of the space.[11] In addition to the predictable behaviors and passive uses of space that conform to the designer's original predictions, creative users can habitually adapt existing spaces to their actual needs. This evolving unpredictable creative behavior is recognized by today's modern thinking on architectural development as to be necessarily added to the original design planning stage.

Under the theme of citizen participation, a keen capture of the influence and initiative of a specific group of people can lead to spatial transformation with half the effort in the pre-design and post-experimentation process. For example, Carron Silva's research on co-creating communities focuses on the development of engagement with the elderly and youth, which summarizes their particular potential in participatory practices based on experiences and social roles. In addition, it suggests the need for clear structures of collaboration and systems of interaction between participants, planners and managers to provide timely feedback for planning decisions.[12]

Incremental renovation of abandoned urban buildings

So far, many studies have been conducted on the renewal of abandoned urban buildings, and they have sought to implement the renewal from different disciplinary perspectives. However, this is still far from establishing a complete, progressive, incremental and systematic guideline for renewal practices. For example, Alexandros Postekkis and Petros Lapithis suggest that avoiding aggressive destruction of people's memory and perception of original buildings is the main basis for renovation, based on which the spatial functions and iconography of the past are gradually integrated, transitioned and transformed into new alternative uses.[13]

Incremental renovation is an intermediate strategy between two traditional responses, one is to demolish the abandoned building and construct a new structure, and the other is to give new functions directly to the original building for secondary use. Instead, the incremental transformation introduces new uses to the site, incorporating them with the former site definition, which can make the transformation of the function and spatial appearance more acceptable to the local population, reducing the aggressiveness of urban renewal.[11]

Temporary urbanism in renovation of abandoned urban buildings

In recent years, tactical and temporary urbanization strategies have begun to attract the attention of a growing number of designers and planners who have found that small, informal temporary design projects allow them to flexibly and efficiently reorient their designs towards continually exploring the development of sites' potential in the alternating process between practice and design.[14]

Regarding the practical approach of temporary use in architectural regeneration, Aurelie de Smet summarizes different actorisms of participatory temporary urbanization for abandoned and vacant urban spaces, namely Opportunism, Activism and Self-organization. They are all presented with artistic and cultural creations, distinguished by different levels of promotion, with the DIY urban movement in particular being the most prominent.[15] Some researchers have expressed concerns that the informality of self-organization lacks professional guidance, while another voice affirms the positive recognition that the temporary use of vacant urban buildings can bring ecological, artistic, social, and economic benefits.[16]

In addition, some of the literature proposes innovative design approaches to the functional division of space from existing urban design thinking. The Chesterfield Building in London, as an example, demonstrates the transformation of a disused office building into a residential building by engaging the local community and activists in the process, with a "temporary enterprise space" to divide the building space and alleviate the need for temporary project sites for young entrepreneurial groups.[17] This example captures the opportunity for citizen participation, re-exploring the potential for regenerating vacant spaces after the financial crisis, and providing temporary users with low-cost space usage, facilitating the wheels of economic development.

Discussion

The key point of participatory temporary use of abandoned urban buildings is to focus on developing and utilizing the participants' creativity, while reflecting the inclusiveness in design progress and providing a more open possibility for future spatial use. However, the practice is prone to be capitalized, many brands have started to prosper with temporary commercial activities, yet the organization and design gradually lack effective civic participation and are far from the actual needs of the society. Besides, it is worthwhile considering how to find concrete ways to eliminate social discrimination, marginalization and conflict in practice, promote social equity and harmony and improve the well-being index.

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2. The abandoned building amidst a residential area. Photo: Meiling Gong

3. Temporary use of the building: Marni AW22 Set Design Show in 2022.
Photo: Frame Magazine © 2023 Frame

4. The building under renovation in 2023. Photo: Meiling Gong

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MODERN ARCHITECTURE AND THE PROMOTION OF THE PRIVATE REALM FOR "MRS. CONSUMER" IN POSTWAR EUROPE

Christiane Irxenmayer

This article investigates the role of modern architecture in co-creating consumer culture as presented in the highest-circulation women's magazines in the European post-war period. As a sample collection, the most popular journals of the 1950s in West Germany, such as Constanze, *Brigitte* and *Für Sie* are examined.

Rather than discussing modern architecture on the basis of singular outstanding projects and their authors, in this context the modern environment is examined as part of a certain visual policy: as a perfect setting for consumer goods, the architecture mediates meaningful cultural narratives implying distinct gender roles, with female consumers being presented on that stage. However, these representations by no means reflected the reality of that time: the modern setting in the magazines is strongly linked to middle-class aspirations, thus ignoring social realities. Whereas it can be assumed that women of that time did not take everything seriously that was presented in popular magazines, and some might have even subverted the portrayed gender roles, the pervasive visual culture in the magazines still represents omnipresent norms and the consensus of that time.[1] On the one hand, the magazines draw out guidelines of how to act as a contemporary woman and suggest which spatial setting is suitable for that role and, on the other hand, the women's magazines simultaneously provide assistance when struggling with these distinct gender roles. The presented images and instructions furthermore point to everyday practices that are supposed to go hand in hand with modern architecture. Irene Nierhaus shows that instructions given in German-language interior design magazines on how to use and cultivate the modern living environment acted as important mediators of housing knowledge, bringing modernism into women's everyday habits.[2]

But who were the engineers behind the scenes constructing these settings presented in the mass media? What was the intention behind this staging of modern architecture? Following the relating actors, it becomes more evident that the notion of modern architecture contributed to stabilizing conservative role models and at the same time promoted modern ideals. These two superficial facing components became the ingredients in the rising post-war social market economy based on

the middle-class purchasing power during the years of the German “Economic Miracle”.

Women addressed as empowered decision-makers in the modern home

Looking at the images and advertisements presented in these magazines, women are mostly portrayed in a modern environment, such as technically advanced kitchens or bathrooms with raised levels of comfort and hygiene (Fig. 1). Keeping in mind the disappointments of false ideologies and deprivations people had faced in the immediate post-war period, promises of material wealth suited quite well in covering up those experiences.[3]

Despite the fact that women during the war held crucial positions, not only inside their home but also outside it, women’s magazines were busy redrawing the image of the ideal wife inside the house. Aiming for economic and social stability after the war, these images helped to redistribute gender roles in a way, that it was not considered necessary to work for a woman – on the contrary, working women, in contemporary views, was equal with a drop in social status. Therefore, the positive connotation of the “mistress of the house” was underpinned by representations that showed women in a powerful and responsible domestic position: she manages economic household issues, makes purchasing decisions, holds up moral standards and therefore guarantees stable social relationships. (Fig. 2)

Window shopping in women’s magazines

It is noticeable, that modern interior design proposals in traditional women´s magazines often go along with recommendations for buying the featured staged products (Fig. 3). In this context, Beatriz Colomina even describes modern architecture as a mass media and points out how modern settings are used as a background for staging consumer goods, especially for a female audience:

“If the International Style is to be thought of as a publicity campaign for modern architecture, this publicity was aimed at a public much larger than that which ‘can afford art’: the department store public, middle-class and mainly women. It is not just the house that is for sale in these promotions. [...] The International Style publicized the private, not simply because it exhibited the private houses of some art

collectors, but because it offered that image for mass consumption in the form of the multiple, relatively affordable, designer objects that were part of it: rugs, chairs, lamps, tables, appliances, and so on."[4]

But unlike in the USA, in devastated Central Europe purchasing power only slowly gained ascendency. There is also a shift in content orientation recognisable in German women's magazines: because in the years immediately after the war a license from the occupying powers was obligatory in order to publish a periodical, in early post-war years their contents were much more characterized by cultural and educational policies; whereas in the 1950s, by contrast, as Sylvia Lott has identified in her work on Hans Huffzky and John Jahr, the key figures behind magazines like Constanze and Brigitte, entertaining contents became more dominant in meeting market demands.[5] Moreover, the continued necessity to consolidate commercial financing models led to the increasing number of advertisements in the magazines.

Educational approaches in mass media: "how to live modern"

Articles on the ideal modern home are superimposed with product presentations using arranging techniques as seen on a double page spread in *Für Sie* from 1957 (Fig. 4). The author describes different interior arrangements in front of picture-frame windows illustrated with examples of the work of German interior designer Herta-Maria Witzemann.[6] The female reader is thereby very much involved in the descriptions of the interior design using the term "we", as if a close friend is giving you valuable advice. The modern scene around the windows is not only discussed in terms of the friendly light-flooded space around it but also through the activities of everyday life. Thus, closely linked to these narratives are assigned gender roles, where women are responsible for providing a cosy atmosphere when men arrive home from work. As part of this construction of domesticity, the modern window element catches and frames nature from the outside. Colomina even qualifies modern picture-frame windows as architectural devices able to domesticate the hostile outside and integrate it in the safe interior of the modern home.[7]

The housewife's American-modern-traditional home

Another reference to a large format window shows up in the same year in *Für Sie* when presenting various models for a detached house, described as "Bungalow-style" (Fig. 5). Barely distinguishable from reading a reportage or a full-page advertisement, the images and text describe a pre-cast construction component in different price categories intended for middle-class homes, while also paying reference to the USA. The notion of modern living in this case is reduced to some elements and highlighted attributes, amalgamated with traditional aesthetic features such as the built-in seating corner surrounded by a crown glass window. Moreover, the photos showing the interior of the house are celebrating modern living standards, which entail bringing technological progress, comfort and hygiene into the house. As the housewife in the scenes is performing the pleasures of modern life, despite or precisely because of the prevailing hardship of the post-war years, the "American way of life" proclaimed spaces of longing: modern architecture became the (co-)carrier of these wishful ideas of a better life. This newly invented lifestyle, which originated in the USA, was expressed in numerous consumer products, and in the single-family house and car that went with it. In this context, Dolores Haydes, in her 1986 book *Redesigning the American Dream*, has elaborated on the connections between gender roles embedded in everyday performances and the economic and political conditions of the time as materialized in the built environment .[8] In a time that is already characterized in the cultural sciences as "petromodernity", there was a need, politically and economically, to generate a positive connotation of consumption, which would create numerous sales markets for petroleum products and thereby stimulate economic growth, which in turn entailed a social, economic and spatial restructuring that continues to have an impact today.

Modern architecture as the stage for Mrs. Consumer in women's magazines

As Silvya Lott discovered from her research on the central figures behind women's magazines, modernization in post-war Germany "took place [...] only on the material level."[9] While women themselves called for more modern equipment to save labor, this demand was used to generate even more needs than satisfying them. Modern architecture as the background for domestic appliances and consumer goods became an ambassador for technical progress and a projection surface for desires, dreams and values of post-war Europe, where magazines became a kind of "consumption engine", as Nierhaus describes it.[10] Analyses of women's magazines of

that time indicate that promises of individual freedom and economic growth were strongly dependent on gender roles.

Women in their role as housewives on the stage of modern architecture with its promise of material prosperity, have from that perspective to be acknowledged as key figures in Germany's economic growth on the basis of raising consumer culture during the post-war years.

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4 Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity. Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 207-208.

5 Sylvia Lott, *Die Frauenzeitschriften von Hans Huffzky und John Jahr. zur Geschichte der deutschen Frauenzeitschrift zwischen 1933 und 1970* (Berlin: Wissenschaftsverlag Volker Spiess, 1985). Moreover, the new alleged communist threat turned the domestic sphere into a Cold War ideological dispute, where technological progress was demonstrated: one famous example is the so-called "Kitchen Debates", which took place during the course of the American National Exhibition in Moskow in 1959. Presidents Khrushchev and Nixon played off each other's standard of living against the other in a media-effective manner that manifested itself in the politically charged modern architectural setting of the American kitchen. In "Cold War / Hothouses", Beatrice Colomina describes this material battle of demonstrated household appliances and the notions that come along with it: "The suburban house, equipped with every imaginable appliance, projected the image of the 'Good Life', of the lifestyle of prosperity and excess that was the main weapon in the Cold War." Beatriz Colomina, "Cold War / Hothouses," in Beatriz Colomina, Annemarie Brennan and Jeannie Kim (eds.), *Cold War Hothouses. Inventing Postwar Culture, from Cockpit to Playboy* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2012), 14.

6 It is worth mentioning that Herta-Maria Witzemann in the same year as the article was published was responsible for the interior design of apartments in the houses by Pierre Vago and Alvar Aalto at the Interbau Berlin 1957 (Karlsruher Institut, saai - Archiv für Architektur und Ingenieurbau).

7 Colomina even goes so far as to conceive of modern architecture itself as a mass medium, pointing out how houses detached from the specific site are equipped with "picture windows" like a

movie camera framing the landscape and thus domesticating it – the hostile outside is shifted into the harmless inside, which in turn references the post-war American culture she describes, where the promise of freedom and individuality in one's own car again points to interiority as a symptom of the post-war era, as adventures were only experienced through the safe distance of the windshield, as if in a movie. "[...] public space was privatized, domestic space was publicized, [...]" she concludes. Colomina, "Cold War / Hothouses," 14.

8 Dolores Hayden, *Redesigning the American Dream: Gender Housing and Family Life.* Revised and expanded (New York: WW Norton, 2002).

9 Lott, *Die Frauenzeitschriften*, 327.

10 Nierhaus, "Seiten des Wohnens," 18.

1. The ideal household for a family, with a professionally designed laundry and kitchen, equipped with household appliances that are supposed to save time, although the magazines nevertheless convey to women that there is actually always something for them to do. (*Brigitte*, 1958, Issue No. 5, back page)

2. Extract from a German company's advertisement promoting fabrics and home textiles, in which women are targeted as experts in taste, knowing best what and where to buy. (*Brigitte*, 1957, Issue No. 12, 33)

3. Brigitte as furnishing consultant: a presentation of modern interiors with descriptions and corresponding company references for the featured furniture and products that can be purchased in West-Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany. (*Brigitte*, 1957, Issue No. 20, 70-71)

4. “The neat home”: a section of the magazine where modern interiors from German interior designer Herta-Maria Witzemann, among others, were regularly shown to illustrate discussed topics; in this case, the article is randomly mixed with product presentations for German wall clocks. (*Für Sie*, 1957, Issue No. 23, 8-9)

5. An article about a Hamburg construction company's new prefabricated construction method: traditional aesthetic elements coinciding with modern, comfortable yet energy-intensive equipment, carrying references to the American way of life. (*Für Sie*, 1957, Issue No. 24, 8-9)

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HIDDEN PERSUADERS OF ARCHITECTURE: ADVERTISING AND PUBLISHING INITIATIVES OF US MEDIA DURING MID-CENTURY MODERNISM

Phoebus Panigyrakis

Introduction

While the establishment of modernist architecture in the United States of the early 20th century was a convoluted – to say the least – affair, the emergence and dominance of business sciences, marketing, advertising and management were quick to reach prominence and to affect all aspects of industry and culture, including that of architecture. This article presents occasions where the "economic" world of corporate USA affected the trajectory of modern architecture, and more specifically through cases from architectural media.

Selling the architect: An advertisers' handbook

One indication of the level of expertise that architectural magazines developed as a service to manufacturers and advertisers in the 20th century USA was the 1926 booklet by the F. W. Dodge Corporation *Selling the Architect.* There the publishing company of *Architectural Record*, *Real Estate Record & Guide*, and *Sweet's Catalog* made a point for its publications and services of making them the best outlet for advertising towards architects. In fact, it assured its readers that there is no special "mystery" and that the architect can be approached and "be sold" as any other professional – "by their own viewpoint." The implication here was that the artistic or idealistic characteristics that were permeating the architectural periodicals at the time were not to be seen as an obstacle but an advantage. From the point of view of advertisers, the introduction of topics such as surrealist art or mechanical-looking modernist architecture potentially painted a heterogeneous medium upon which they would not be able to count upon for a consistent sales campaign. *Architectural Record* was after all the magazine that had introduced Picasso and Braque to the American public and the latest experimental innovations in architectural design – of which modernism was a driving force – could further diversify the identity of the medium, and therefore the audience that it attracted. On that the publishers answered with an analysis of an array of advertising services that corresponded to their publishing portfolio and the emotional state that each provided to the reader – the strik-

ing characteristics among which “theory”, “mystery”, and “artistic” appeal made up the disruptive setting for the “receptive mental condition” of the construction industry’s leading “sales factor”: the architect. The purely “architectural” publication was in this sense a hot medium in-between the cold technical mediums of the product catalogue, real estate and construction news.

Maxwell Levinson’s modernist experiments

From the other end, that of the visionary modernist editor and publisher, the case of Maxwell Levinson is indicative of the incompatibilities between modernism and the US press. Levinson attempted to revolutionize the architectural scene with *Shelter* magazine, the first independent and purely modernist magazine in national circulation. However, the financial situation he faced shortened the lifespan of his experimentation. Its first iteration in 1932 was based completely on subscribers-supporters who paid forward the costs of several issues in order to ensure its financial viability. However, this revenue quickly disintegrated, partly due to growing inflation.[1] At that time, the editors also discussed the publishing of a financial statement of the magazine’s status to their subscribers “as a token of reader equity”.[2] *Shelter*’s second iteration in 1938-9 was to be based on national advertising (supposedly progressive in itself),[3] and subsidies by individuals and organizations that remained anonymous, which caused a fallout between Maxwell and his most trusted collaborators, Buckminster Fuller, Knud Lonberg Holm, and Ted Larson – the last of whom protested: “Theories and ideals won’t pay the printer, it is sad to relate.”[4] On the same topic, also Frank Lloyd Wright voiced his aphoristic concern to Levinson when he first inquired about giving his support: “There is so much pretentious writing by so many morticians, coffinworms, statisticians, upstart propagandists and left-handed careerists that Modern Architecture as a theme is pretty dubious”.[5]

The editorial takes on advertising: P/A, AR, AF

Editorial contributions of the time also brought the topic of advertising to magazine pages. As early as 1930 the editors of *Architectural Forum* had put forward a debate on the topic of advertising and publicity for professional architects. Penned by Kenneth Murchison on behalf of the editorial team, the article “Is publicity advertising?” was making a call towards all architects and poignantly also to the American Institute of Architects (AIA) for amendments on the etiquette and rules that obstructed architects from advertising and business management: “We need publicity. As a body, as a profession, we need it. Don’t sidestep anything legitimate in that line.”[6]

And even more, this publicity was not to be targeted outwards but also inwards "to restore our business confidence."

Ten years later, the *Architectural Record* November issue provided a section that ran throughout the next year as a forum between architects and advertising. This series took as its hypothesis that advertising is the ideal informative means for the continued education of the professional architect on the latest techniques, materials, and applications. As such, each article inquired about feedback and published open letters from architects to questions like: "As a practicing architect, what questions occur to you regarding built-up roofing which you feel could be answered in manufacturer's advertisements?"[7]

A third such case of editorial initiative was featured in *Progressive Architecture* in 1954, signifying a new era for public relations in architecture. After a year of criticizing the politics and ethics of the AIA,[8] *Progressive Architecture* congratulated the formulation of the official AIA code on Publicity and Advertising Practice.[9] The editors viewed this as a victory for the magazine and a first step for the newly formed Public Relations Committee of the AIA, whose meetings often included the editors of the magazines.[10]

The statistical surveys of 1955 and 1958

An interesting feature other than the spread of the discourse is its depth and the methodological tools involved, the main one of which was the statistical monitoring and surveying of advertising and the financial data of the architectural magazines. The first organization responsible for that was naturally the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC), which was founded in 1914 as an independent agency responsible for audit and data services for advertising and publishing, and which was instrumental in ensuring trust and rules of conduct for the competing publications. What is interesting is that in the mid-1950s the magazines issued their own statistical market studies. One such example is the November 1955 study by Columbia University on behalf of Time Inc.'s *Architectural Forum*, its full title being "A report on registered architects in the U.S." The survey stated its aim as "to inquire into the professional and business connections of individual registered architects, their educational background, whether or not they were also registered as professional engineers and, most importantly, some description of the nature and magnitude of the specific projects on which they were engaged." Even more impressive is the sample size of the survey that claimed 10,226 respondents, which made up 46.6% of the total of AIA registered architects at the time. The Columbia survey extended the reach of the

regular ABC reports with information on the exclusive or cross readership amongst the three main competitors, the seniority and employment levels of readership, etc.

On a much smaller scale, *Architectural Record* also commissioned its own statistical survey. Referenced as the "Eastman" report in the 1958 internal meetings of the magazine team, this study was conducted as an in-depth content analysis of two issues of the magazine by a sample of 100 readers. The results supported the administration's conclusions "while providing the additional advantages of relating actual performance to average performance of other publications."

Egos and ideals: Dichter's marketing consultation, 1960

The engagement of architectural publishers and editors with marketing professionals led to one of the most surprising developments: the marketing consultation report of 1960 by the Institute of Motivational Research Co. on behalf of F.W. Dodge. Spanning five documents, the encompassing title of the report was "A motivational research study of the editorial, sales, advertising and promotional problems of the Architectural Record." It aimed to improve the competitive standing of the magazine, study its audience, and most importantly to touch upon the image and self-image of the architect. The methods of the study, according to the report proposal, combined the fields of psychology, sociology, anthropology, mathematical statistics and marketing. Interviews, projective tests, psychometric advertisements and promotion testing were part of the enigmatic psychoanalytical sessions proclaimed by the institute's director, Ernest Dichter. Nevertheless, the study produced interesting results that reverberated throughout the architectural press in the coming years, bidding the magazines to address the reader's "ego ideal" and "serve the audience within its framework,"[11] as well as recognize that the architect feels under pressure from the "rapid changes and new developments," and provide "knowledge and the emotional support that the reader needs in this situation."[12] Also, it needs to provide more content that deals with the "farthest-reaching social and philosophical implications of architecture" in order to satisfy the creative, aesthetic, and humanistic needs that readers feel that "everyday administrative responsibilities are depriving them of."[13]

Conclusions

While the snippets referenced here are but a few, they point towards a basis for the consideration of modernist architecture, on the one hand, as it was incorporated into the US modes of operation and, on the other hand, as it evolved towards a

wider sphere of influence. The considerations of progressive or avant-garde architectural narratives can still be seen today as a means to condition a "hot" medium of sentimental discourse. And it would be hard to contest that the financial models of the architectural media define their internal structure as well as their content, which editors naturally defend and extemporize to their audience and professional organizations. Lastly, the field of analytics of media is nowadays not only directed toward professionals but to the universal individual. The image and self-image of individuals, while once a tool of marketing analysis and public relations, sits now in the core of our cultural discourse, architectural or not.

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1 Ted Larson to Max and Leon Levinson, 15 April 1933, Maxwell Levinson fonds, CCA.

2 "Shelter: Proposed Program for New Issue", 13 April 1933, Maxwell Levinson fonds, CCA.

3 Max Levinson to Ted Larson, 15 March 1937, Maxwell Levinson fonds, CCA.

4 Ted Larson to Max Levinson 24 May 1937, Maxwell Levinson fonds, CCA.

5 Frank Lloyd Wright to Max Levinson, 31 December 1931, Maxwell Levinson fonds, CCA.

6 Kenneth Murchison, "Is publicity advertising?", *Architectural Forum*, July 1930, 95-97.

7 *Architectural Record*, F. W. Dodge Corporation, Nov. 1941, 100-101.

8 *Progressive Architecture,* Feb. 1954, 210.

9 "AIA clarifies advertising code", *Progressive Architecture*, Nov. 1954.

10 Bulletin of the American Institute of Architects, 10 May 1954, 2.

11 Document E, part three: "Psychological factors influencing Architectural Record's professional audience," 2-6. Box 57, Item 1266E, Ernest Dichter papers (Accession 2407), Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE 19807. Section 3, 2.

12 Document E, part three.

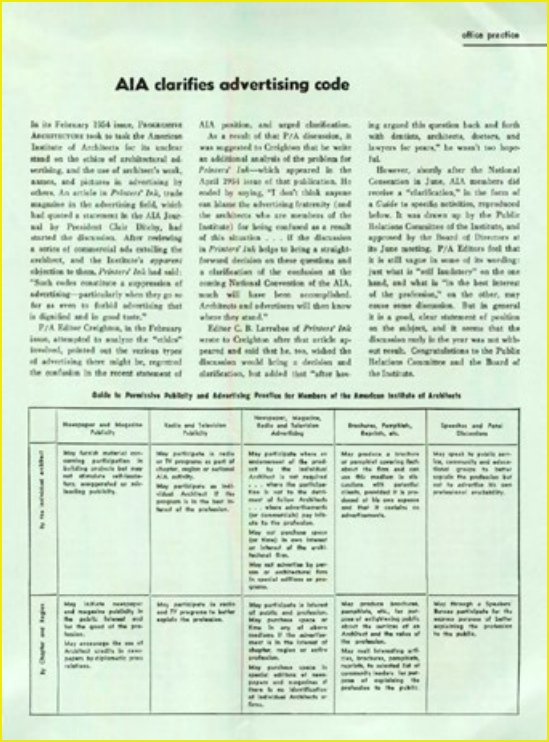
13 Document E, part three.

ARCHITECTURE MEETS ADVERTISING

ARCHITECTS GIVE THEIR VIEWS ON BUILT-UP ROOFING ADS

NEXT MONTH'S QUESTION

1. Architecture meets advertising: an editorial experimentation bringing together architects and featured manufacturers in conversation, setting advertising as an informative service at the core of the architectural profession. Source: *Architectural Record*, Nov. 1941.



office practice

AIA clarifies advertising code

2. The issue of advertising was central to the distinction between the practice and profession of architecture, with several voices of concern against the volatile system of public exposure that this meant for architects. Source: *Architectural Forum*, July 1930.

THE ARCHITECTURAL FORUM

VOLUME LIII — JULY 1950 — NUMBER ONE

IS PUBLICITY ADVERTISING?

BY KENNETH M. MURCHISON

AND if so, what is advertising? At the moment, there is no dictionary at hand, but it seems to me that advertising is the art of putting one's wares before the public in the most alluring way.

If it is unethical for architects to advertise, are they not losing an opportunity to acquaint the public with the advantage of purchasing their wares? The solons of the American Institute say they, the architects, must not advertise, so it is by publicity that they must become known.

But publicity is exciting more or less than advertising. It is done, however, in a more gentlemanly fashion, surreptitiously masking itself under the head of "news." But publicity, as news, is often paid for, although it might not be wrong to say that it is more often the publicity agent who receives the consideration, not the periodical in which the news story may be found.

It seems to be unethical to put a paid advertisement in Time Forum, for instance:

FARREN & FRETMORE
Architects
321 Fifth Avenue, New York,

while it is still within range of the book of etiquette to have a sign on an uncompleted building reading:

FARREN & FRETMORE
Architects

Nothing but the address is left off, but the drug store is handy,—and it has a telephone directory!

There are one or two architects in New York, big men too, who will not allow any signs on their in-process buildings, not even that of the builder, or the plumber or the electrician. They undoubtedly have reasons, good reasons too, but I feel sure that the public, or an appreciable part of it at least, is interested in new construction work and wants to know what the building is going to be used for, who the architects and builders are, and, if it be a commercial structure, a brief description of it on the billboard in front.

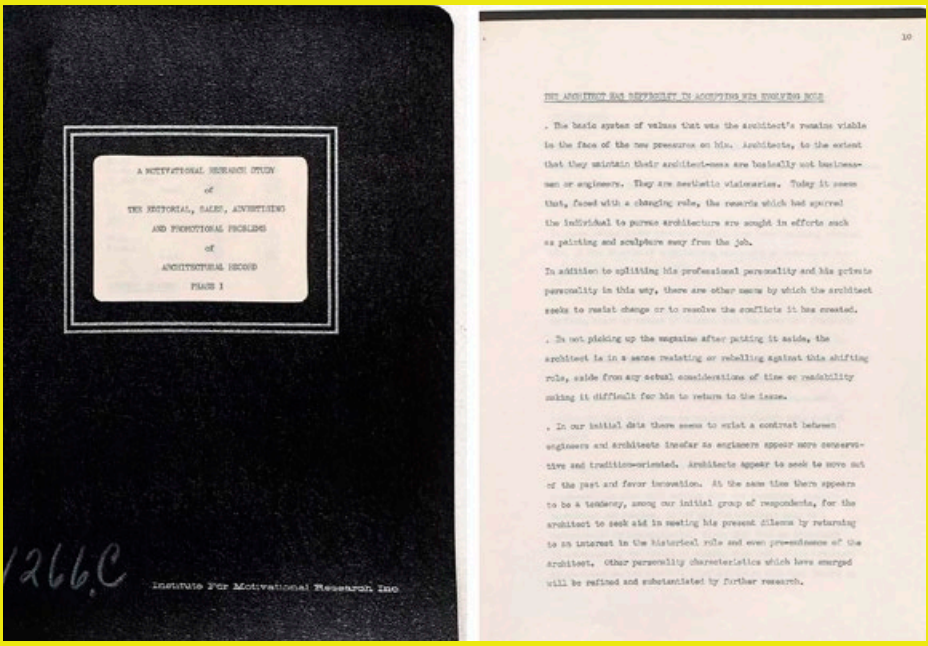
Then how about the Sunday papers? The real estate sections carry plenty of features describing new apartments to rent or to sell. And when a house is done by good builders and architects,—alas, would it were more often!—the owners and agents of said renderie are only too glad to mention the names of the begetters of the building. All this seems to me legitimate and logical advertising in its best form. We have done something. We are not ashamed of it. If the public likes us, why hide our light? Particularly as we are, after all, in architecture to make a living, good or bad.

SWELL PUBLICITY

A recent issue of *Time*, a weekly built on the condensed milk principle, so that one does not have to wade through oceans of immaterialism, devoted several columns of its precious space lately to the Washington Convention of the American Institute of Architects. And they seemed to have the right idea too. A part of their saga ran: "Architects have one thing in common,—they are the least advertised professional men in the world. They do not sign their work. Advertising copy writers never get a McKim, Mead & White or a Warren & Wetmore account. Even in the pages of architectural journals you will look in vain for architects' advertisements. Everyone has heard of the Woolworth Building, the Lincoln Memorial and the palatial Pocantico Hills residence of John Davison Rockefeller, yet few laymen can name the designers (Cass Gilbert, Henry Bacon, Delano & Aldrich, respectively). The feats of great lawyers and even doctors are popularly associated with their names. But if you want an architect you have to go and get him, and the information you have as to his worth is usually conveyed by word of mouth."

They mention such luminaries as McKim, Mead & White, William Van Alen and Ralph Adams Cram and go into paroxysmic ecstasies over Delano & Aldrich, mentioning 20 or 30 of their buildings. The answer may be that the editor of *Time* lives in a "D. & A." (as the editor

3. The year 1954 signified a new era of public relations for the US scene, with the issuing of advertising standards by the American Institute of Architects, an initiative received with criticism by the *P/A* editors. Source: *Progressive Architecture*, Feb. 1954.



A MOTIVATIONAL RESEARCH STUDY
of
THE EDITORIAL, SALES, ADVERTISING
AND PROMOTIONAL PROBLEMS
of
ARCHITECTURAL RECORD
PHASE I

1266.C

Institute For Motivational Research Inc.

10

THE ARCHITECT HAS DIFFICULTY IN ACCEPTING HIS EVOLVING ROLE

. The basic system of values that was the architect's remains viable in the face of the new pressures on him. Architects, to the extent that they maintain their architect-ness are basically not businessmen or engineers. They are aesthetic visionaries. Today it seems that, faced with a changing role, the rewards which had spurred the individual to pursue architecture are sought in efforts such as painting and sculpture away from the job.

In addition to splitting his professional personality and his private personality in this way, there are other means by which the architect seeks to resist change or to resolve the conflicts it has created.

. In not picking up the magazine after putting it aside, the architect is in a sense resisting or rebelling against this shifting role, aside from any actual considerations of time or readability making it difficult for him to return to the issue.

. In our initial data there seems to exist a contrast between engineers and architects insofar as engineers appear more conservative and tradition-oriented. Architects appear to seek to move out of the past and favor innovation. At the same time there appears to be a tendency, among our initial group of respondents, for the architect to seek aid in meeting his present dilemma by returning to an interest in the historical role and even pre-eminence of the architect. Other personality characteristics which have emerged will be refined and substantiated by further research.

4. "A motivational research study of the editorial, sales, advertising and promotional problems of the Architectural Record" produced by the Institute of Motivational Research Inc., 1960. Source: Hagley Museum and Library, Ernest Dichter papers.

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MODERNISM IN ITALY: THE CASE OF THE INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN TRADE

Dorotea Petrucci

If you were walking down the street in New York City in 1938, it is possible that you might see a news poster claiming, 'Now you can drink milk or wear it!'. The poster illustrates one of the latest inventions in synthetic fabrics: LANITAL by Snia Viscosa – an Italian textile firm owned by the industrialist Senatore Borletti (also owner of *La Rinascente*). Produced with the lean part of milk and derived from cream-making waste, Lanital promised to be an innovative and durable fabric that could replace wool: four opposing images in the poster were chosen to evoke the natural – old farm milk containers, a woman in a straw hat – but also the state-of-the art machinery used to extract 'wool' from milk. (Fig. 1) What you would not have realised at first, however, is that it was not Snia Viscosa distributing this poster to 3100 windows across the U.S.A. Instead, this was one of several promotional campaigns commissioned by the Italian Ministry of Popular Culture and executed by the first American PR firm serving foreign governments in the 1930s: the Hamilton Wright Organization of 30 Rockefeller Plaza.[1]

The Italian Fascist government took considerable interest in making Italy not only a modern country in terms of its architecture, but also its industrial production. The myth of Italian design that found its success in the post-Second World War decades and has filled exhibitions all around the world with its iconic pieces, is deeply rooted in the events that occurred during the inter-war years. This paper illustrates the case of the National Institute for Exporting (renamed Institute for Foreign Trade in 1936, and still existing today as the Italian Trade Agency), a state-funded body set up in 1926, and its contribution to the success of Italian design abroad, including the invisible parties involved in the process: namely, leading Italian industrialists and the central government. Both sides worked together towards the creation of a state-selected modernism that highlighted the company over the individual, with the intent of building a solid reputation for Italian products while increasing exports and consequently Italy's power on the international scene.

At the time of Mussolini's accession as Italy's Prime Minister in 1922, a new generation of industrialists, who sought to enter and prosper in the global economy, was also on the rise. The industrialists' desire for expansion had met Mussolini's need to consolidate its political support and to drive Italy into modernity.[2] The two parties of-

ficially came together with the creation of the Institute for Foreign Trade in April 1926. One of the main tasks of the Institute was, in synergy with the State, to represent and promote industrial products being made in Italy at international fairs. Italy's participation in such events was seen as a pivotal opportunity for increasing the country's economic expansion outside of its borders and as an act of political propaganda. It was a combination that suited both sides: the industrialists who wanted to showcase their products and increase their sales, which were not fulfilled by the low demand within Italy; and Mussolini's political beliefs that sought to forge a new image of Italy as a modern nation via its production abroad, and that aimed to transform Italy's population into a generation of 'producers' and 'savers' rather than 'spenders' – a thought summarised in the headline pronounced by the Dux himself in July 1926 where he exhorted the nation to: 'produce more, consume less and export'.[3]

The Institute for Foreign Trade's Advisory Board and Executive Committee included politicians, influential figures like Alberto Pirelli and Edoardo Agnelli (the son of Giovanni Agnelli, founder of FIAT), as well as members of the General Confederation of Italian Industry such as its President Antonio Benni, Vice-President Gino Olivetti, and the economist Felice Guarneri.[4] In short, it was industrialists, with the aid of experts in the subject of international trade, who, at least at first, went on to 'practically' decide what best represented Italy's modern design production and how it should be presented to an international audience through publicity, exhibitions and fairs.[5]

The Fairs

The Institute for Foreign Trade was responsible for organising Italy's participation at international fairs, selecting its exhibits and for producing promotional material. While hard to imagine now, at the time, Italian design was not broadly known, and the Institute's primary intent was to showcase how good Italian production had become at making something of quality, durability and style that would last for generations. The invitation to participate in the fairs was reserved for a limited number of Italian manufacturers, and there were two main criteria fundamental to be selected: quality and continuity of production.[6] The manufacturers selected were expected to bring both 'honour' and 'profit' to the Institute for Foreign Trade, and to the State who was financing it, which meant quality of production was of utmost importance.[7] Equally, only those companies that could afford to continue producing good quality design and maintain their presence on the international market were deemed suitable to represent Italy internationally. In the past, poor production, and the sudden disappearance of Italian products from the global market had caused considerable damage to the country's reputation – a reputation that now needed not only to be re-

stored but empowered. Within this context, it is not difficult to imagine that the Institute's 'natural' inclination was to support and showcase companies that already had the financial means to produce quality and to maintain it by, for instance, commissioning renowned artists and/or architects to work on their designs and displays. Often these manufacturers were either closely involved in managing the institution – FIAT and Pirelli were recurrent entries – or politically close to the regime, as was the case for Senatore Borletti.

However, despite the initial enthusiasm, gathering manufacturers to display their products at Italian pavilions was, at times, met with resistance. Some manufacturers were worn out by the government's continuous demands to participate in both national and international exhibitions owing to the considerable costs that they bore – while also doubting their effectiveness in terms of sales. Nonetheless, the Institute, relevant Ministers, and Mussolini himself felt, in line with the principle of continuity and propaganda, that it was necessary to keep showing. To encourage participation in the fairs the Institute, that is, the State, would often cover most of the costs required by the single manufacturing company to participate (shipping, participation fees, etc.), and would also rely on the General Confederation of Italian Industry to 'lobby' selected manufacturers into taking part. The Italian government wanted to exhibit and became progressively more involved in choosing where to show and how to promote Italian production. Italy's presence at fairs was particularly prominent in countries where political deals could be struck or that were under the watch of Fascism's expansionism, like in the Balkans.

The fairs organised by the Institute for Foreign Trade were dominated by 'brands' bearing the industry=founder's name – e.g. Olivetti, Necchi, Buitoni, Ducati – under the collective label of an Italian pavilion with the Italian government acting as the overarching sponsor. (Fig. 2) The pavilions themselves were often less impressive than the displays of objects they contained: it was the industry and the product, rather than the individual that took centre stage in the presentation of Italy's design production.[8] Design, and designers were, of course, present too but they were not the centre of attention. This is the case for Olivetti's typewriter *Studio 42,* designed by architects Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini with the technician Ottavio Luzzati and the Bauhaus artist Xanti Schawinsky. Now considered an iconic piece of Italian design, *Studio 42* was showcased in Olivetti's stand at the Leipzig Fair in 1941, not as a stand-alone piece, but in and amongst many others.[9] (Fig. 3) Though buried under the wide range of fabrics offered by Snia Viscosa, including Lanital, glimpses of the clean lines and minimalist exhibition stands that were beginning to mark an Italian style can also be distinguished, making the whole display stand out.[10] (Fig. 4)

Fascism was not only endorsing modernism by supporting or coercing the industrialists' participation in fairs; it was also doing it by furnishing its spaces with tubular furniture: the modern piece *par excellence*. Original photographs of the fairs show that since the early 30s, the Institute for Foreign Trade had embraced style and innovation by furnishing their offices and meeting spaces with tables and chairs made of tubular steel – a material already known and used by Michael Thonet, Marcel Breuer and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe – and now manufactured in Italy too. (Fig. 5) Tubular furniture was not cheap to produce, which meant that Italian firms like Parma – the principal supplier of tubular furniture in this case – often pursued 'official' collaborations and tailored their production for projects such as offices and universities, where large quantities of the same table, chair or metal fittings were required.[11] Furnishing one fair after the other with tubular furniture had a dual role: it conveyed a modern, dynamic and 'with-the times' image of the Italian government, and it was also an investment in these very industries, while tightening the ever-growing involvement of the Italian's government when it came to national manufacturing, modern design and promotion.

Whose modernism was it then? It can be argued that in Italy Modernism belonged to a unique partnership originated between a private party – the industrialists – and a public one – the Fascist State. The almost 100 years old Institute of Foreign Trade is testimony to the government-cum industry's intent to widely promote Italian manufacturing, and to expand Italy's economic power beyond its borders through a selected view of what made Italy modern: the production of quality and relentless propaganda.

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1 Scott M. Cutlip, 'The Hamilton Wright Organization – The First International Agency,' in *The Unseen Power: Public Relations. A History* (Hillsdale: Erlbaum, 1994).

2 In January 1922, only eight months before Mussolini took power, a national conference in Milan was called by the Minister for Industry and Trade, Bortolo Belotti, and sought by several prominent industrialists – the president of the conference committee was Angelo Salmoiraghi of the eyeglasses manufacturer Salmoiraghi & Viganó. The conference was declared as 'a first experiment of direct collaboration between central power and the national producing classes to increase exports.' Mussolini was one of the attendees of the conference: *Atti del Convegno Nazionale per l'Esportazione*. Milano, 15-18 Gennaio 1922. Translation by the author.

3 Emanuela Scarpellini, 'Il Fascimo,' in *L'Italia dei Consumi. Dalla Belle Époque al nuovo millennio* (Laterza: Roma, 2021). The headline is from the article 'Produrre di più, consumare di meno ed esportare' in *Corriere della Sera* (9 July, 1926).

4 The General Confederation of Italian Industry was established in 1919 in Turin and represented the interests of all major Italian industrialists. In 1933, the regime and the Confederation agreed that all trades with more than five employees were obliged to join the General Confederation of Italian Industry. De Nicoló Marco, *Storia della Confederazione Nazionale dell'Artigianato* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2016).

5 The Central government, which at first was just offering a 'helping hand', became progressively more involved in the running of the Institution, which reached its climax in 1936 when there was a complete symbiosis between the two bodies: this is when Felice Guarneri became the President of the Institution for Foreign Trade, as well as Minister for Exchanges and Values – the government body that directly controlled and financed the Institute.

6 Regolamento per la partecipazione alle Fiere, 8-9 novembre 1926. Archivio ICE, faldone 340.

7 During the inter-war years, the Institute was financially supported by the Minister of Corporations (1930 – 1935), the Minister for Exchanges and Currencies (1936 – 1942), and the Minister for Foreign Affairs and of Popular Culture.

8 This could also be due to lack of funding, but specific evidence has not been found on this subject since most documents belonging to the Exhibitions and Fairs Office of the Institute of Foreign Trade have been dispersed.

9 Fiorella Bulegato and Elena Dellapiana, *Il design degli architetti italiani 1920 – 2000* (Milano: Electa, 2022).

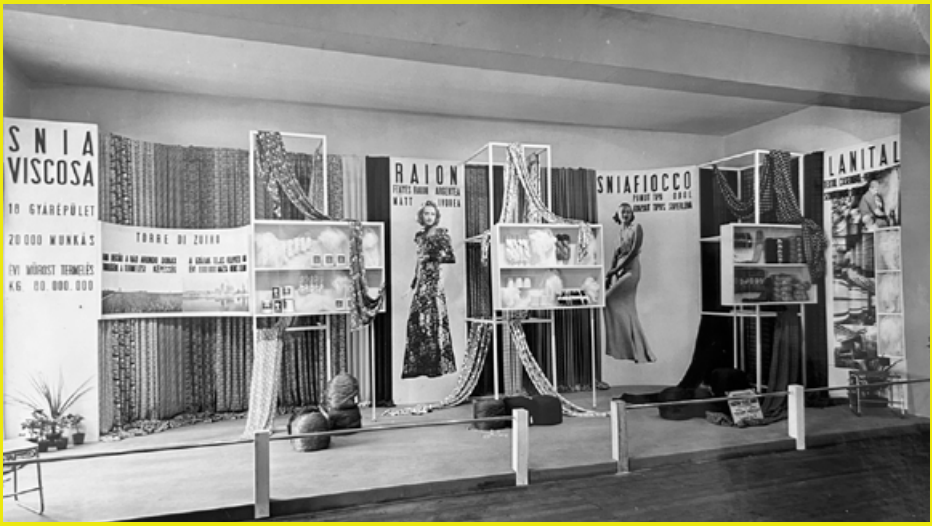
10 The display is likely to have been designed by Angelo Bianchetti, an established collaborator of the textile firm, who often worked alongside Cesare Pea or Marcello Nizzoli on textile exhibitions. For comparisons see: Claudia Bianchi, 'bianchetti e pea: forme creative dell'esporre 1934-1964.' Tesi, Politecnico di Milano, A.A. 2009-'10.

11 Andrea Nulli, 'L'arredo razionalista per le istituzioni' in Vittorio Gregotti (ed.), *Il disegno del prodotto industriale* (Milano: Eletta, 1998).

1. News poster for Snia Viscosa: 'Now you can drink milk or wear it'. Archivio Centrale di Stato.

2. Italian Pavilion at the Belgrade Fair, 1938. Archivio Nazionale Cinema Impresa.

3. Olivetti's stand at the Leipzig Fair, 1941. Archivio Nazionale Cinema Impresa.



4. Snia Viscosa's stand at the Budapest Fair, 1939. Archivio Nazionale Cinema Impresa.

5. The Institute for Foreign Trade's office at the Paris Fair, 1935. Archivio Nazionale Cinema Impresa.

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THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY: A VIEW ON MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN JERZY SOŁTAN'S TEXTS

Szymon Ruszczewski

Many of the terms used to describe modern architecture and its various tendencies may today appear deprived of their initial meaning. Peter Blundell Jones claims that words such as "functionalism", "rationalism" or "the International Style" have lost their significance and need to be redefined.[1] This confusion can be linked to the common cause and unity inscribed within the term "modern movement" so dear to Nikolaus Pevsner or Leonardo Benevolo who equate it with "modern architecture". The importance of unity was indeed crucial when modern architecture was in its first years and was being opposed by a traditionalist front of Beaux-Arts-influenced academic architects. Quoting CIAM and Team 10 member Polish architect Jerzy Sołtan (1913-2005), "When CIAM was fighting against those who represented the past, it was then the modern movement."[2]

After the initial heroic effort and again after the Second World War, the shift towards modern architecture deprived the "modern movement" of its sense of unity. Modern architects did not follow a single path, and different directions were laid out, while the "movement" became a crafted concept rather than a true tendency. Differences between visions of what modern architecture was is at the core of this paper, which discusses them through the lens of lectures and articles by Jerzy Sołtan, Le Corbusier's co-worker and a lifelong Corbusian architect, and comparing them to some of Alvar Aalto's texts on architecture. While taking as a starting position the fact that "modern movement" was a constructed concept, as modern historians and theoreticians needed to underline its unity when facing traditionalists, the paper proposes to take into consideration three terms referring to different aspects of modern architecture, which stand out in Sołtan's reading: functionalism, rationalism, and modernism.

Functionalism – buildings as "matchbox architecture"

The theme of functionalism (or "matchbox architecture") is often referred to by Sołtan in relation to the early years of modern architecture centred on practicality and basic human needs.[3] According to him, its origin lies in the profound change in

culture, science and society from the mid-nineteenth century onwards,[4] and whose "heroic" aspect is also very much present in the first histories of modern architecture – such as *Growth of a New Tradition*, the subtitle to Sigfried Giedion's history. This new spirit made architecture move away from the nineteenth-century Beaux-Arts spirit towards a more technology-and-science-led approach.

Functionalism, as seen by Sołtan, refers to the diminutive mottos "do not grieve for roses while the forests are burning" or "form follows function" – meaning that functionalist architecture was not interested in aesthetics and formal aspects while there were more pressing issues such as providing new dwellings for the growing population. A similar tendency was flagged by Aalto in his 1928 article "The Latest Trends in Architecture", in which he wrote that the new architecture had a realistic and practical basis, in contrast to the earlier aesthetic-based approach.[5] Sołtan also claims that the resulting rush towards quantity and the focus on building as fast as possible was inhibiting a better expression of new architectural forms. Because of the idea that architectural forms take a secondary place in functionalist architecture, Sołtan baptised such buildings "matchbox architecture", that is, deprived of aesthetic consideration, following similar terms used by Le Corbusier ("soapbox architecture") and Giedion ("cardboard architecture").[6] He criticised such buildings as too shallow and too simple, and argues that such simplified constructions should rather be identified as "buildings" and not "architecture". He adds that the popularity of the "matchbox architecture" amongst modern architects was due to the easiness of the scientific approach for less talented individuals, which resulted in a higher number of poorer quality buildings and designs – buildings that lacked a "humanising" approach, just to relate to Aalto. In Sołtan's analysis, he connects the broad outreach of early functionalism and the interpretation of modern architecture through the generalisation of its ideas as one of the main reasons for the criticism of the very concept of "modern".

Rationalism – between the rational and the emotional

Differently from functionalism, rationalism was not clearly defined by either Sołtan or architectural historians. Whereas William Curtis seems to understand rationalism as related to reason, Alan Colquhoun refers to the "purification [of art] and the discovery of its psychological and formal laws" as the first task of the rational architects.[7] In his reading, Sołtan moves interestingly towards the concept shared by Aalto, and he leaves clear indications of his vision of architecture, including both the rational and the emotional.[8] As shown by a number of Sołtan's texts written between 1948 and 1995, he firmly and continuously believed that both rational and emotional el-

ements are needed in architecture. Indeed, he claims that "it would be helpful for an architect to assume that rationalism and logical thinking are tools and helpful methods in his work and that another source of help is, however... imagination, intuition, [and the] ability to dream."[9] He further claims that relying on the rational side without considering the indispensable poetics would lead an architect back towards functionalism and "matchbox architecture". He clearly expresses his beliefs on this broader rationalism in a discussion with Fernando Távora at the Team 10 Otterlo meeting in 1959, claiming that there are both rational and poetic "reasons" in architecture, and that the former ones are not to be defined as "irrational".[10] In fact, he adds that the separation of thinking and feeling is an example of bad rationalism, or an incomplete one. To divide the two sides and to focus only on the more practical matters is, according to him, the fault of the overestimation of thinking over feeling. He illustrates this viewpoint very clearly in a lecture at Harvard in 1967, where he claims that the 'mainstream' meaning of rationalism relied on the fact that modern architects concentrated only on one aspect of it – the purifying force of reason. At the same time, he claims that the other aspect of rationalism, "the satisfaction of the human soul, is just as important as the material [one]".[11] He thus urges rationalist architects to be "rational enough" to let the emotional into their design process – a stand that can be compared to Aalto's idea of an extended concept of rationalism, as presented in a series of articles from the 1930s and 1940s, such as "The humanising of architecture" and "The trout and the stream", where the latter calls for a more human innovation of modern architecture thanks to new developments in psychology.[12]

Modernism – looking for the raw beginnings

Even though rationalist ideas, both linked to reason and emotions, are close to Sołtan's vision of architecture, the essence of modernism relies, for him, in what he called "grassroots architecture" – a concept to which he referred passionately throughout his entire life in a number of texts.[13] In his understanding, its meaning is different from what we now understand as "grassroots", involving local communities and activism. It is linked rather to beginnings, essentials, and foundations or different cultures: to everything that is rough, unpolished, and waiting to be defined, to what is not polluted by decorations, by added layers, to what is the essence of the spirit of a burgeoning culture and, as such, to what are the universal patterns projecting towards the future. The vernacular and the primitive art are, according to Sołtan, the clearest representation of new tendencies and ideas – an idea that is shared by Herbert Read, one of his most-quoted art critics. In Read's words, "in the primitive art we see so clearly, what is so difficult to perceive in the complex prod-

ucts of highly cultured civilisations – the directly expressive quality of the artist's vision, its objectification in solid shapes", claiming that with these essential forms one can understand easily the new ideas.[14]

For Sołtan, the cultural shift that was happening along with the appearance of modern architecture was one of those crucial moments: a moment of the burgeoning culture of tomorrow, a culture for the future of humanity. Deeply connected to the cubist influences in architects and artists like Le Corbusier, Constantin Brancusi, and Fernand Léger, Sołtan claims that reference to the raw beginnings of other cultures – quoting early Greek, early Romanesque, pre-Incan America, or the indigenous people in Africa and Australia – lies at the core of modern architecture. The interest of some of these is also shared by Aalto: one can relate to his sketches of North African or Italian towns and villages, and his interest in the vernacular architecture of hilltop towns. Even though Aalto arguably never directly mentioned his interest in 'beginnings', which Sołtan was very much clear about, he was clearly interested in these, and he shows this in his in-memoriam note following Le Corbusier's death, where he refers to the quality of the latter's work being due to it being rooted in the classical tradition.[15]

Such an understanding of modernism brings Sołtan closer to the 'eternal' aspect of architecture. When talking about Le Corbusier's work as the epitome of modernism, Sołtan underlines the former's interest in origins and the idea of 'becoming young'. Amongst Sołtan's papers, one may find a quote by Le Corbusier: "the problem – evidently – is throughout the complexities to attain simplicity, throughout the destructions of life to pursue a wondrous dream: not the one to stay young, but the one to become young".[16] Such a different reading of modernism, which was often considered as a *tabula rasa* cut off from history, is a very important issue for Sołtan. In fact, one of his former co-workers recalls that Sołtan tried to "straighten faulty judgments and assaulting opinions treating modernism superficially and without a proper knowledge and understanding [of] its essence and historical background".[17] At the same time, Sołtan urges that it is necessary and inevitable to go forward, and looking for the common ground does not mean going backwards in time or looking for past forms: "it's impossible to go back. The weak wish to go back as they cannot cope with the present-day".[18]

Conclusion

This brief overview of some of the terms used by Sołtan in his texts is much more relevant than clarifying some doubts about nomenclature as related to modern architecture. With clear parallels in some of Aalto's own lectures and articles, it shows that a similar understanding of what modern architecture was about was shared by very different architects, and it can be helpful in 'cleansing the aura' of modern architecture following the postmodern criticism by historians like Charles Jencks. Sołtan's insistence on making sure that the differences between tendencies within modern architecture can be understood was aimed at 'righting its wrongs' and making sure to clarify that modernism and rationalism were unjustly victims of the simplifying "matchbox architecture" and some other derailed tendencies, such as "false modernism" – which in his view meant the Beaux-Arts architects who started to use modern elements and details without understanding the very concept of modern architecture.[20] The idea that modernism can be both rooted in the past and projected towards the future is in fact light years away from the ideas simply linking modern architecture with the use of brise-soleil, reinforced concrete or functional plans. If one follows the idea of modernism as a search for the expression of the changes in culture and society, the answer to the seminar's main question – "whose modernism?" – perhaps may simply be: "ours".

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14 Herbert Read, *Art Now* (London: Faber and Faber, 1948), 45.

15 Alvar Aalto, “Le Corbusier” (1965), reproduced in *Alvar Aalto in his Own Words*, ed. Göran Schildt (Helsinki: Otava, 1998), 248.

16 Note with Le Corbusier’s quote in Jerzy Sołtan’s papers, Jerzy Sołtan Collection, Museum of the Fine Arts Academy, Warsaw.

17 Note about Jerzy Sołtan by Włodzimierz Wittek supporting an honorary doctorate at the Polytechnic of Warsaw, 2000, Jerzy Sołtan Collection, Museum of the Fine Arts Academy, Warsaw. Translation from Polish by the author.

18 Lecture “Impresje Paryskie” at the National Museum in Warsaw, March 1948, Jerzy Sołtan Collection, Museum of the Fine Arts Academy, Warsaw. Translation from Polish by the author.

19 Audio recording from Otterlo Team 10 meeting, September 1959, AV49, audio 7, Jaap Bakema Collection, Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam.

1. Werkbund exposition residential buildings designed by Gustav Wolf (front) and Adolf Rading (rear) in Breslau from 1929: in Jerzy Sołtan's understanding, examples of "matchbox architecture" centred on the need to provide housing and dwelling to the growing population. Photo: Szymon Ruszczewski

2. Alvar Aalto's Säynätsalo Town Hall, which illustrates the broader concept of rationalist architecture with emotional and poetic aspects of design, in addition to the attention to the more pragmatic and practical considerations of the users' needs. Photo: Szymon Ruszczewski

3. Le Corbusier's chapel in Ronchamp, which, in Jerzy Sołtan's understanding, relates to the memories of the first Christian churches and cave or catacomb meeting places in the first years of Christianity as an example of "grassroots" architecture.
Photo: Szymon Ruszczewski

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LAYERS OF THE INVISIBLE

Space within Finland's disappearing concrete structures of the 1960s and 1970s

Karita Rytivaara

Introduction

During Western modernism, the term "space" became more essential in architecture, referring not only to space as a volume or void, but also as an abstract concept of values and ideas that set architecture apart from other art forms.[1] In Finland, the term "space" was initially hidden within the layers of the functionalist tradition (and the term "function") but also in Finnish modern architecture "space" became part of discussions, as a visual concept, a counterpart of material but also as a property of the mind. This was especially true during the 1960s, when ideological shifts transformed architecture in Finland, and structures became more open and linear. Concrete was considered the neutral background of space.[2]

In 1955, architect and professor Aulis Blomstedt wrote about how space is an integral part of the language of architecture. He believed that architecture was not just physical objects, but rather the arrangement of those objects in relation to one another. He emphasized the importance of harmony of spatial volumes, as well as gravity counteracting with material.[3] In his 1964 work "The Fourth Dimension of Architecture," Blomstedt argued that architecture was about movement in space and should be experienced through time.[4] This idea was partly inspired by the theorist and architect Oscar Hanssen, who gave a lecture in Helsinki in 1962 and introduced his concept of "open form," which was an idea of space that would allow dialogue and change.[5]

The younger generation of architects in the 1960s took Blomstedt's and Hanssen's theories seriously, particularly the advocates of Finnish constructivism, who further developed the concept of space to include idealistic and political undertones. They opposed the "formally expressive and elitist" architecture seen in the works produced by Alvar Aalto.[6] Systems symbolized the anonymity of the architect and general equality. The term space disappeared from the discussion during the 1960s and was replaced by the term function. Still, one could argue that the general principles were a dialogue between those two, space as a volume and its invisible ideological values connected to function, or action in space. Buildings were to be mini-

mal and open and structures were to be systematic and visible. Open space was to let the users, the people within the grid frame, create architecture. Architects were to be neutral and just provide a frame for space.[7]

Method

Discovering layers of space today and here in this text is not just to realize that space within the concrete structures symbolized values to the architects, but also to discover them side by side with the now disappearing material form of architecture.

Nowadays, especially the everyday modern surroundings in Finland built during the 1960s and 1970s, are being demolished.

Detaching the concrete frame from a modern building to a scale model is an attempt to reveal the spaces within and also retrospectively find connections to the abstract ideas of space beneath the layers. Still, a physical model, made of concrete, stays rooted to the actual material world.

I created the scale models for the research and exhibition project "Stripped Frame", funded by the Kone Foundation, made in collaboration with architect Kaisa Karvinen. The project studied the disappearing architecture in Finland of the 1960s and 1970s, including a cross-section of everyday buildings such as a factory, school, shopping center, sports hall, office building, hospital, and parking hall that are now at risk of demolition or have recently been demolished.

Here we revisit the example buildings, their scale models, again with the support of the project descriptions from the *Finnish Architectural Review* and study them from the angle of space.

Space in concrete structures that are now disappearing

The collection of example buildings was rooted in architect Erkki Kairamo and Jorma Pankakoski's design for the Hyrylä Heating Plant from 1968. This small, lightweight factory building was an example of constructivism in Finland.[8] In the *Finnish Architectural Review*'s project description, the oil running through the machines was called the structure of the building. The slender cast-in-place concrete frame was considered merely a necessity. Only space, the function that was within, counted.

“The machines were organized and around it an uninsulated weather protection was built – a non-house– aiming to show only the technology without adding architecture.”[9]

But there was architecture, linear and miesian, and the concrete frame did play a role in it. In the scale model, one can imagine the factory flow and the machines but at the same time see the concrete frame. The structure doesn’t disappear without its function. (Fig. 1)

Or in reality it did. After the factory process eventually ended in 2017 the building was demolished.

In the case of the other example buildings, the project descriptions were not so determined to clear the “architecture” from them. Still, it is difficult to determine for sure the metaphysical ideas of space behind their rectangular characteristics. The Kulosaari shopping center (1960) by architect Erkki Karvinen was described almost mainly from the point of view of the maintenance traffic.[10] The spatial solutions of the Chydenius elementary school by Osmo Sipari (1965) were seen as a result of making the distances and movement inside the building as efficient as possible.[11]

Viewing the Kulosaari shopping center’s frame in a scale model, its pavilions and their structure equal in size, side by side, divided by paths in between, one can see the systems thinking in it and imagine the different activities moving in space. (Fig. 2)

Chydenius’ systematic pillar and beam structure is also revealed in the scale model. Different sized rooms were divided up within its frame system. In the central corridor, the ceiling is raised, through which a little bit of light is also guided inside the frame. The location of the corridor can also be seen from the exterior. (Fig. 4)

The foam board used in the casting of the scale models revealed how space and material were connected. Solid foam was removed and became space and the empty part of the mold became solid concrete. This process demonstrated how spatial volumes literally counteract with material, a little bit like as Aulis Blomstedt described. This unveiling can be seen in the Rajakaari multipurpose hall (1963), a sports facility originally designed by architect Einari Teräsvirta, and the Kulosaari shopping center scale models. (Figs. 4 and 2)

Example buildings from the 1970s, Heikki Castrén’s Espoo City Hall (1971), Peter Bieber’s Merihaka parking garage (1975) and Reino Koivula’s Pediatric Clinic

(1976) don't have individual descriptions published in the *Finnish Architectural Review*, but appear as part of broader master plan articles. A design proposal from 1965 for the current Merihaka area of Helsinki was described as a flexible frame that creates the foundation for the further development. It is also interesting to mention that architects Kirmo Mikkola and architecture student Juhani Pallasmaa are mentioned as part of Erik Kråkström's design team, since they were active advocates of constructivism in Finland.[12] One can only wonder if the spatial structure had a connection to the ideas of open form, a free and equal space.

In the scale model one can see the minimalistic measuring system of the Merihaka parking hall. The "central corridor" has the same dimensions as the parking spots, operating in a structural system divided in 7,5 meters. The space between the walls could be seen as standing still and the one under the beams as on the move in the middle: the same space, but in a different form. (Fig. 5)

Results

The reasons behind the physical solutions of the example buildings were not directly detectable in the individual project descriptions of the *Finnish Architecture Review*. The theoretical discussion about space was done mostly separately and the word "space" also started disappearing as the 1960s and 1970s progresssed.[13] It is impossible to determine for sure an exact theoretical intention regarding space behind the selected example buildings but they were often said to be connected to the users' needs.

However, in a scale model of the concrete frame one can detect ideas of openness in the frames, flexible "equal" *space* within the concrete grid, a system of spaces in the building structures. We can become aware, or at least start to understand, the ideas that underlie the buildings of that time: the metaphysical, deeper reality of their ontological world. A concrete frame serves as a guideline to the forms of space as volume but also to the ideas that were to be more in tune with the modern world.

Also, we can start to learn what the buildings are physically.

Understanding the frame helps us to see the logic of a modern building, and it proves useful when designing future renovations. Just simply adjusting to the dimensions can reveal what would visually sit better within the whole.

Concrete was originally thought to have a neutral character. In a scale model one can see how concrete is a material with its own visual presence. One could even argue that the more one tries to highlight space, simultaneously the opposing force becomes visible. As a method of revealing space in a concrete scale model of a building frame, it also reveals the materiality.

Discussion

Today we see the concrete buildings, the results of architects' ideas in the 1960s and 1970s, decaying.

Understanding better the cultural context of the disappearing architecture of the 1960s and 1970s could add meaning to them and prevent their demolition today. Empathy toward system structures can create an attitude, where the existing material and abstract meanings could coexist. For the designer of that time, ideas of space might have been the core of creativity, beyond material ones. Today, in the global ecological crisis, we should become aware of the values of space in connection to the now increasing values of existing materials. Preserving can also contribute to sustainability via a sense of place and community, which can be an important aspect.

One should be aware that we are still living in modern times. Many new buildings are still made out of concrete and system thinking guides them as well.

As an architect, I can also recognize current architecture education in the writings in the *Finnish Architectural Review* from the 1960s and 1970s. I would argue that we are still connected to the abstract modern intentions and patiently reflecting on the disappearing structures could reveal information about the narrative we are living today.

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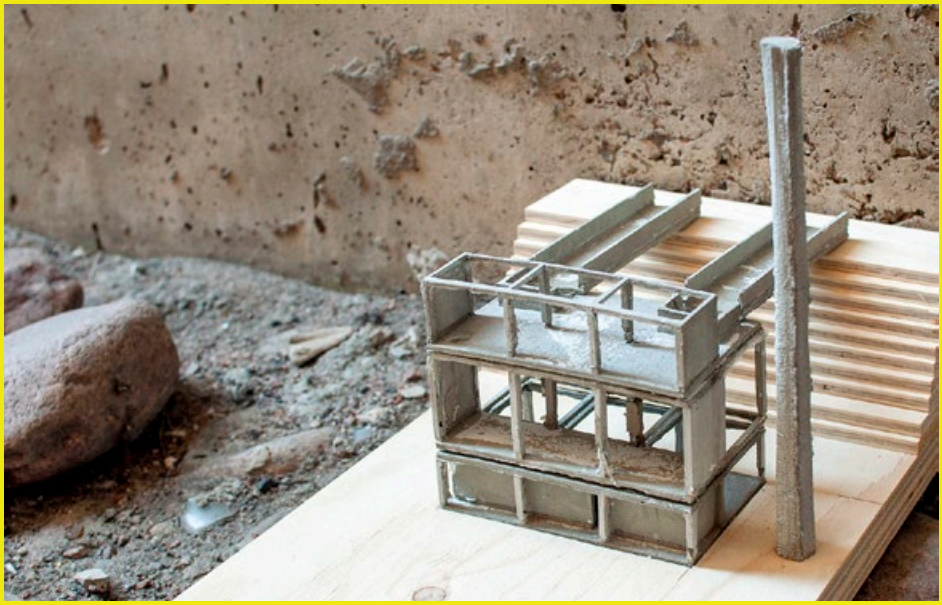

1. The Hyrylä Heating Plant was intended to focus solely on the functionality of the factory process, eschewing any additional ornamentation or embellishment. However, in examining the scale model, one can begin to imagine the interplay between the factory machines and the concrete frame, which, despite its perceived lack of materiality, possesses a character all its own. Model and photo: Karita Rytivaara, 2022.

2. After the casting process, the foam is detached from the miniature concrete frame, marking the transition from a solid structure to an open space. The concrete frame is visible in the scale model of the Kulosaari shopping center, revealing the framework of the pavilions where services are located and the slabs that connect them, facilitating movement in between. Model and photo: Karita Rytivaara, 2021.

3. The first floor of the Rajakaari sports hall just after casting above and then the final scale model in the Stripped Frame exhibition in 2022 (Stripped Frame exhibition and research project Karita Rytivaara, 2022 was done by Listening Practice team, architects Kaisa Karvinen and Karita Rytivaara). The original building is from 1963 and is soon going to be demolished. Process of Model and photo: Karita Rytivaara, 2022

4. This section model showcases the one-story pavilions of the Chydenius Elementary School. The building's architecture places significant emphasis on facilitating movement within the structure. In the concrete scale model, one can observe a rational structure and paths beneath the canopies and skylights. The pavilions' curved shapes also help delineate the outdoor areas. Model and photo: Karita Rytivaara, 2022

5. The Merihaka parking garage uses the same measurement system of 7.5 meters as the entire Merihaka housing area. In the concrete model, one can observe the current state of the structure in a small scale, as the parking garage does not have any insulation, only the concrete structure. Despite this, one can still see the impact of the system on its space better in a scale model. Cars are still parked between the walls, while they move and flow under the beams. Model and photo: Karita Rytivaara, 2022

Liza Sedler is a first-year PhD student in Art History and Visual Culture at the Estonian Academy of Art. Her past work as an interior designer and her interest in retro fashion have determined her research focus, which lies in the sphere of home culture, furniture and design history. Sedler's study focuses on the input of architects, designers and applied artists in everyday culture. Her research is based on Estonian magazines such as *Art and Home and Soviet Woman* in the period between 1960 and 1970.

KITCHEN DESIGNER AS A SOCIAL AGENT IN THE ESTONIAN SSR

Liza Sedler

My interest in Soviet kitchen design is based on the hypothesis that representations of kitchens became a political issue after the Kitchen Debates in 1959, when the world leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Richard Nixon argued about the merits of capitalist consumer goods and home appliances with the innovative kitchen in the background at the American National exhibition in Moscow. The event launched the development of modern kitchens in the USSR. The kitchen had to stand in the centre of new life at home and shape the lifestyle of Soviet citizens. The current paper explores the intentions behind the design of ideal home kitchens specifically in the Estonian SSR through the images and texts published in the magazines *Art and Home* (*Kunst ja Kodu*) and *Soviet Woman* (*Nõukogude Naine*) in the 1960s.

Soviet design production has been discredited for ideological overdetermination, for its poor quality and for pirated copies of foreign designs.[1] Nevertheless, excluding Soviet design from the historical narrative impoverishes it, leaving out many design professionals. It is important to look at the designers' works without any preconceptions. The role of the Estonian SSR designers in shaping home culture under ideological pressure and in the circumstances of the planned economy can be interpreted in various ways.

My research of Estonian SSR kitchen design takes approaches from multiple disciplines, including architecture and design history, sociology and visual culture. The positions of previous scholars on the intent of the Soviet period design vary significantly. Researcher of the Cold War culture Susan E. Read estimated that the civilizing of the home kitchen in the 1960s involved a forceful "sovietisation" of the private space through the lifestyle literature.[2] Anthropologist Victor Buchli also points out that the discourse of the *byt* (everyday life) theorists aimed to obliterate the irrational domestic sphere.[3] Historian of Soviet Design Yulia Karpova, on the contrary, emphasises the dynamism and heterogeneity of professional design in the Soviet Union in her book *Comradely Objects*.[4] She describes the attempts to create unique designs that aimed to influence the customer both emotionally and aesthetically.

A close reading of the Estonian journals suggests in a similar way that the designers who published there their projects had a sincere aspiration of changing the quality

of everyday life. In what follows I will give some examples of DIY columns, kitchen layout and colour scheme suggestions from the magazines *Kunst ja Kodu* and *Nõukogude Naine* that describe in greater detail the possible motivations of the 1960s modernist kitchen designers.

The rigidity of the Soviet planned economy caused a shortage in consumer goods: industrially produced kitchen furniture and appliances were not available in the early 1960s. As a solution, Estonian architects and designers constantly offered the magazine readership kitchen layouts and furniture drawings to be implemented at home. (Fig. 1) Each published project was complemented with a didactic text and interior sketches, illustrating how to implement the project: combining it with textiles, wall colours and even dishes.

The authors were rather strict in the tone of their recommendations and warned the reader against self-willed changes to the suggested designs. That, from the designers' point of view, could have posed a danger of "excessiveness and pretentiousness".[5] This attempt to control the home practice of DIY could be considered a symptom of Soviet supervision of private life by ideology agents through the magazine. However, the intolerant tone of the articles could be explained also by other reasons.

Modernist designers had an earnest belief in certain aesthetic ideals, which could be achieved in previously artisanal kitchen spaces only by following professional advice. Moreover, publishing a kitchen project in the format of DIY information gave the design ideas a greater chance of being realized than the slowly moving Soviet industry in the beginning of the 1960s.[6] It could also be considered for designers as a peculiar form of building a professional identity on the social landscape. Moreover, all the authors had long-term pedagogical experience, e.g. at the Estonian State Art Institute and Tallinn Polytechnic University, which probably turned mentoring from a position directed from above into a habit. Thus, the designers could have been trying to support what, according to them, was the best project execution with the help of the texts.

What way of life were the designers trying to spread via DIY kitchen projects? Although significant changes were undergone during the Khrushchev Thaw – notably the rejection of Stalinism – there was still a strong ideological confrontation, as the intransigence of the Kitchen Debate showed. During the Thaw building-boom period in the 1960s, the standard area of the kitchen space was just 5,4 m^2. This tiny room was isolated from the rest of the apartment with a door for hygienic reasons. According to experts, the small area served the function of saving housewives from

taking extra steps during cooking. This suited well with the Soviet explicit ideology of modesty and, typical for this period, a tendency towards rationalization. Fashion and trends that exceeded the necessities were judged as "superfluous" and "bourgeois".[7] "There is no sign of equality between beautiful and fashionable," warned architect Maimu Vaarandi in her article on the theme of good taste in home interiors.[8]

Despite this, the authors of the articles on kitchen design were quite bold in their admiration of Western trends. It was mirrored in the comments on the small black-and-white photos of Eastern German kitchen designs or Finnish tableware considered to be "timeless and universal".[9] A comparison of the magazine DIY kitchens with images of foreign kitchens showed that their drawings followed the same proportions and shapes as Western industrially produced models.

The specific geometry of the wall cabinets with sliding doors hanging over the working surface in Saima Veidenberg's and Maia Oselein's models (Figs. 2-3) was an analogue of the DDR kitchen, as seen in a photograph in *Art and Home* or of IKEA Pax samples of the same period. The phenomenon was quite paradoxical: Estonian designers tried to spread and reproduce the appearance of mass production for homes via handmade DIY projects, giving the heart of a Socialist home the look of an advanced foreign kitchen.

At the same time, architect Boris Mirov promoted an alternative arrangement to the standard isolated kitchen. He described it as a social space "where the guests are welcome to enter," instead of an obsolete sterile kitchen-laboratory.[10] Mirov introduced an open-plan kitchen connected to the living or dining room (Fig. 4). The open plan was gaining popularity in ideologically hostile Western capitalist homes in the 1960s (something that was not mentioned).[11] In other words, the kitchen was expected to change its place in the hierarchy of home spaces from utility room to the second living room. This arrangement suggesting an opportunity for building identity and even demonstrating to guests social belonging through the kitchen design was actually condemned in the context of the official anti-fetishist ideology.[12]

In addition, the ideals of purist modernism in the 1960s changed towards a softer approach, which defined some new trends in the kitchen aesthetics. Designers started to pay attention not only to the primary rationalised workflow in the space and ergonomic standards of the furniture, but also to the emotional well-being of the woman spending her time there. Mirov suggested using "cheerful and light tones" in the kitchen: light yellow, green or even pink hues with one or two brighter contrasting colours for details.[13] Even "discreet ornament" was legitimised in textiles and applied art objects were welcomed as accents against the monotonous background

of uniform cabinets, which could help to customise the kitchen space in accordance with the individual taste of its owners (Fig. 5).

The influence of these projects on the pages of popular magazines on the public taste and consumer expectations was significant. The articles proved that designers in the Estonian SSR implicitly overcame the obstacles of the political regime and bureaucracy. The magazine kitchen demonstrated a coherence with international design trends and the visualized new lifestyle for the reader. Consciously or not, designers in the 1960s were trying to implement, inter alia, even ideologically inappropriate conceptions of the hearth of the Estonian home through publications and drawings. They acted as lifestyle influencers, and agents of design thought, bringing new ideas to the magazine reader.

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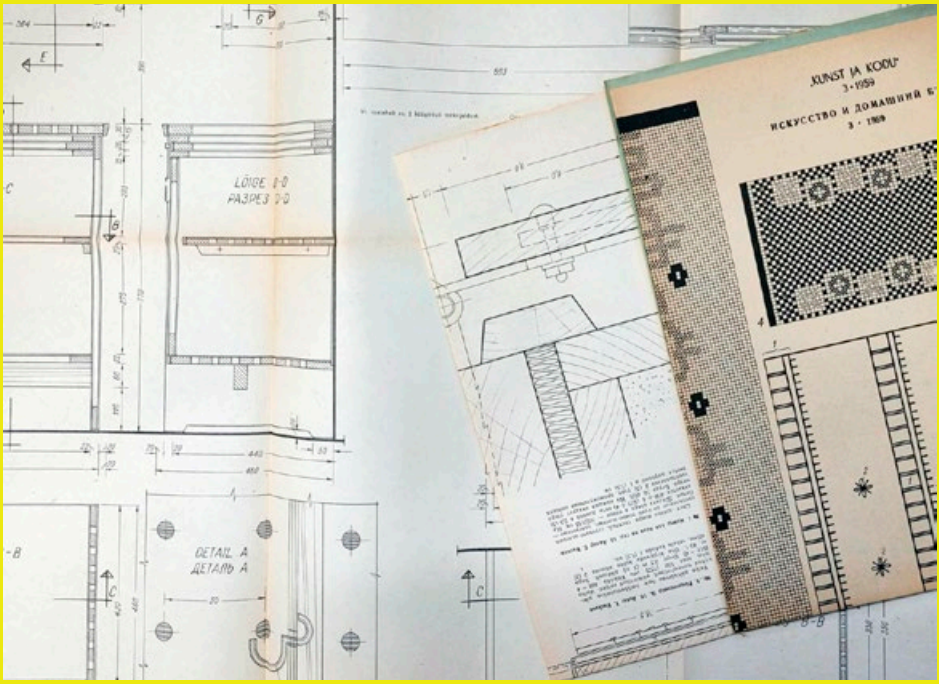
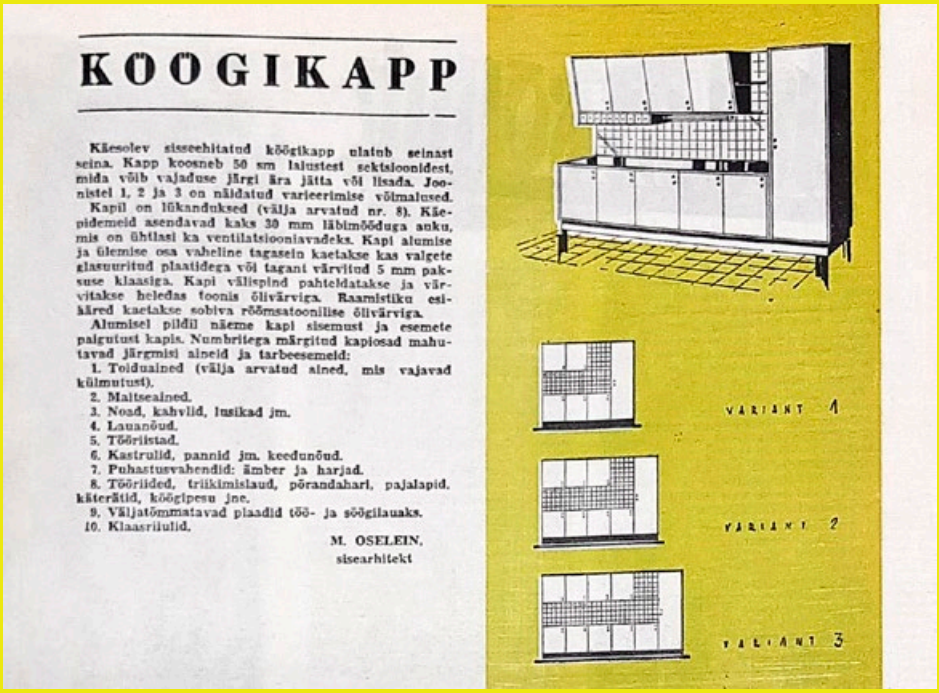


1. The appendix with DIY kitchen project drawings and textile sample sheets in the magazine *Art and Home*, no. 3 1959.
   Photo: Liza Sedler



KOOGIKAPP

Käesolev sisseehitatud köögikapp ulatub seinast seina. Kapp koosneb 50 sm laiustest sektsioonidest, mida võib vajaduse järgi ära jätta või lisada. Joonistel 1, 2 ja 3 on näidatud varieerimise võimalused.

Kapil on lükanduksed (välja arvatud nr. 8). Käepidemeid asendavad kaks 30 mm läbimõõduga auku, mis on ühtlasi ka ventilatsioonisavadeks. Kapi alumise ja ülemise osa vaheline tagasein kaetakse kas valgete klasuuritud plaatidega või tagant värvitud 5 mm paksuse klaasiga. Kapi välispind pahteldatakse ja värvitakse heledas toonis õlivärviga. Raamistiku esikäred kaetakse sobiva rõõmsatoonilise õlivärviga.

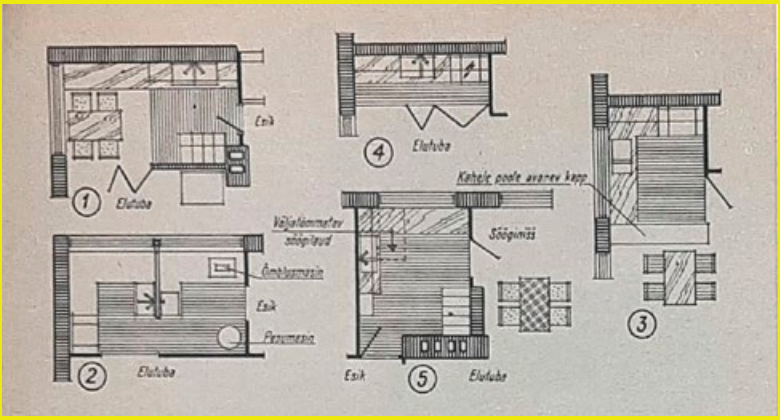
Alumisel pildil näeme kapi sisemust ja esemete paiguitust kapis. Numbritega märgitud kapiosad mahutavad järgmisi aineid ja tarbeesemeid:

1. Toiduained (välja arvatud ained, mis vajavad külmutust).
2. Maitsealned.
3. Nõud, kahvlid, lusikad jm.
4. Lauanõud.
5. Tööriistad.
6. Kastrulid, pannid jm. keedunõud.
7. Puhastusvahendid: ämber ja harjad.
8. Tööriided, triikimislaud, põrandaharl, pajalapid, käterätid, köögipesu jne.
9. Väljatõmmatavad plaadid töö- ja söögilauaks.
10. Klaasriiulid.

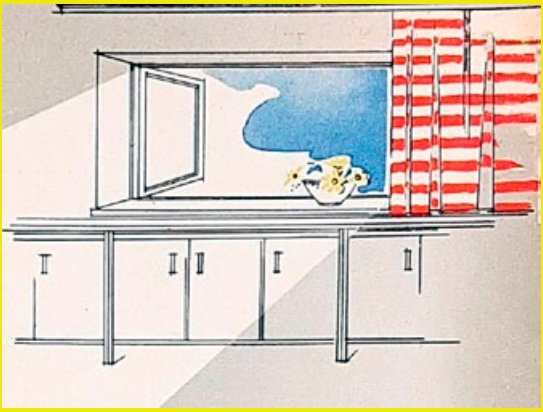
M. OSELEIN,
sisearhitekt

2. Kitchen furniture visualisation by interior designer Maia Oselein in the magazine *Soviet Woman*, no. 6 1958.
   Photo: Liza Sedler

3. Wall cabinet with a trendy shape by interior designer Saima Veidenberg in the magazine *Art and Home*, no. 3 1959. Photo: Liza Sedler



4. Architect Boris Mirov's kitchen typology drawing, which included an open plan, *Art and Home*, no.3 1969. Photo: Liza Sedler



5. Veidenberg's atmospheric sketch of a kitchen interior with flowers, an open window and striped curtains, *Art and Home*, no. 3 1959. Photo: Liza Sedler

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At Yale he served as the co-editor-in-chief of the *Southeast Asian Movement Journal.* He was the issue editor of two *Paprika!* issues, “Default” and “Just Architecture.” In 2021, he served as Professor Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen’s research assistant for the core M.Arch history/theory course, *Architecture & Modernity.* Thereafter, he advised the M.Arch Design Research seminar with Aniket Shahane and co-taught the third year undergraduate studio with Surry Schlabs.

He is the curator of two exhibitions, *In-Sync, De-Sync, and Re-Sync* at Yale and *Bamboo Pavilion* at the Singapore University of Technology and Design. His architectural competition entries have won top prizes in competitions organized by *Builder, The Big Thing, and Nonarchitecture.*

SAY HELLO, WAVE GOODBYE: THE CONCRETE ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEARL BANK APARTMENTS IN SINGAPORE

Joshua Tan

Introduction

At the time of its completion in 1976, Pearl Bank apartments was the tallest and densest residential building in Singapore at thirty-eight storeys. Although stylistically similar, its design was considerably different from the early modernist public housing projects of 1966 in Toa Payoh, Singapore. Rather than simply providing the minimum, Pearl Bank aimed to establish the aspirational. This paper uses Pearl Bank to investigate the narratives of survival and aspiration, expanding on how post-colonial states utilised Modernism to advance their political objectives of belonging and development.

Scarcity and Intervention

The relationship of Singaporean public housing with narratives of survival and scarcity has been extensively discussed.[1] Anticipating an imminent housing shortage, the newly elected People's Action Party established the Housing Development Board, which developed 120,669 housing units across 1960 and 1970.[2] The units in Toa Payoh were in blocks of flats around ten storeys high. Intended for a single "household," the apartments were minimal in their spatial provisions. The Singaporean state encouraged home ownership of these properties to ensure its citizens had a "stake" in the nation.[3] Public housing encouraged regular and formal employment by requiring consistent mortgage payments.[4] This would in turn help fulfil the state's promise of improving the citizens' material standard of living.[5] With limited land and natural resources, economic growth was believed to be the only way for Singapore to "survive."[6] Given the limited resources, this housing minimum was sufficient to establish the state's goal—political legitimacy. By 1976, however, the housing crisis was largely contained, and the priorities of the state would change. This focus shifted to constructing the aspirational using both public and private housing.[7] To understand its sway over private developments, this paper turns to Pearl Bank.[8]

While Pearl Bank was developed privately, it was intricately tied to the state apparatus. The Government Land Sales programme in 1967 implemented by the Urban Renewal Department (URD) allowed private developers to bid for public land.[9] The third sale in 1969 was launched exclusively for residential development, allowing the eventual construction of Pearl Bank.[10] Architectural historian Lee Kah-Wee observed that the URD would prepare models and plans of potential architectural schemes for private developers. While the general language of the design guidelines was loose and alternative schemes could be proposed, the URD "reserved the right to make all decisions" and were "judged on the overall economic return and design merits offered."[11] Early schemes would essentially follow what the URD proposed but later projects like Pearl Bank would deviate significantly. Nevertheless, this demonstrates that even private development was in line with public objectives.

Housing Aspirations

Pearl Bank was part of a larger political project to encourage national belonging and spur upward mobility for economic development. To achieve this, it invoked a return to traditional modes of living while offering an intermediate step to demonstrate economic success. Pearl Bank was designed by Tan Cheng Siong of Archynamics. It contained 296 housing units that would house 1,500 residents.[12] Its cylindrical form contrasted with the linear concrete blocks of Toa Payoh. Two-bedroom, three-bedroom, and four-bedroom apartments were offered, and eight penthouse units crowned its top. Pearl Bank's design can be considered a middle-class aspiration because of three factors.

Firstly, Pearl Bank was an intermediate form between the simplex units of Toa Payoh and the upper-class terraced houses in Singapore. Due to the scarcity of land in Singapore, terraced houses and bungalows—often termed "landed property"—are of premium value. Tan desired to overcome the idea that "terraced, semi-detached, and bungalow houses" were "superior," by showing the luxury of living in multi-levelled apartments in the sky.[13] While the apartments were inspired by Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation (1952),[14] rather than employing duplex units, Tan interlocked the apartments to create mezzanine levels that led to the more public living room and the more private bedrooms. The split-level apartments would create a "modified" type that could accommodate the required residential density while drawing on the prestige of landed property.[15]

Secondly, while the unit designs of Toa Payoh were designed for a single household, Pearl Bank afforded larger habitation sizes and a return to previous modes of

living. In early public housing units, the household—defined as a nuclear family unit that consisted of a heterosexual married couple and their children—was believed to be the ideal size for one apartment.[16] Most were comfortable only for a maximum of three adults.[17] The units would simply provide a large living room for residents to use for both the functions of dining and gathering. This represented a radical shift from previous ways of living, that included "large multi-families in the village."[18] Additionally, this removed the differentiation of functions between rooms which was commonplace in both indigenous Malay architecture and the adapted colonial bungalows in British Malaya (today's Peninsular Malaysia and Singapore).[19] In contrast, Pearl Bank's layout, with its mezzanine levels, allowed further differentiation of functions within the apartment. Pearl Banks used the split level to place the kitchen and dining room on the mezzanine level and the living room on the lower levels. Larger apartments would even have "conversation pits" and outdoor terraces. Pearl Bank thus provided an aspirational goal by providing an alternative way of living and a potential return to the past.

Thirdly, Pearl Bank redefined communal experiences through the design of its circulation and inclusion of additional amenities compared to the bare minimums of Toa Payoh.[20] The curved corridor and the placement of the kitchens along this corridor correspond to the indigenous Malay houses in British Malaya, where kitchens would open to the outside and encourage communal interactions.[21] For Tan, this was also reminiscent of the kitchens that connected to the back lanes in shophouses.[22] The curved corridor would allow visual continuity across units and a connection to neighbours that would be impossible in the linear blocks of Toa Payoh.[23] Pearl Bank introduced some of the collective experiences of the past. There was also a generous provision of amenities and facilities for the residents.[24] Tan argued that these provisions would help educate the residents about how to live in a neighbourhood independently without government intervention.[25]

While Toa Payoh was justified by crisis to supply the minimum, Pearl Bank served as the next step for Singaporeans—the material aspiration for upward mobility. As sociologist Chua Beng Huat has argued, high-income households' access to private housing and the associated social prestige ensures the maintenance of their work ethic while providing a symbolic goal for lower income groups.[26]

In conclusion, this paper demonstrates how the state used Pearl Bank as a form of aspirational housing for its political objectives of belonging and development. The intermediate form of Pearl Bank, the apartment sizes and functional differentiation, and the communal design provisions produced an aspirational next step for the middle-class while using the appeal of past modes of living.

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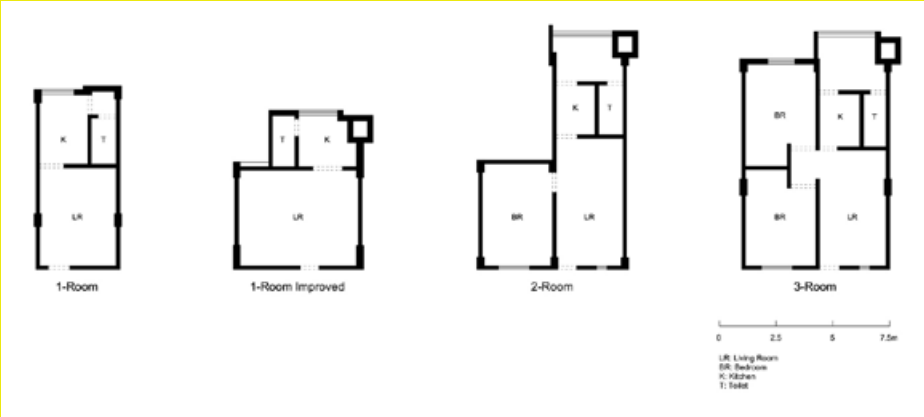
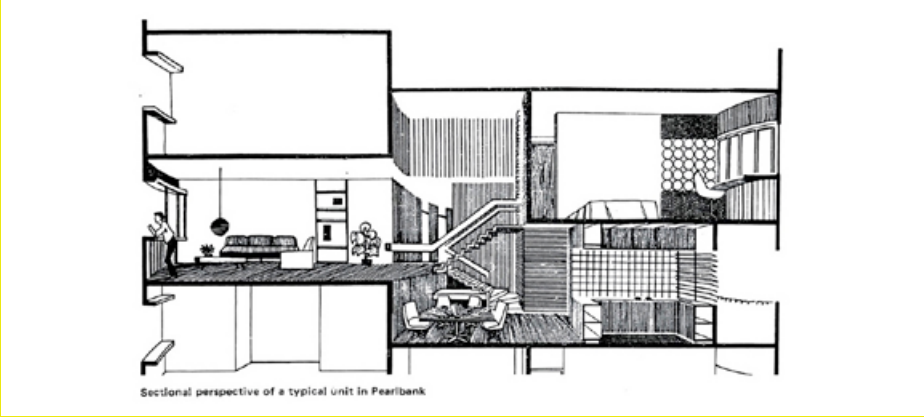
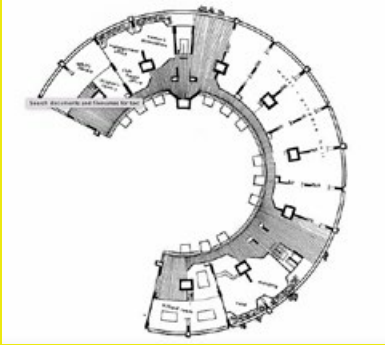


1. Minimum dwellings of Toa Payoh. Redrawn plans of Toa Payoh Flats.
   Photo: © Joshua Tan



2. Split-level apartments of Pearl Bank. Section perspective.
   Photo: © Archurban Architects Planners

3. Differentiation of functions within the unit. 4-bedroom plan of Pearl Bank.
   Photo: © Archurban Architects Planners



4. Visual continuity and communal amenities. Communal floor plan of Pearl Bank.
Photo: © Archurban Architects Planners

5. Axonometric drawing of a penthouse unit. Penthouse unit axonometric drawing of Pearl Bank.
Photo: © Sarah Lee Si En

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BUILDING NIGERIA'S FIRST UNIVERSITIES: FROM GRAND ASPIRATIONS TO NEGOTIATED OUTCOMES

Adefolatomiwa Toye

Background

Universities were considered essential to Nigeria's development during the late colonial era. By the late 1950s, local governments started to plan the institutions that would shape higher education in independent Nigeria. The British colonial University College Ibadan had received widespread support from its inception in 1948, but a decade later was deemed inadequate to meet the country's urgent manpower needs.

The 1959 'Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria' proposed the creation of three new universities distinct to the Northern and Eastern regions and the federal capital in Lagos.[1] A dissatisfied Western Nigerian government embarked on independent plans for a university. The University of Nigeria, Nsukka (Eastern Nigeria), opened amid independence celebrations on 7 October 1960. Three more were set to be established in 1962: Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife (Western Nigeria),[2] Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (Northern Nigeria) and the University of Lagos.

The Ashby Report (named after the commission's chair, Eric Ashby) stressed: "*one of the purposes of education in this country is to promote cohesion between her regions. Universities should be a very powerful instrument for this purpose: it is their duty to respond.*" The new institutions were tasked with nation-building amid the peculiarities of a young state with multiple ethnoreligious and political identities. The materialisation of this goal was negotiated by influences of founding principles, contesting identities, and physical and financial constraints.

Tropical modernism was the signature architectural style for development projects in late colonial Nigeria, including the University College Ibadan (UCI) campus designed by Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew. Building orientation, shading devices and cross ventilation were employed to maximise airflow and reduce heat gain in the tropical climate – a significant design consideration. UCI informed the perceived image of university architecture in the country: impressive, compact modernist buildings befitting an institution dedicated to progress.

Founding Principles

The architectural image of campuses was prioritised in the universities of Nsukka and Ife, which were established independently of the colonial and federal governments, respectively. The University of Nigeria, Nsukka (UNN) was envisioned as an African university free of colonial control. It sought to offer an alternative to UCI's elitism, limited technical programmes, and expensive campus buildings.[3] Its populist ideals influenced the adoption of an American land grant university model rather than the British one in place at Ibadan. The advocacy for cost-effectiveness impacted the 1958 campus master plan designed by the British firm James Cubitt and Partners.

The UNN campus sited on a hilly landscape was chosen for its scenic views and cool temperature. The design proposed buildings less than two storeys high and locally sourced high-pressure laterite blocks for student accommodation. Also, the campus buildings were zoned along a central east-west spine with provisions for future expansion. Financial constraints upon its opening resulted in a preference for extensive academic programmes over an architectural character. The master plan was abandoned for a few pilot buildings and subsequent unplanned construction.

Following its exclusion from the Ashby Report, Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU) – founded by the Western region government – aimed to affirm its relevance and uniqueness through architecture. The Western region was home to a majority Yoruba ethnicity and the government aspired to integrate the cultural identity into its architecture. Ife was chosen for its geographic centrality and cultural significance as the origin of Yoruba civilisation.[4] The masterplan design by Israeli Architect Arieh Sharon set itself apart from its counterpart through is distinctive building forms and appeal to the local tangible culture.

The buildings accounted for climate impact through the massing of cantilever slabs, inclined structural columns and raised blocks. The plasticity of Yoruba sculptural forms informed the circular cut-outs and murals on buildings in the campus core. Additionally, the grooves on the façade walls of buildings were inspired by the bronze Ife heads sculptures.[5]

Site Constraints

The designs for the universities at Zaria and Lagos encountered the physical constraint of the existing infrastructure and natural environment that impacted their planning. The architecture of Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) was primarily defined by acquired buildings and campuses across Northern Nigeria. The main campus in Zaria covered the sites of the defunct Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology (NCAST) and the Institute of Agricultural Research; both established by the colonial government in 1950 and 1922 respectively.

The old college grounds served as the university's core in its early years. Its academic complex comprised thin rectilinear blocks with 'egg-crate' concrete shading. The buildings' high windows allow warm air to escape, improving indoor cooling in the hotter and drier climate of northern Nigeria. A masterplan was not drawn until the 1980s and before that, new buildings were built solely to meet the exponential growth of staff and students. Like the University of Nigeria's uncoordinated spatial morphology, both universities kicked off their masterplan designs decades after their inception.

The University of Lagos (UNILAG) was initially envisioned as a city university at the heart of Lagos' commercial centre. This was reconsidered due to the high land value of the proposed densely populated locations. A cheaper, relatively undeveloped site in Yaba, northeast of the city, was selected instead. The 807 acres bordering the Lagos lagoon to the east constituted significant mangrove and freshwater swamps. The vegetation thus restricted construction (until the 1980s) to distinct cores of concentrated buildings. Robert S. McMillan Associates, a Rome-based American firm, was commissioned to design the campus core and academic buildings.[6]

The campus core on the lagoon's edge comprised a library, dining hall, administrative building, and proposed auditorium. The buildings share similar wide concrete overhangs with deep terraces. They are connected by a raised central concourse forming a sunken garden surrounded by sub-ground level accesses and spaces. Academic buildings flanking the core were clusters of blocks raised on pilotis, with floor-to-ceiling openings and vertical concrete shading fins.

Realising Nation-Building Goals

Although the dynamics of each institution differed, they collectively aimed to promote national consciousness through student halls of residence, placenames and public art.

Student halls were intended to facilitate interaction and camaraderie among students from across the country. Although pioneer student populations comprised an ethnic majority from the local region, its minority population were from diverse ethnicities.[7] Residences also provided students proximity to learning facilities unavailable outside their campuses. They were typically complexes of thin multi-storey blocks of rooms connected by walkways and/or stairwells forming courtyard(s) of green and outdoor social spaces.

Placenames were used to instil a consciousness and appreciation of national history. Buildings and routes were renamed after pre-colonial rulers, political leaders, notable university administrators, etc. This was common for halls of residence and became a part of student life, where students proudly identified with their hall names.

Public art also reflected Nigeria's heritage. Nigerian artists – like Ben Enwonwu, Bruce Onabrakpeya, and Yusuf Grillo – who championed the inclusion of traditional art forms in modern art, received commissions for sculptures and murals.[8] Public art was installed across campuses: on road intersections, in open spaces, in front of, on, and within buildings. Buildings named after famous Nigerians also had eponymous statues and busts installed at their entrance.

The universities' architecture and nation-building goals were redefined by founding principles, financial capacity, and site characteristics. Notwithstanding individual institutions' dynamics, a few of the desired goals were reflected in their built environments. Student accommodation, placenames and public art commissions became the universities' response to the inherited duty of national cohesion among its students and staff.

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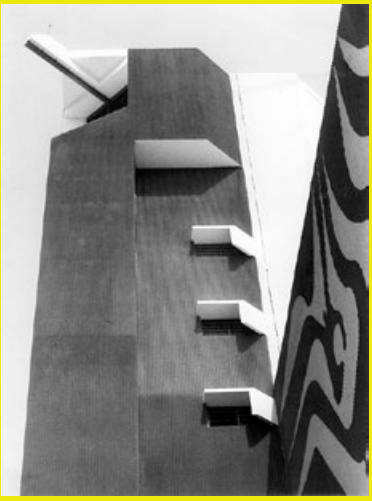
1. OAU,1970 – (from left) Faculty of Humanities; Senate building; Auditorium Oduduwa Hall.
   Photo: © ariehsharon.org

2. UNILAG, 2018 – Campus Core showing raised concourse and former dining hall in the centre.
   Photo: © Adefola Toye

3. UNILAG, 2020 – Moremi Hall showing building name and statue.
Photo: © Adefola Toye



4. OAU, 1970 – Oduduwa Hall's façade grooves and mural.
Photo: © ariehsharon.org

WHOSE MODERNISM?

AUTHORSHIP

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RETHINKING PLEČNIK'S HUMAN-CENTRED DESIGN

Petra Čeferin

This paper focuses on the work of Slovenian architect Jože Plečnik. More precisely, it focuses on his interventions in Ljubljana, his constructions of public space, which today are commonly understood as examples of architecture and urban design that take people into account, that is, are designed for people. This was also acknowledged as the primary reason to inscribe 'Plečnik's Ljubljana' on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2021, which points to his work as a fine example of "human-centred urban design".[1]

This aspect of Plečnik's work will figure centrally in this paper. But I will add something to this argument, which is in my view essential. What Plečnik actually put at the centre of his work was *architecture*. His primary, central project consisted in how to construct and implement architecture in the world, from case to case, from task to task – architecture as a creative thinking practice. Let me add right away, that he also succeeded in this project of his. And this is why we can say that his architecture is "human-centred". It is human-centred because it is the result of creative thinking. To which the following has to be added: a human being who occupies the centre of such architecture isn't simply a human being as she is or happens to be. Nor is there, at the centre of such architecture, some ideal image of a human being as envisioned by the architect. Rather, at the centre of architecture as a creative thinking practice is a human being as she *can be,* or, as she *can become* precisely as the result of her encounter with architecture – the human being who has activated her capacity for creative thinking, which is a generic human capacity. This is the human being that is at the centre of Plečnik's architecture.

Rearticulating the problem

Let's begin with the question: What does it mean to insist on architecture as a practice of creative thinking? To insist that such architecture be introduced into the world?

The answer to this question can be summarized in two points. First, this means that the architect does not approach the task with which she is dealing as a task imposed from outside, from some external agency – even if it is in fact an external

agency that calls on her to solve this task. Rather, she understands and approaches the task as an *architectural* task. To approach it as an architectural task means that while she is solving this task, she also *constructs architecture in the world*. In other words, she develops an *architectural* solution for a given task. Which means that she constructs that particular object as an object that is *specific to architecture*; that is to say, as an *architectural object* – and not simply as some kind of (decorated) utilitarian object. And with such an object, architecture itself also appears in the world. It appears as a *creative thinking practice* – a practice that with each constructed object it also constructs itself anew, invents itself anew.

This is precisely how Plečnik practiced architecture, in particular in his design and construction of public space. He didn't approach his commissions simply as tasks that were given or assigned him. Rather, he began with the question: what is that *real task* that has to be addressed in that specific location, in that given case? Or, what in the given case, in the given location, can architecture do – do *as architecture*?

Let's take his project for the preservation of the walls of the ancient Roman city of Emona (today Ljubljana). In the 1920s, there was much discussion whether the walls should be preserved or demolished. Plečnik fought for their preservation, and in 1926, when the city decided that the walls should be restored and preserved, he was commissioned to realise this project.[2] However, instead of focusing on this task, he first redefined it – he set it up as an architectural task. He envisioned the walls as the central element of a new public space that had to be constructed here, on this site. This was, in his view, the real task to be addressed. In order to realise this task architecturally, however, the walls could not remain untouched – in Plečnik's view, they had to be transformed. In short, Plečnik recognised his task not simply in preserving the walls, but rather in transforming them into a new public space – an *architectural* public space.

And Plečnik also realized this and other projects in just such a specifically architectural way. He was designing the spaces, the individual elements, the connections between the new interventions and the existing city structure such that he was, at the same time, constructing architecture, introducing it into the world. In other words, he constructed objects that in each given case he worked to construct as specifically *architectural objects*.

Constructing architecture, and its people

Let's look at the architectural object now, starting with the question – what are its characteristic features?

I described this object earlier as that object which is actually two at the same time: apart from being a utilitarian object, it is also an architectural object. What is essential is that both objects appear *at the same time.* They are inseparably connected – they are "Two in One". What does this mean? This simply means that if we wanted to separate this "Two in One" we would destroy not only the object itself, but also both of its components. The utility/functionality in architecture is therefore always also something other than the utility/functionality itself; it is utility/functionality to which something else belongs – the inseparable moment of architecturalness. In other words, utility/functionality in architecture is always open in itself, it is an open functionality, such that it can always be invented anew.

This is the case for every architecture. But for his part, Plečnik developed this Two in One in a way specific to his own thinking. So, in what does the specificity of his own thinking lie?

I think that Plečnik tried in his work to bring precisely this *otherness* of functionality, its *openness* to its extreme. If the functionalists (his contemporaries) were interested in *function* in architecture, in the *functionality* of architecture, we could say that Plečnik was interested in the *architecturalness* of function.[3] Which does not mean that he designed spaces that functioned poorly (which his contemporaries liked to claim). His spaces can function in many different ways. But they are not simply multifunctional, either. It would be more appropriate to say that Plečnik succeeded in "drilling a hole" in the very juxta-principle of functionality/utility, the principle that space should primarily serve a purpose. Instead, he subverted the principal of functionality as the (then) determining principle of architecture.

Let's focus on another Plečnik's project, Vegova Street in Ljubljana, another project that is included on the UNESCO list.[4] Plečnik did design the street, but he designed it as a theatre. The central and most successful part of this street is the elevated platform to which the stairs lead, but the platform above leads nowhere. The short ascent up to the platform is an invitation – an invitation to stop. Or, to reset. Instead of continuing the walk along the street, we are invited to sit on the bench and simply observe the performance of everyday urban life in front of and below us. The user of the street is thus converted into the spectator: upon the elevated platform, a short distance from the everyday, she observes, interprets, connects, sees.

This is how Plečnik's interventions function: they interrupt us amidst the rush of our everyday, they slow us down. Another way of achieving this effect is that they are excessively designed. His spaces are too full of details, too full of elements, they are too complex – there is too much architecture in them. As a result, they require, almost force us to *look*. To *decipher*. They function much like Brecht's theatre pieces: they push us to *start to think* and *ask* – what is this that we see, here, in front of us. They compel us to activate our thinking and sensual capacities. And once we activate them, once we begin looking for answers to our questions – what do we see when we look, what do we hear when we listen? – and (if) we respond to these questions, we constitute ourselves differently. We take some distance to that which in our everyday routine existence appears as the objectively given reality and as our default place and role in this reality. We re-construct ourselves.[5] This kind of human being, one who is willing and able to reconstruct herself anew, again and again, is the human being that lies at the centre of Plečnik's architecture. And this is the human being that architecture co-creates, co-constructs when it is practiced as a creative thinking practice.

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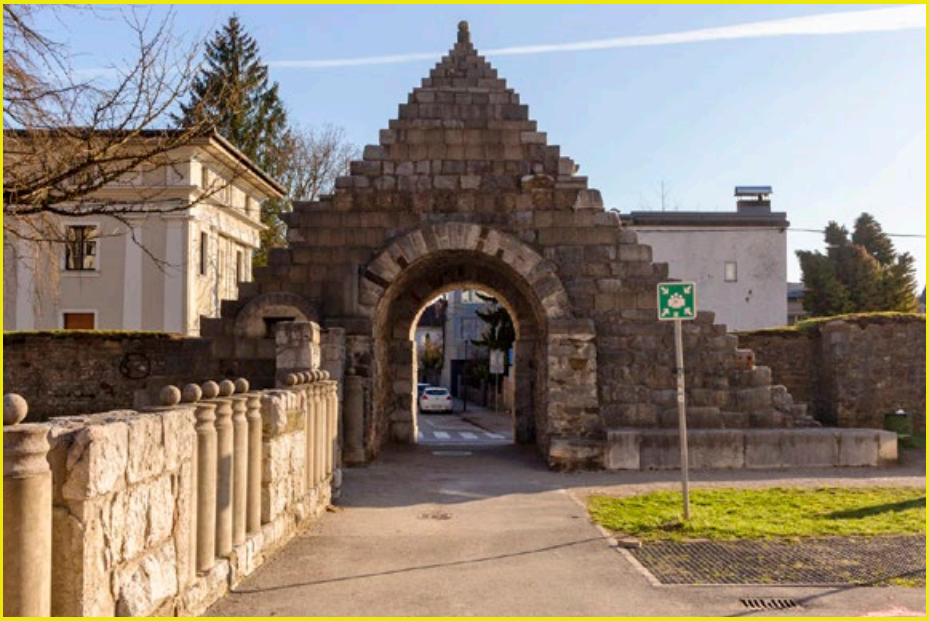
2 UNESCO, "Ljubljana: the timeless human capital," 110–111. The actual reconstruction of the walls began only in 1934 and was completed in 1938.

3 As Stanford Anderson writes in his fine article on the duality of fiction and function in modern architecture, even in the case of the most orthodox (or the most naive) functionalism, we never have to do with bare functionality, pure functionalism (or, as I would say, function without its interior otherness). Stanford Anderson, "The Fiction of Function," *Assemblage* no.2 (February 1987): 21.

4 For more on the construction of Vegova street see UNESCO, "Ljubljana: the timeless human capital," 98-100, et. al.

5 Perhaps it could also be said, to use the concept of Jacques Rancière, that we constitute ourselves as emancipated spectators. See Jacques Rancière, *The Emancipated Spectator*, trans. Gregory Elliott (London, New York: Verso, 2021), 13–15.



1a. Plečnik's details, elements, and spaces are constructed in such a way that they appear as open questions. A good case in point is his intervention in the Roman walls, with the massive pyramid that was (and still is) entirely foreign to the local context. In its material presence it pushes us to ask – what does this pyramid mean, why is it here, and why it is the way it is? Roman Walls in Ljubljana, Jože Plečnik in collaboration with Vinko Lenarčič, Gizela Šuklje, Anton Bitenc, 1928/1938, 1953
Photo: Jeff Bickert © Jeff Bickert

1b. Initially this pyramid was covered with turf – it was a hairy pyramid. Roman Walls in Ljubljana, Jože Plečnik in collaboration with Vinko Lenarčič, Gizela Šuklje, Anton Bitenc, 1928/1938, 1953
Photo: MGML documentation © Plečnik Collection

2a. In 1929, Plečnik was commissioned to design a monument to the Illyrian provinces. He recognized this task as the starting point for another task – a task that no one had assigned to him, but which he determined was necessary. And this was the construction of Vegova street, a new street that he had conceived a year earlier in his regulation plan for Ljubljana. Vegova street, Jože Plečnik in collaboration with Anton Lap (gardner, park design), Vinko Lenarčič (Illyrian Column), Lojze Dolinar, Lojze Gorše, Boris Kalin (sculptors), 1929/1942
Photo: Jeff Bickert © Jeff Bickert

2b. The elevated platform of Vegova Street to which the stairs lead. Vegova street, Jože Plečnik in collaboration with Anton Lap (gardner, park design), Vinko Lenarčič (Illyrian Column), Lojze Dolinar, Lojze Gorše, Boris Kalin (sculptors), 1929/1942
Photo: Ana Skobe © Ana Skobe

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ALVAR AALTO'S FLEXIBLE STANDARDISATION AND LÁSZLÓ MOHOLY-NAGY'S BIOTECHNIK

Marianna Charitonidou

The Creative Process as a Broadening of Individual Freedom

Departing from the fact that László Moholy-Nagy's *Von Material zu Architektur*, which was published in English as *The New Vision: From Material to* Architecture,[1] was an important source of inspiration for Alvar Aalto, this paper examines the affinities of their understanding of the relationship between nature and technology. Aalto, in a letter he wrote to Moholy-Nagy, described the latter's aforementioned book as "magnificent, lucid and beautiful [...] [and as Moholy'Nagy's] best book".[2] This paper places particular emphasis on how Aalto and Moholy-Nagy conceived the relationship between light and perception, as well as on the connection of biology with standardization and technology.[3] Special attention is paid to the notions of "flexible standardisation" and rationalisation in Aalto's thought, as well as to his belief that "[n]ature is the most remarkable standardization institute of all".[4] The two men met at the second Congrès International de l'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) in 1929, which was devoted to *The Dwelling for Minimal Existence* (*Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*).

In June 1931, Moholy-Nagy and his companion at the time Ellen Frank, who was Walter Gropius's sister-in-law, visited Aino and Alvar Aalto in Turku in Finland. During their stay in Scandinavia and Finland in 1931, Moholy-Nagy and Frank visited Lapland, where the former took photographs of the Sámi people. These photographs had an important effect on both Aino and Alvar Aalto's thoughts. Aalto conserved in his personal archives several of the photographs that Moholy-Nagy had taken during that trip. A noteworthy photograph taken by Moholy-Nagy during that trip is the superimposition on a Finnish trawler. During the trip, both couples spent some time on the Oulujoki river (Fig. 2). Aino Marsio Aalto, Aalto's wife, was a prominent avant-garde photographer and exchanged ideas with Moholy-Nagy on photography.[5] Particularly characteristic is the photograph she took of Moholy-Nagy during the trip, as well as the photographs she took two years later during Aino and Alvar Aalto's short stay in London, where they also spent some time with Moholy-Nagy shortly before the publication of Moholy-Nagy's article "How Photography Revolutionises Vision" in *The Listener* (Fig. 4 and Fig. 5).[6] Aalto, unaccompanied by Aino, met Moholy-Nagy again on the *Patris II* cruise from Athens to Marseille during the fourth CIAM congress.

In “The Reconstruction of Europe is the Key Problem for the Architecture of Our Time”, a lecture Aalto gave on various instances in Switzerland in April 1941, he argued “that standardization in architecture should be based on biological models.”[7] Both Aalto and Moholy-Nagy conceived design as a mode of shaping one’s individuality and were convinced that biology and technique are closely connected. Aalto’s analogy between the variety of types in architecture and furniture design, and the variety of “cells” in nature, brings to mind Moholy-Nagy’s interest in Raoul Francé’s understanding of Biotechnik.[8] Jacob von Uexküll’s understanding of *Umwelt* was crucial for Aalto’s conception of the relationship between nature and architecture.[9] Analysing the role of *Biotechnik* in Moholy-Nagy’s approach and of *Umwelt* in Aalto’s point of view, the present paper reveals the emphasis that both placed on the interconnections between design, socio-economic aspects, and psychological aspects. Aalto’s belief in the capacity of design to broaden “humane, socio-economic, and psychological decisions”[10] is close to Moholy-Nagy’s understanding of design as “a coherent purposeful unity focused on sociobiological ends”[11]

Uexhüll contributed significantly to the establishment of the field of biosemiotics. His understanding of *Umwelt* – referring to a German term meaning “environment” or “surrounding world” – held an important place in Aalto’s thought. Uexküll defined *Umwelt* as the “phenomenal world embracing each individual like a ‘soap bubble”.[12] A description by Aalto which is very close to Uexküll’s conception of *Umwelt* is the following: “Just as in nature every cell is related to the whole, so in architecture the parts must be ‘conscious of the whole’.”[13] Both Aalto and Moholy-Nagy understood design as a mode of shaping one’s individuality. They placed particular emphasis on the impact of design on one’s conception of freedom and everyday life and were convinced that biology and technique are closely connected. For this reason, they were interested in notions such as *Biotechnik* and *Umwelt.* In parallel, they both paid special attention to the interconnections between design, socio-economic aspects, and psychological aspects. They were convinced that design and social conditions are interrelated.

The notion of standardization had an important place in both Alvar Aalto and László Moholy-Nagy’s lectures and writings. Aalto wrote the text entitled “The Housing Problem”[14] in 1930, just after returning from the second CIAM congress, in the framework of which Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Ernst May and, more importantly, Moholy-Nagy had placed particular emphasis on the relationship between biology and standardization. The impact of these ideas on Aalto’s thought becomes apparent in his claim that “[a]rchitecture is [...] deeply biological”[15] Aalto believed that “architecture and its details are in some way all part of biology.”[16] His understanding of the so-called “flexible standardisation” was based on an analogy between a vari-

ety of types in architecture and the variety in nature, as evidenced by his description of the variety of the blossoms of an apple tree. Characteristically, Aalto admired "the blossoms on an apple tree [that] are standardised, and yet they are all different".[17] In *The New Vision,* Moholy-Nagy remarks that "[t]he biological make-up of man is the source of organic expression".[18]

On 9 May 1935, Aalto gave a lecture titled "Rationalism and Man" at the annual meeting of the Swedish Craft Society held in Stockholm, in which he stated that: "A standardised object should not be a finished product, but on the contrary be made so that man and all the individual laws controlling him supplement its form."[19] During his talk, he further underlined that "[a] confrontation with the mass of the *neue Sachlichkeit* produced in recent times causes a person to take a skeptical attitude."[20] He sustained that the dangers of the so-called *neue Sachlichkeit* are related to the fact that it often treats modernism in a non-creative way, that is to say in a way that is not based on the search for new "forms that has arisen through the analysis of materials, new working methods, new social conditions".[21] It is no coincidence that the company *Artek* was established in Finland to mass-produce and distribute wood furniture designed by Alvar and Aino Aalto (Fig. 3). The foundation of *Artek* could be interpreted as a means that would provide a context for going beyond the limits of the *neue Sachlichkeit* that Aalto highlighted in his address in Stockholm in 1935.

In another Aalto lecture, in 1938, titled "Influence of structure and material on contemporary architecture" at the Nordic Building Congress in Oslo, he underlined that "[t]he [...] misconception of style has led to widespread standardisation, *Gleichgestaltung*, which is one of the biggest obstacles to the expression of the innermost quality of architecture."[22] This declaration shows that he was interested in reinventing the concept of standardization in architecture in a way that would take into account what he called "broadening humane, socio-economic, and psychological decisions".[23] He believed that in order to fulfil this task, standardization in architecture "must be given the widest possible freedom of manoeuvre, both internally and in external form".[24] Aalto argued that this freedom could be achieved only if form is connected with everyday life. He declared: "If form somehow fails to be logically connected with everyday life, it will suffer and loose significance".[25] For him, "[t]here are only two things in art: humanity or its lack".[26] Aalto was critical vis-à-vis the importation into the discipline of architecture of a model of standardization developed by the automobile industry. He supported a standardization based on biology and nature, sharing with Moholy-Nagy an admiration for natural and biological forms.

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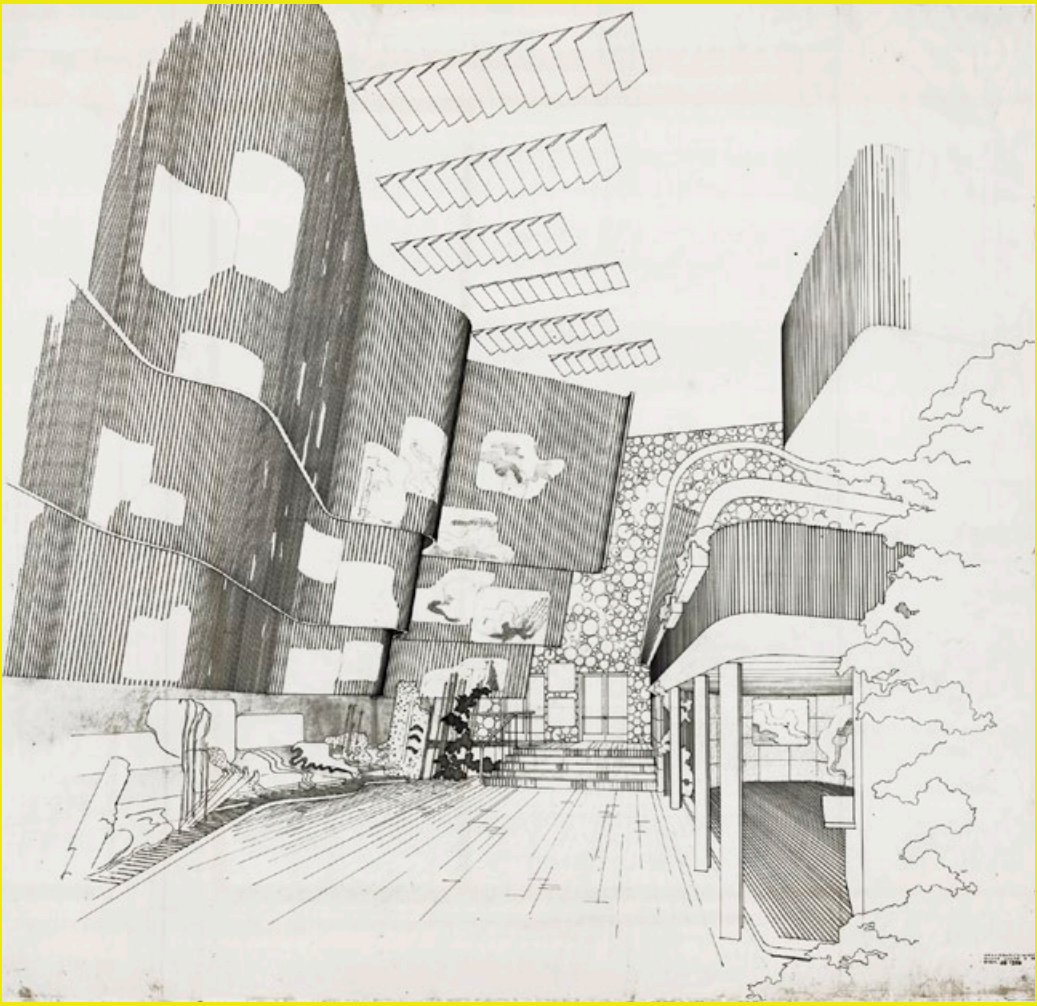

1. Perspective for the Finnish Pavilion, designed by Aino and Alvar Aalto, New York World's Fair, 1939. © Alvar Aalto Foundation

2. Alvar Aalto, Aino Marsio Aalto and László Moholy Nagy on the Oulujoki river, 1931. © Alvar Aalto Estate, Alvar Aalto Museum

3. Korhonen furniture factory. Photo: Mauno Mannelin, 1936. © Alvar Aalto Foundation

4. Aino Aalto and László Moholy-Nagy in London, 1933. Photo: Alvar Aalto. © Alvar Aalto Foundation

5. View of the Alvar Aalto exhibition at Fortnum & Mason, London, November 1933. © Alvar Aalto Foundation

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ELIZABETH MOCK'S RENEWAL OF MODERNISM AND THE ECHOES OF ALVAR AND AINO AALTO'S OEUVRE

João Miguel Couto Duarte and Maria João Moreira Soares

Built in USA: 1932-1944 – affirmation of a humanized architecture

Built in USA: 1932-1944, the exhibition that ran at the MoMA in New York in 1944 and curated by Elizabeth Mock (1911-1998), then acting curator of the Department of Architecture at the museum, confirmed the renewal of Modernism that was beginning to impact the American architectural landscape at that time. In the exhibition catalogue,[1] Elizabeth Mock notes the emergence of a humanized architecture, underlining the renewed attention to local values and traditions, the climate, and the topography. *Built in USA: 1932-1944* departed from the *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* of 1932, which also ran at the MoMA, curated by Philip Johnson (1906-2005) and Henry-Russell Hitchcock (1903-1987). However, it affirmed a new reading of architecture that was more sensitive to regional forms of expression.

Mock's remarks in the exhibition catalogue reveal a reflection on the work of Alvar Aalto (1898-1976) and Aino Aalto (1894-1949): "Aalto had been notably successful in creating fresh and sympathetic forms, based as much on intuitive understanding of the way free people might like to live as on a lively sense of the potentialities of materials and the demands of industrial production."[2] Elizabeth Mock, who was then still called Elizabeth Bauer, knew Alvar Aalto through the *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition*. The exhibition featured images of the Turun Sanomat building in Turku, which was completed in 1930, confirming the international interest that Aalto generated at the time. Mock's network of family and professional connections was decisive for deepening her knowledge of the Aaltos' work in the following years.

Early contacts with Aalto's work

Her visit to the *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* and her knowledge of the work of Catherine Bauer (1905-1964), her older sister and a defender of public housing, brought Elizabeth Bauer closer to architecture. Catherine had assisted Lewis Mumford (1895–1990) in preparing the housing section of the exhibition.[3] After majoring in English at Vassar College in New York, Elizabeth became one of

the original group of Taliesin Fellowship apprentices, set up in 1932 by Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) and Olgivanna Lloyd Wright (1898-1985) in Spring Green, Wisconsin. During this time, she got to know Rudolf Mock (1904-1977), a Swiss-born architect who was a fellow apprentice. They married in 1933. After a short stay in Mexico, they moved to Switzerland.

In Switzerland, Rudolf Mock worked with Otto Senn (1902-1993), a former colleague at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (ETH) in Zurich. Elizabeth Mock enrolled at the Gewerbeschule Basel to complete her training in architecture. The figure and work of Alvar Aalto were well-known at the time in the Swiss architectural milieu, as his work was disseminated in the magazine *Das Werk.* Elizabeth Mock was certainly aware of the presence of Alvar Aalto.

Collaboration with the MoMA and contact with William Wurster

The Mocks returned to the USA in 1937, settling in Princeton, New Jersey. Elizabeth began working for the MoMA as an assistant to John McAndrew (1904-1978), who became curator of the museum's Department of Architecture and Industrial Art that same year and of whom Elizabeth had been a student at Vassar College. Collaborating with the MoMA and her sister's relationship with the architect William Wurster (1895-1973), who she married in 1940, made it possible for Elizabeth to follow the work of the Aaltos closely. North American architectural magazines, in particular *Architectural Record* and *Architectural Forum*, had been publishing Aalto's work since the early 1930s.

In 1937, Elizabeth Mock published an article in the *Magazine of Art* on the *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne*,[4] which opened in Paris in May that year. Mock makes no reference to Aalto's Finland Pavilion. However, the pavilion was well-known to the MoMA circle.[5] Henry-Russell Hitchcock praised the work in an article on the exhibition for *Architectural Forum* magazine.[6] In the spring of 1938, the MoMA opened its *Alvar Aalto: Architecture and Furniture* exhibition, which was curated by John McAndrew. This was the first major showcase for the work of the Aaltos in the USA, and the second exhibition the museum had organized on the work of an architect, the first, from 1935, being dedicated to Le Corbusier (1887-1965). Mock didn't work on the organization of the exhibition, but she certainly did follow it. *Architecture and Furniture: Aalto*,[7] the exhibition's catalogue, was also the first North American monographic work on the Aaltos (Fig.1). In addition to the Turun Sanomat building, which had been included in the 1932 exhibition, this one also featured the Paimio Tuberculosis Sanatorium, completed in

1932, the Viipuri Library, completed in 1934, the Aaltos' house in Munkkiniemi, from 1936, and the Finland Pavilion for the Paris exhibition, as well as dozens of other design pieces, including furniture, glassware, and lighting fixtures. The Aaltos visited New York in the fall of that year on their first journey to the USA. They returned in spring 1939, to finalize the Finland Pavilion at the New York World's Fair of 1939, and were to return again in the spring of 1940, and stay until fall. In June 1940 *Architectural Forum* published the article "Finland",[8] in which Alvar Aalto, under the shadow of war in Europe, underlined the importance of the regional values of Finnish modernism. The Villa Mairea in Noormarkku, completed in 1939, is highlighted amongst other works by the Aaltos and other Finnish architects. During these stays in the USA, Alvar Aalto gave several lectures, thus confirming the interest generated by their work, and they socialized with the North American architectural elite. John McAndrew and Elizabeth Mock co-authored the 1942 book *What is Modern Architecture*?,[9] which was associated with a MoMA circulating exhibition of the same name. The book features images of the Turun Sanomat building and the Finland Pavilion in Paris. Aalto's work was once again chosen by Elizabeth Mock for the exhibition *Building with Wood*, which opened in late 1944. The exhibition included the Paimio Chair of 1931-32 (Fig. 2). Elizabeth Mock left the MoMA in 1946, removed by Philip Johnson.

The year 1937 was also when William Wurster got to know Alvar and Aino Aalto at their recently finished house in Munkkiniemi.[10] On his return journey to the USA, Wurster stopped in Paris to visit the *Exposition Internationale,* where he probably went to the Finland Pavilion. Wurster and Aalto's meeting was the start of a lasting friendship. The Aaltos even went to the West Coast to visit Wurster when they were in the USA in 1939. In *Built in USA: 1932-1944,* Elizabeth Mock recognizes the value of Wurster's work, highlighting how, even before 1932, the modernity of his houses resulted from his exploration of the Californian tradition of using wood.[11] There was frequent contact and visits between Elizabeth Mock and her sister and brother-in-law, both when the latter couple lived in Berkeley, California and after they moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The Echoes of Alvar and Aino Aalto's Oeuvre

Elizabeth Mock's relationship with architecture was accompanied from early on by her knowledge of the work of Alvar and Aino Aalto. Her interest in their work is part of a wider interest in architecture that was marked by a desire to humanize it and root it in vernacular values. In *Built in USA: 1932-1944*, Mock recognizes the uniqueness of the Aalto designs in the modern architecture scenario and stresses

the huge receptiveness for their work amongst the North American public.[12] This continued knowledge goes some way to explaining how echoes of Alvar and Aino Aalto's oeuvre reverberated through Elizabeth Mock's renewal of Modernism, which found its greatest expression in the exhibition of 1944.

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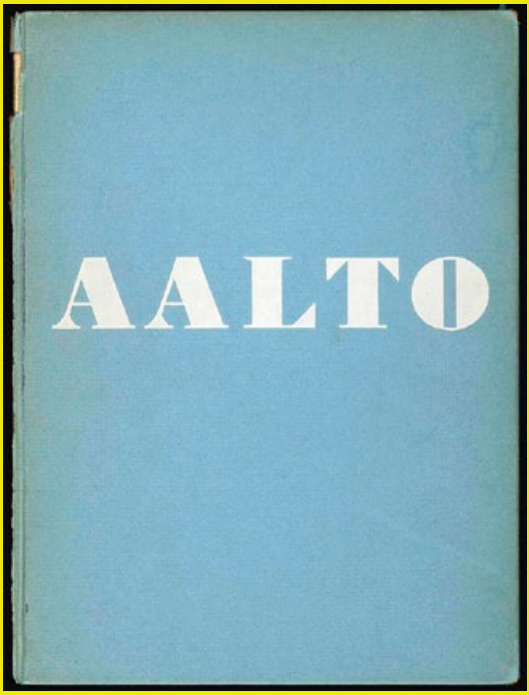

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2. Installation view of the exhibition 'Building with Wood'. MoMA, NY, November 15, 1944-February 18, 1945, IN267.1. © 2023 Digital image, The Museum of Modern Art, New York/Scala, Florence.

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“THE MODERN MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND WAS MOSTLY TALK”: MODERNISM AS MEDIA IN INTER-WAR BRITAIN

Elizabeth Darling and Jessica Kelly

In 1959, looking back at what he quantified as approximately 30 years of modernism in the UK, the architectural historian John Summerson wrote that in its earliest incarnation ‘The modern movement in England was mostly talk: talk, travel and illustration.’ He continued: ‘Nothing of substantial importance in the new spirit was built here before 1933.’ He also singled out 1927 as ‘the crucial year for England, the year in which scattered and indiscriminate observation of events on the continent coalesced into an opinion ... that such a thing as a “modern movement” existed and was in the nature of a cause.’[1]

The implication of Summerson’s characterization of the years from 1927 until 1932 was that this period did not really count in an architectural history of modernism in Britain. Our contention is that it most definitely did. Moreover, in his reference to talk and to travel, he was, however unwittingly, pointing towards a casting of architecture (and, in this instance, of English modernism) as it was actually generated: a process, produced by many, rather than the product (‘an actual monument’ in Hitchcock and Johnson’s formulation) solely of the architect’s mind.[2]

The notion of architecture as a multi-authored multi-sited practice has been core to revisionist histories of English architectural modernism since the mid-2000s. By moving away from a focus on buildings, which were relatively few in the English context, this new historiography has been concerned to show how the hegemony that modernism assumed after 1945 was rooted in a complex inter-play between the written word, associational networks, exhibitions and campaigning organizations. Our work has been central to this reconfiguration of the concerns of architectural history and in this paper we explore two key sites that exemplify this process and how it shaped English modernism. The first is Finella, a set of interiors and their inhabitation; the second the Architectural Press, which published several of the most important architectural journals of the period.

Finella

Finella was the product of a collaboration between a Cambridge English don, Mansfield Forbes, and a young Australian architect, Raymond McGrath, both of whom were interested in how to formulate an architecture that expressed contemporary modernity; McGrath finding patronage in Cambridge thanks to his tutors in his native Sydney who had wide associational networks in England. Forbes saw McGrath as his protege and between 1928 and 1929 they worked together to convert an old early Victorian villa into a home-cum-salon where 'all those genuinely concerned with contemporary expression' could meet in Cambridge.[3] For Forbes the basis of this expression lay in new materials, and this was fused with a decidedly camp sensibility to produce a set of remarkable interiors. (Fig. 1)

As Forbes planned, Finella brought together hitherto somewhat disparate groups of progressives: through the use of the Venesta company's plywoods, plymax, and metal foils came the entrepreneur (and future co-patron of the Lawn Road Flats) Jack Pritchard; and through him the architects Wells Coates, Max Fry and Serge Chermayeff and, on one glorious occasion, Charlotte Perriand. Among the artists known to have mingled there were John and Paul Nash, Jacob Epstein, Henry Moore and Eric Gill. Architectural writers and editors such as Hubert de Cronin Hastings, John Gloag and Philip Morton Shand also gathered beneath what Forbes called 'the rosy room skies' of the main salon space, 'The Pinks'.[4]

From 'The Pinks' emerged two significant moments in the history of English modernism, both of which pre-date Summerson's characterization. One, in recognition of a shared sensibility, was the first concerted attempt to institutionalize modernist architects and advocates in Britain; this was the Twentieth Century Group, formed in summer 1930 and which ultimately became, in 1933, the MARS Group, the British chapter of CIAM. The other was when, under McGrath's direction, he, Coates and Chermayeff collaborated on the interior design of the studios of the new Broadcasting House for the BBC, completed in 1932. The Corporation's Deputy Controller had visited the house on the recommendation of a friend of Forbes; the latter then bombarded him with offprints of the many articles published on the house. The result was the first substantial public commission for modernist architectural interiors in the UK, completed in early 1932. The commission was featured in the *Architectural Review*, which devoted the entirety of its August 1932 (volume 72) issue to what it called 'The New Tower of London'.

The Architectural Press

Hubert de Cronin Hastings was the youngest son of Percy Hastings, joint owner with William Regan of The Architectural Press which published *The Architectural Review* (AR) and *The Architect's Journal* (AJ). Hastings and Regan had begun their careers as advertising consultants and they understood the magazines as commercial sites for promotion and publicity, both for companies wishing to advertise to architects and for architects to advertise their work and services to their clientele. This commercial motivation of the owners sometimes jarred with the aims of the architects editing the magazines, who sought to preserve the gentlemanly parameters of the profession, which meant not discussing the business side of the art of architecture. In 1925 Percy Hastings retired and De Cronin took over as joint chairman of the publishers. Under De Cronin, the commercial functions of the magazines were combined with an interest in new modern conceptions of architecture.

At the moment that De Cronin joined, the *AR* was edited by W.G. Newton (son of Ernest Newton), the first editor of the *AR* since its founding in 1896 not to be a member of the Art Workers' Guild; and the *AJ* was edited by Christian Barman, who would later leave to work with Frank Pick in the publicity department at the London Passenger Transport Board. With an editorial team that was more aligned with publicity and promotion than ever before, De Cronin Hastings set about modernising the content and style and the aims of the magazines. He started with the Supplement, a long-standing section that covered objects other than buildings, such as furniture, interior fittings, materials, paintings and fabric. It appeared towards the back of the magazine, close to the advertisements and it often highlighted the work of a particular firm or manufacturer. De Cronin Hastings dedicated the Supplement to modernism in both the styles that were featured and in the presentation of the section itself. He shaped the Supplement into an experimental space in the *AR*, a space to explore new styles of photography, graphics and layout. (Fig.2)

In Hastings' first issue of the supplement in May 1926, the lead article was titled 'The Modern Movement in Continental Decoration: The Evolution of the Ensemblier', written by Phillip Morton Shand under the pseudonym 'Silhouette'.[5] The article focussed on the emerging role of the 'Ensemblier', who was akin to a design consultant that mediated between the client and craftsperson or designer. De Cronin and Morton Shand were couching the discussion of modern design in terms of changing forms of expertise and the shifting relationships between professionals and their public clients. This set the tone for much of the *AR*'s coverage of modernism as a 'new way of thought' rather than simply 'a new style'.[6] By 1927, De Cronin Hastings was joint editor of both magazines with Christian Barman. Under their joint editor-

ship and through the work of contributors such as Morton Shand, the *AR* became a site of modern architecture, not simply because it featured modern buildings on its pages, but because the photography (from 1930 Dell and Wainwright were the official photographers and their style, with strong shadows and compositions, was synonymous with modernism), innovative graphic design, experimental styles of writing, and expansion of the imagined readership, all embodied modernism.

De Cronin Hastings and the network of editors and contributors to the *AR* were instrumental in English modernism. Often treated simply as repositories of information about buildings and architects, magazines were in fact, what Hugh Casson would call, in 1948, 'Type-Set Architecture'; magazines were architecture in their own right, not subsidiaries of building.

An understanding of Modernism based solely on what was built, has resulted in it being seen as something 'alien' that was imported into Britain from Europe. While Summerson may have dismissed talk, travel and illustration as not 'real' evidence of architectural modernism, we have shown how the ideas, styles and values of modernism were present in Britain even when very few 'Modern' buildings were built. This rests on a definition of architecture that looks beyond buildings and acknowledges the role of different actors and activities in an expanded and complex field of architecture. We have shown these interiors, media and organisations to be objects of modernism as much as buildings.

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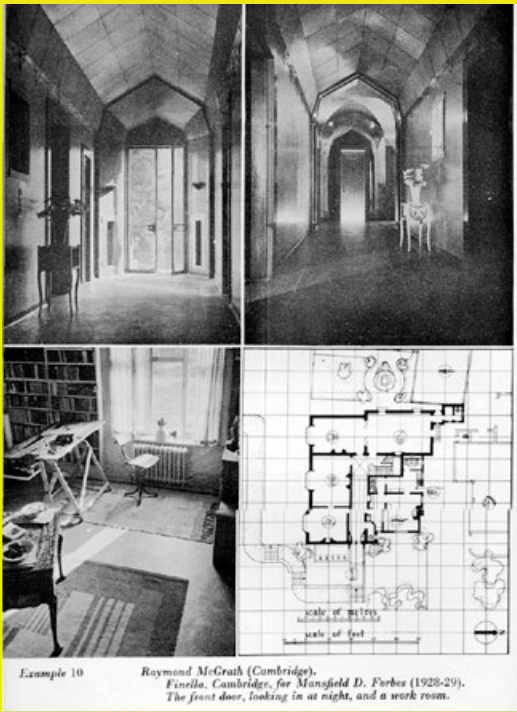

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Photo: author's collection.

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Image courtesy of the Museum of Domestic Design & Architecture, Middlesex University.

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TRANSLATING WALTER GROPIUS FOR BRITAIN

Alborz Dianat

Walter Gropius goes West

As the Bauhaus dispersed away from Nazi Germany in the 1930s, its people spread out across the world. Historians have traced the international impact of these émigrés, many of whom travelled to Britain. However, the role of indigenous design cultures after their arrival remains underappreciated. Far from a passive recipient of ideas, Britain engaged in productive and collaborative dialogue with newly arrived émigrés. Walter Gropius presents a prominent example, as the Bauhaus founder was translated – in language and content – for a British audience.

Walter Gropius arrived in Britain on 18 October 1934 together with his wife, Ise Gropius. She was confident in English. He spoke practically none. Fortunately, they had the backing of Philip Morton Shand, a British architectural critic and translator fluent in French and German. It was Shand who had secured the architectural commission necessary for Gropius's immigration, as well as a London exhibition of his works earlier in the year. Throughout Gropius's early activities in Britain, Shand remained nearby, ready to act as translator.

Even before any direct commission, Shand was operating as a translator for Modernist discourse. Coinciding with Gropius's arrival in England was a meeting of the executive committee of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM). A photograph captures discussions, with Shand at the center of the table beside CIAM secretary Sigfried Giedion and the minute-taking Polish architect Helena Syrkus. Like Shand, Syrkus had worked extensively as a translator. The position of the pair represents their value to international discussions of Modernism and reflects the shared authorship of ideas. With linguistic barriers broken, architects could develop their theories together – while naturally subject to the mediation of translators.

The cautionary tale of Le Corbusier

Gropius's writings initially remained unavailable to English-language readers, but the texts of Le Corbusier had provided Britain with an alternative – and divisive – understanding of European Modernism. In 1927, Frederick Etchells translated Le Corbus-

ier's *Vers une architecture* into English, presenting the architect at his most novel, clinical and dehumanizing. With the addition of the word 'New' the translated book's title – *Towards a New Architecture* – emphasized radicality, while the removal of 'Vers' avoided the double meaning suggestive of a verse of poetry.

Etchells claimed in his preface that he had presented 'a rendering as close and literal as possible.'[1] Such an approach removed all lyricism from Le Corbusier's original work. The most offensive passage to Britons was the designation of the house as 'a machine for living in' – which in the original was suggestive more of a tool house. The severe mechanist implication had an immediate effect on Le Corbusier's reputation, with the British profession quick to condemn. Howard Robertson, the principal of London's Architectural Association, responded to the expression: 'It would be a hard world in which such functional severity ruled in the home as in the streets.'[2] Even Etchells noted in his preface the irrelevance of Le Corbusier's domestic ideology in Britain. Unlike Etchells, who confronted an exaggerated image of his subject, Shand labored to adapt Gropius and engage with local discourse.

Shand's first direct commission for Gropius was to translate a lecture he gave in London alongside an exhibition of his works in May 1934. Soon after the event, art historian Herbert Read approached Gropius with the suggestion of editing his lecture manuscript into an essay for publication by Faber & Faber. Shand was again asked to act as translator. The resulting text would be published as *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus* (1935), presenting Britain with the collected ideas of the newly arrived architect.

The New Architecture and the Bauhaus

Keen to avoid a situation like Le Corbusier, Shand adapted his source material with respect for local design culture. He complained in a letter to Sigfried Giedion about the difficulty of the process: 'Over a piece of metaphysics, I just went on strike! Something like that could damage the whole book ... It would be the place where every Englishman would close it resolutely and forever.'[3] Shand reduced the offending passage from an entire page to a few sentences.

Shand's desire to avoid overly theoretical passages was shared by Hubert de Cronin Hastings, the owner and editor of London's influential Architectural Press. Ise Gropius complained in private that Hastings had encouraged her husband to 'stick to facts.'[4] For much of the continental avant-garde, theorizing was inseparable from

modern architecture; but in Britain, pulling the two apart could allow an inoffensive architecture to be welcomed by even the gentlemanly establishment and the unconverted public.

While part of Shand's objective was therefore to address overly philosophical sections, he was also concerned with Gropius's potential association with the exaggerated image of mechanical Modernism. The development of a key section shows Shand's modifications to address this. A literal translation of Gropius's original manuscript reads: 'If mechanization were an end in itself, the most important thing, the living, full human nature, would have to wither away. The individual, the indivisible, would have to sink to a partial nature.'[5] After passing through Shand, the same passage was transformed: 'Were mechanization an end in itself it would be an unmitigated calamity, robbing life of half its fulness and variety by stunting men and women into sub-human, robot-like automatons.'[6]

Shand imbued the book-translation with the hyperbole typical of his own written work, while also presenting Gropius in direct opposition to the perceived machine ideology of Le Corbusier. J.M. Richards reproduced this particular passage in concluding a review of the book, citing it as evidence of the invaluable example of Gropius. With Shand working closely together with Richards and Hastings at the Architectural Press, their method of presentation was a clear, concerted effort to increase the appeal of Gropius.

The New Architecture and the Bauhaus was published to praise. It opened with an introduction by Frank Pick – a respected figure in British design – and featured an evocative photo-montage dust jacket designed by another émigré Bauhäusler, László Moholy-Nagy. John Betjeman exalted the book in a review, calling for the founding of an English Bauhaus before delivering a tribute to Shand, his close friend, for the translation: 'Mr. P. Morton Shand's translation has made a book which might have been oppressively technical, clear and easy reading. There is none of the jargon of architectural journalism. I spotted that silly word "architectonic" only twice. Once it was in Mr. Frank Pick's introduction.'[7]

Translating architecture

Although Gropius accepted an exceptionally lucrative offer from Harvard, leaving Britain in March 1937, his brief residence enabled the development of some of his key ideas in partnership with Maxwell Fry. His *architectural* language was as adaptable as his writing. His design with Fry for Levy House (1936) responded to the

site's Georgian neighbors, while Wood House (1937) saw a return to embrace the aesthetic qualities of timber. The latter inspired the design for Gropius's own house in Lincoln, Massachusetts (1938).

Gropius's approach to campus design also developed from the Bauhaus model while in Britain. Completed after departure for the United States, his scheme for Impington Village College (1939) presents the meeting point of architectural cultures. The project responded to the English village college movement, while also incorporating bow windows and yellow brick – Georgian motifs on a modern body. The popularity of neo-Georgian architecture was soaring in interwar Britain, with many Modernists similarly incorporating elements in their work. In a letter to Shand, Gropius had promised to familiarize himself with the work of John Soane.[8] Impington shows the outcome of this education. In his academic schemes after leaving for the United States, Gropius continued to apply lessons from England, retaining an emphasis on covered walkways, fan-shaped assembly halls and the picturesque arrangement of volumes.

The emigration of Gropius was not just a case of bringing the Bauhaus to Britain, but also of bringing Britain to the Bauhaus. By thinking of Modernism as a discourse rather than a destination – an approach encouraged by Sarah Williams Goldhagen – these complex interactions can be fully appreciated.[9] The authorship of Gropius's written and built works, and indeed those of all émigrés, can be seen in these collaborative terms.

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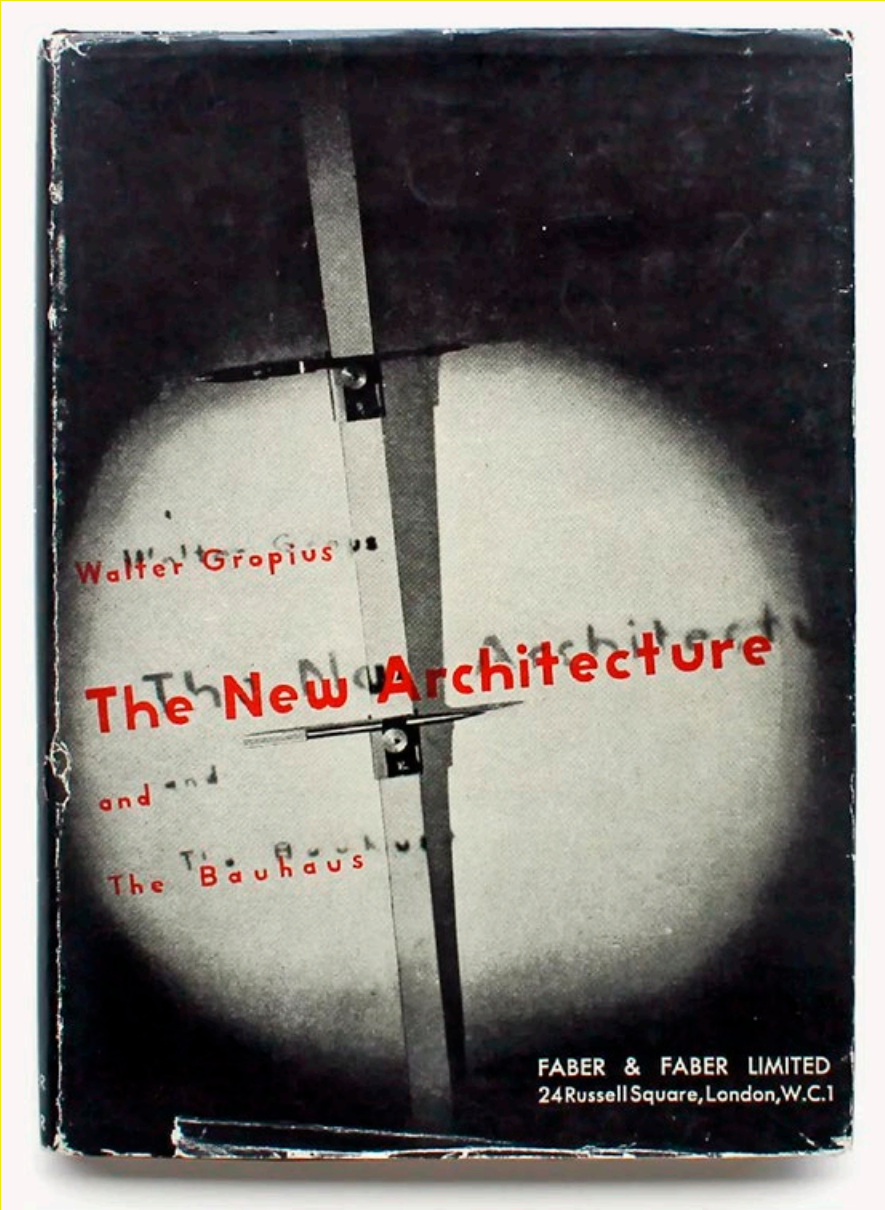
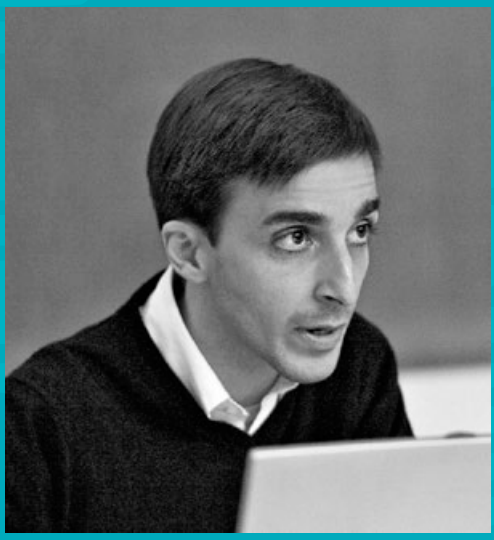
1. CIAM meeting at the Royal Institute of British Architects, London (1934). P. Morton Shand sits far right under the painting. Next to him anti-clockwise are Helena Syrkus, Sigfried Giedion and Walter Gropius.
   Photo: RIBA Collections

3. Walter Gropius and Maxwell Fry, Impington Village College, England (1939).
   Photo: RIBA Collections



2. Cover of Walter Gropius, The New Architecture and the Bauhaus (1935) with dust jacket by László Moholy-Nagy.
Photo: Faber & Faber



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ALVAR AALTO AND AARNE ERVI

Jaime J. Ferrer Forés

Aarne Ervi

Graduating in 1935 from the School of Architecture at the Helsinki University of Technology, Aarne Ervi (1910-1977) worked in Alvar Aalto's studio from 1935 to 1937, collaborating in the last stages of the construction of the Viipuri Library, the Aaltos' house in Munkkiniemi, and in the Aaltos' competition proposals for the Finnish Pavilion at the Paris World Exhibition of 1937 as one of Aalto's assistants, together with Viljo Revell. Ervi set up his own studio in 1938 after winning first prize in the competition for the design of the extension to the Helsinki University Library the previous year, ahead of Aalto's proposal, which received second prize, and that of his former professor J.S. Sirén, which received a purchase. For Catalan professor of architecture Josep Maria Sostres, "Aarne Ervi in his early works hardly manages to free himself from the powerful influence of the master."[1] Throughout his career, Ervi strived to achieve an authentic architecture by assimilating Aalto influences. In the architect's own house on the island of Kuusisaari, Helsinki (1949), the technological innovations that he studied on a trip to the United States converge with the modern tradition of Aalto and the Aaltos' house in Munkkiniemi, in which Ervi collaborated. As Ervi stated: "my way of thinking was undoubtedly influenced by my work in Aalto's studio when I was relatively young and for a while I was his only assistant."[2] This article aims to provide a comparative research between Aalto's work and Aarne Ervi's early organic approach and his mature modernism.

Parallels in Functionalism

In 1937 Aarne Ervi built his first work, Heinola commercial building that evokes Helsinki's Lasipalatsi, The Glass Palace designed by Viljo Revell, Niilo Kokko and Heimo Riihimäki in Helsinki, 1936.[3] The reinforced concrete solution permitted a rhythmic row of windows, large glass partitions and the rendered façade, all identifying the characteristics of Functionalism seen also in Aalto's work. While Viipuri Library was under construction, Ervi as Aalto's assistant was introduced in the use of rationalist logic. The Heinola commercial building adapts the stylistic traits of a functionalist building. The building's multi-functional program, including shops, cinema and hotel, favored a solution based on the flexibility of the functionalist language

with the fan-shaped plan of the cinema and the curved vaults. As in Aalto's work, the extraordinary independence of the parts is brought together in a powerful juxtaposition. The round skylights illuminating the main staircase between walls are also recurrent features of the mature language of Aalto.

In the two-stage competition for the Helsinki University Library organized in 1937, Aarne Ervi won first prize and Aalto received second prize.[4] Ervi's library is comprised of different volumes containing the rooms and another one that opens up to the urban perspective, harmonizing with the classical proportion of C.L. Engel's original building. Ervi developed and ingenuous arrangement that connects into a series of plateaus Engel's library with new reading rooms. The series of deeply recessed and asymmetric roof lights conceived in the main reading room recalls Aalto's rooflights. The jury had criticized the internal organization and praised "the façade simple and modest".[5] In Aalto's proposal, the volumetric articulation of the program into a high introverted lecture hall is characterized by diffused lighting through recessed skylights introduced previously in Viipuri Library (1933-35) and the asymmetrical tapering columns in the Turun Sanomat Building (1927-29). The jury criticized Aalto's scheme for having too little storage space and for not having planned any basement spaces, so the storage provision was clearly below that of Ervi's proposal.

After a study tour with Erkki Taimi in 1938 to see at first hand examples of the new modernist style, they published a joint article in *Arkkitehti* on modern architecture in the Netherlands, analyzing rational technical innovations and the rationalist approach to the design of housing and flexible accommodation.[6] That same year Ervi designed an apartment block at Lauttasaarentie 9, Helsinki.[7] The articulated facades respond to the desire not to have the apartments face directly on to the street. Ervi also conceived for the building an unusual rooftop sundeck with common services to take advantage of the views over the surroundings. Ervi's first opportunity to build a modern house came with the design for Villa Satalinna in the sanatorium in Harjavalta: designed in 1939, its appearance, similar to Aalto's physicians' residences in Paimio, was influenced by Central European modernism. His commitment to the principles of functionalist design has clearly seen also in the proposal from 1939 for the Shell Building on Mannerheimintie, Helsinki. The composition of functionally determined parts with a simple rationalist mechanism of shifted pieces contrast with the free form of the cantilevered canopy that resembles the entrance canopy of Aalto's Paimio Sanatorium (1929-33). For Ervi, Functionalism was not just a set of stylistic traits, but a way of conceiving a building as an organic whole.

Flexible standardization

Just like Aalto, Ervi was interested in all kinds of innovations. Commissioned by the Finnish company A. Ahlström, Alvar Aalto developed in 1937 a series of standardized wooden houses that established the so-called AA system, with the mass production of construction elements. Aalto's experiments in designing standardized houses in wood provided a reference for Ervis' later standardization work and in creating the RT Building Information Files.[8] After the Winter War, the Reconstruction Office was founded in 1942, divided into the Construction Department chaired by Aulis Blomstedt and the Standardization Office directed by Ervi. In order to rationalize the building construction and given the shortage of construction materials, wood was the main material for the standardized components of buildings. In 1943 the Standardization Office published the first 70 files of the Building Information File [Rakennustieto-kortisto]. Ervi also presented the standardization systems and construction methods in a 1943 article "The standardization of the construction industry" [Rakennusalan standardisoimisesta].[9] In reviewing the Stockholm Exhibition of 1930, Aalto had stated that "society will understand the need to create an institution for the development of standardization if it is compared with a grammatical dictionary or with the vocabulary of language."[10] For Aalto, the building must not have a predetermined form, but rather, must be an open system capable of changing over time in response to the needs of the inhabitants. Ervi applied flexible standardization, for instance, in the employees housing for the the Oulu hydroelectric power station (1942-1951) using aerated concrete blocks from the Kevytbetoni company.

Organic empiricism

From the 1940s to the 1960s, Ervi designed the power station communities along the Oulujoki River, alluding to Aalto's industrial areas in Sunila.[11] Combining modernist principles and traditional and experimental technology, Ervi's empiricism is clearly seen in the single-family houses or blocks of flats combining masonry, betocell elements and timber. Ervi applied and tested the RT building information cards, combined with his knowledge of the Finnish building tradition, in the skillful use of timber with a refined detailing merging economic efficiency and humanity, as he states in the 1942 article "Economic efficiency and humanity" [Taloudellisuus ja inhimillisyys].[12]

Ervi's works combine innovative solutions in construction technology with the use of available traditional materials. As in Aalto's extraordinary collages of materials and techniques, creating a sophisticated interplay of references of vernacular buildings

and modern architectural vocabulary, Ervi's Villa Pelkonen in Lappeeranta (1949) resembles Aalto's Villa Mairea (1938-1941). As in Villa Mairea, the bedroom windows project out at an angle to address the approach of the building and the entrance canopy is supported by compound timber columns. In the interior, the wrapping and cladding to naturalize the building is clearly seen also in the metallic columns bound with pine or spruce roots.

Villa Ervi, on the island of Kuusisaari, Helsinki (1949), also combines technological innovations, studied on his trip to the United States and explained in his articles published in *Arkkitehti*,[13] with the modern tradition of Aalto's house in Munkkiniemi in which Ervi collaborated. Villa Ervi also illustrates the interactions between modernity and tradition, between the industrial and artisanal system, combining a structure of steel posts and industrialized elements with traditional materials.[14] The structure of the house is supported by a metal structure made up of 14 steel tubular pillars and composite slabs with prefabricated blocks of aerated concrete. The "porticoed" structure generates an open plan characterized by the flexibility and adaptability of the spaces in the house. The steel pillars are partially bound with pine or spruce roots, alluding again to Aalto's pillars in Villa Mairea, fusing modernity with tradition. Ervi's interest in interiors is reflected also in the refined detailing of the Voimatalo office building in Helsinki (1947),[15] and the KOP Kasino in Otaniemi (1950),[16] in the balanced dialogue between modern forms and traditional materials.

Modern parallels

Ervi's desire to innovate is clearly seen in the House for Tomorrow built in the Nordic Building Forum exhibition, held in Helsinki in 1955. Ervi built the experimental house with modern materials and techniques, developing a prefabricated construction. The prototype anticipates the mass production construction solutions applied in the University of Helsinki's Porthania building (1950-1957), built with pre-cast concrete elements and the ceramic-tile-clad facades. Porthania became the first building in Finland to be constructed almost entirely from prefabricated elements. In Ervi's work, the modern tradition is enriched in rigorous detail and craftsmanship, combining technological advances with Aalto's timeless holistic approach and attention to context and human values that Ervi had learned in Aalto's office.[18] As Kirmo Mikkola pointed out, Ervi's ouvre was very close to Aalto in spirit and in many details working in parallel with Aalto rather than being influenced by him.[19]

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Photo: Aarne Ervi © Museum of Finnish Architecture

2. Aarne Ervi, Villa Pelkonen, Lappeeranta, 1949. Photo: Kuvapaja © Museum of Finnish Architecture

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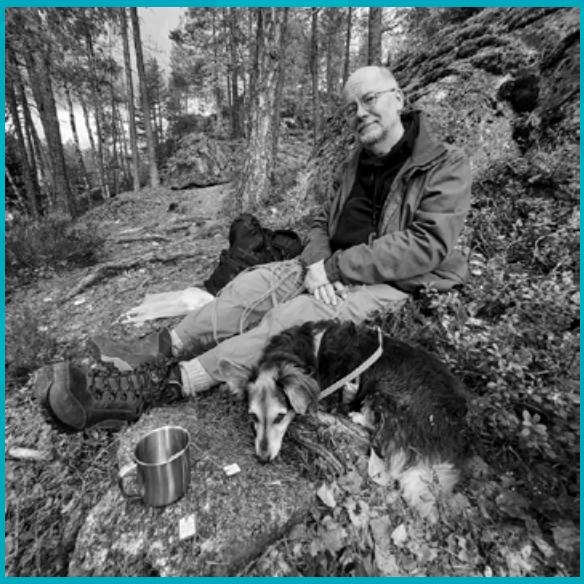
Photo: Aarne Ervi © Museum of Finnish Architecture



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TIMO PENTTILÄ AGAINST ARCHITECTURE THEORY

Gareth Griffiths

The tradition of modernism

The perhaps paradoxical sounding notion of a "tradition of modernism" has often been evoked to characterize Finnish architecture. Colin St. John Wilson, taking from T.S. Eliot's conservative characterization of tradition – a fusion of past and present and a sense of present temporality – took Alvar Aalto to be an exemplary case of a so-called Other Tradition in modern architecture, that is, modernism not as a style but as a practical art, where "the concept of rationality is deepened by human concerns not universal averages". Somewhat differently, Malcolm Quantrill saw no break in development from vernacular to National Romantic and modernist architecture in Finland, seeing the present as the culmination of past events.[1] In 1980, following the so-called America-Europe Dialogue on the Future of the Modern Movement, a number of the Finnish participants issued a joint statement: "Modernism has gradually become rooted in the [Finnish] society to build up a firm and genuine tradition."[2] The eight signatories, including Juhani Pallasmaa, Kristian Gullichsen and Timo Penttilä, were taking something of a stand against the then prevailing postmodernism. In the following essay, I wish to focus in on the position of Timo Penttilä (1931-2011), architect and professor of architecture at the Academy of Arts in Vienna from 1980 to 1998, who would offer a dissenting voice from his Finnish colleagues about the very idea of modernism.[3] If writings on "architectural theory" can be divided into three types, *design theory* (e.g. Le Corbusier formulating new concepts), *criticism* (e.g. Colin Rowe's comparison of Corbusian and Palladian villas) and *philosophy of architecture* (i.e. a metatheory investigating the possibility of formulating design theories),[4] then Penttilä's writings come under the third type, encapsulated in the question "Whose Modernism?"

In fact, Penttilä derided the use of "theory" in teaching and practising architecture. Nevertheless, on his retirement from teaching in 1998, he gave up his architectural practice, asked his assistants to destroy the entire office archive – problematizing future research on his work – and dedicated the rest of his life to reading and writing about architecture theory – culminating in the posthumous publication in 2013 of a book in Finnish, *True and False Architects: 2000 Years of Architecture Theory*,[5] in which he critiqued what he argued was the failing of *a priori* theory in architecture, from Vitruvius to the present day. For him, what constitutes the "right" architect

is one who postulates a theory that necessitates that opposition to it is necessarily wrong. In summation, he spoke out against what he regarded as an elitism grounded on ultimate causes and destinies.

The third generation

Though Penttilä never worked in Aalto's office (but rather in the office of Aalto's one-time assistant, Aarne Ervi), it would not be too difficult to see Penttilä as having come from some Aalto school of thought. Penttilä achieved a first hint of international recognition with his Helsinki City Theatre (1960-67), receiving a brief mention in the fifth, revised and expanded edition of Sigfried Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture* (1967). For this new edition Giedion had added a section titled "Jørn Utzon and the third generation". Coming in the book immediately after the section on Aalto, Giedion was concerned with defining the emerging zeitgeist and what differentiated it from previous architecture. He argued that the architects of Utzon's generation were little interested in when or by whom a certain building was erected. Instead, the architects ask questions such as: What did the builder want to achieve and how did he solve his problems? That is, the architect is concerned with "searching through previous architectonic knowledge, so that he can immediately confront contemporary architectural aims with those of a former period."[6]

Just as Giedion draws parallels between Utzon's use of horizontal levels as form-giving elements and Aalto's earlier use of a similar elements in Viipuri Library and Säynätsalo Town Hall, he draws similar parallels between Utzon's work and Penttilä's Helsinki City Theatre, with its horizontal layers "cut out of the living rock", its grand staircase recreating the ascent up through the topography of the site. Interestingly, with its fairly close proximity to Aalto's Finlandia Hall, the uninitiated often take the building as an Aalto work, even though its completion predates that of Aalto's work by a decade.

But Giedion's early brief endorsement of a Penttilä work could hardly allow us to predict the future trajectory for Penttilä's works. In retrospect, one might compare his body of works to that of Eero Saarinen, so very diverse in design depending on the client, brief and site. But despite his concern for bold forms, Penttilä would invariably argue that they were determined by the site. For example, in his 1984 competition entry for the Nokia HQ in Espoo, he argued that its form represents "the new without futuristic or UFO-like exaggerations" and a striving to enroot the building alongside the curved motorway site.[7]

Architect Kirmo Mikkola, who throughout the 1960s argued in favour of an anonymous rationalist architecture, referred to as Constructivism, wrote in 1969 that "Aalto has moved to his present baroque line, and he was followed by a particular expressionistic school of thought such as Reima Pietilä and Timo Penttilä, whose work is characterised as a new national romanticism." One would have to keep in mind the architectural political struggles occurring in Finland at that time to understand Mikkola's caustic stance. Aino Niskanen has written about how during the 1960s Aalto had been at the peak of his international fame, yet was regarded as a peripheral figure in the eyes of the young generation.[8] The Department of Architecture at the Helsinki University of Technology was housed in an Aalto-designed building, and yet his architecture was very rarely discussed as part of the students' education. Penttilä found himself equally ignored and thus took up an invitation to move to Vienna.

When Penttilä was invited to become one of two professors of the "meisterschule" in the Academy of Arts in Vienna, it was presumed that he would continue the ongoing tradition of "masters" stemming from Otto Wagner who instructed their students on *how* to design in the master's style. Penttilä had been chosen as "meister" by his predecessor, Roland Rainer, who is said to have had a bad conscience after getting to build the Vienna Stadthalle, even though Alvar Aalto's office had won the competition for it in 1953.[9] Rainer was then inviting, as he saw it, a Finnish or near-enough Aaltoesque way of doing architecture into the school. However, Penttilä broke with the "meister" tradition. Among his students he is said to have developed the aura of a Zen master, responding to the students' questions with his own questions. They believed he had a personal architectural theory, but that he was simply not revealing it to them: "My conviction not to present any ready-made recipes confronts every student with existential choices that he has to solve on his own."[10]

The gist of Penttilä's ambitions is evident in his list of works: 18 completed buildings, 3 of which resulted from architectural competitions (all while under the age of 30), 3 other significant competition wins that never materialised, and having entered at least 43 competitions, notably coming second to Aalto in the competition for the Seinäjoki Theatre. When explaining his own works, Penttilä endorsed what he termed "ostension", an idea he argues he derived from Ludwig Wittgenstein and Willard Van Orman Quine. Penttilä's role model for his "ostensive" method was Mimar Sinan, the great Ottoman architect: Sinan's ambition was seen as to compete with the great Hagia Sophia, building an even bigger dome: "Sinan understood that this goal was easier to achieve by copying the work of his competitors: one had only to amend the evident mistakes and magnify and improve a bit here and there." Penttilä suggests that Sinan was more single-minded than present-day architects: he didn't aspire for anything more authentic than something comparable with Hagia

Sophia and considered better than it in any comparison. In the case of Penttilä's own work, one can note the "pushing" of forms of Aalto, Le Corbusier, Mies, and Wright as well as other Finnish architects. The Italian architect Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani suggested that Penttilä's modesty is something akin to that of Heinrich Tessenow, who kept aloof from the avant-gardes, "engaging himself in patient renewals of conservative typologies".[11]

The autonomy of architecture

In his writings, Penttilä defended the autonomy of architecture, but meant by this something rather different than other theorists. At the crux of his position was his disdain for determinism, especially functionalism, which he called the "stepchild of an all-pervading scientism", thus depriving architecture of its autonomy.[12] He nevertheless derided an autonomous architecture synonymous with concerns solely with architecture's own formal and compositional issues, typological disregard for function and users, futuristic-centred utopianism or as part of some strategic political refusal. As he saw it, something is autonomous when it gives law to itself or acts from its own principle; but as architecture is already a part of man's practical action, there is no architecture without physical fulfilment, and it is inseparable from its craft. For him architecture was a freely creative activity bounded only by the design brief, context, budget and the fact that architects are already part of the world. He even took this to mean that realizability is the most important single criterion of architecture, but that a true architectural experience is not conceivable through merely drawings.[13]

Penttilä equally defended the idea of a tradition of modernism, but not in the sense of some "unfinished project of modernism", but merely a living, ongoing tradition, characterized by anonymity and consensus; while Giedion spoke of a dialectic, Penttilä referred to a living tradition. In this regard he looked to the philosopher Karl Popper: "If we construct a rational world afresh there is no reason to believe that it will be a happy world. There is no reason to believe that the blue-printed world will be any better than the world in which we already live." Yet, on the other hand, this was no call to preservation for its own sake: "The extreme preservationist swears in the name of tradition; but he quite erroneously assumes that tradition is synonymous with stagnation and prohibition." Penttilä even took on the Finnish preservation authority, the National Board of Antiquities, asking them to define their terms, such as calling a building "culturally, historically and environmentally irreplaceable." If the artifacts produced by culture are irreplaceable, he argued, the entire human cultural development would have to be explained in a new way: "One of its most

visible features is precisely the constant replacement of artifacts with new, better ones."[14] Against the background of such an argument against preservation (albeit not including "planned obsolescence" as with the works of, say, Cedric Price), it is interesting to pose the fate of Penttilä's own works: the three early competition wins (Sampola adult education centre, Tampere Business School, and Helsinki City Theatre),[15] together with the Ratina Stadium are protected buildings, while two and half others (Finnish Sugar HQ, Makrotalo HQ and half of the Finnish city college) have been demolished, and another (Imatran voima laboratory) awaits demolition and his largest scheme, Hanasaari power station, is reaching the end of its life, with the authorities undecided about its future, whether to make it a Tate Modern -type of cultural venue or simply demolish it.

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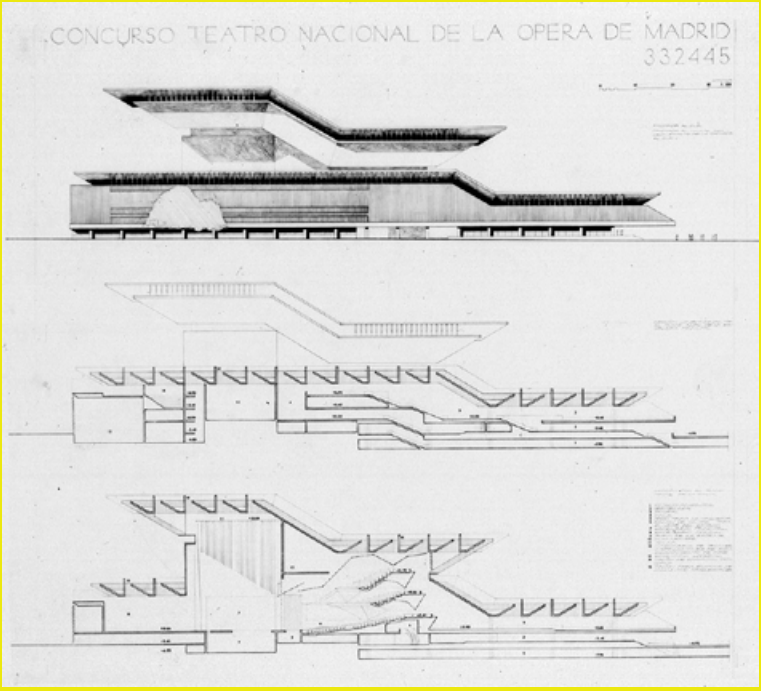
12 Timo Penttilä, ”Ympäristöopin ensimmäinen sato”, *Arkkitehti*, 2 (1982), 28-32.

13 Timo Penttilä, “Autonomy and authority in architecture”, in *Timo Penttilä – Finnish Architecture*.

14 Timo Penttilä, ”Kokonaisvaltaisuus – teoria vai taikauskoa?”, *Arkkitehti* 7 (1982), 66-72.

15 In persuading Penttilä that he needed all the drawings of the Helsinki City Theatre for the purpose of working on its refurbishment, his assistant Kari Lind was able to save the drawings from being destroyed, eventually donating them to the Museum of Finnish Architecture. Personal conversation with the author.

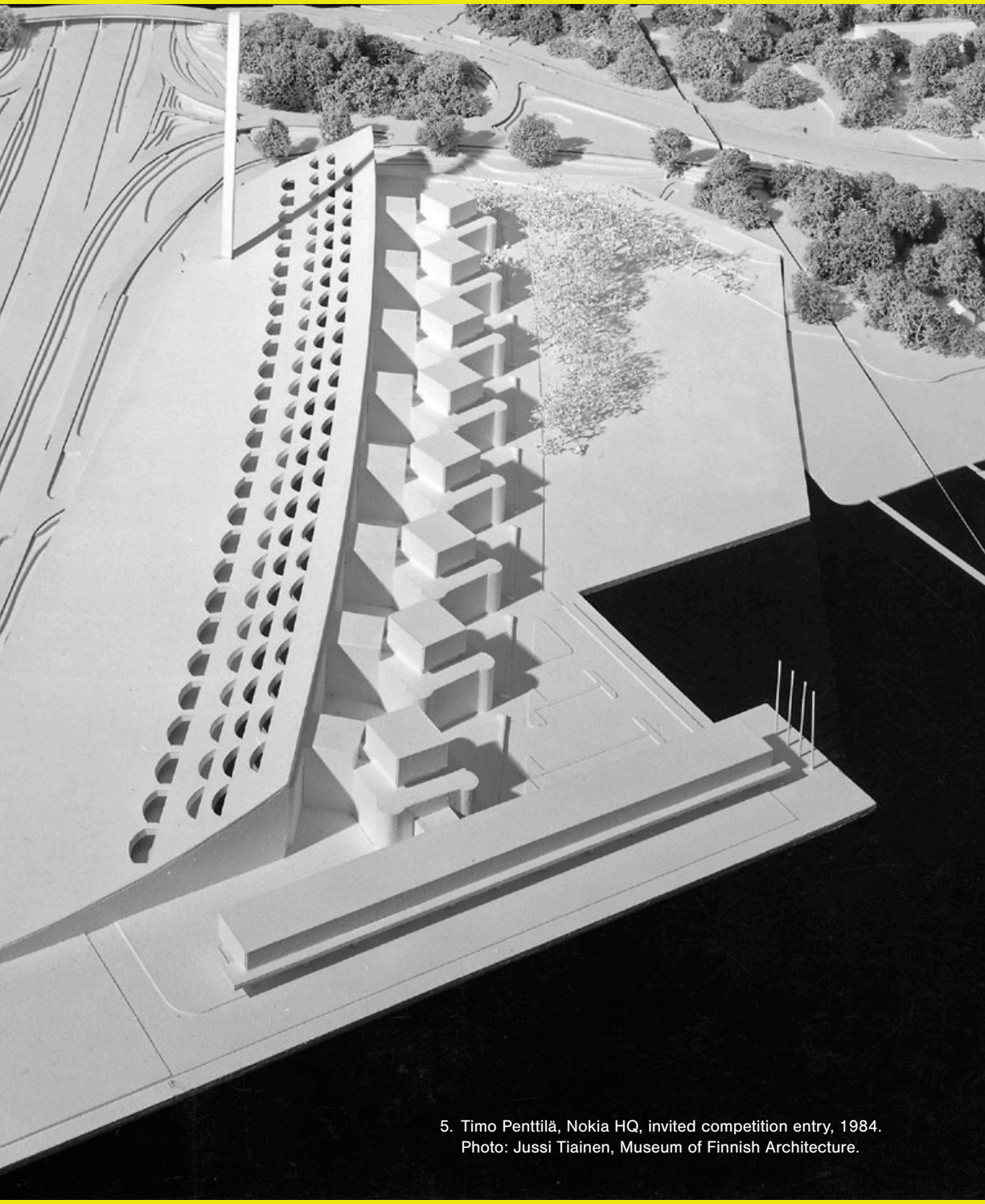
1. Timo Penttilä, Helsinki City Theatre, 1960-67. Photo: Kristina Kölhi.



2. Timo Penttilä, Madrid Opera House, competition proposal, 1963.
Photo courtesy of Kari Lind.

3. Imatran voima laboratory, Vantaa, 1979. The empty building is currently awaiting demolition. Photo: Gareth Griffiths.

4. Timo Penttilä, Hanasaari power station, Helsinki, completed 1976 and due to be decommissioned in 2023. Photo: Gareth Griffiths.



5. Timo Penttilä, Nokia HQ, invited competition entry, 1984.
Photo: Jussi Tiainen, Museum of Finnish Architecture.

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ARCHITECT AS A RESEARCHER: ASTA PALM AND LEISURE PLANNING IN ESTONIA

Epp Lankots

A full and healthy life was one of the ”big questions” that modern architecture sought to address, among others. Considered on various scales, from the functional city to a minimum dwelling unit, it closely tied the citizens’ private lives to new social norms and political ideals. While during the interwar period it was the figure of the architect and his (seldom her) work – the building – that epitomized these new ambitions of architecture to cure the physical and mental shortcomings of its users, the scale and complexity of those questions changed considerably after WWII, affecting also the role of the architect and the ways these questions were tackled.

The recovery from the catastrophe of WWII, and the rebuilding of societies and whole cities required also a reconsideration of the whole apparatus of architecture. The simple scheme of the client and the architect of the early years of the Modern Movement was no longer compatible in the era of building the welfare states, either socialist or capitalist. Large housing campaigns and planning exercises necessitated also a complex institutional infrastructure, where a number of experts from creative to technical and administrative staff worked. Research institutes were one of the components of the new complex infrastructure of architectural production, where architects worked as scholars rather than creative practitioners and where the full and healthy life and the spatial organization of its main components – work, home and leisure – became a multidisciplinary field.

This paper discusses the emergence of the figure of architect-researcher in Soviet Estonia in the 1960s, more specifically the research practice of Asta Palm (1927–2021) – the first female architect to receive a doctoral degree and a pioneer in leisure planning in Estonia. Palm was responsible for the majority of the research done in different institutions related to free time and recreation. As such, her work directly shaped the planning of peri-urban areas around Tallinn and other bigger cities in Estonia where a variety of recreational landscapes (from public beaches to campgrounds) were created and buildings (from hunting lodges to modernist holiday homes) erected in the 1960s–1980s. Palm’s work provides a possibility to consider the new roles of the architect during the 20th century and whether authorship as a category in fact delimits the understanding of the complexities of the architects’ tasks in the postwar decades.

Techno-scientific progress and architects' new tasks

As the Soviet state had abolished private entrepreneurship, including architects' private practices, the architect's profession in Estonia was quickly institutionalized under state design offices that worked on tasks centrally assigned by the state. The scope of work depended on the profile of the design office – whether it was planning the cities and other larger settlements, large unique public buildings or standard designs for a variety of building typologies, rural settlements or industrial buildings. The profiles of the design institutes and research organisations were further specialized after Nikita Khrushchev's techno-scientific turn that was taken to fulfil the goal to raise the living standards and material well-being of the Soviet citizens. From governance and the planning of the national economy to cultural and creative practice, the sole authority of the Communist Party in planning the future of the Soviet state was complemented with a research-based perspective,[1] which altered also the position of architecture previously considered predominantly as an artistic discipline. Together with a promise of a flat for every family, Khrushchev's programme also included improving the possibilities for Soviet citizens to spend their free time by organizing mass holidays in purpose-built leisure spaces. The first step in this was the introduction of the 5-day workweek in the Soviet Union that enabled the citizens to spend a 2-day weekend. The second step was assigning the new task of how and where to spend this extra free time to the tables of the research institutes responsible for planning and construction.

Planning the Tallinn recreational area

Already in the 1950s, the research labs in the Soviet Union had turned their attention to the physiological questions of work and leisure and the impact of urbanization on city dwellers.[2] Holidays were presented as a way of alleviating the physical and mental health problems caused by increasingly specialized professional activities, the reduction of physical labour and polluted environments. In Estonia, leisure planning gained momentum when Tallinn was preparing its first post-Stalinist general plan. Its early scenario development phase was conducted from 1960 to 1962 (the plan itself was finalized by 1968) and it was for the first time that the regional perspective was adopted in city planning in Estonia: the plan did not just designate new areas for industrially-built housing estates, but also worked out land uses for the peri-urban area, a large share of which was meant for recreational purposes for the city dwellers.

Planning the recreational peri-urban zone was a completely new thing that was taken up by a young architect, Asta Palm, who had graduated from Tallinn Polytechnical Institute in 1951 and started her doctoral studies at the Research Institute for Construction in 1958. Her dissertation[3] on planning the recreational peri-urban zones for larger cities (based on the case study of Tallinn) thus constituted an important part of the scenario phase and was later implemented also in the general plan. Palm worked out the criteria of how to assess prospective recreational areas, gave a detailed classification of leisure and holiday spaces and landscapes, including hiking trails and cultural routes, with propositions for planning the Tallinn recreational zone. The work was methodologically rich as she combined different sources like studies on climate, plantation, and terrain with social factors and observation and fieldwork. As she noted, the work included ”3000 kilometres by foot and bicycle” and she was also the first one to include a ”customer survey” in leisure planning, with over 500 returned forms showing the preferences of workers in spending their free time.[4]

Following her work, the Tallinn peripheral zone was structured according to long-term or short-term holidays. The inner ring, a 2 to 5 kilometres wide forest park zone was planned for the short-term leisure of 30% of the city population and to provide a reservoir of clean air for the city. Long-term leisure was to be organized within a radius of 70 kilometres and the Northern Estonian coastline was planned to be in the most intensive use for approximately 30% of the population or 100,000 holidaymakers. This was the zone where a variety of different holiday institutions were to be developed by the state: young pioneer camps, holiday complexes for state enterprises, campgrounds, tourist complexes, motels, garden cooperatives and summer cottages, including areas with a quieter ambience and family-related activities separated from the more intensely used collective areas.[5] Palm’s work is noteworthy also in terms of being the first to bring up the concept of family holidays. Before Khrushchev, leisure was a category that was measured on the value of the individual worker to society, and families were not considered important to this model. As there was so little space at sanatoriums and the company-assigned trips were a deficit item, it was essentially not possible for multiple members of a family to go on holiday at the same time. Palm detected the lack of spaces for families to spend a holiday together outside of one’s home and registered this as a problem that needed to be resolved, as the results of the surveys indicated that families would prefer spending their holidays together.

In the second half of the 1960s, Palm was involved in the first regional plan for the whole territory of Estonia (or the ”Complex territorial plan of Estonia”), where she was responsible for research and propositions of recreational planning and land uses for the whole country. Palm’s propositions were adopted later by a number of

detailed plans that were made for different holiday and recreational areas in different parts of Estonia, like Tartu, new holidaying areas near Pärnu or by Lake Peipsi or Lake Võrtsjärv in southern Estonia.

As a planner and researcher, Palm clearly tried to gain an in-depth understanding of the larger societal changes that affected the distribution of work and leisure time as well as advancements of mobility that would intensify the uses of landscapes. She was a delegate at the 1972 UIA conference in Varna themed ”Architecture and Leisure” and published a rather thorough overview of leisure studies internationally and how various countries tackle the question of shrinking working hours and increased leisure time as societies advanced towards a post-industrial era.[6] According to Palm, all this would have a significant effect on how the natural areas around the cities would be used and the effects, as she acknowledged, would not only be positive, and therefore careful planning but also implementing and managing the recreational areas was needed.[7]

Conclusion

Palm’s career in the Research Institute for Construction lasted for 10 years and she continued her academic career at the Estonian Academy of Agriculture, lecturing and supervising mainly the planning of rural settlements but still remaining an active author publishing in research as well as popular journals about the cultured and urbanised uses of nature. Being a member of the Society of Nature Observers, she believed also that recreational uses of nature would be an enrichment to the diverse meanings of nature and that landscape planning would also serve as one of the means towards nature protection.

Asta Palm’s career and work shows that although authorship has lost at least some of its relevance in the context of post-war urbanism, the recognition of the contribution of a number of other architectural professionals as active agents in the field (researchers, technicians, administrators, etc.) – men and especially women who often worked as part of larger collectives being shaded by lead architects or head of the institutes – is vital in understanding the heritage of the modern movement in its complexity. However, these men and women, although not clearly definable as authors, directly shaped the ”welfare landscapes”[8] of the postwar era while sustaining the imaginaries of the prosperous and caring state that was one of the central tenets of the modern movement in Europe.

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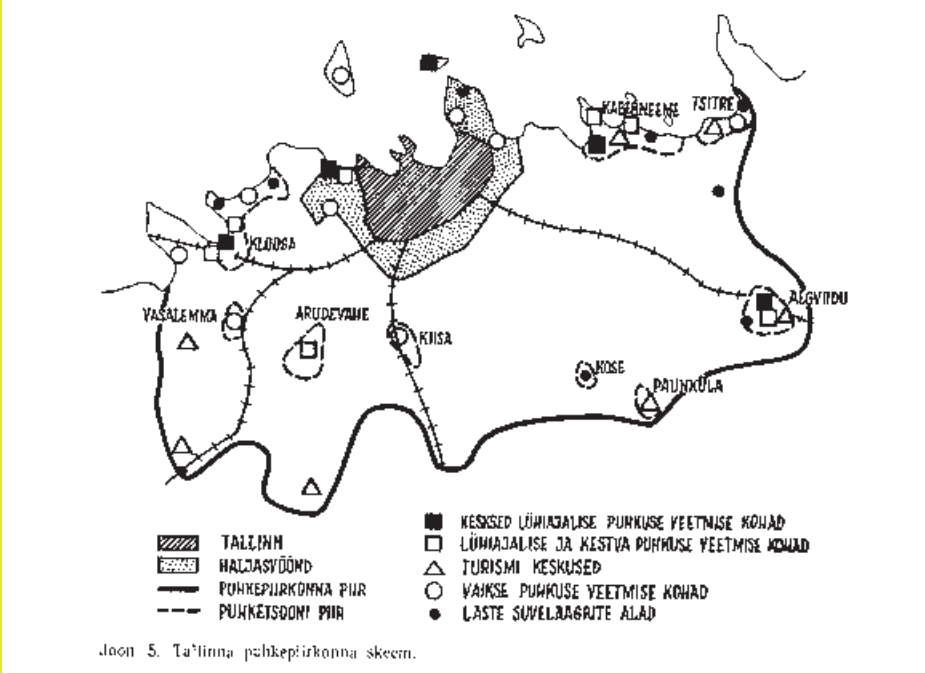

1. The scheme by Asta Palm depicting the Tallinn recreational area in 1963. Source: Linnaehituse küsimusi Eesti NSV-s. Tallinn: Eesti NSV Ministrite Nõukogu Riiklik Ehituse ja Arhitektuuri Komitee, 1963.

2. Palm's research offered the framework for more systematic development of leisure infrastructure including public campgrounds in the 1960s. Vaibla campground near lake Võrtsjärve in 1969. © Paul Pere

3. Sauna by architect Arpad Andreller in Rannamõisa – the first camping ground for motor tourists opened in the Soviet Union in 1965. © Paul Pere

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CONDITIONS TO GAIN THE STATUS OF A MASTERPIECE: ENDURANCE, AUTONOMY, AND SOLE AUTHORSHIP IN THE BARCELONA PAVILION

Laura Martínez de Guereñu

In the beginning of the 1960s, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969) made the decision to give his personal papers to the Library of Congress in Washington DC, his library to the University of Illinois in Chicago, and his professional archive to the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA).[1] Having lived for more than thirty years in North America, and with a solo exhibition devoted to his work in 1947, the MoMA was the institution that had assumed an authoritative role in the construction of his legacy. In that public presentation of Mies's work at the MoMA, the German Pavilion of the 1929 International Exposition in Barcelona was considered "the culminating achievement" of Mies's European career and one of the "milestones" of modern architecture.[2] A decade later, Henry Russell Hitchcock (1903–1987), who had co-curated with Philip Johnson (1906-2005) the collective exhibition where the German Pavilion was first featured at the MoMA in 1932, celebrated it as "Mies's masterpiece."[3]

Transience

Among the scholars that had written the histories of the first generation of modern architecture, Hitchcock was the only one that had clarified that "although built of permanent materials," the pavilion had been "only temporary."[4] Bruno Zevi (1918-2000) underlined the "genius" of the pavilion,[5] while Reyner Banham (1922-1988) stated that its status as a masterpiece rested "upon the authority and felicity with which [it gave] expression to a view of men in relation to their environment."[6] But none of them explicitly said that the pavilion had been dismantled.[7] The same omission was made – and kept over time – in the subsequent editions of the book *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*,[8] which Hitchcock and Johnson had originally published the year of the show *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition*,[9] and that was also widely used as a textbook for the study of the history of modern architecture. The discovery that the masterpiece was missing surely generated more than one disappointment, as it was the case of Jean-Louis Cohen (b. 1949), who has shared the sad experience he had during "[his] first trip in 1968 to Barcelona looking for the pavilion and not knowing it had been demolished."[10]

Two other significant omissions, both related with the question of authorship, have haunted the history of the Barcelona Pavilion. Although it was clearly stated in the contract, none of the historians noted that Mies had a partner in the project of the 1929 International Exposition with whom he developed the work jointly, namely Lilly Reich (1885-1947).[11] Neither Banham, nor Hitchcock, nor Johnson, nor Zevi mentioned that the Barcelona Pavilion had been part of the largest exhibition commission Mies and Reich would ever receive in their respective careers or acknowledged Reich when addressing the pavilion. Only Johnson gave her a shared credit with Mies in the industrial exhibits in Barcelona and in the Silk and Velvet exhibit designed two years earlier in Berlin. Furthermore, Johnson described Reich as "[Mies's] brilliant partner, who soon became his equal in this field,"[12] rather than observing what Reich brought to the partnership when they became a "productive couple" in 1927.[13]

Dependence

During architectural modernism none of the historians noted either that in Barcelona Mies and Reich had been accountable for a much larger work than the celebrated pavilion. "The architectural development of the German Pavilion" was only one third of a broader project,[14] which also included "the architectural design of the area occupied by the German spaces in various palaces" (no less than 16.000 m^2) and "the furniture and complete fabrication of the exposition stands" (the design of an extensive number of free-standing and built-in metalwork display cases, freestanding metalwork display tables, screens, and glass walls). Although historians did indicate that the pavilion had represented Germany at a world fair, in none of the cases did they mention that Mies and Reich had also designed the display of the products of more than three hundred German companies, occupying a surface that was fifty times larger than the pavilion, and therefore shaping the identity of the entire German section across the site of the International Exposition. (Fig. 1)

The work developed by Mies and Reich in the exhibitions is not only important because it started four months earlier than the design of the pavilion,[15] but because the extensive number of display elements that they designed there provided some of the technical and formal solutions for the architectural elements of the emblematic German Pavilion. The glass screens they built for several industrial exhibits to foreground some of the products on display or to distinguish the areas of various companies without visually dividing the space (as in the Palace of Communications and Transport or in the Deutsche Seide exhibition within the Palace of Textiles) (Figs. 2, 3) generated the architectural details that were later employed for some

of the most significant architectural elements of the German Pavilion. The glass screens of the pavilion, which introduced different tones and degrees of transparency (olive green, mouse grey, fully transparent, and translucent), were able to foreground the materiality of the four types of polished marble walls (Roman travertine, green marble from the Alps, onyx doré from the Atlas Mountains, and verd antique from Tinos), while revealing them as architectural elements on display. The detail plans of these glass screens (Fig. 4), which can be found in the drawing sets that are part of the Mies van der Rohe Archive – those of the industrial exhibits and those of the German Pavilion compared to each other – reveal that Mies and Reich used the same constructive details (built with the same steel profiles) in both parts of the project.[16] Both the drawing sets and the photographs of the glass walls in one and the other part reveal how the industrial exhibits were a testing ground for the German Pavilion (Fig. 5).[17]

Co-authorship

The reason why Mies asked Reich to develop with him the project for Barcelona in equal partnership was the success of the work they had developed together, two years earlier, in the industrial exhibitions in Stuttgart,[18] where they designed, among other exhibits, the famous Glass Room, where they were listed as joint authors.[19] As Magdalena Droste (b. 1948) has stated, as of 1927 exchange and cooperation advanced continually between Mies and Reich and "the two created interiors that were orchestrations."[20] However, architects and historians born a decade after the development of these projects have had (and some still have) problems in acknowledging that the way Mies was able to display the quality inherent in one material by a sheer quantity of it,[21] which generated a radical approach to defining space as exemplified in the Barcelona Pavilion, did not exist in his work prior to his collaboration and partnership with Lilly Reich. Juan Navarro Baldeweg (b. 1939) openly recognized at the end of the 1990s that it was "like a dirty little secret" that all architects of his generation kept. "Something that [they] all [knew], that [they] all [saw], but [they didn't] bring [them]selves to talk about."[22] This collective omission of Reich's name and authorship has been so strong, that even Navarro Baldeweg himself forgot to mention her in the article where he explained this quality of Mies's work, that is, his ability to abstract an architectural element and to conceive it as "the exclusive generator and container of a display."[23]

Mies and Reich chose the thirteen photographs with which the pavilion, once it was demolished, remained in the minds of all architects throughout modernism as an abstract, permanent work, frozen in space and time. These today-canonical thirteen

photographs are in stark contrast to the other three photos taken on the eve of the famous inauguration on May 27, 1929, which show the building used, inhabited, even discussed,[24] and which Mies and Reich did not approve for publication.[25] In that regards, it could be stated that the authors themselves also contributed to the intellectual construction of the German Pavilion as a masterpiece.

The thirteen today-canonical photographs of the German Pavilion are an outcome of the trip that Sasha Stone made to Barcelona at the end of June 1929 to photograph the Silk industry and the other German displays. Once he was in Barcelona, Stone took the chance to shoot the German Pavilion as well. Therefore, the way the thirteen photographs of the German Pavilion were born also demonstrates that the German Pavilion was not as autonomous as it has been considered. Dr. Erich Raemisch, who had hired Stone, communicated to Lilly Reich their satisfaction with the photographs of both the pavilion and the exhibits.[26] The overall consistency of the project shown by the publication of *Die Form* in August 15, 1929, where the German Pavilion and the German Exhibits were put at the same level with photographs of both parts, has not been repeated ever since. Later on, in the absence of the pavilion's material existence, the photographs of the German Pavilion, separated from those of the exhibits, were systematically employed for all publications and became the token that kept the masterpiece "alive."[27]

Each of the omissions that has haunted the history of the Barcelona Pavilion generates a different question regarding the conditions to gain the status of a masterpiece. Would it have been possible for the Barcelona Pavilion to acquire the status of a masterpiece if it had been openly shown that it did not meet one of the basic conditions of a work of architecture, which is, to endure over time? Would it have been possible for the pavilion to acquire the status of a masterpiece if it had been fully recognized that, rather than being the outcome of the creativity of a single heroic genius, it was the outcome of a collaborative partnership? Would it have been possible for the pavilion to acquire the status of a masterpiece if it had been at all revealed that its existence depended on the exhibits?

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10 See "Mies Goes Future | Jean-Louis Cohen," YouTube video, 12:30, posted by Mies van der Rohe Haus, 11 June, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YG45UFOY5GY, at 1:28.

11 The final sentence of the first paragraph in the contract between Commissioner Dr. von Schnitzler and Architekt Mies van de Rohe. See Contract between George von Schnitzler and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (12 November, 1928), R240030, 101-103, Albeitung II, Auswärtiges Amt, Politisches Archiv (AAPAB), Berlin. The contract acknowledged two architects ("die Architekten"): Mies, who had originally been assigned the commission, and Reich, whom Mies had explicitly asked to join him as a partner.

12 Johnson, *Mies van der Rohe*, 1947, 6, 49.

13 Magdalena Droste, "Das kreative Paar: Lilly Reich und die Zusammenarbeit mit Ludwig Mies van der Rohe," in *Frau Architekt: Seit mehr als 100 Jahren: Frauen im Architekturberuf* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 2007), 107.

14 Von Schnitzler and Mies signed the contract for the development of both the industrial sections and the pavilion on 12 November 1928. The first point of the first section of the contract, *Umfang der Leistung des Architekten* (Scope of the architects' performance), which is described as "The

artistic supervision of the architectural work to be carried out in the German section of the International Exposition in Barcelona," includes the accomplishment of these three assignments. See Contract, R240030, 101–103, AAPAB.

15 Germany made the decision to build its own national pavilion in September 1928, four months after announcing that it would participate in the industrial exhibitions and that they were "looking for an architect of fame from whom to commission all the works." Germany's participation was confirmed in first a telegram and then a letter Enrique Domínguez Riaño sent to Santiago Trías on May 29, 1929, page 5. Mies van der Rohe Archive, MoMA.

16 Forty-one architectural plans of the exhibits and twenty-eight architectural plans of the German pavilion are part of the Mies van der Rohe Archive. They can be seen in low resolution in Arthur Drexler, ed., *The Mies van der Rohe Archive*, 20 vols. (New York: Museum of Modern Art / Garland, 1986–1992), 2: 246–281, 5: 169–172; 2: 222-245, 5: 165-167.

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25 Conversation between the author and Helmut Reuter, 20 August 2022.

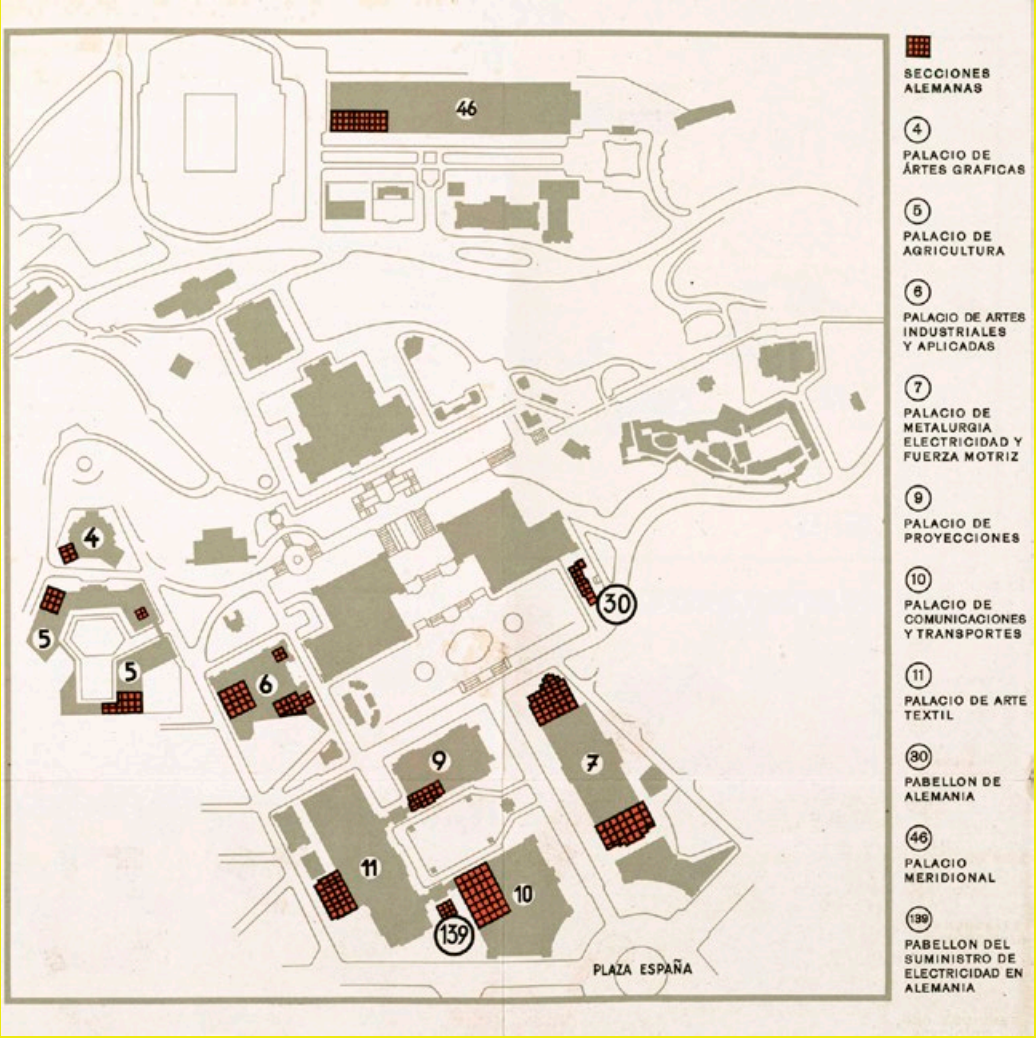
26 See Dr. Erich Raemisch to Lilly Reich, 2 July 1929, MoMA, Mies van der Rohe Papers, Barcelona Pavilion, Folder 11. Quoted in Dietrich Neumann with David Caralt, *An Accidental Masterpiece: Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona Pavilion* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2020), 135.

27 All the historians of the first generation of modern architecture systematically employed some of these thirteen photographs. Johnson, Hitchcock, Mumford, Barr (ed.), *Modern Architecture*, 124; Johnson and Hitchcock, *International Style,* 183-84; Johnson, *Mies van der Rohe*, cover,

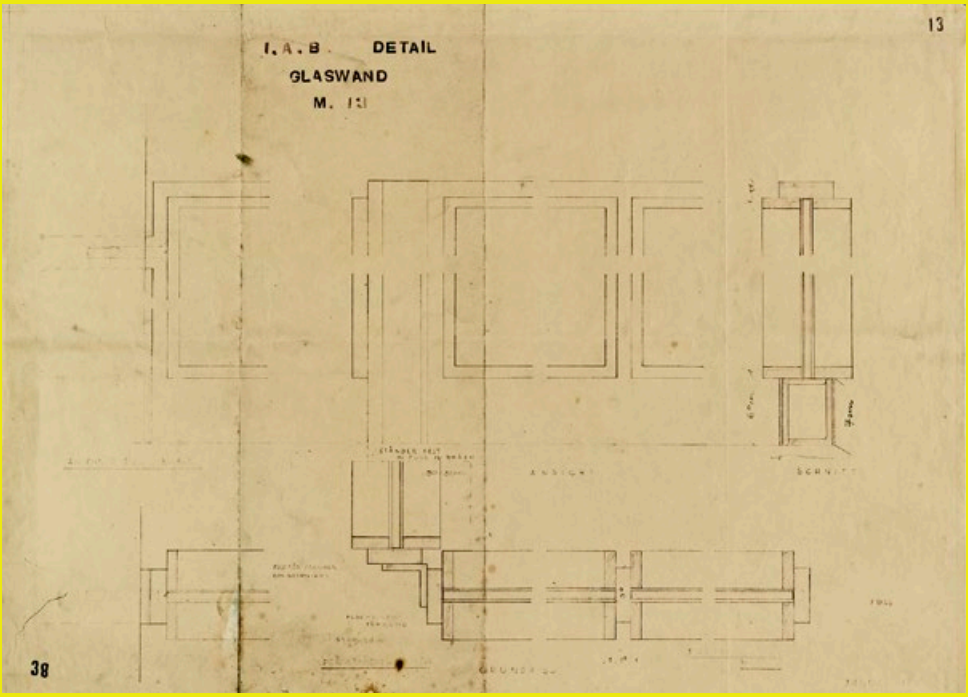
67-74; Hitchcock, *Architecture*, 165; Zevi, *Storia dell'architettura moderna,* 1959, 18, 21 (part of image charts); Bahnam, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, 1960, 301. In more recent reassessments, the significance of these collection of thirteen photographs for the critical acclaim of the German Pavilion has been discussed by many scholars. See among others George Doods, *Building Desire: On the Barcelona Pavilion* (London: Routledge, 2005), 8-11; Birgit Hammers, *Sasha Stone sieht noch mehr: Ein Fotograf zwischen Kunst und Kommerz* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2014), 118-122.

Acknowledgments

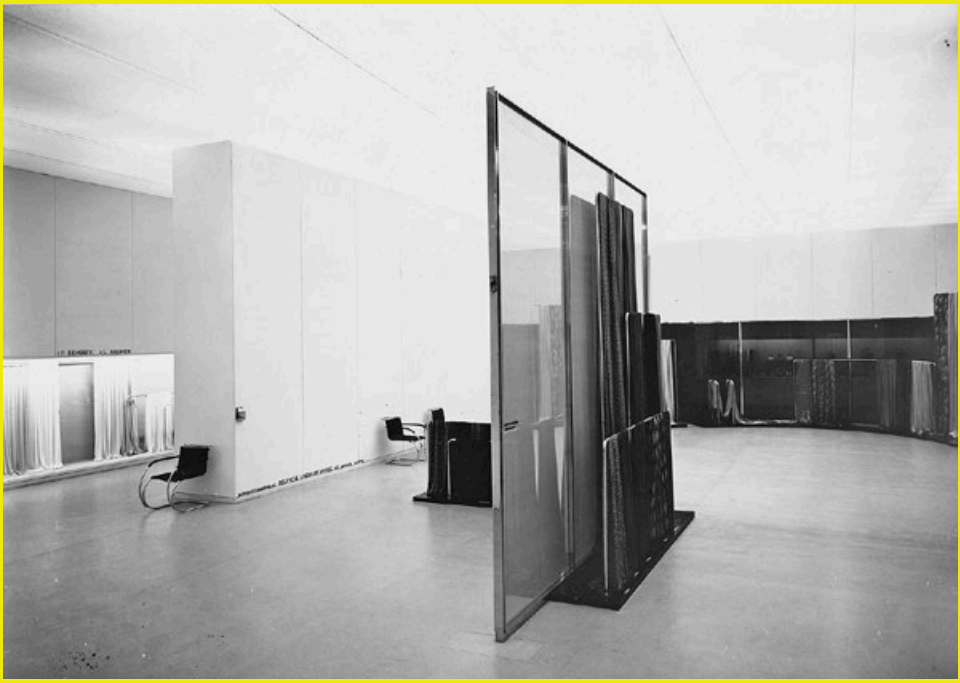
Funding for this research has been provided by the Alexander von Humbold Foundation.



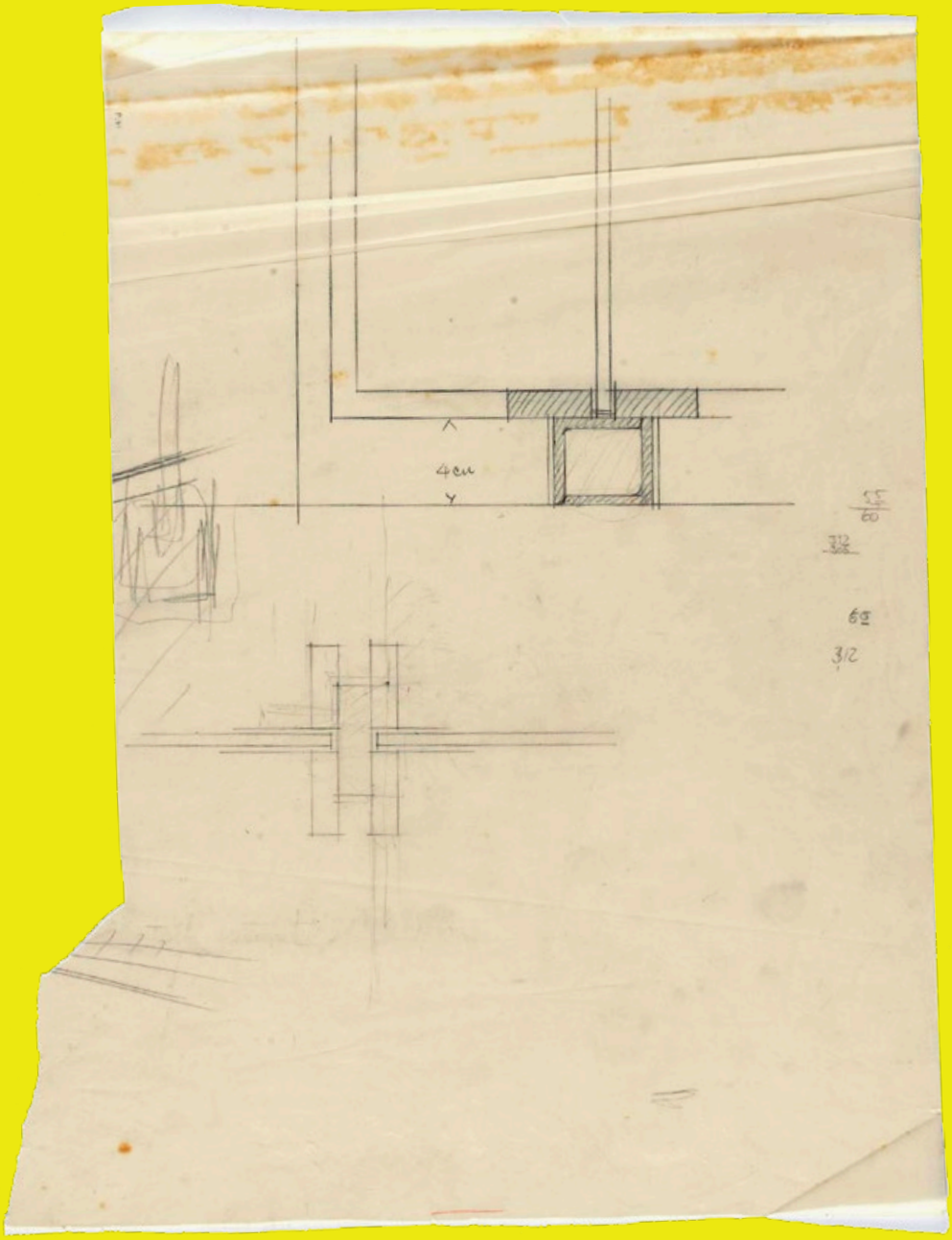
1. Schematic plans of the industrial palaces and German Pavilion, German section of the International Exposition, Barcelona, 1929. (30) German Pavilion; (7) Palace of Metallurgy, Electricity, and Motive Force (with the chemical and machines sections); (9) Palace of Projections; (10) Palace of Communication and Transport; (11) Palace of Textile Arts; and (139) Electric Utilities Pavilion; (4) Palace of Graphic Arts; (5) Palace of Agriculture; (6) Palace of Industrial and Applied Arts; (46) Southern Palace. From Lilly Reich, ed., *Internationale Ausstellung Barcelona 1929: Die deutsche Abteilung* (1929). Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona



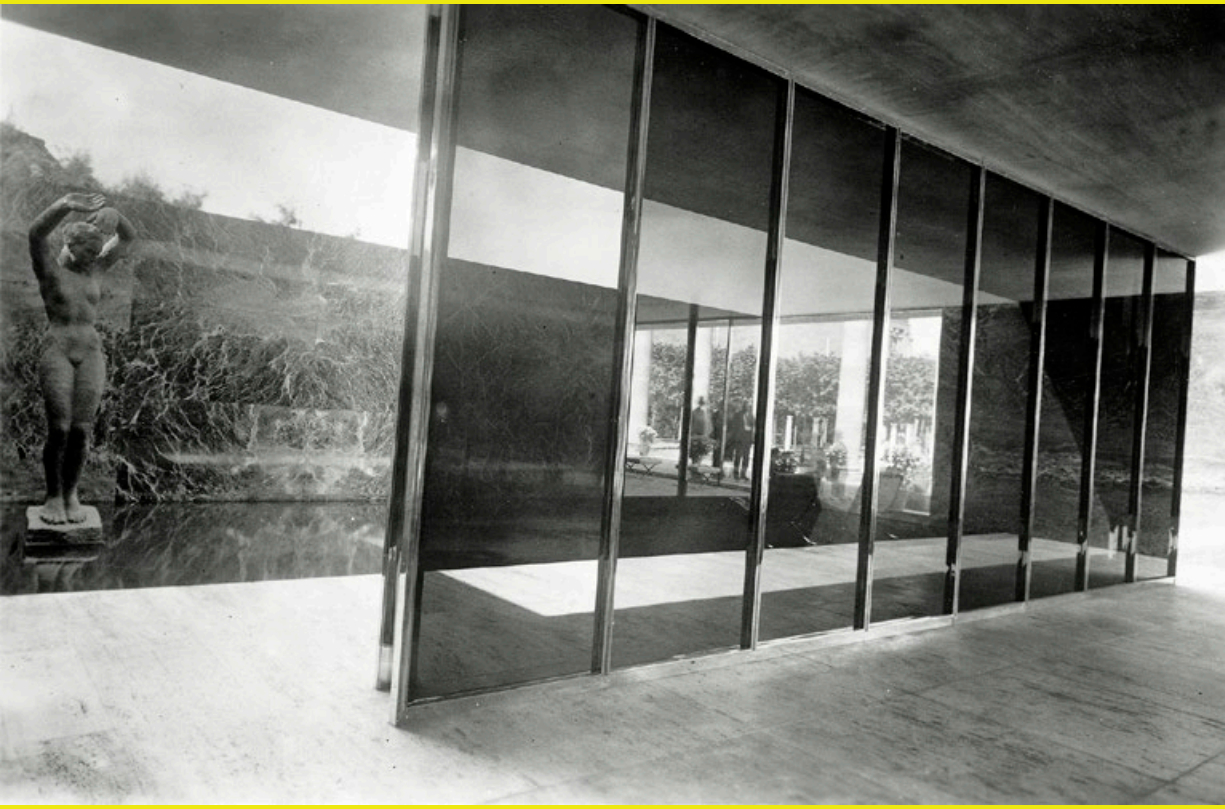
2. Lilly Reich and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. Elevations and sections of a glass wall, German Exhibits, International Exposition, Barcelona, 1929. Mies van der Rohe Archive, MoMA, New York.



3. Lilly Reich and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. Glass screens in the German Silk industry stand, International Exposition, Barcelona, 1929. Photo: Berliner Bild-Bericht, Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin.



4. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich. Horizontal and vertical sections of a glass wall, German Pavilion, International Exposition, Barcelona, 1929. Mies van der Rohe Archive, MoMA, New York.



5. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich. Interior view of the German Pavilion, looking toward the inner pool, International Exposition, Barcelona, 1929. Photograph attributed to Amigó. Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Bauhaus-Museum, loan from a private collection.

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Patricia Morgado's areas of expertise include Latin American architecture (specifically, mid-century Modernism in Mexico, colonial Latin-American urban design, and Inca architecture), color theory (the study of the relationship between Josef Albers and Luis Barragán), and beginning design education. She is the recipient of the inaugural Beginning Design Faculty Award awarded by the National Conference on the Beginning Design Student -NCBDS- (2016) and NCSU's Outstanding Teacher Award (2017).

DIEGO RIVERA AND THE "BUILDING" OF MODERN MEXICAN ARCHITECTURE

Patricia Morgado

In 1920, in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution, the new government faced the task of solving the urgent social and economic needs of most of the population, as well as the responsibility to build a national autonomous identity. Public art became a means to educate the population on Mexico's vast history and, more importantly, to build pride over Mexico's culture. It was under these circumstances that in 1921 Diego Rivera, along with two other artists, was invited to lead the national muralist program.

Unlike his counterparts, Rivera went beyond intervening in buildings with his art. Convinced of architecture's political role, he quickly became involved in the field: critic, advocate for a solution to Mexico's housing deficit, client, and, lastly, designer. In his 1926 review of Carlos Obregón Santacilia's housing project, he publically condemned the European-inspired buildings erected during Porfirio Díaz's 30-year government for destroying Mexico City's character. Instead, he praised the young architect, and others like him, who were "finally" responding to social needs, and complemented him for "employing as factors of beauty, the economy of materials and their maximum utility."[1]

Concepts of rationalist architecture made their way to Mexico very early on. Similarly, Le Corbusier's ideas began circulating there as early as 1922; in fact, *Vers une Architecture* (1923) was discussed in academic circles in 1924. While foreign, they seemed promising in solving the country's social needs. Consequently, in 1929, Rivera was immediately drawn to Mexico's first functionalist house by Juan O'Gorman, arguing, once again, that beauty resided in the "economy of materials and their maximum return."[2] Convinced of the socially transformative potential of the project, he commissioned O'Gorman to design studio-houses for himself and his wife Frida Kahlo. The project recalls Le Corbusier's design for Amédéé Ozenfant's studio, whom Rivera likely met during his Paris sojourn (1910-1921).

Less than a decade later, Rivera saw in the proliferation of functionalism another symbol of Mexico's dependency on foreign cultures. Disappointed, he chose to dismiss functionalism altogether and became personally involved in generating a truly Mexican architecture. Similarly, O'Gorman, as well as Luis Barragán, abandoned architecture temporarily.

Rivera turned to a newly discovered architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, until then ignored in Mexico. His ideas on producing architecture that responded to local culture, landscape, materials, and traditional built forms seemed closer to Rivera's objectives. At the same time, Edgar Kauffman Jr., a former apprentice of Wright, introduced Rivera to his parents' vacation house, *Fallingwater*, then under construction. Shortly after, he would receive first-hand accounts from two of the Kaufman's first guests: Kahlo and O'Gorman.

Rivera saw in *Fallingwater* an "unsurpassable example" of what could be built on the then city's badlands: El Pedregal, a vast area covered in petrified lava from inactive volcanoes. The low cost of the land and its rocky surface would reduce both the cost of construction materials as well as foundations. Given these economic benefits, designing affordable housing within the traditions of Mexican architecture seemed possible. By the end of the 1930s, Rivera wrote "Requisites for the Organization of El Pedregal," a proposal to develop this area while conserving the "natural beauty of the place."[3] It was precisely on El Pedregal's eastern edge where Rivera purchased an extensive site to experiment with his ideas for a *new* Mexican architecture. He planned the "City of the Arts," from which a new architectural movement rooted in pre-Hispanic traditions would stem.[4]

Construction likely began in 1939 and was interrupted during Rivera's sojourn in San Francisco in mid-1940. At his return in 1941, Rivera modified the initial design to expand his studio-house, Anahuacalli, to exhibit his growing collection of pre-Hispanic objects. As a profound connoisseur of archeological remains, he claimed he deliberately designed it to resemble an ancient Mexican pyramid, most likely the Aztec Templo Mayor, a structure he was carefully studying for a new mural in Palacio Nacional.[5] However, it appears that he was more interested in interpreting the recently uncovered *Teocalli of the Sacred War*, a stone representation of Templo Mayor uncovered in 1926 precisely on the foundations of the Palacio Nacional. An analysis of Anahuacalli shows Rivera's intentional use of stylistic and conceptual features of pre-Hispanic architecture.

In *Teocalli*, the temple's pyramidal form is abstracted to the extent that the sculpture retains the cubic form of the stone block from which it was carved. While synthetic, it displays a central staircase and a molding dividing the slanted surfaces in two.[6] The façade for Anahuacalli uses a similar compositional organization: a large two-story window flanked by two serpent-shaped columns, occupies the space of the stairs, and a truncated pyramidal roof caps the top. In section, the influence of Mayan architecture is evident in Rivera's multiple studies of the Mayan "false" arch and corbel-vaults, employed in thresholds and galleries respectively.

Due to his nostalgic desire to reassert the pre-Hispanic world, neither Rivera nor his collaborators ever recognized the contradictions found in his experiment. In designing Anahuacalli as a "new" pyramid, Rivera dismissed the characteristic solidity of these pre-Hispanic structures, and instead used its form as a shell. Similarly, obsessed with the idea of only using local stone, he was forced to find ways to disguise the use of reinforced concrete in walls, beams, and floor slabs under Mayan corbel-vaulted ceilings as well as stone mosaics—a pre-Hispanic mural technique—claiming that these were his idea of integrating the arts.

Rivera's "Requisitos" and Anahuacalli triggered the transformation of El Pedregal from "badlands" to a laboratory for new Mexican architecture. By the late 1940s, three additional projects were underway: Barragán's "Jardines del Pedregal," Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México's Campus, and O'Gorman's house.

Barragán returned to architecture in the 1940s with the design of his own house and the real-estate development "Jardines del Pedregal" on the western edge of El Pedregal. The building code was drafted using all but one of Rivera's ideas: instead of requiring designs within the traditions of Mexican architecture, Barragán specified contemporary architecture as the unifying style for the development. However, his view was not as distant from Rivera's as it appears. In his personal work, Barragán declared to have explored "new relationships between modern materials and the popular house of the villages and farms of my country."[7] In his landscape work Barragán addresses another of Rivera's interests: the integration of the arts. At the entryway, Barragán commissioned Mathias Goeritz to sculpt "El animal del Pedregal," an abstract representation of a pre-Hispanic serpent.

East of Jardines, the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico (UNAM) built its new campus from 1950 to 1952. As the nation's most important educational institution, it was critical to convey the country's foresight into the future as well as Mexico's national identity. The master plan took inspiration from the organization of pre-Hispanic urban settlements: a long central open space, bounded by individual structures. Each building reflects the ideals of modern Mexican architecture: the integration of over 110 murals exhibiting the history and ideals of the university.

During his brief return to practice in 1948-1958, O'Gorman's embraced Rivera's proposal of a pre-Hispanic renaissance. His preliminary project for UNAM's Central Library was a stepped-pyramidal structure, praised by Rivera.[8] For his house, he took a similar approach. An unpublished drawing (c.1949) shows a symmetrical stepped-pyramidal structure profusely covered in pre-Hispanic motifs.[9] This preliminary design was later modified to integrate an existing "cave" discovered while ex-

tracting material from the site. For O'Gorman, this project explored the integration of the building to the site, something he saw lacking in Barragán's Jardines.

By 1951, Rivera's ideas had reached not only El Pedregal, but also the academic environment. *Arts and Architecture* dedicated its entire architecture section to Mexico, and the American architectural historian in charge, Esther McCoy, concluded: "Mexico has long been a borrower of architectural styles from Europe, but today she turns seriously to her own past for inspiration."[10]

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5 For La gran Tenochtitlan vista desde Tlatelolco, Rivera likely used Ignacio Marquina's work on the ancient city. For Marquina's drawings, see "Ancient Aztec Capital Being Dug out beneath Mexico City," *The Science Newsletter*, Vol. 24, No. 646 (Aug. 26, 1933), 138-139.

6 For images of Teocalli, see Ignacio Marquina, *Arquitectura Prehispánica* (México D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. SEP, 1951), 189-191.

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8 See, Clive Bamford Smith, *Builders of the Sun. Five Mexican Architects* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing, 1967), 29.

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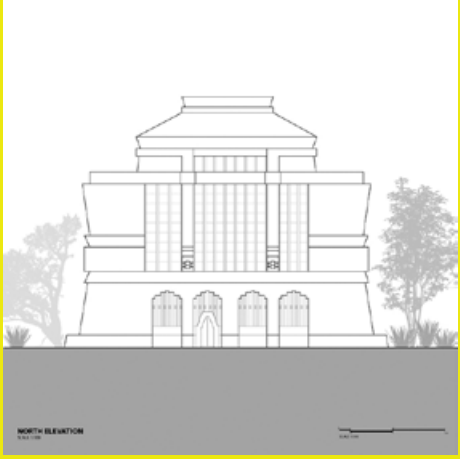
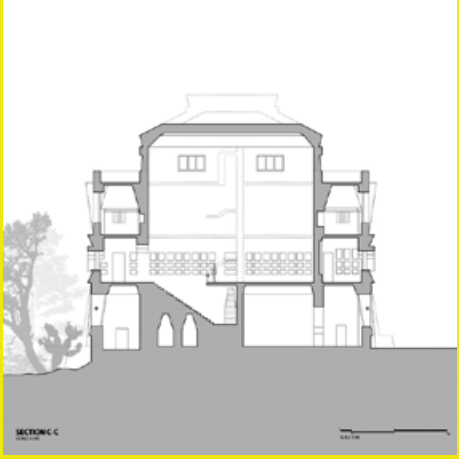
1. Anahuacalli.

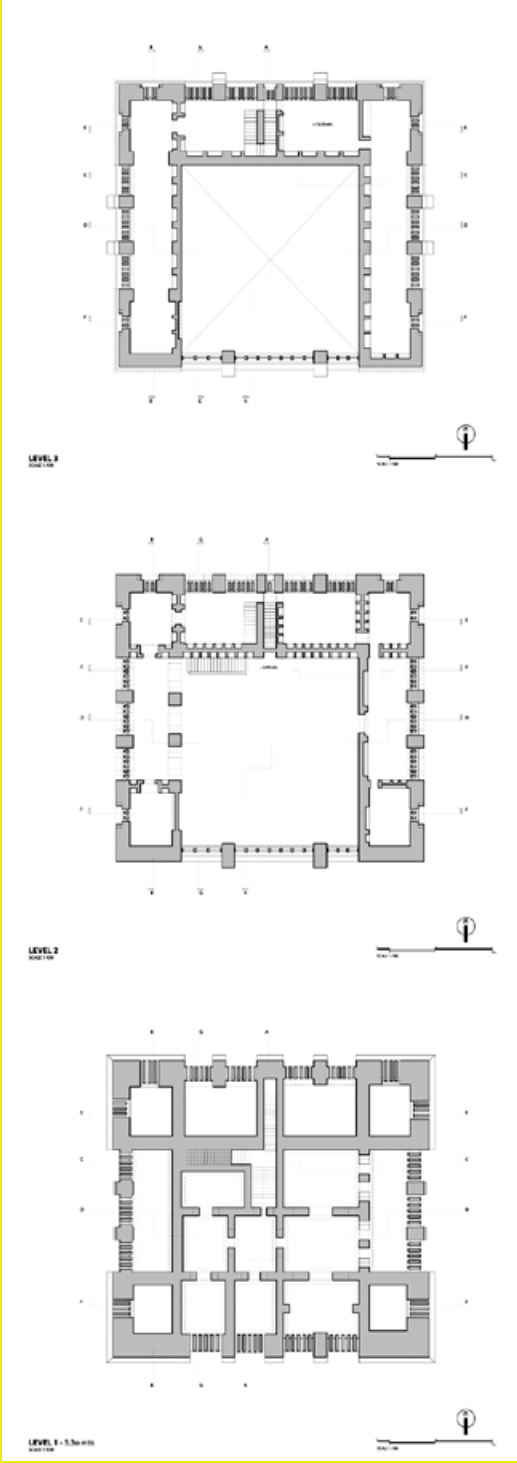
2. Anahuacalli – Perspective view @Patricia Morgado (drawing by Lorena Paz Castellanos).



3. Anahuacalli – North Elevation @Patricia Morgado (drawing by Lorena Paz Castellanos).



4. Anahuacalli – Section @Patricia Morgado (drawing by Lorena Paz Castellanos).



5. Anahuacalli – Plans @Patricia Morgado (drawing by Lorena Paz Castellanos).

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MODERNISM(S), MASS-PRODUCED

Maryia Rusak

In October 1968, *A-magazinet*, a Norwegian entertainment tabloid, ran a double-page interview with Alvar Aalto, the architect of the recently-completed Nordic House in Reykjavik. The article's lead suggested that the 70-year-old professor "was often in the same line of business as Le Corbusier."[1] And while this (rather unlikely) comparison was evoked to explain Aalto's work to the general audience, it did pinpoint an overlapping interest of these two modernists—that of mass-production. Towards the end of the interview, in a proper socio-democratic fashion, the journalist inquired whether Aalto considered himself a "monumental architect." To this, Aalto replied that besides churches and monuments, he also drew "houses for people." He went on to explain that he participated in the design of standardised housing in post-war reconstruction, concluding with a bitter note that "it was a new era in architecture, but gladly, I did not know about it."[2] And while the journalist did not pick up on this off-beat remark, I find this line particularly telling. It offers an insight into Aalto's evolving opinions on architecture and industrial production and also serves as a departure point for my essay, in which I will briefly discuss Aalto's engagement with the industrial mass production of architecture and the influence his ideas had outside Finland.

Indeed, as prefabrication historian Gilbert Herbert noted, 20th-century architects suffered continuously from "the bouts of the Henry Ford syndrome."[3] Following Le Corbusier's lead, they enthusiastically searched for ways to approximate architectural production to the automotive industry and deliver ready-made houses from a conveyor belt.[4] However, faced with rigid production frameworks and a concern for profitability and cost, sophisticated architect-designed building systems have often been stripped bare of aspirations for flexibility and change. Perhaps one of the most notable unsuccessful architectural experiments with mass production was Gropius and Wachsmann's General Panel Corporation.[5] This ambitious venture showed that it was nearly impossible to succeed with prefabrication without having the firm backing of the industrial elites and the already-established production facilities. Because of this, industrial production of modernist homes generally remained an enticing mirage, while architects "soon discovered that there were greater satisfactions at the drawing board than in the marketplace."[6]

Aalto was an exception or, rather, an example in this regard. Unlike his contemporary colleagues, Aalto was enmeshed within intricate networks of the Finnish industrial world, which provided him with a stable stream of large-scale commissions and a position from which he could shape political narratives of mass production.[7] Aalto's belief in progress and technology was underpinned by a profound humanist agenda: for him, technology was a tool to enact positive social transformation. These views echoed the opinions of Harry and Maire Gullichsen (neé Maire Ahlström), whom Aalto first met at the foundation of the Artek furniture company, and who belonged to the upper strata of the Finnish industrial elites.[8] The Gullichsens, owners of the Ahlström Corporation that specialised in forestry products, were instrumental in turning Aalto's lofty visions of mass-produced modernisms into reality.

Aalto began experimenting with prefabrication in 1934 when he proposed a concrete-frame house design filled with prefabricated timber panels for the Enso-Gutzeit forestry company (whose director, William Lehtinen, Aalto met through informal networks of high-profile acquaintances).[9] Shortly after Aalto's first commission for the Gullichsens in 1936, the Ahlström Corporation, of which Harry Gullichsen was then managing director, asked him to design a large industrial and urban development project in Varkaus. In the master plan, Aalto envisioned the development based on single-family plots with family houses built after a standardised design and with new industrial farming methods.[10] The factory and the site in the following years would become the central platform for Aalto's experiments with mass production. Based on the prototypes, the architect developed an AA-house (an abbreviation of Ahlström and Aalto) system in 1937.[11] Harry Gullichsen was instrumental in shaping this project: he convinced Aalto that single-family houses were a realistic solution, although the leftist-leaning architect found them too *petit-bourgeois*.[12] Originally, the houses were intended for Ahlström's workers who would build houses based on type-designs with materials bought and pre-cut at the Ahlström factory. The main advantage was that the Ahlström Corporation already had its forest resources, sawmills, experienced labour, transport and distribution networks, and a defined market. And while the AA-House production was set for success, the breakout of the Winter War stopped it cold in its tracks.

During the war, Aalto found himself in the United States, fundraising for Finnish reconstruction. Following the tried-and-true technique, he was not shy to approach the wealthiest benefactors – Henry Ford and the Rockefellers.[13] Eventually, the Rockefellers funded Aalto's post at MIT, where he expanded on his idea of "flexible standardisation." Unhappy with his pre-war experience with mass production, which he thought bred dullness and uniformity, Aalto wanted to devise a new building module that would allow for a flexible organisation of space.[14] A standard minimal module

would allow the house to develop incrementally over time and accommodate different site, traffic, light and terrain conditions. (Fig. 1) Together with his students, Aalto developed 96 basic variants, which were deconstructed into a series of standardised components that could be industrially produced.[15]

With research experience from MIT, Aalto returned to Finland in 1940. And although Maire Gullichsen anxiously awaited his return, it was not all roses.[16] Aalto condensed his list of 96 house types down to 69 models that could be adjusted to specific site conditions based on the core and expansion units.[17] (Fig. 2) Now, the Varkaus factory was to concentrate its efforts on producing prefabricated components required for the selected types. A model suburb built near the factory was to showcase the system's potential.[18] However, despite Harry Gullichsen's backing, the company's board turned down this visionary idea. The factory did adapt a prefabrication system based on the 90-cm-wide elements. The houses only differed in size and "style," from an economic 51,2 m^2 to a luxurious 203 m^2 model. They bore little resemblance to the humanistic programmatic intentions of Aalto's flexible standardisation and were nearly indistinguishable from other prefabricated Finnish houses.[19] Over time, this venture proved unprofitable, and the company sold it to Ahlström's leading competitor, an industrial conglomerate Puutalo Oy. In this way, AA houses virtually disappeared from the market, although Aalto continued to design different types on his own time.[20]

This brief overview of Aalto's engagement with industrial mass-production shows that architects are not the sole decision-makers shaping the built environment. Other actors — industrial and construction companies, investors, financial backers, and politicians — also impact what we build and how. In the case of the AA-House, the Gullichsens provided Aalto with a unique platform to experiment with prefabrication and shaped industrial house production as much (if not more) as Aalto did. (Fig. 3) In the following years, Aalto continued to work with flexible standardisation, although never again so closely involved with industrial production. During his time at the Reconstruction Bureau, he facilitated the foundation of the Finnish Standardisation Institute, which, he hoped, would enact flexible standardisation not for one line of products but for the entire nation.[21] Aalto continued to work on his vision of organic, humanist standardisation, lecturing on the subject abroad, including the famous "Sermon on the Mount" at ETH Zurich in April 1941.[22]

This lecture, re-printed in a Norwegian professional architectural magazine *Byggekunst* in 1944, left a lasting impression on Norwegian architects.[23] By then, Finland's reconstruction problems became highly relevant in Norway, devastated by the war.[24] Aalto was also invited to be a guest speaker along with Wachsmann and

Korsmo at the Design Education Summer Course, held in 1952 to advance Norwegian industrialisation.[25] Not surprisingly, Aalto's ideas of flexible standardisation could be traced in Korsmo's evasive manifesto of "Hjemmets Mekano", published the same year: it featured geometric sequences of seashells and diagrams of modules derived from human dimensions.[26] Other Norwegian architects — Hans Grinde and Helge Abrahamsen — applied Aalto's ideas of flexible standardisation in practice as they worked with the Norwegian construction company Moelven Brug on producing thousands of flexible prefabricated timber buildings across the country.[27] Based on a 60-cm module, the company developed a construction system that could be adapted to different site conditions and evolve according to dwellers' needs.[28]

Although not realised, Aalto's ideas of flexible standardisation and incremental growth continued to live in Finland and abroad and foreshadowed the emergence of structuralist architecture more than a decade later. However, as Aalto's brief stint with prefabrication showed, lofty architectural ideas must be grounded in the concrete reality of industrial production. In the process of adaptation, architectural vision suffers, but the compromise leads to modernisms that can indeed be mass-produced. And while Aalto most likely would not have approved of Moelven's ordinary-looking houses, they did provide harmonious, adaptable environments for thousands of Norwegian families, much in line with his aspirations. The case of Aalto's prefabrication shows that we need two parts of the cycle to keep moving forward: ambitious architectural visions balanced against realistic production concerns.

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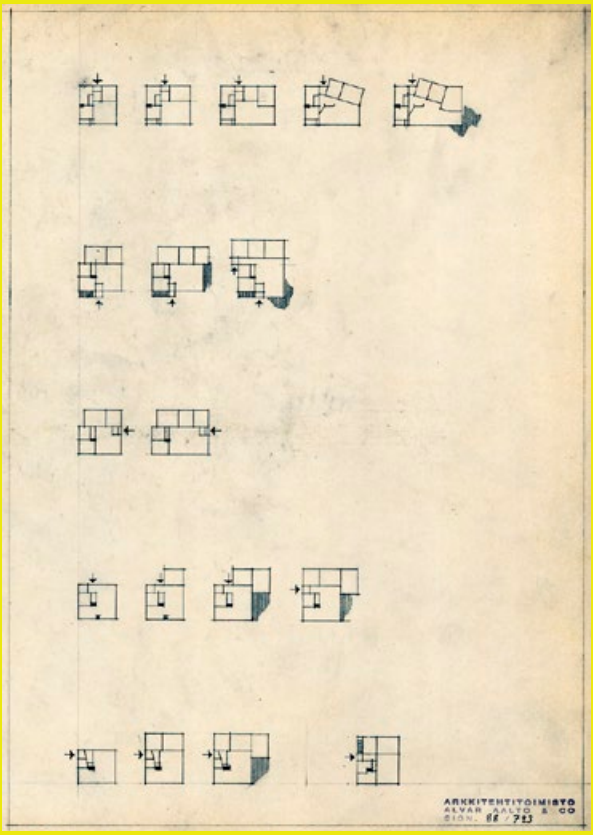
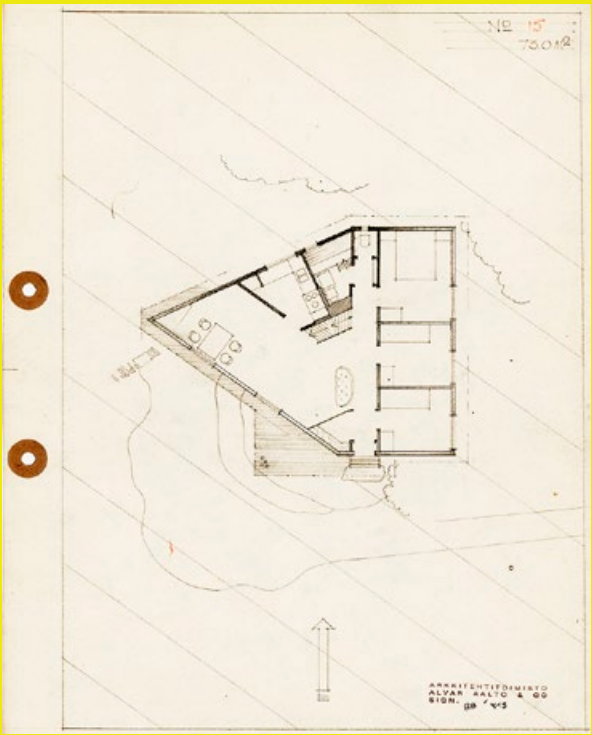
1. Plan of one of the many variations of the AA-House System.
   Drawing © Alvar Aalto Foundation



2. Structural variations offered by the AA-System.
Image from AAA; scan from *Alvar Aalto: The Mature Years* (New York: Rizzoli, 1991), 55.



3. Plan of one of the many variations of the AA-House System.
Drawing © Alvar Aalto Foundation.

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KRINGKASTINGSHUSET, OSLO: AN OPEN WORK

Jørgen J. Tandberg

After operating continuously from Marienlyst in Oslo since the 1940s, the Norwegian public broadcaster NRK sold its properties to an investment company in 2020 for 3.8 bill NOK, transferring the ownership of a monumental public institution and its architecture to a private owner for development. Over the past eighty years, the site has been transformed from a greenfield on the city border into a sprawling media facility within what soon became one of Oslo's densest residential areas.

The original broadcasting building, *Kringkastingshuset,* was built between 1938–1945 and is arguably the most important work by the prolific Norwegian architect Nils Holter (1899–1995). It is one of the country's most familiar public institutions and an invaluable piece of modernist heritage – surprisingly overlooked in modern historiography. The main focus for this paper will be how Kringkastingshuset can also be understood as a co-authored work, and the result of a series of fruitful collaborations: bipartisan parliamentary agreements to secure funding, international alliances with regard to a rapidly developing broadcasting technology and intense teamwork across disciplinary fields concerning the technical aspects of acoustics. Through travels and correspondence, a range of talented individuals – engineers and broadcasting technicians, but also politicians and appointed officials – carried out extensive research into the requirements of radio broadcasting as a building program. Great competence was gathered from across the country, with efforts that would provide an invaluable basis for the architecture of young Holter, only thirty-six years old when winning the open design competition. Holter's work challenges ideas of architectural authorship and may be compared to Umberto Eco's concept of *opera aperta,* the open work: it is a piece of modernist architecture built with an eye for constant expansion and re-organization, to meet unforeseen technical demands posed by the new media of radio. In this way, its inherent incompleteness is directly linked to its longevity.

Planning for New Media

The development of radio, and by extension the appearance of the first broadcasting buildings, would follow the same trajectory in most Western European countries. Radio as a medium for broadcasts first appears with the establishment of amateur

radio stations as private initiatives in the early 1920s. It is made increasingly popular through commercial investments in professional stations broadcasting entertainment, mainly music, in order to increase the sale of radio receivers. National governments would assert control over the new medium through legislative measures, first by licensing bandwidths and later by licensing private receivers. When private companies involved in broadcasting no longer saw a means to increase their profits, public corporations were established: the BBC in the United Kingdom (1922), the RRG in Germany (1925), Sveriges Radio in Sweden (1925), Statsradiofonien in Denmark (1925, from 1959 Danmarks Radio), Norsk Rikskringkasting in Norway (1933), and so on. The establishment of public broadcasting corporations also transformed radio programming. Radio was no longer merely a device for entertainment, but a public service tasked with popular enlightenment, and an integral part of a system of government. From around 1930, funds were invested in the creation of the earliest broadcasting buildings, formalising the status of radio stations as public institutions. Radio buildings will appear throughout large parts of Europe during a surprisingly short timespan; Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia all complete their first purpose-built studio buildings during a four-year period, 1929-1933.

Co-authoring a Monument

Letters and documents preserved in the NRK archives reveal how the architecture of European broadcasting buildings were themselves not discrete incidences, but part of a rich discourse of international collaboration, where both future plans and past experiences were shared across borders. NRK would benefit greatly from international experiences, and throughout the 1930s, representatives of the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation conducted a series of study trips that would very directly influence the design of Kringkastingshuset at Marienlyst. In 1936, the jury appointed for the planned architectural competition conducted study trips to broadcasting houses that were either built or under construction throughout Europe: including Copenhagen, Berlin, Königsberg, Zürich, Lausanne, Bern, Brussels, Hilversum, Eindhoven, Paris, London, and Gothenburg. Later, the appointed building committee, prominent public figures assembled to act as the client on behalf of the corporation, travelled to Helsinki, Copenhagen, Berlin, Cologne, London, Amsterdam, Hilversum and Eindhoven. The architects Nils Holter and his appointed mentor Ole Øvergaard (1893–1972) also visited a number of cities specifically to study acoustics, and in 1937, engineers Erichsen & Horgen travelled to Berlin, Hilversum, Brussels, Paris and London to study solutions for heating and ventilation. A delegation again travelled to Vienna and Brussels in 1938 and the acoustic consultant (and renowned

professor in physics) Johan Holtsmark made his own journey through Europe in 1939 by car.

Holter's own journeys would also influence the design of the broadcasting building directly. For instance, after discovering the latest plans of the broadcasting building for Das Funkhaus Argentinienstrasse in Vienna in a magazine in 1938, Holter would swiftly schedule a new trip to Vienna and to the Maison de la Radio in Brussels.[1] The plans for Kringkastingshuset were subsequently completely re-worked, the new project bearing little resemblance to his competition winning scheme from 1935.[2] The revision also included a proposal to move the building to a neighbouring site that could give greater room for later expansions. Throughout the design process, the Norwegian parliament was very much involved: both the move and the re-organisation would require additional funding and would spark lively debates.

Other incidences illustrate the close connection between the versatile building project and the times in which it came about. In 1938, for example, parliament recommended the use of natural stone from Norwegian quarries for the facades of the broadcasting building. More than evoking familiar 19th-century debates on national stone and identity, this was apparently a pragmatic concern: the purpose was to aid a struggling stonemason industry.[3] Conveniently, additional funds could be re-directed from the Department of Social Security (Socialdepartementet) for this purpose, with the result that the building was finally clad in a combination of Norwegian rock: grey granite and iddefjordgneis. The change gave the building its now familiar monumental presence, combining an international look with a specific Norwegian signifier.

Arguably, the most important lessons from abroad concerned mistakes to be avoided. As the NRK representatives discovered on their journeys through Europe, the greatest problem facing the completed broadcasting buildings was the lack of space, caused by the unforeseen demands of the new media and its spatial requirements. The broadcasting buildings were machines whose exact purpose was yet to be fully understood, both in relation to the development of technology for transmitting radio signals, and in regards to the future of radio programming. Kringkastingshuset's longevity can be attributed to the fact that Holter and his client had the foresight to plan the NRK site to give a flexible framework for a public institution in growth. It was built with an eye for expansion and reorganisation, and for meeting with future technical demands that could not be foreseen at the time of its conception in the 1930s. The building was completed in stages according to organisational growth (wings: A, B, C, E, M, T), and constructed with column grids that would allow for flexible plan layouts. Holter continued working with, and developing, NRK for de-

cades, adding new buildings and infrastructure to the site and reorganising existing buildings to its occupants' changing requirements – also facilitating for the advent of television. The NRK facilities appear to signify a form of what Philippe Boudon has termed "lived-in architecture", as architects and clients continued to collaborate on a project that could, due to the constant state of flux in which broadcasting technology would stay, always only remain incomplete. Despite appearing to the visitor as a closed and monumental form, it is productive to understand the broadcasting building as an *opera aperta*: form as a field of possibilities. Broadcasting is an evolving science with shifting spatial requirements, and it is in the nature of any building to be a static fact with physical limitations and an inherent resistance to change. Considering Kringkastingshuset specifically, eighty years is a very long time to be operational for a public building that is also an advanced piece of technical infrastructure – and in this case, I believe that the combination of a resourceful head architect with an eye and understanding for the everchanging nature of technology and a versatile capability for adapting ideas to advice from a range of consultants and collaborators, gave the project a particularly productive form of co-authorship.

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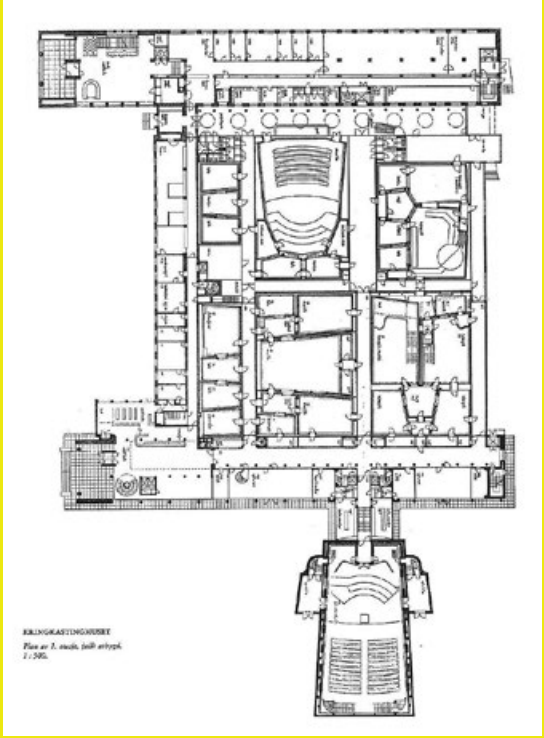
5 Umberto Eco, "The Open Work in the Visual Arts," in *The Open Work* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 103.

1. Kringkastingshuset.
   Photo: Widerøes flyveselskap/Vilhelm Skappel. Oslo byarkiv.

2. Kringkastingshuset, radioresepsjonen.
   Photo: Nils Holter. Oslo Museum.

3. Music studio in Kringkastingshuset. Photo: Teigen Fotostudio.



4. Kringkastingshuset, ground floor. Photo: *Byggekunst* 1, 1951, 7.

5. Wings A+M under construction, May 1941.
Photo: Unknown, courtesy of NRK's history group.

WHOSE MODERNISM?

LEGACY

Stella Maris Casal is an architect and expert in the conservation of buildings in Argentina. Her research activities focus on the adaptive re-use of buildings. Up until 2021 she was Professor of conservation and rehabilitation of buildings and history of architecture at the University of Belgrano and Assistant Professor of conservation and rehabilitation of buildings at the University of Buenos Aires, both at undergraduate level, and she continues teaching conservation at post-graduate level at the University of Buenos Aires. She is the director of the *Grupo de Patrimonio Arquitectónico* at the University of Belgrano, carrying out research projects on Buenos Aires' modern heritage since 2004. She is the author of several contributions on the Modern Movement heritage in Buenos Aires in national and international scientific publications and meetings.

ANTONIO VILAR'S LEGACY AND ITS IMPORTANCE IN MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN ARGENTINA

Stella Maris Casal

Antonio Vilar (1888-1966) was the author of several remarkable modern buildings in Buenos Aires: residential buildings, office buildings, hospitals, factories, bank buildings, etc. (Fig. 1) He also designed the national network of gas stations and other facilities for the *Automóvil Club Argentino* (ACA, the Argentinean Automobile Club), scattered throughout the country.

Firmitas, Utilitas, Venustas

The basic Vitruvian principles apply to Vilar's work, as do the ethics of modern principles. He was a professional who dedicated himself to conceiving premises for the new programmes that emerged with the progress of the 20th century, as well as to innovatively resolving pre-existing architecture from aesthetic, technological and functional points of view, thus giving them the seal of modernity.[1] His approach was not theoretical but pragmatic. His built legacy is immense and omnipresent in the cityscape, and most of his buildings are still in use and in a remarkably good technical condition.

Vilar's buildings are easily identified and are highly appreciated, and yet he is a barely known by architects today. But to his contemporaries, he was undoubtedly a key reference and influence for their own works. According to Mabel Scarone, author of the first book on Vilar, he became a "type giver".[2] Particularly worth mentioning among his contributions on this issue is his layout for a typological rental building to fit within the existing urban fabric of Buenos Aires, with much of it highly conditioned by the dimensions. His proposal produced much more sustainable and functional living spaces than the attempts by others in the way in which he distributed rooms and inner courts so as to ensure good ventilation and lighting to every principal room and every service room. He applied the idea several times and it was then taken up as a reference by others, thus helping to consolidate the modern image of Buenos Aires. (Fig. 2)

Most of his work was published at the time by the local architectural magazines Nuestra Arquitectura and Revista de Arquitectura.[3] Exceptionally, one of his build-

ings, the Hindu Club, was included in an issue of Moderne Bauformen: Monatshefte für Architektur und Raumkunst.[4] The building was one of only two examples selected from Latin America (together with a house by Alberto Prebisch, both located in Buenos Aires). A first itinerary of Vilar's most relevant works was published in 1987 in Domus, and in 1989 the School of Architecture at the University of Buenos Aires produced "Serie Itinerarios 1: Antonio U. Vilar". Apart from those, there are several articles analysing Vilar's work, but so far only two books have been published.[5] Again, the works themselves are better known than the architect. People with no architectural training can easily identify his buildings. They may not know who the author is, but they do appreciate their strong presence within the urban culture of Buenos Aires and, last but not least, their enduring functionality and good performance.

Beyond this, Vilar's greatest contribution to Argentinean architecture is definitively his holistic concept of architecture. He conceived of architecture as a fact that responds and concerns all areas of culture and society. The first publication that focused on this particular aspect of his work, analysing his work for the Automóvil Club Argentino, was written by two history professors at the University of La Plata, Graciela Pronsato and Roberto Cappelli. In their book, inspired by John Ruskin's The Seven Lamps of Architecture, the first of the lamps they mention is that of efficiency, which is then represented by Vilar's work for the ACA.[6]

When Vilar was commissioned to do the work for the ACA, he went beyond designing and constructing just buildings. He developed an architectural system concept with a main building (see Fig. 1), the ACA headquarters in Buenos Aires, the only one for which he asked for the participation of his colleages.[7] He himself then came up with a whole design strategy that included all the service stations, the administrative facilities, the furniture, the typography of the signage, the road signs, the frescoes and the paintings that accompanied the buildings. It was the first comprehensive design experience that we had in our modern architecture. (Fig. 3)

But it went much further than architecture. When Vilar introduced his work, associated with another of the great contributions to modernity, the automobile, he mentioned that the ACA plan would be important for Argentina's cultural policies.[8] The possibility of travelling long distances and reaching unknown edges would prove useful in introducing the idea of identity through the knowledge of the territory.[9] He thought that if such an aim were accomplished, people would love and take care of the country and its different landscapes and cultures. Thus, he linked modernity with a pioneering seed of preservation.

Legacy

Antonio Vilar built many buildings in parallel with his work for the ACA, which was immense, working in a very small studio and with only two assistants. Apart from his built work and his influence on other architects, Vilar also left a project for a social housing unit. He never put aside the most humane concerns. As an architect, he generated a prototype for a minimum dignified house for low-income people. The intention was to come up with a solution that would allow low-income people to live in a dignified house (Fig. 4). His proposal had no major impact at the time, so he financed the prototypes himself and built one with the help of his nephews and grandson.

I would also like to mention in this brief presentation – precisely because we are hopefully leaving behind the pandemic and the social crisis it deepened – a lesser-known private action by Vilar. In Argentina in 1931 a humanitarian emergency arose due to the international economic crisis of 1929, which left many people in a desperate condition. The situation of total poverty was severe for a good part of the population of Buenos Aires and many workers lost their jobs. While developing his hectic professional activities, Vilar still had the time to organize, together with his closest associates, a system that allowed him, as Mabel Scarone mentions in her book, "to provide 324,000 breakfasts and 135,000 beds for unemployed workers".[10] Vilar was not a politician, nor was he active in party politics. This was a private action, which together with his proposal for the minimum dignified house clarifies his idea about architecture and its social dimension much more than any of the other works that we can think about and study.

Antonio Vilar's buildings are important landmarks of Buenos Aires' built heritage. His contribution to modernizing and improving the quality of life still demands more attention and recognition. In this regard, an interesting experience took place in recent years: more than fifty years after developing the minimum decent house, his eldest grandson, Arthur von Pieschel, accepted the challenge of rescuing those layouts and built a prototype in the USA to be used in Africa (Fig. 5). That seems to be the right colophon for such a remarkable professional and humanitarian legacy.

This seminar posed a challenging question: "whose modernism?" I would like to propose another question: "whose not?"

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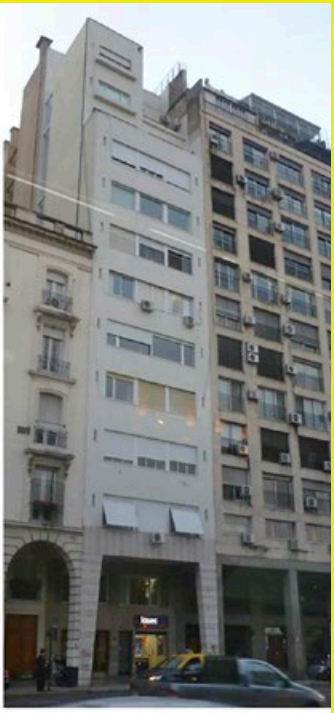
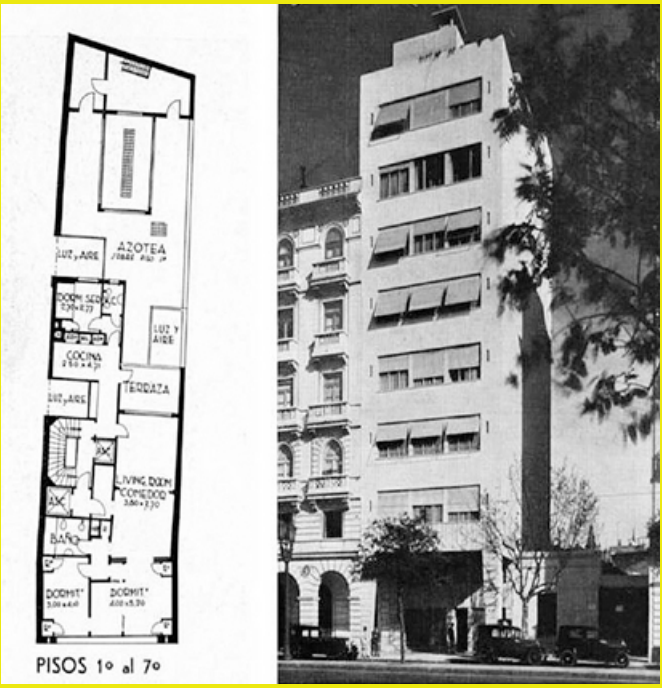
8 In *Nuestra Arquitectura*, January 1943.

9 Considering that the population of Argentina in the mid-20th century was to a good percentage the product of recent migrations, the interconnection of groups as well as regions was crucial for enrooting them and for the cultural melting pot that was giving shape to the national identity.

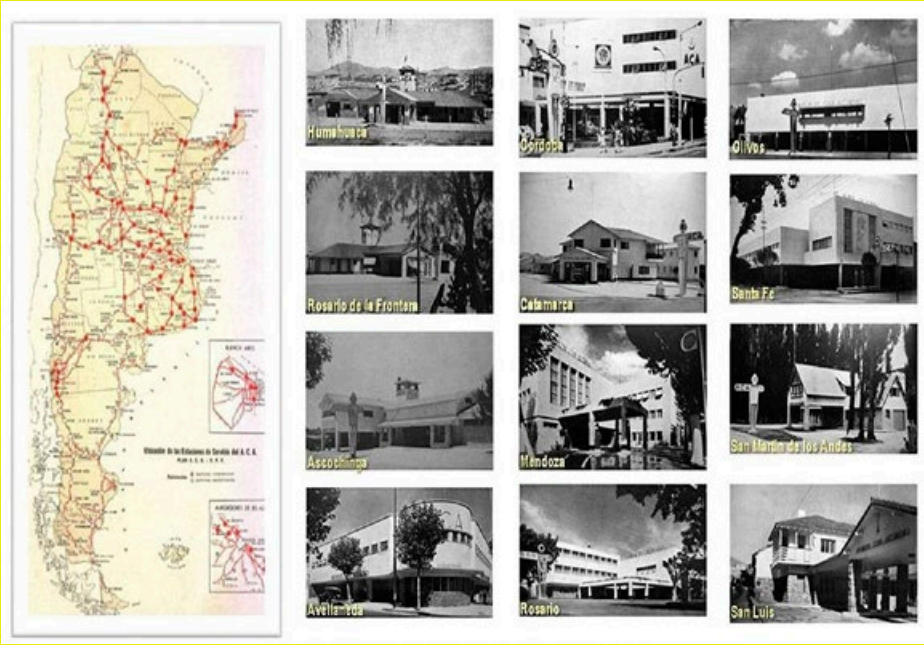
10 Scarone, *Antonio U. Vilar*.

1. Clockwise: Nordiska building, Columba house, a residential building, ACA headquarters, and Churruca hospital. Photos: Stella Maris Casal.

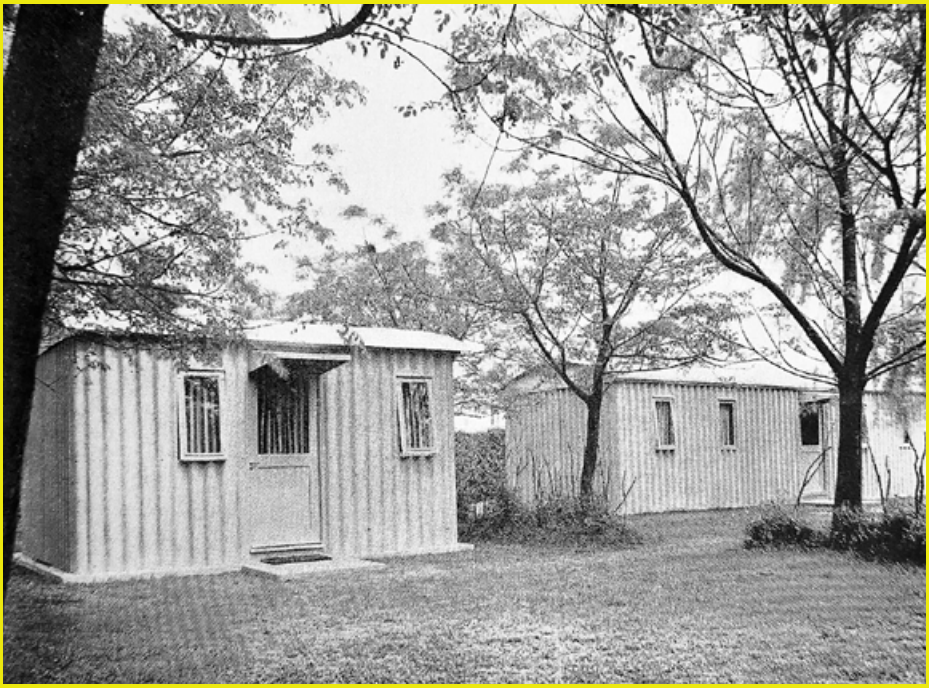




2. Residential building type. Reproduced from *Nuestra Arquitectura*, July 1934.



3. ACA network throughout Argentina. Reproduced from *Nuestra Arquitectura*, 1943



4. Prototype for a minimum dignified house. Reproduced from Mabel Scarone, *Antonio U. Vilar*.

5. Prototype for a minimum dignified house made by Vilar's grandson, Arthur von Pieschel (fourth from the right) and volunteers in Togo, Africa. Photos: Gary Cummings (courtesy of Arthur von Pieschel).

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KAHN'S SHADOWS

Patrick Doan

Turning 50

"What a man leaves after him are the dreams that his name inspires and the works that make his name a symbol of the admiration, hate, or indifference. We think of how he thought, and we are able to find within his works a kind of thinking derived from ourselves that we attribute to him; we can refashion this thought in the image of our own." (Paul Valéry)[1]

In October 2022 the Kimbell Art Museum (KAM), situated within the cultural district of Ft. Worth, Texas, and designed by the late Estonian-born American architect Louis Kahn, celebrated its 50th anniversary, having opened to the public in 1972. On this occasion, it seems appropriate to reflect upon the questions and challenges of legacy that confronted the KAM; specifically, two proposed building additions that marked defining moments in its institutional history and memory. Architects Romaldo Giurgola and Renzo Piano were commissioned at separate times to design the addition for the KAM. First was Giurgola, who's ill-fated and controversial proposal was abandoned in early 1990 amidst intense public debate and scrutiny, especially within the larger architectural community. The next addition attempt was approached by Piano, who's design proposal was accepted and realized, opening with mixed reviews to the public in 2013. Both these architects were acquaintances of Kahn. Giurgola was both a peer and colleague to him and co-authored with Jaimini Mehta, the book *Louis I. Kahn, Architect*.[2] Piano worked for a short period of time in Kahn's office in 1969 and then serendipitously followed Kahn's footsteps, receiving the commission to design the Menil Collection in Houston, Texas in 1980; a work Kahn had begun designing in 1972, but which stopped due to his death in 1974.[3] What becomes apparent in studying these addition proposals is the difficulty these two accomplished architects faced in trying to build upon and 'engage' Kahn's legacy. The shadows that both Kahn and the KAM cast are deep and complex.

Using the KAM building additions as a case study in legacy, this paper will build upon the questions of how does one build in the shadows of Kahn? Or to rephrase it, how does one step outside of Kahn's shadows to assert their voice in an authentic way? Why was Giurgola's addition proposal flatly and harshly denied, yet Piano's accepted? At 50, what lessons can be learned when confronting the legacy of Kahn and the KAM?

Kimbell Art Museum

In 1966, the KAM hired Richard Fargo Brown to be its first museum director. He was given the task of initiating and overseeing the design and construction of a new building situated in Ft. Worth's cultural district that would house the permanent art collection of Texas multi-millionaire Kay Kimbell and his wife Velma's sizeable and respected collection of European artworks from the late Renaissance and Baroque periods and French and American paintings from the nineteenth century.[4] From a short list of architects Brown had compiled, that included Marcel Breuer and Mies van der Rohe, Kahn was selected.[5] By selecting Kahn, Brown felt that he had found an architect who could aspire to his call for the design of a museum such that, "The form of the building should be so complete in its beauty that additions would spoil the form."[6] The design and construction of the KAM took six years, from 1966, when Kahn accepted the commission, to October 1972 when the museum opened. (Fig. 1)

With its completion, the stature of the KAM grew quickly within the larger architectural and art world, becoming a desired destination point for traveling exhibitions and visitors, maintaining and growing a respected permanent collection, and being recognized as one of Kahn's best and most mature architectural works. Over time though, an issue emerged centered around the need for more gallery space. The museum was facing challenges of trying to accommodate and balance larger traveling exhibits while still allowing proper gallery space for its permanent collection to stand. The scaled intimacy of the KAM was seen as both its strength and its limitation, a tension that was proving to be a challenge to its larger aspirations and identity.

Giurgola

In July of 1989, the KAM announced plans to expand. Edward Pillsbury, the Museum Director at the time, led the expansion campaign and commissioned Mitchell/Giurgola Architects to design the addition with Romaldo Giurgola leading the design effort. Giurgola's architectural credentials made a compelling argument that he was the appropriate architect to lead the design of the addition. He was a highly recognized and respected architect, being the recipient of the American Institute of Architects Gold Medal in 1982, placing second in the high-profile Boston City Hall Competition in 1962, and in 1980 winning first prize in the international competition for the design of Australia's new Parliament House located in Canberra. In addition, Giurgola and Kahn had established a long and respectful relationship as both academic colleagues at the University of Pennsylvania and as professional

colleagues, each with their own respective practices in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Their combined presence in both academia and the profession formed the central core or 'face" of the 'Philadelphia School,' the name coined by Jan Rowan's 1961 *Progressive Architecture* article entitled "Wanting to be: The Philadelphia School." In 1975, a year after Kahn's death, the book *Louis I. Kahn, Architect,* which Giurgola co-authored with Jaimini Mehta, was published. Kenneth Frampton referred to it as an homage to Kahn.[7] On the inner book jacket, the authors acknowledged Kahn's support, input, and thorough review of the book.[8] There was a sincere desire on their part to distill the lessons and importance of Kahn's work and thinking.

Expansion Proposal

The basis for Giurgola's addition proposal was to book end the north and south sides of the KAM with new galleries that replicated and extended the series of cycloid vaulted galleries that comprised the existing museum. The proposed galleries situated to the south of the KAM, with new parking underneath, would take away the Noguchi sculpture garden, requiring it to be relocated and the galleries to the north would reconfigure and cover the existing loading dock and parking lot below. Giurgola's basis for the design maintained that the museum was always intended to be larger in square footage, but that due to budgetary concerns Brown and Kahn faced in its design the size had to be reduced. Using Kahn's early design schemes for the KAM that depicted a much larger building in size as precedent, Giurgola and Pillsbury made the case that their addition and expansion of the museum itself was aligning and continuing with his original design intentions.[9]

Controversy in Ft. Worth

With the release of the KAM's plans to expand using Giurgola's design, an immediate outcry of disapproval from the larger architectural community erupted led by a diverse group of accomplished and prominent architects, academics, and museum directors, along with Kahn's former associates and family members. One of the most pointed oppositions to the addition came in November 1989 from a co-authored letter penned by architect Richard Meier and Kenneth Frampton, who was then the Chairman of Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture (a position that Giurgola held from 1965 to 1972). The letter, addressed to the KAM trustees, and which included collected signatures from architects such as Philip Johnson, James Stirling, and Frank Gehry, harshly criticized the addition proposal, describing it as "a mimicry of the most simple-minded character" and asking that

the current expansion design be halted and alternative solutions be pursued; specifically, ones that would not require altering or touching Kahn's building.[10]

Over the next seven months the expansion debate grew and intensified within the architectural community, finally culminating and unfolding in New York City in January 1990. Invited by the New York Architectural League to present and discuss the addition proposal, Pillsbury and Giurgola made what was to be their last and final argument to garner support. Over the course of the evening, in front of an audience of 300 people comprised of prominent figures both inside and outside of the architectural community, they presented and defended the proposal, but to no avail. The unanimous disapproval was overwhelming. Pillsbury and Giurgola tried to appease decenters by acknowledging their concerns and that they would review and reconsider other possible design options. One month later, plans to move forward with the proposed addition were finally put on indefinite hold by the KAM trustees.[11] While the ill-fated proposal faded from the public eye, in private the KAM's need and desire to expand did not.

Piano

For many in the architectural community, it did not come as a surprise when the KAM announced in 2007 that the Italian architect and Pritzker Laurette Renzo Piano would receive the commission to design its addition. It had been seventeen years since the KAM had publicly announced, debated, and withdrawn its plans to expand the museum. With the passage of time, new leadership, and lessons learned, the KAM was going to once again venture into the murky waters of expansion. The KAM addition would mark Piano's fourth museum commission in Texas, having completed two in Houston, the Menil Collection in 1987 and the Cy Twombly Gallery in 1991, and the Nasher Sculpture Garden in Dallas in 2009. It is also interesting to note that at the time of his selection for the KAM addition, he was working on the addition of a new gate house and convent for the Chapel of Notre Dame du Haut in Ronchamp designed by Le Corbusier.

Piano, similar to Giurgola, was no stranger to Kahn. Their relationship dated back to 1969 when he was introduced to Kahn by Robert Le Ricolais, a close colleague to Kahn at the University of Pennsylvania who taught structures.[12] At this time Kahn was designing the Olivetti-Underwood plant in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania and was struggling with the development of the pyramidal roof skylight system for it. Piano had designed a similar skylight condition for the Olivetti factories in Scarmagno (1967) and Crema (1968) in Italy.[13] This experience enabled him to secure a posi-

tion in Kahn's office for a period of several months in the spring of 1969 to develop and complete the design and working drawings for the skylights.

Piano's next encounter with Kahn came in 1980 with the commission to design the museum for the Menil Collection for Dominque de Menil. Kahn was originally commissioned to design the museum in 1972. He had produced several schematic designs, but with his death in 1974 the project stopped. For Piano, the Menil was his first major international commission on his own and in many ways could be read as an homage to Kahn and the KAM. The spirit in which he integrates structure and natural light coupled with an acute attention to materials and detailing parallels that of the KAM and is considered one of Piano's finest works. Twenty-seven years later, he once again found himself following Kahn's footsteps. This time in Ft. Worth.

Expansion Proposal

Piano approached the design of his addition for the KAM employing distance as a design strategy, writing: 'The dialogue with Louis Kahn's museum is the true theme of this work. How to establish a relationship with a masterpiece of modern architecture! There is only one way: with discretion and keeping a certain distance, but without being afraid of the comparison.[14] Relying on the expanse of the west lawn, Piano situated his addition in relation to Kahn's building with a degree of separation and autonomy so that it was "neither too close nor too far away."[15]

His design is divided into two distinct structures. The 'flying pavilion,' as he calls it, faces Kahn's building and serves as the main gallery spaces. It is constructed of glass and concrete with a series of doubled 100-foot long glue-lam beams that support Piano's signature steel and glass roof system. The pavilion is tripartite in plan aligning physically and dimensionally with Kahn's building. An enclosed glazed passageway connects it to a long rectangular building that bounds the western edge of the museum grounds. It contains additional gallery spaces, services, offices, educational classrooms, and a 298-person auditorium. A vegetated roof of grass covers this portion of the building. Underneath the main lawn is a new parking garage that provides direct visitor access to the front of Piano's pavilion. An underground service corridor connects the two buildings as well. (Fig. 2)

The West Lawn

In the summer of 1969, Kahn wrote a letter to Kay Kimbell describing the character and quality of the KAM's landscape design. He wrote of a choregraphed sequence of spaces encountered as one makes their way through the site to the museum.[16] The floor played a vital role in the design, with the lawn, gravel walks, travertine paving, and fountains animating the path. Trees, water, and the porticos manipulated and transformed light through filtering, reflection, and shadow. George Patton, Kahn's landscape consultant for the KAM, stated the intention for the landscape was to extend "the civilized environment of the museum beyond its walls to the limits of the site and in a manner that the structure and the landscape will fuse intrinsically."[17] He saw the potential for the lawn to become "the fulcrum of other cultural and institutional buildings expected to rise nearby."[18] For Kahn, the landscaping provided a necessary distance, writing: "The west lawn gives the building perspective."[19]

Piano recognized the presence and the significance of the lawn, describing how the pavilion would engage it, "flying, very light....almost in a kind of zero-gravity attitude to the lawn, so the lawn goes inside."[20] He also utilized the vegetated roof of the addition's east building to physically elevate and maintain the lawns presence and continuity. The constructed reality though seems to be at odds with his intentions. The westward trajectory of the lawn wrapping and enveloping the pavilion as Piano had intended seems to stop rather abruptly and unceremoniously at its concrete walls. A concrete walk that runs parallel to the front of the pavilion interrupts the lawn as well. (Fig. 3) Rather than the lawn actively gathering and holding Kahn's and Piano's buildings in a dynamic relationship, its potency and expanse seems to be diminished. The nuanced attention and focus Piano gave to the detailing of the building addition itself stops where it meets the lawn. It's treated in a more generalized way and missing the design specificity that Kahn and Patton brought to the KAM's landscape development. While trying to be reverent and deferring to Kahn's building through distance, Piano seems to have underestimated the measure and play of the lawn and the 'perspective' that Kahn both saw and sought. It could also be argued that the very nature of the lawn changed when the entirety of it was excavated to provide the new below ground parking. (Fig. 4) Simply trying to return it to its original state became a missed opportunity to elevate and redefine its stature and to recapture the spatial thrust and vitality of the KAM that unfolds and descends from its western elevation through the porticos, the grove of Yaupon trees, the cascading fountains, the allée of trees, and into the lawn.

Conclusion

"If you copy Le Corbusier's designs you are somewhat a thief. But if you take that which is in essence architectural from him, you take it very freely, because it does not belong to him either. It belongs to the realm of architecture. The fact that he discovered it is a very fortunate thing for us, but it does not belong to him. In the same way, music does not belong to Mozart, but his compositions do." (Louis Kahn)[21]

In surveying the aftermath of the Giurgola's addition debacle, former *New York Times* architecture critic, Paul Goldberger, offered one of the most illuminating readings of the situation (and perhaps about Kahn's legacy) writing: "The Giurgola design may well be the right answer – the problem is that the Kimbell may not have asked the right question."[22] While critical of the design, yet empathetic to the architectural plight of both Giurgola and Pillsbury, Goldberger subtlety redirects the discussion back to the collaborative relationship Kahn and Brown cultivated through the design and construction of the KAM. Kahn's tenacious and relentless search, questioning, and evolution of the ideas and inspirations to form the museum design, coupled with Brown's provocation of organic integrity and wholeness outlined in his Kimbell, set-in motion not only the performative expectations and needs of the future museum, but more importantly the architectural aspirations.[23] Together they crafted and constructed not just a museum, but rather an institution that encapsulated a vision that tied together the building, the lawn, gardens, and parking courts as a fully realized work of architecture, not a 'value engineered' version of an idea.[24]

Despite their best intentions, Giurgola and Piano seemed to be caught in the shadows of Kahn and the KAM. For Giurgola, his proposal hinged on adding back to what he perceived was taken away – to correct it – which seems to miss the larger question Goldberger was alluding to, that is, how do you engage and expand upon a fully formed and functioning institution and not just a building? Piano's use of the lawn to establish a dialogue with Kahn's building based on a distance that was "neither too close nor too far away"[25] ultimately brought a lack of clarity to the lawn, diminishing its potency rather than enhancing the conversation and relationship.

For Giurgola, while the addition design was conceived in deference to Kahn and the KAM, it seems to be a surprising misreading of Kahn's work considering that in a 1983 interview, he offered a very lucid understanding of Kahn's and the KAM's legacy, saying:

"I would say the Fort Worth Museum is probably the one which is closer to his general intention where a place is made.... It's certainly one of the most mature pieces that he did and one which probably he was very satisfied with. You see Lou wasn't really very much at home with a huge thing.... I don't believe that a big thing like Dacca, although they are very impressive, is not something that you would cheer the most. He had a great difficulty in finding that big space, assembly, how the light would come and how part of it would be composed. But with the Fort Worth Museum...he invented the thing. Fort Worth is a classic piece of architecture that is going to last for a long time."[26] (Fig. 5.)

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12 Lorenzo Ciccarelli, *Renzo Piano Before Renzo Piano: Masters and Beginnings* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2017), 249.

13 Ciccarelli, *Renzo Piano Before Renzo Piano*, 260.

14 Renzo Piano. *Renzo Piano: The Complete Logbook, 1966-2016* (Revised and expanded ed. London: Thames & Hudson, 2017), 338.

15 Kries, *Louis Kahn: The Power of Architecture*, 259.

16 Loud, *The Art Museums of Louis I. Kahn,* 136-137. The sketch on page 136 of the Kimbell landscaping plan was drawn by Harriet Pattison and annotated by Kahn. Patterson was both Kahn's romantic partner and professional collaborator on the landscape design for the KAM. For more detailed information on Patterson's significant role and contributions to Kahn's work and specifically the KAM, see, Harriet Pattison, *Our Days Are Like Full Years: A Memoir with Letters from Louis Kahn* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2020).

17 Loud, *The Art Museums of Louis I. Kahn*, 127.

18 Loud, *The Art Museums of Louis I. Kahn*, 128-129. Architect W. Mark Gunderson offers additional insight into the west lawn of the KAM that builds upon Patton's intentions, writing, "One can easily see the rapport between the allées and the shell/vaults, and when the final design for a smaller museum was resolved they became his 'entrance of the trees' – a kind of landscape entry hall – woven with the grove of yaupon hollies and twin fountains conceived with Harriet Pattison as the primary entrance to the museum." W. Mark Gunderson, "The Kimbell Art Museum" in Richard Saul Wurman (ed.), *Readers Guide to the Notebooks and Drawings of Louis Kahn* (New York: Designers and Books, 2021), 80-81.

19 Loud, *The Art Museums of Louis I. Kahn*, 137.

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22 Paul Goldberger, "Sincerest Flattery or the Subtlest Form of Dishonor?" *New York Times* (September 24, 1989), section 2, 33.

23 Brown, "Pre-Architectural Program," 319. Brown writes, "...and all of the requisite functional facilities should be articulated as components of that form so that, from the outset, the museum will be able to operate as a complete and vital institution."

24 For Kahn, institutions were a foundational necessity to architecture, saying, "Institution stems from the inspiration to live. This inspiration remains meekly expressed in our institutions today. The three great inspirations are the inspiration to learn, the inspiration to meet, and the inspiration for well-being. They all serve, really the *will to be, to express*. This is, you might say the reason for living. All the institutions of man, whether they serve man's interest in medicine, or chemistry, or mechanics, or architecture, are all ultimately answerable to this desire in man to find out what forces caused him to be, and what means made it possible for him to be." John Lobell, *Between Silence and Light: Spirit in the Architecture of Louis I. Kahn* (Boston, MA: Shambhala, 1979), 44. A colleague ,Frank Weiner, offered additional insights into institutions: "The scale of an institution is more than the buildings it encompasses. It is both physical and an idea. It is a question of beginnings which of course is what Kahn is all about. We can see it as a question of birth and re-birth. How does something arise or come to be? And once constituted how does the institution prevail over time." Frank Weiner, personal communication via e-mail, 2023.

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1. South elevation of the KAM by Louis Kahn
   Photo: © Patrick Doan

2. Looking south over the KAM addition by Renzo Piano
   Photo: © Patrick Doan

3. East elevation of the KAM addition by Renzo Piano
Photo: © Patrick Doan

4. Excavation of the KAM's west lawn during the construction of Piano's addition
Photo: © Patrick Doan

5. South porch elevation of the KAM with the construction crane for Piano's addition in the background
Photo: © Patrick Doan

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A MODERNIST COLLECTIVE FARM ARCHITECTURE IN TODAY`S POLITICAL CONTEXT

Laura Ingerpuu

Introduction

The “cold war” that has broken out in the Central and Eastern European countries against the “red monuments” within the context of the war in Ukraine has raised the issue of preserving the entire legacy of the occupation time. The debate is mainly concentrated on the question of whether symbols, monuments, and statues of the time of the Soviet Union can be visible in public space; a more obscure topic, however, is the general appreciation of the heritage of the era and how to handle it today.

A “thorough cleaning” of Soviet-era symbols, statues and monuments from public space took place everywhere immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union, but there are still objects that were not destroyed nor removed. About fifteen years later, in 2007, another battle against Soviet-era monuments broke out in Estonia because of the government`s decision to remove from the center of Tallinn a memorial on the grave of Russian soldiers who died in 1945 during the invasion of Tallinn. The monument of the “bronze soldier” was considered a property of the conqueror, something that in the eyes of the broader public had to be removed from public space. However, just a month before, many students, heritage experts, architects and a few politicians had fought against the demolition of the former Political Education Building of the Estonian Communist Party in the center of Tallinn that was, on the contrary, considered an occupation-era object worthy of preservation.

Today, and already for several years, Estonia has been busy with the reevaluation and protection of the Socialist architectural legacy. But a new fight against Soviet-era objects gained a momentum in Lithuania already in 2014 due to the beginning of the Russian annexation of Crimea. As a result, many monuments from the occupation era were additionally removed from Lithuanian public space.

Now that even more large-scale military action against Ukraine is underway, the attention both in Estonia and in other former socialist countries is once again focused on the Soviet-era legacy. In the fall of 2022, the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Estonia submitted a draft, which aimed to move so-called “red monuments” from

public spaces in an easier way. Although on the surface the goal was to remove only objects and details symbolizing the Soviet regime, the political context was that the entire Soviet heritage was targeted. For example, the process of the creation of the Sillamäe heritage conservation area, which meant national protection of a Stalinist town center of a former Soviet secret uranium town, was put on hold due to political winds.

In Estonia, in various public debates and articles, there has been more discussion about which heritage can be visible in public space, which is ours and which belongs to a foreign power. Considering that more buildings were erected after the Second World War than ever before it, the vast majority of our buildings today can be attributed to the occupation period. This also applies to the architecture of the collective farms, most of it based on Soviet modernism,[1] is also a legacy of the occupation. Whose legacy are the collective farm buildings anyway and what is their role in today's political context, are the main issues of this paper.

Theoretical background

As old as the human desire to create monuments and erect statues is another desire to destroy and tear them down. While the concept of iconoclasm, which derives from the Greek εἰκών "icon" and κλάω "to break", was originally related more to a religious meaning of Christianity, today it includes any destruction of heritage that is symbolic for someone. Iconoclasm has been and still is a powerful political tool in the 20th and 21st century.

The process of destroying or removing an object, place or practice is not only a destructive process, but also a process by which an attempt is made to clear the way for the creation of a new collective memory.[2] The destruction and erasure of traces and symbols left by occupation, conquerors, and usurpers have been happening throughout the ages, with the aim of showing new power and state order, and thus creating a new reality. This is the natural pattern of behavior of countries and peoples – to remove all enemy stains from their achieved freedom. Iconoclasm against the Fascist and Nazi legacies after the Second World War, as well as against the Socialist legacy after the collapse of the Soviet Union, has been thoroughly studied.[3]

However, the topic of destruction of alien legacy/heritage is often closely related to the concepts of "dissonance" and "contestation".[4] The focus of the discussion of dissonant or contested heritage is on the following questions: who owns this heritage, what is its value, and is it ethical or justified to preserve it rather than destroy

it? Asworth and Tunbridge, for instance, have argued that dissonance appears because all existing heritage belongs to someone and therefore cannot logically belong to anyone else.[5] Dissonance lies in the fact that one's heritage cannot be another's.

However, the main contradiction lies in the limits. Where does the legacy of a foreigner begin and what is that we can call our own? Is the statue of Lenin foreign, but the statue of a domestic communist ours? Does the cultural house bearing Stalinist symbols belong to Russia and Russians, but a modernist cultural house without any symbols belongs to Estonians? As a case study, collective farm modernist buildings are here analyzed to determine to whom this legacy belongs.

Collective farm legacy

The collectivization is clearly connected with the ideology of occupation and terror, which included deportation, confiscation of private property, and even forced labor. However, over the years collective farming became a rural lifestyle, and collective farms and collectivity became part of Estonian society. In the 1960s, the rural population and agricultural production began to increase, and collective farms became quite prosperous. The beginning of the 1960s was also a period when construction activity in the countryside increased significantly, with the construction of many thousands of new residential and public buildings, infrastructure and other facilities leading to the urbanization of the rural landscape.

Following the debate that erupted in the Estonian media regarding the removal of red monuments from public space, there emerged many supporters and opponents of the proposed draft.[6] Renowned Estonian architectural historian professor Mart Kalm expressed the opinion on a TV program on the national broadcasting network that more than individual symbols and pentagons on buildings, the demonstration of power during the occupation can rather be seen in the urban architectural compositions and individual buildings.[7] In essence, he referred to the situation, based on the formulation of the draft, that many Soviet-era buildings could be considered "red", which would mean the demolition of an entire building stock.

When looking in more detail at the architecture of collective farms, the dissonance of socialist modernist architecture becomes clear. Since collectivization was violent and based on the ideology of the conqueror, all the architecture of the times of collective farming can essentially be considered alien; however, most of it is categorized as Soviet modernism, which in practice still follows the international principles

of modernist architecture. On the one hand, the collective farm architecture is not a legacy of the conqueror, as one could think in regard to Stalinist architecture, and yet, on the other hand, these buildings would not exist if the whole country had not been violently collectivized. At the same time, most buildings are the work of Estonian architects and engineers and sometimes the implementation of unique designs was even considered as a form of resistance to the existing regime.[8]

Since standard design and standardization were the cornerstones of the construction activities of the Soviet Union, it can be argued that the buildings of standard design are an alien legacy. For example, the Sürgavere collective farm office-club, constructed in 1966, was based on a standard project, a modification of one of the many all-Union standard projects. Although the building follows a very conventional architectural style, with a combination of light and red brick, the national motifs adorning its windows are completely unique. These small decorations on the typical Soviet-era building indicate that it was built for Estonians

Another example, the new main building of the Jäneda State Farm Technical School, completed in 1975, was a unique project designed by one of Estonia's best-known architects, Valve Pormeister. Curiously, the main building, which was constructed for an educational institution that ideologized collective agriculture, followed a design of ultra-modern Western architecture. The building was placed next to a former school building, an Art Nouveau building belonging to a manor built at the beginning of the 20th century by Baltic German nobles, which can also be considered alien. Today, both the old manor school as well as Jäneda's socialist school building are highly valued and listed as architectural monuments, and no one doubts that they are Estonian cultural heritage.

Summary

Although the war in Ukraine has brought back painful memories, not everything from the occupation period deserves to be forgotten and destroyed. Many objects have over the years been domesticated and become familiar to Estonians. And since the modernist buildings of the collective farm were in daily use, they have never been associated with a conqueror or foreign power. Although collectivization was one of the most traumatic episodes in the history of the Estonian nation,[9] this does not mean that the architecture that accompanied it directly reflected the crimes of that era. The draft of "red monuments" was not approved by the Estonian president, and therefore, at least at the moment, there are no plans to raise the issue of collective farm architecture as a foreign heritage.

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1. Sürgavere collective farm office-club building. 2019. Photo: Laura Ingerpuu

2. National motifs on the window of Sürgavere collective farm office-club building. 2019. Photo: Laura Ingerpuu

3. Main building of Jäneda Technical School. 2023. Photo: Mirjam Abel

4. Main building of Jäneda Technical School. 2023. Photo: Mirjam Abel

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ON THE SHOULDERS OF A GIANT: ARCHITECTURE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF ALVAR AALTO

Iida Kalakoski and Riina Sirén

Introduction

Our contribution presents and analyzes Finnish architecture students' perceptions of Alvar Aalto and his architecture. The perceptions are collected from study projects executed during two different courses, Built Heritage Analysis and Conservation Theory, held in Tampere University in 2021. The students were Finnish master's level architecture students, the majority of whom were focusing in their studies on architectural heritage.

The first course, organized together with the Alvar Aalto Foundation, aimed at creating background material for the ongoing UNESCO World Heritage process, which aims at including 13 sites by Alvar Aalto on the UNESCO World Heritage List as a serial unity. *The Tentative List Process* requires a massive number of different reports and surveys, and therefore the topical process was an interesting topic for the course focusing on different types of written reports handling architectural heritage and cultural environments.

This specific implementation invited students to evaluate the potential of Aalto's architecture for inclusion on the World Heritage List as well as the criteria used in the preceded process, and to write a report on their analysis on one specific building on the tentative list. The course was held in the spring semester 2021 and online due to the Covid-19 pandemic. There were several invited lecturers, including Jonas Malmberg, Tanja Vahtikari, Kirsti Kovanen and Sirkkaliisa Jetsonen, introducing the values of Aalto's architecture as well as details of the UNESCO Tentative List Process and evaluations.

The latter course was held as an online course during the autumn semester 2021. It focused on conservation theory by analyzing the executed conservations and other alterations of selected Aalto sites. This task encouraged students to evaluate the relevance of Aalto's architecture for its former and, most importantly, its current users. The invited lecturers were Laura Tuominen from the Finnish Heritage Agency, Elina Riksman from the Helsinki City Museum, and Tommi Lindh from the Alvar Aalto Foundation.

Somewhat beyond the course assignments, the texts that were produced during these courses revealed how contemporary architecture students perceive a world-famous architect and a national hero, Alvar Aalto, in the year 2021. The different orientations of the courses directed students to evaluate the sites and the hero architect's status from different perspectives. The approach was more critical in the first course, because its focus was on evaluation and comparison. In the second course, the status of the sites was taken more for granted, and students evaluated how successfully the values of the sites had been preserved in later repairs and alterations. Common to both courses was that they did not focus so much on the building history, but on the later perceptions of the sites.

Results

A person as an Outstanding Universal Value?

The first course was interlinked with a criticality towards the UNESCO World Heritage processes. The critical view was delivered throughout the course, and it was confirmed in a lecture by Tanja Vahtikari focusing on perspectives from the critical heritage studies field. However, the critical views were announced by the lecturers and the students already before Vahtikari's lecture as the inner paradoxes of the UNESCO Tentative List Process and the problematic status of the *Criterion I* was discussed in almost all the sessions of the course.

From the very beginning, the students questioned the hero-architect status of Aalto. The students were told that the *Criterion I*, *"To represent a masterpiece of human creative genius"*, is no longer recommended by UNESCO, at least not as the only criterion for a new UNESCO World Heritage Site. This notion, repeated several times during the course, probably encouraged students to take a critical view over the designer-based evaluation of the heritage.

After reviewing the heritage process, the students considered the valuation criteria for World Heritage status to be Western-centric and reflective of conservative values. They claimed that in the current attitudinal environment it is not entitled or necessary to raise Aalto on the podium in the same way as it was done earlier with Le Corbusier, for example. Subsequently, the students reminded that the participation of Alvar Aalto's wives and the whole architectural company should be acknowledged when talking about Aalto's architecture.

Further, the students questioned the way in which the list is limited only to Aalto's buildings, while Aalto himself cannot be named as the most important attribute of the series. This dilemma had already been acknowledged by the preparatory board, which had therefore framed the series as examples of Aalto's humanistic approach to Modernist architecture. The students questioned, however, if such a theme would be better exemplified by a selection of objects from several designers, eras and building types.

One group working on Paimio Sanatorium claimed that to be a stand-alone theme for a UNESCO World Heritage Site, it is crucial to justify the distinction in Aalto's design philosophy. Many of the groups agreed that Alvar Aalto, acting as a kind of herald of his era, had a unique Humanistic Modernist style of his own. If stated that Aalto's works are the best examples of the phenomenon, why the need to pass the *Criterion I* of the "human creative genius" at all? However, if the *Criterion I* exists, when should it be used, if not for Aalto?

One of the student groups interpreted Aalto's humanism as human-centered architecture. The group claimed, that in the case of Aalto's own houses, as for instance the Muuratsalo Experimental House, Aalto himself is the key figure of the architecture. By framing Aalto as a person out of the evaluation, they questioned the other cultural values of the buildings in the first place. This again, is not unique, since all architecture has a strong connection to the architect, especially if designed for oneself. Nonetheless, through this notion it is relevant to ask whether Aalto's own houses, or luxurious private houses like Villa Mairea, are suitable for the humanistic list at all.

Questioning the humanistic architecture series

The logic of the proposed series appeared problematic for most of the students on the analysis course. They found it difficult to understand the role and justification of specific buildings in the series. Some groups pointed out that their building under investigation was not significant enough by itself to be included on the UNESCO World Heritage List. They suggested that these buildings might have more value in portraying Aalto's life and career rather than portraying his humanistic approach, as in the case of Finlandia Hall. Another group working with Finlandia Hall pointed out that the building could be interpreted as a culmination of Aalto's career, utilizing all the knowledge he had gained throughout the years.

According to the students, the UNESCO criterion used by the preparatory board and referring to broad phenomena guides the selection of the proposed set also

from outside Alvar Aalto's production. One theme of that kind is the architecture of the Nordic welfare state. The students pointed out that it is problematic to connect it to Aalto alone, because the welfare state – or its architecture – was not created by one architect or architectural firm. "Relating the welfare state to one architect alone, seems ironic, to say the least," the students stated. The students wanted to underline that an accomplished architecture is always a contribution of a major community.

The students working on the Paimio Sanatorium stated that it is natural that Alvar Aalto is at the core of the proposal since the Alvar Aalto Foundation has been proactive in the process. The students also claimed that with another committee the series could have turned out completely different.

Questioning the Aalto architecture

Aalto's architecture raised the question of whether it is possible for architecture to be universally valuable, if it is somehow insufficient or has failed. This notion came up in the analyses of Finlandia Hall and the Seinäjoki Center, both of which have not retained all the original design goals. Finlandia Hall is a famous example of contradictory acceptance, and it has been accused of having poor acoustics and poor material choices. The Seinäjoki Center, in turn, never became such an important place for the community as was initially planned.

The group working with Finlandia Hall acknowledged that their perceptions of Aalto's architecture became more positive during the study and eventually the students concluded that Aalto's architecture has such special characteristics that could be defined as universally valuable. On the other hand, one group working with Finlandia Hall asked if such a young building can be evaluated as heritage at all. For some of the students, admitting Aalto's value is a struggle. A group working with the Säynätsalo Town Hall stated that despite their prejudices, in the end, they had to acknowledge that the good reputation of Aalto's architecture is actually well-earned.

When discussing the conservation design of the Aalto buildings, groups from the conservation theory course interpreted that the respect for Aalto's design is apparent. For example, regarding Vuoksenniska Church and Säynätsalo Town Hall, the later changes are executed in as imperceptible way as possible. The students noted that the valuations should be re-examined, and they speculated whether Aalto's work could gradually be treated only as one phase of the building's history.

Conclusions

This paper focused on the interpretations of master's level architecture students of Alvar Aalto and his architecture. The interpretations were collected from the reports produced by student groups during two separate courses held at the Tampere University in 2021.

One important notion about the collected perceptions is that the framing of the course and the participation and expertise of invited lecturers had significant impact on students' works. Especially in the first course, the UNESCO World Heritage framework provoked students towards a distinctively critical viewpoint.

The *Criterion I* alone invited students to express their critical notions about Alvar Aalto's status as a hero architect. Students juxtaposed the architectural qualities of Aalto's architecture with the public reception of the buildings and their technical or material performance, for example. In other words, they came up with a crucial question regarding whether architecture can be universally valuable even if not flawless or loved by everyone. Students also stated that Aalto's architecture should not be understood as Alvar's creation alone, as much as an expression of the phenomenon it potentially symbolizes, be it welfare state's architecture or Humanistic Modernism.

The criticality in the conservation theory course, in turn, was not so much directed towards the adoration of Alvar Aalto as such, but rather in the way to preserve and maintain Aalto's buildings after their creation. In other words, the students on the conservation theory course took Aalto's buildings' values for granted and rather evaluated the preservation of those values and the principles to preserve them in the future.

Eventually, on both courses, the students found great value in Aalto's architecture, and many of them were surprised to see their appreciation growing through learning more about Aalto's works. As a result, we claim that Finnish architecture students are receptive to Aalto's architecture and its later influence, but they don't necessary feel comfortable about claiming that it has universal value over some other architects' works.

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1. Alvar Aalto's legacy was evaluated by Finnish architecture students in 2021. Finlandia Hall (1971-1976) with its architect Alvar Aalto. Göran Schildt's archive SLSA 1150. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland. CC BY 4.0.

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SÄYNÄTSALO TOWN HALL AS A GESAMTKUNSTWERK

Jonas Malmberg

In the field of architecture, "Gesamtkunstwerk" or "total work of art" is a term used flexibly when referring to buildings which provide uniform entities including furniture.[1] We encounter the term in many texts on Alvar Aalto. Here I am approaching the concept through the Säynätsalo Town Hall (1951), which is one of the most celebrated Aalto buildings. In 1993, in the only monograph which focuses on the building, Richard Weston stated: "Throughout his life Aalto endeavoured to design his building as complete environments."[2] On the other hand, the Town Hall incorporated multiple uses and the variety of spaces in the relatively modest sized building was wide. Possibly only few of the spaces, if any, can be considered a "Gesamtkunstwerk".

Aalto himself possibly never referred to his designs as total works of art, yet already in the 1920s wrote admiringly about "the holy unity of the arts".[3] In his famous 1947 essay "The trout and the stream", Aalto discussed "the partnership between the three arts".[4] That same year for an exhibition in Sweden he referred to a similar theme: "Abstract modern art is in many respects related to contemporary architecture. Sometimes abstract painting, taken in deeper sense, has served as a laboratory for architecture; at other times, it has grown out of architecture, adding complementary details, almost like organic ornaments of modern architecture."[5]

Anders Munch provides many approaches to the term in his 2021 book *The Gesamtkunstwerk in Design and Architecture from Bayreuth to Bauhaus*. I have found many of his observations relevant within the context of the Säynätsalo Town Hall.

Longing for past achievements

The aspiration to unite various art forms involved looking back to architectural history in a romantic way. At the turn of the 20th century this was popular among European artists and architects, such as William Morris, Victor Horta, Peter Behrens, and Henry van de Velde. Notable examples were realized, for instance, in Scotland, Vienna, and Berlin, as well as in the Bauhaus School.[6]

Aalto received his architectural education at the University of Technology[7] in Helsinki between 1916 and 1921. Armas Lindgren, a partner of Eliel Saarinen and a resident in the famous architects' office and residence Hvitträsk, was one of Aalto's most influential teachers.[8] At that time, Art Nouveau was topical and particularly single-family houses were celebrated as total works of art.[9]

Later Aalto expressed his admiration for van de Velde, dedicated his art relief working method of "casting timber" to him,[10] and wrote a highly respectful obituary following his death in 1957.[11] Aalto compares van de Velde's oeuvre to those of Renaissance masters, drawing parallels between the Gesamtkunstwerk pioneer's romantic nostalgia and great moments of the past. Ricard Wagner, the key figure in the early history of the Gesamtkunstwerk concept, was afraid of industry producing inhumane results.[12] Similar ideas were emphasized by Aalto almost a century later, for instance in 1940 when he criticized then recent rationalist trends in architecture.[13]

The origins of the architecture of the Säynätsalo Town Hall were soon after its completion linked to the architectural traditions of the Mediterranean. That was recognized, for instance, in an early review of the building by Norwegian architect Arne Korsmo. Contrary to many other early articles on the town hall, Korsmo's presentation in *Byggekunst* was not completely dependent on texts provided by Aalto.[14] Aalto's view towards architecture was traditional and, unlike some of his modernist contemporaries, he did not deny the past, but rather was highly inspired by the history of architecture.

The Great Building

In his discussion of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, Munch also discusses public urban spaces. According to him, the city development of the Ringstraße in central Vienna is one particular kind of Gesamtkunstwerk.[15] Obviously, the scale of the Viennese interventions was quite different than that of Säynätsalo but taking into an account the size of the community of 3000 inhabitants, the design of the entire town centre was considerable. Munch also refers to the idea of "Stadtkrone", a dominant building specially advocated for by Bruno Taut in around 1920.[16] Munch combines these ideas in the chapter titled "The Great Building".

Aalto's aspirations in Säynätsalo were not only focused on the town hall. By the time of its completion in 1951 he had been creating various city plans for the community on its island site for almost a decade. Also, some unrealized buildings and the over-

all layout of the façades facing the central areas near the town hall were designed in around 1950. This complete design for the whole community included several buildings of various sizes, a main square, a public park and even proposals for public transport, and on the highest point of the island the “Stadtkrone” of the Cultural and Sports complex.

All these aspects of Aalto’s plan together can be considered “The Great Building”. Munch describes an ideal project as being far greater than a single building and involving the residents, and which may be constructed in stages over a long span of time. Aalto’s visions indeed involved all the citizens in their daily activities and provided the community another built identity in addition to those of the nearby factories.

Complete interiors of the Säynätsalo Town Hall

The Säynätsalo Town Hall is a multipurpose building, including offices, a library, a meeting room, shops, apartments, and various service spaces. Only very few of these were fully designed and provided with fixed and loose furniture designed by Aalto and the Artek drawing studio.

There was seamless collaboration between Aalto’s architect’s office and Artek from 1930s to the early 1960s. Artek fully participated in the interior design of nearly all the Aalto projects of that period. Interior designer Maija Heikinheimo developed into a brilliant interpreter of Aalto’s ideas, and she is said to have understood Aalto’s intentions from just the slightest hint. The vast majority of the furniture for the Säynätsalo Town Hall was designed in Artek.[17]

The most complete interiors were those intended for public use. The building’s most important series of spaces begins from the exterior main stairs, which runs through the patio surrounded by the office corridor and library. From the main door the most carefully designed route continues to the lobby, where the communal office was visible through a glass wall. This rather complicated path ends at the upper level in the most unique interior: the council chamber. The chamber is at the highest point of the building, both literally and in terms of hierarchy. The interior was highlighted by the exceptional roof truss designed by Aalto in collaboration with the structural engineers Magnus Malmberg and Olavi Törmänen.[18]

The totality was created by a group of specialists in various fields, but the guiding intention came from Aalto. He even invited his long-time friend, artist Fernand Legér

to provide a modest painting for the chamber. By assigning defined niches for the artworks, Aalto controlled their sizes. Another public space that gained special attention was the library. Naturally its uses were far more complicated than those of a 1950s meeting room. Thus, a number of special pieces of furniture and lamps were designed for it. They were complemented with many standard products by Artek for chairs, tables, shelves, drawers.

The library is a typical example of an Aalto interior often referred to as a Gesamtkunstwerk. Along with the contemporary furniture production, it was common and more efficient that standard pieces be used. In many cases, however, they were slightly modified to meet the needs of the current project.

Early Artek as a total work of art

Munch provides another approach in achieving a Gesamtkunstwerk through the case of AEG and the Deutsche Werkbund, as part of the post-First World War industrial development. Peter Behrens designed not only the contemporary Turbine Hall in Berlin (1909) but also provided product design, advertising, and graphic design that utilized the image of the building.[19]

Coincidence or not, the name Artek, combining art and technology, was also the title of a lecture "Kunst und Technik" by Behrens, first given in 1910.[20] Later, parallel ideas were continued in the Bauhaus by its founder Walter Gropius, who titled his 1923 lecture at the Bauhaus explaining the vision of the school "Kunst und Technik: eine neue Einheit".[21] Aalto was familiar with the Bauhaus, and according to a letter by Josef Albers even visited there.[22]

As the interest in Aalto designed furniture increased, it became necessary to establish a company to distribute Aalto furniture internationally. Artek was established by Maire and Harry Gullichsen, Nils-Gustav Hahl, and Aino and Alvar Aalto in 1935. The aim of the company was "trading in furniture and promoting modern housing culture through exhibitions and other means".[23] The furniture business was elegantly aligned with complementary activities, which included the promotion of modern art.[24] In that field, Artek's role in Finland was pioneering.[25] There were clear similarities between Artek's ideology and the goals of the Bauhaus school.[26]

Conclusion

The most important interiors of the Säynätsalo Town Hall can be said to express the idea of a Gesamtkunstwerk, and Aalto followed a design philosophy familiar from his studies and early career. Building practices after the Second World War involved many participants, in addition to designers and artists and Artek's contribution, whose input was coordinated by Aalto and his team.

The idea of a Gesamtkunstwerk evolved over the years, and I tend to find the somewhat difficult term[27] applicable in describing some parts of the Säynätsalo Town Hall. The main interiors, like the council chamber and the library, can be considered as entities resulting from a holistic design approach. On the other hand, the majority of the spaces in the building involved, even from the outset, an attitude far from that. Also, some spaces, such as the offices, were intended to be more complete in terms of design but ended up being furnished with various different types of furniture. By following Munch's logic, one could also consider the Artek of the 1930s with all the artistic and educational aspirations of a Gesamtkunstwerk, which then opens up questions beyond the scope of this paper.

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18 Olavi Törmänen, "Säynätsalon kunnantalo". *Rakennusinsinööri*, 9/1954, 137; see also: Malmberg, "Interactions of Art and Architecture – The Case of Alvar Aalto's Town Hall in Säynätsalo", forthcoming in 2023 in the journal NJAR.

19 Munch, *The Gesamtkunstwerk in Design and Architecture*, 173-83.

20 Munch, *The Gesamtkunstwerk in Design and Architecture*, 182.

21 Munch, *The Gesamtkunstwerk in Design and Architecture*, 246.

22 Letter from Josef Albers to Alvar Aalto, dated 7.7.1933, Aalto Foundation Archives, sign. 13246.

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26 For the Bauhaus's aims see, e.g., Hans Wingler, *Das Bauhaus. 1919-1933 Weimar Dessau Berlin und die Nachfolge in Chicago seit 1937* (Bramsche: Verlag Gebr. Rash & Co und M. DuMont Schauberg, 1962), 39-41; For Artek and the Bauhaus see: Nina Stritzler-Levine and Timo Riekko (eds.). *Artek and the Aaltos* (New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2016), 75.

27 Munch, *The Gesamtkunstwerk in Design and Architecture*, 22-3.

1. The almost sacral chamber in the Säynätsalo Town Hall in the 1950s with specially designed furniture by Artek and artworks by Legér, Aalto and Hilbert. Photo Eino Mäkinen, Alvar Aalto Foundation.

2. Aalto provided an alsecco artwork for the council chamber of the Säynätsalo Town Hall depicting the map of the area, including his unrealized visions, painted by Fritz Hilbert. Illustration Alvar Aalto Foundation /Malmberg, perspective corrected.

3. The Säynätsalo library in the early 1950s, with various standard and unique furniture pieces by Artek. Photo Eino Mäkinen, Alvar Aalto Foundation. AAF 100849 / Mäkinen.

4. The Artek showroom, gallery and shop in around 1939 on Fabianinkatu, Helsinki, with the sign designed by the Aaltos. Photo Alvar Aalto Foundation.

5. Alvar Aalto in Copenhagen in 1920 in front of the City Hall by Nyrop. During that same journey he visited Östberg's office and the construction site of the Stockholm City Hall. Both buildings are key works in the Nordic Classicism of that period. Photo Alvar Aalto Foundation.

Anne-Maija Malmisalo-Lensu is an art historian and PhD student at the University of Jyväskylä. She is currently writing her doctoral thesis, in which she examines the motives, expectations, and experiences of visitors to Alvar Aalto's house museums. Previously she taught museology at the University of Jyväskylä for twelve years. Her master's thesis in art history dealt with Alvar Aalto's museum projects from the 1920s to the 1950s. Later she has written, among other things, about the design project of Kunsten, the art museum building in Aalborg (2017), and about Aalto's unrealized plan for a chapel on the University of Jyväskylä campus (2023). Malmisalo-Lensu also has a master's degree in education, and her interests also include museum education and visitor experiences. In 2021 she published a paper on authentic experiences at Aalto's Experimental House. As a sideline, Malmisalo-Lensu also enjoys guiding visitors in the Alvar Aalto Museum, at the Experimental House and on the University of Jyväskylä campus.

WHO ARE THE VISITORS OF ALVAR AALTO HOUSES?

Anne-Maija Malmisalo-Lensu

Introduction

Alvar Aalto's home, studio, and summer villa are visited by thousands of tourists every year.[1] Who are these visitors and what motivates them to visit the houses? It has been known for a long time that not all visitors are interested in the same things.[2] As John H. Falk has written, museum visitors are individuals, not averages.[3] In general, visitor motives are based on their needs.[4] Visitors may have different motives or needs during a visit, but most visitors have a single dominant identity-related visit motivation.[5]

Visitor motivations have been examined by many researchers, and there are different ways of categorizing the motives.[6] According to Falk, "an individual's identity-related needs and interests motivate him or her to visit a museum and provide an overarching framework for that visit experience."[7] Behind these self-related needs is a pursuit of enhanced well-being.[8] In the museum context, Falk emphasizes identities that respond to the needs of a specific visit. For example, in his or her hometown the visitor may go to a museum as "a parent" but in another town as "a tourist". Their current identity defines the visitor's motivations.[9] The aim of the present paper is to explore what kind of identity-related motivations visitors in the Aalto house museums have. The research question is: What identity groups do the visitors represent according to their motivations?

Material and methods

In this phenomenographic research, I interviewed 76 visitors from 17 countries using a semi-structural interview and analyzed their motives for visiting one of the Aalto house museums. The interviews were carried out during 2017 and 2018, mostly immediately after a guided tour with one or two persons at a time. Using stratified sampling, I chose the respondents from among the random visitors according to their profession (professional/non-professional),[10] age, sex, and home country. Because of the small number of interviewees, the results will not be statistically significant but indicative.[11]

In the analysis I applied Falk's theory and categories on identity-related motivations. The division into categories emerged by gathering relevant meanings from the data, and then forming more abstract categories of meaning. I was looking for answers to these two questions: Why are you here? What motivated you? Falk has suggested that most visitors belong to the following groups: *Explorers* (who visit museums primarily because it interests them); *Facilitators* (because others would like or benefit from the visit); *Experience Seekers* (because it is a popular attraction); *Professionals/Hobbyists* (because it relates to their work or hobby); and *Rechargers* (because the visit will help them to refresh). It is possible to possess different motivations at the same time.[12] Later Falk added three categories, one of which was *Respectful Pilgrims* (who are honoring the memory of those represented by the institution). He stated that there probably are even more categories.[13]

I have categorized the visitors into identity groups according to their *primary* motives. Following Falk's way of classifying museum visitors, I created categories for the Aalto tourists. I use two additional categories which Tarja Pääjoki has added to her research: *Social Travelers* (who are motivated by being with others, no matter what the destination), and *Reluctant Visitors* (who are loath to visit the museum).[14] One new identity group arose from my research material: *Interested Companions* (who visit a museum because they are asked to follow and they are keen to do so).

Analysis

In the analysis I found nine identity groups. *Professionals/Hobbyists* was the biggest group, 31 visitors (28 professionals, 3 hobbyists). Because about 50% of all interviewees were professionals, it affected the group size. Most of them (16) came primarily to broaden their views on architecture; ten visitors came to broaden their views and to look for ideas for their own projects, and three visitors came to get ideas. The *Hobbyists* came primarily to broaden their views. For example, a 30-year-old architect told me at the Experimental House:

"If you look at an image in a book, you can't feel exactly how it is. The dimensions, for example. Or the relationship between inside and outside, what there is around the buildings. So, my interest is not only in the building but in the relationship with the land, with what there is outside."

Eight visitors were *Explorers*. They were interested in Aalto or the Modern Movement and they wanted to see the house and maybe learn something. Three visi-

tors were *Experience Seekers*. They all came primarily because the houses are famous sites and representatives of the local culture. One of them was a 60-year-old teacher:

"Because of my Lonely Planet *book I arrived. It said this is an interesting building to see."*

Three visitors were *Facilitators*. One of them was a Finnish professional who wanted to show the house to his guest. One was a Finnish pensioner who arranged the visit for his previous colleagues. A Japanese architect was on his honeymoon, and he arranged the visit for his wife who wanted to see Aalto's architecture:

"She wants to go to Finland, she wants. I said: 'This trip is third time for me!' And so she said to me she wants to go to Finland. Okay, I planned the schedule, and I arranged the trip."

Interested Companions were a large group, 14 visitors. From this group, 12 visitors came with a family member, one with a friend and one with a colleague. 11 visitors came with a professional, and three with a non-professional. Six visitors were *Rechargers*. There were also seven *Social Travelers*, and two *Respectful Pilgrims*. In addition, there was also one *Reluctant Visitor*, a 15-year-old secondary school student, who needed to visit the house to complete his art course.

Conclusions

The primary aim was to ascertain which identity groups the different visitors represent. According to the results, they were divided into the nine above-mentioned categories according to their primary visit motivations. The main visitor group was *Professionals/Hobbyists*, who were interested in broadening their views and/or getting ideas for their own projects. Falk has compressed the motivations into a few categories, which I found useful but insufficient. In the analysis I placed the visitors into categories which arose from the interviews; there were also groups, like *Social Travelers* and *Reluctant Visitors*, which were already discovered by Pääjoki and *Interested Companions* which I discovered myself.

Testing the methodology within the context of architectural sites gave new information about Aalto tourists. Because only the primary motivations were studied, the results are rather narrow. Usually, visitors have various needs and motivations for a visit. The other, minor motivations will be studied in my upcoming dissertation. This

research is still a work in progress, and it is possible that the results will acquire greater accuracy.

In other countries there are various Aalto sites and other architect house museums to which the results can be applied. Many of the interviewees told me how they are traveling around to see architecture with the same motive. Knowing the visitors better helps the service providers to decide what kind of marketing, tours, and programs to offer.[15] Because visitors represent different identity groups, museums and sites should take visitor identities into account and offer versatile ways to experience the place in accordance with the visitors' needs.

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10 *Professionals* are individuals working or studying in the architectural, design or museum field.

11 Once my PhD dissertation has been published, the anonymized interview text files will be handed over to the Finnish Social Science Data Archive (http://www.fsd.uta.fi/en/) for subsequent research, teaching and study purposes.

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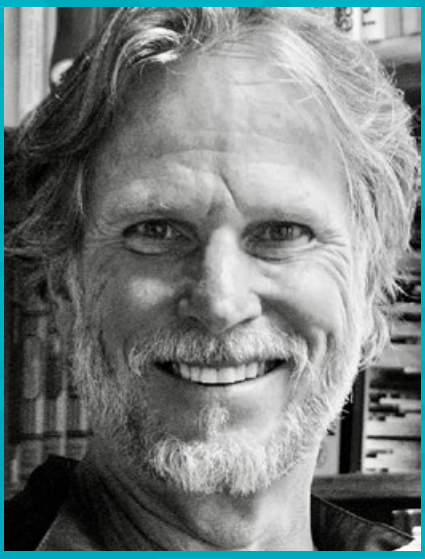
1. Alvar Aalto's home, studio, and summer villa are visited by thousands of tourists every year. A view from the Alvar Aalto's studio at Helsinki. Photo Maija Holma © Alvar Aalto Foundation

2. Visitors to the Aalto house museums have different identities. These visitors to the Experimental House may be *Professionals*, *Interested Companions*, *Explorers*, or *Experience Seekers*. But some may be *Facilitators*, *Social Travelers*, *Respectful Pilgrims*, *Recharges* or even *Reluctant Visitors*. Photo: Anne-Maija Malmisalo-Lensu



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MARKETING MODERNISM

Not the ruffles, lace, and pleats of Goff's 1955 Frank House

Daniel Naegele

Today, the label 'Mid-Century Modern' is a catch-all phrase in the USA, common in contemporary jargon, employed without discretion or understanding by real estate regimes and the man-on-the-street alike. Any older building that looks modern is labeled "MCM." An informed public, often mentally lazy, is apt to accept the implied sameness.

This is not so obvious in Bruce Goff's modern, curvaceous house designed in 1955 for the Franks, creators of the renowned Frankoma Pottery. Unquestionably modern, the house was built of their hand-colored tiles and shockingly glazed brick. Clashing patterns, ornamental embellishment, whimsy, and tactility are essential to its ethos, yet all adamantly violate Modernism's minimalist aesthetic.

The building is, nevertheless, persistently referred to as 'Mid-Century Modern'. The inappropriate appropriation of this label hinders, rather than helps, seeing and thinking about Goff's Frank House. A comparison can only assist understanding of both aesthetics.

In the USA, the term 'Mid-Century Modern' once was reserved for buildings built from 1946 until the early 1960s. Its look was prescribed in 1932 in the now-renowned "International Style" exhibition at the newly founded MoMA in New York, a show curated by 28-year-old Henry Russell Hitchcock and 25-year-old Philip Johnson. But the Great Depression and the Second World War delayed the construction of the modern house in America. The style returned, however, with Richard Neutra's 1946 Kaufmann Desert House, the Case Study houses, and in 1951 with Mies van der Rohe's Farnsworth House. Paul Rudolf promoted the style in Florida, Marcel Breuer built something like it in New England, and a number of architects together built Wright-like suburban ranch houses throughout the Midwest. For the upwardly mobile, the modern house was the new 'American Dream' house. Its defining characteristics, one critic wrote, included "clean lines, indoor-outdoor living, built-ins, and functionality." Despite apparent transparency, it assumed an air of exclusivity. It was a house of big glass, processed materials, and smooth, uniform wood. Its allegiance to the box was legendary. Its roofs were generally flat and its colors, formulaic. Whimsy and ornamentation were anathema.

Bruce Goff probably did not get the memo. “The Michaelangelo of Kitsch,” Goff reveled in ornamentation and whimsy, and I imagine John and Grace Lee Frank liked that about him. John Frank was chair of the ceramics department at the University of Oklahoma in the mid-1930s when he founded Frankoma Pottery, a commercial enterprise specializing in dinnerware and vases. Frank understood himself to be a creative artist, and when the university designated Frankoma Pottery a “conflict of interest,” Frank resigned and moved to the small town of Sapulpa, Oklahoma to practice his art. The Great Depression, the Second World War, and a tragic fire held back the Franks for the next fifteen years. Only in the mid-1950s, with the post-War boom, was Frankoma Pottery a financial success and only then could they build their house.

Their house, they imagined, would be built of materials that they, themselves, made, cloaked in ceramics crafted in colors and forms that they loved. They commissioned Bruce Goff, chair of the architecture school at the University of Oklahoma, to design it. Goff had a reputation for making non-conformist, ‘lifestyle’ houses. Three—all for artists—had been published nationally in recent editions of *Life Magazine*. Each employed exotic, unconventional, colorful, often strangely textured materials. “Refugees from sci-fi movies,” all were futuristic, but without the codified moves of sanitized modernism.

The house Goff designed for the Franks sits on three parcels halfway up a steep, heavily-treed hillside in a remote suburban subdivision. (Fig. 1) It forms a quarter circle 6-meters thick. Its street façade is a low convex curve laid across the brow of the hill: a continuous wall of undulating orange tile that leans back as if it were a Mansard roof escaped from a seaside hotel on the Mediterranean. (Fig. 2) It is punctuated by six regularly-space glazed openings. Protruding from the tiled wall is a porch, and off of the porch is a swimming pool that awkwardly negotiates the steeply sloping site. Its massive walls of green brick are decorated with a single row of orange terra cotta tile, a ruffle that visually ties it to the mansard roof façade.

But one does not enter the house from this convex street façade. Rather, one enters the house on the concave, south-facing side of the quarter circle. Hidden from the street, this entrance side is accessed by a long, uphill drive that ends at a circular auto court. Enclosed by high stone walls draped in green vines, and carrying a narrow canal of water, the court is a distinct place. From it, the house appears fortress-like, but the fortress is a fairytale fortress made of delicate, colorful blocks, outlined in a ruffle of terra-cotta orange. (Fig. 3) Two squat turrets of glazed green brick oozing horizontal lines of mortar are symmetrically displaced about the entry. Atop both turrets are crystal lanterns, and atop the lanterns are enormous steel planters overflowing with vines and spiked with exotic thrusting flowers.

The fortress is resolute and appears impenetrable. It is without big glass walls and a lace of Frankoma tiles covers what little glass there is. (Fig. 4) In four colors, glazed and forming Arabesque patterns, the lace tile wall is anything but foreboding. It has a kindness about it that belies its purpose of masking the house, of keeping the visitor at bay. It is a contradiction. Delicate and charming, it invites intimacy. It is meant to 'put off', yet it expects to be touched.

The door is also like this, and it, too, hides itself in this lace-tile. From the auto court, one descends three steps to find the front door, crossing over a tiled bridge that spans a narrow moat. Though the door is heavy (weighing half a ton), it is easily opened. Inside, the curved, red-tiled promenade extends the length of the quarter circle house. (Fig. 5) The house is of wood, punctuated with columns, each segment marked by a beam. Walls are not built up, but hang down. Suspended, they slide. Space opens and closes. The walls are sometimes vibrant blue panels and sometimes accordion screens of wood, fabric-like folded pleats that follow the curves and mimic its striations. Their facets record and modify the deep-reaching daylight from the lace-covered clerestory. Peel-able peels, the accordion walls render the house layered. 'Tactile-intervention' is required to wall or un-wall one's house.

The Frank House is a haptic house of color and textures, odd shapes, clashing patterns, and moveable walls: a playful, protective environment where whimsical gestures are everywhere evident. It is not transparent, though the openness of its moveable-wall interior exudes the continuous space that Goff created in all his best buildings. It records the movement of light through the sky. It seems to breathe: expanding when the sun arrives, contracting when clouds obscure the light. Made of heavy stone and brick, its hard surfaces are glazed in light baby blue, brilliant pink, harvest gold, and prairie green: Frankoma colors. A wondrous, curious house, eccentric to all who enter it, it bears little resemblance to the equally marvelous Mid-Century Modern masterpieces. To label it "MCM" maligns both ways of making.

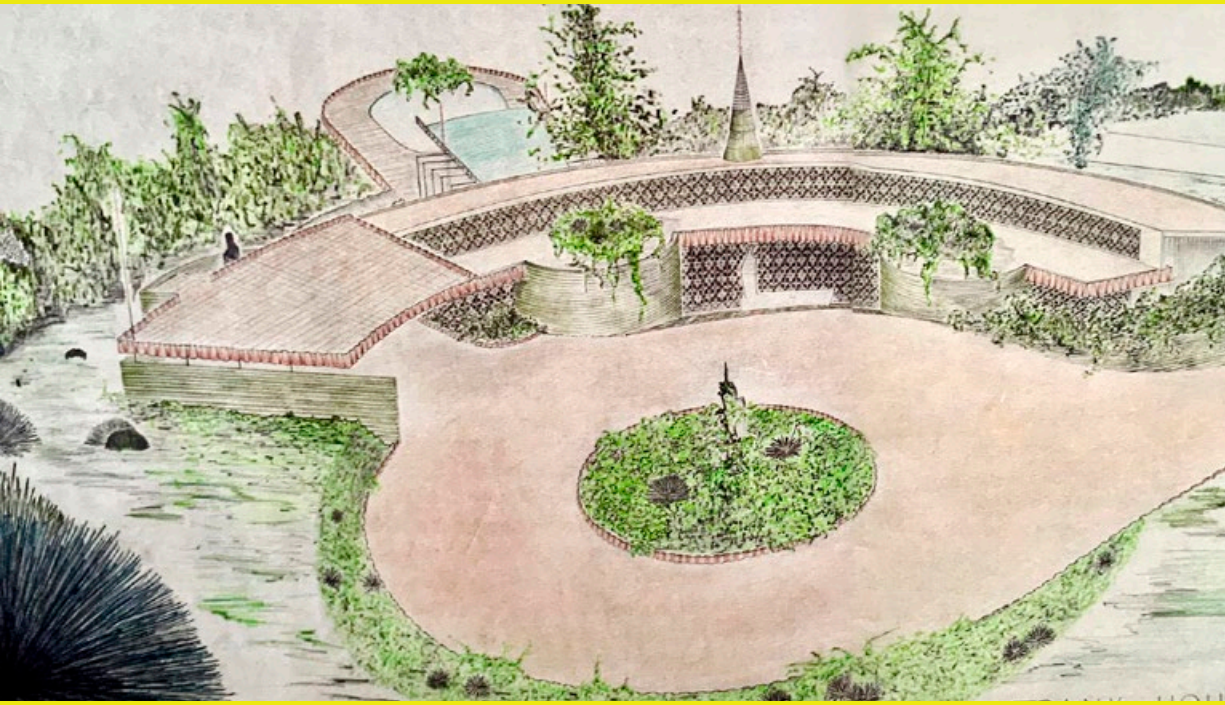
Epilogue

I have yet to verify this story, but I feel obliged to tell it. It came to me from the Wright scholar, Jonathan Lipman, who knew Bruce Goff personally. "Goff purchased a copy of *Space Time & Architecture*," Lipman wrote me on January 14, 2023:

"[He] told me he was miffed to find that his work had been left out of it, though he noted to me that Aalto's also was omitted from [Giedion's] first edition so he felt that he was in fine company. Anyway, he had been in a correspondence with Einstein for

years (if my memory is right Goff said that he first wrote to Einstein when he was a child, and they had corresponded ever since) and so he packed up his copy of the book and sent it off to Einstein to ask what he thought of Gideon's explanation in the book of space-time, the key to the book's underlying thesis. AE wrote back with the usual chitchat about boating, etc. and then, according to his custom, got around to the main purpose of the letter at its end when he wrote about Gideon's treatment of space-time, and here I quote Bruce verbatim: 'It was poorly digested, but well shat.'"

I imagine this occurred around 1955, when Goff had built a body of work that would merit recognition in Giedion's masterpiece, first published in 1944. The 40-page chapter on Aalto was added to the second edition, in 1949. His Baker House at MIT had just been built and his extensive *œuvre* included the Turun Sanomat building, Paimio Sanatorium, Viipuri Library, the terraced housing at Kauttua, the Sunila factory, Villa Mairea, and the Finnish Pavilion in New York, a space Frank Lloyd Wright had declared a "work of genius".



1. Frank House: Goff's aerial perspective (1955), from the south, looking downhill. (Courtesy of Chicago Art Institute, Bruce Goff archive)

2. Frank House: east and north elevations. Photo: Daniel Naegele

3. Frank House: motor court and south elevation. Photo: Daniel Naegele

4. Frank House: four-color Frankoma tile on the front entry door, glass walls, and clerestory. Photo: Daniel Naegele

5. Frank House: interior, looking east from the kitchen. Photo: Daniel Naegele

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DWELLING WITH THE 'MODERN'

Snehal Nagarsheth and Aditi Vashisht

Ahmedabad: Setting the Grounds for Modernism

The city of Ahmedabad finds historical significance as the bastion of Modern architecture in India. While Modern architecture was implanted in the Indian context through the agency of the state, Ahmedabad boasts of showing a spirit of enterprise in creating the atmosphere for the proliferation of this architectural language. Moving away from the well-known institutional buildings that dot the city, this paper draws attention to a set of private houses built between 1950 and 1970. The architecture of these dwellings was a result of the collective aspirations of the forward-looking patron and the young Indian architect versed in the Modern architectural practice of that time.

The seeding of the Modernist language in the private domestic realm was facilitated by the unique atmosphere of entrepreneurship that had developed in Ahmedabad over centuries. Being the "Manchester of the East", the thriving textile industry made the mill owners a strong and influential presence in Ahmedabad. A group of social elite, largely composed of these mill owners, had a stronghold on the Ahmedabad Municipality in the pre-independence times. They were instrumental in shaping the modern Ahmedabad that spread beyond the limits of the traditional walled city. These efforts of town planning and development were geared towards the modernization of the city based on both western and non-western models.[1] In 1950, three years after India's independence, Ahmedabad became one of the first cities in the country to have a democratically elected mayor, who happened to be Chinubhai Chimanbhai, a prominent mill owner himself. He was instrumental in awarding the commission for the City Museum (Sanskar Kendra) and Ahmedabad Textile Mill Owners Association (ATMA) building to Le Corbusier while he was in India to set up the Modern city of Chandigarh. In keeping with the tradition where the citizen shaped the city more than the Government, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, another doyen of the mill industry, recognised the need for modern institutes of higher education and research.[2] He, along with Vikram Sarabhai and other members of the Sarabhai family, spearheaded the setting up of the first Indian Institute of Management (IIM), the Physical Research Laboratory (PRL), National Institute of Design (NID) and School of Architecture (CEPT) that eventually became institutes of national importance. All of these institutions were housed in Modern buildings. The arrival of Le Corbusier

to Ahmedabad created a greater awareness and acceptance of Modern Architecture in the city and attracted architects like Achyut Kanvinde, Charles Correa and B.V. Doshi who were in the formative years of their architectural journey at that time.[3]

The patrons of the houses covered in this study belonged to these mill-owning families. Most of them studied abroad and had experienced the modern lifestyle. Building these houses was for them a move away from the joint family set-up in the congested old city to create their own identity. Set in sprawling properties in the newly developed areas of Ahmedabad, these houses embodied a sense of domesticity that was isolated, fortified and insular.

A House in the Garden

The Modern house of the young industrialist/businessman showed a typological shift from its predecessors, the parti wall house of the *pol* and the colonial bungalow. Change was seen in the construction as well as in the manner in which the house established connections with its immediate surroundings. This house stood in a garden. While in the colonial bungalow, the garden formed the foreground for the building, which one passed by before entering the house, in the Modern house the garden was situated at the rear. The house connected with the garden through a deep verandah that served as an outdoor room. The living room usually abutted this verandah space. The verandah and the garden served as a place for morning and evening teas and parties. The high plinth of the colonial bungalow cut it off from the surroundings, while the low plinth of the Modern house allowed the inner spaces to flow into the garden. At the upper levels also, balconies and terraces became the extensions of the house into the surrounding greenery. These spaces were also equipped with built-in seats and shading devices that invited the resident to spend time there.

The spatial organization in these houses broke the notion of segregated rooms to allow the spaces to flow into one another. The living and dining became one space. Most often this space further opened into the verandah through sliding-folding doors. This allowed for a free flowing inside-outside relationship. The flooring as an element of design was also seen as a neutral ground to support this understanding of free-flowing spatiality.

While the notions of spatial organization were being broken, so were the notions of composition at the elemental level. With walls expressed as planes of a singu-

lar material, rooms as boxes suspended within a grid of columns and beams, a disjointed composition of elements creating a play of volumes extending into one another, the architects played with details that demanded precision in construction. The staircase was accorded importance and often treated as a sculptural element in space. The language of disjointed elements also continued here as the balusters were attached to the side of the staircase with a spacer. The material of the tread, usually stone or wood, was expressed as a separate layer from the concrete body of the staircase. The rail in most cases was a large wooden cross section shaped ergonomically.

The formal architectural language visible in these houses was reminiscent of the ethos of universal Modernism but certain elements and gestures were carried forward from a conventional lifestyle of opulence. The porch as a space created under an overhead floor or as a free-standing element sheltering the entrance of the house was a common presence in all these houses. Setting the notion of a ceremonial entrance, one would alight from their cars here and guests would be invited into the house from this space. This signified a lifestyle that gave importance to the car in those times. Further accentuating the sense of a ceremonial entrance, in many of these homes, traditionally carved ornate doors were fitted at the entrance that stood in contrast against the bare walls of the rest of the house. These decisions were influenced by the patrons who demanded opportunities within the bare surfaces of the house to display their wealth and richness of lifestyle. The naked walls for them became the canvas against which to compose ornate decorative artifacts sourced from different craft traditions of India.

The Lost Legacy

The architectural manifestations of Modernism first started appearing in India in the early 1900s with buildings like The Golconde in Puducherry, predating the developments in Chandigarh and Ahmedabad. The proliferation of the Modernist language in the Indian context, however, came about through the efforts of the state. The Modernist language of architecture expressed the narrative of the political will and spoke of modern India since it was adopted by the state to build its cities, institutions and housing schemes. The Modernist ethos thus became linked to the modern national identity. The need for nation building was urgent, and resulted in a flurry of building activity in the years succeeding the independence. It employed architects both foreign and Indian in prestigious, mostly state-sponsored projects that provided the grounds for experimentation with the language of Modernism in the Indian scenario. While Le Corbusier was invited to build Chandigarh, this time period saw sever-

al architects who either studied or apprenticed abroad and this training helped the Modern language to take roots in India.

The historiography of Modern Indian Architecture reaffirms this status of Modern architecture in India. The texts written in India that take cognizance of the architecture of the post-independence times present a landscape of these large-scale public buildings. Unlike the western history of Modernism, where private residences like Farnsworth House and Villa Savoye became iconic of the movement, the history of Indian Modern architecture sees buildings like the Punjab High Court, the Secretariat, and IIM Ahmedabad by foreign architects and Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, ATIRA building, Tagore Hall and Hall of Nations built by Indian architects as its icons. The individual private residence was perhaps seen as an indulgence of the elite that missed attention amid the numerous and monumental sites that were serving the nation building agenda. While the iconic houses of western Modernism can be studied for the ideas of domesticity and the development of the Modernist language, Indian historiography has missed these discussions and talked about Modernism only from the perspective of national identity. Since they are also seen as recent developments in the vast timeline of architecture in India, they are not accorded the reverence of historical architecture and as a result are pushed further into obscurity. Their fate therefore gets tied to the will of the resident/owner. Owing to pressures of maintaining large properties, these houses have either been demolished or are lying empty awaiting the same fate.

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1. A house in the garden.
Photo: Cyrus Mobedji
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2. The language of the elements.
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3. The sculptural staircase.
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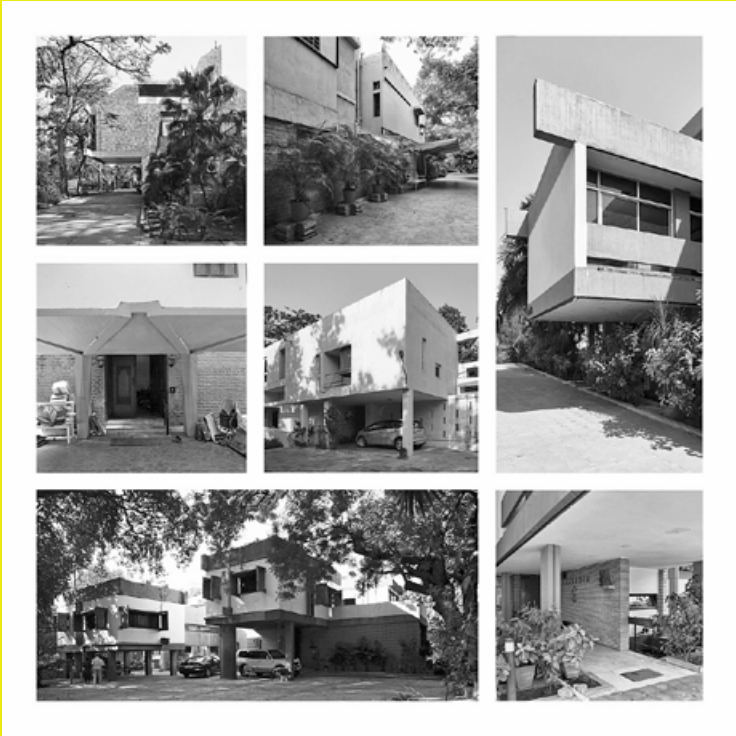

4. The porch.
Photo: Cyrus Mobedji
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5. Finding home amid the bare walls.
Photo: Cyrus Mobedji © Cyrus Mobedji

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LIVING WITH THE BAUHAUS: THE CONSERVATION OF A BAUHAUS LANDSCAPE

– Renovation of Ben Ami Street in the White City of Tel Aviv

Shiyu Qian

Introduction

Established in 1909 during the British mandate Palestine, the "White City" of Tel Aviv comprises the largest collection of Bauhaus-inspired modern architecture in the world.[1] To accommodate constant migrants since 1920s, The White City of Tel Aviv was built from the early 1930s until the 1950s, based on the modern town planning of Sir Patrick Geddes.[2] The buildings were designed by architects with various European backgrounds reflecting early 20th century European modernism in the Modern Movement, including the Bauhaus. In 2003, the White City of Tel Aviv was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, for being an extraordinary urban concentration of International Style architecture.[1]

This paper aims to conduct a historical and theoretical research on preservation and conservation in the modern city. Firstly, the main conservation strategies implemented in Tel Aviv are explained. Then the link between its urban historical transformations and a potential controlled city development plan is analysed, consulting the theory from the Italian school of typology and morphology studies. Finally, the paper discusses the final research outcome – the conservation and renovation design proposal for Ben Ami Street in Tel Aviv.

Historical Background

Tel Aviv was founded in 1909 as a metropolitan city under the British Mandate in Palestine. From the early 1930s to the 1950s, the White City was built according to Sir Patrick Geddes' urban plan. First presented in 1927 and then implemented in the 1930s, this urban plan has deeply influenced the urban landscape, presenting the insight of a middle oriental garden city and green residential neighbourhoods with a structure of block and plots. The urban blocks are accessed by main streets with public gardens, and each plot is around 500 m^2 (16.6m x 30m) with a free-standing 2-storey building in the middle surrounding by a garden.[3]

In the 1930s and 1940s, over 3000 buildings were constructed in Tel Aviv, designed mostly by Jewish architects from Europe. Among those architects, the most notable ones were from the Bauhaus and Germany. The Bauhaus School was founded by Walter Groupius in 1919 with a vision of giving a new aesthetic and ethic to the world of design. The school was closed in 1933, and many European Jewish architects moved to Tel Aviv introducing laws of the new architecture that found a favorable ground for implementing the teachings of the Bauhaus. Architects also adapted their architecture to the hot, sunny Israeli climate by using smaller windows to minimize heat, creating flat roofs for outdoor social spaces, and incorporating huge balconies to capture the Mediterranean breezes.[4]

Conservation and UNESCO Plan

Since the 1930s, the city of Tel Aviv embraced a constant population growth and numerous modern buildings were built. However, the population shrank and aged in the 1970s and 1980s. During years of oblivion, the historical center of Tel Aviv was abandoned, and buildings were destroyed or left in a state of decay. Improper additions were added to the apartments. It was not until the 1990s that there appeared plans and measures in an urban scale, thus enforcing the conservation of listed buildings and the improvement of the infrastructure.[5] In 2003, the ”White City” of Tel-Aviv” was designated a World Heritage Site by UNESCO for its outstanding significance as an exceptional example of various trends in the Modern Movement and urban planning during the last half of the 20th century.[5]

The nomination shows that not only the quality and history of some single buildings are well recognized, but also that the general urban environment of Tel Aviv with its complexity and homogeneity should be remarked upon. It was suggested that the urban landscape be used as an important working tool and recommended different interventions according to classification and categorization. In the plan there are three main interventions on over 4000 buildings in three districts, including the preservation of restricted buildings, the conservation and renovation of most buildings, with an allowance for extension, and the construction of new buildings in protected areas.[6] The aim was to enhance cultural heritage through protection, while upgrading the urban quality with a moderate and controlled urban growth. To control the interventions in buildings, the city maintains a 12-member Conservation Team in charge of developing strategies and overseeing the historically accurate conservation.[7]

Theoretical Study

In contrast to cities and their spaces understood primarily as being permanent, typological theory assumes that cities are in a process of constant change and development.[8] Saverio Muratori[9] believed that understanding the relationship between building types and forms is critical to studying a settlement's history and its possible future evolution. Thus, heritage can be understood as the result of a continuous series of transformations operated on precedent architecture. Gianfranco Caniggia[10] further explains the reasons for this heritage-based construction in historical cities. He described this as a consciousness of spontaneous construction of basic buildings, rooted in culture and history, as it is both a summary of historical experience and the result of cultural influence. At the same time, his research points out that a city built according to a consciousness of spontaneous construction would suggest a certain future morphological pattern of development.

Based on the theory above, it can be argued that the urban landscape in the White City can be understood as a constant dynamically changing process since its birth. The reason behind the homogeneous landscape is the continuity and strength of the spontaneous consciousness of construction that follows the integrated idea of modern architecture and local tradition. The study of the spontaneous construction activity has also shown certain leading types that building forms have been following, and they become the framework for subsequent historical variations and additions from a typological point of view.

Ben Ami Street Project

Ben Ami street is located near the first Bauhaus plaza, Dizengoff Square. Most buildings here were built in 1930s and 1940s together with the square, and they were mostly influenced by the Bauhaus and the Modern Movement. The nearby residential neighborhood is now considered to be in urgent need of conservation, as there are plenty of improper additions, the current condition of some buildings is no longer qualified as safe. An analysis of architectural aesthetics and the condition of the decay of the main facades were conducted first, pointing out that some balconies are already very different from the original design due to age decay, historical renovation, and technical units. They were enclosed in most buildings and additional floors were built in an uncontrolled way, causing damage to the building and forming a chaotic landscape. Although the idea associated with the Modern Movement of having a roof garden is in some sense achieved through those spon-

taneous rooftop additions, safety issues and the authenticity of the original building are completely ignored over the years by the owners.

After the condition survey, the proposal for Ben Ami Street started with conservation interventions on the main facades, where demolition and removals are mainly suggested regarding the earlier enclosure of balconies and improper rooftop additions, while other measures concern the restoration of structure and replacements. New additions were carefully designed based on typological studies as increasing the density within the building plot is an essential spontaneous approach for city development. Also, the proper and safe use of roof gardens with some solar shades is expected. Three main principles are suggested following considerations of architectural quality, heritage convention and street landscape.

4 Principles of additions, provided by the author.

Principle 1: Street Visibility and Differentiation
Based on a strategy of having a recession from the street façade, the additions can be 'unseen' from street level. International conventions could be considered, which suggests the differentiation between old and new structure has to be achieved.

Principle 2: Height Control and Street Facade Conservation
To preserve the authentic spatial quality of the street, it is vital to control the skyline to a reasonable level. For Ben Ami Street, the maximum height mainly takes reference from the existing buildings with a one-floor addition preserving the humane experience of the street.

Principle 3: Rooftop Addition Design Alignments
The new rooftop addition should not change the original architectural qualities or the overall appreciation of the building. Thus it is essential to study the original composition of the facades and suggest alignments that could guide the design of new volumes and windows.

Conclusion

In this research, a historical and theoretical study of the conservation of the urban landscape in Tel Aviv was demonstrated. The final proposal for the Ben Ami Street project shows a potential integrated strategy of conservation and renovation. Meanwhile, through a typological approach, the architectural quality of the Bauhaus her-

itage and landscape could be mostly preserved, while a level of variation in spatial configuration could also be achieved by proper rooftop additions following principles of both the building and street levels. The outcome of this research is also expected to contribute to an urban development strategy in cities with modern heritage.

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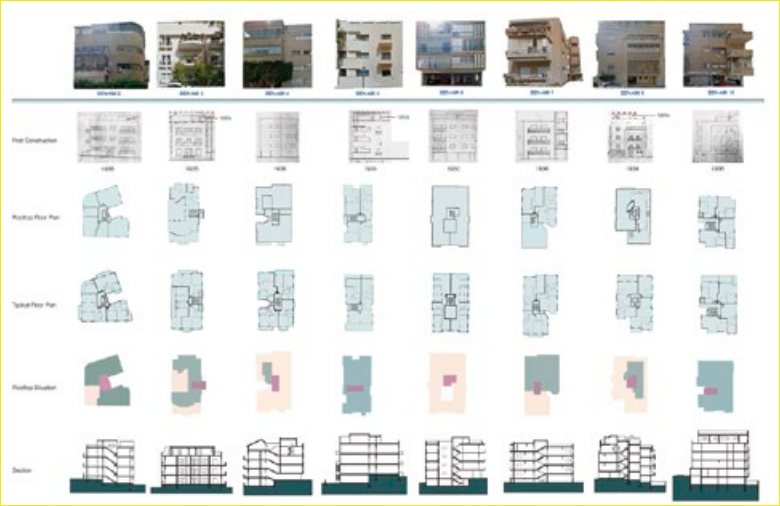

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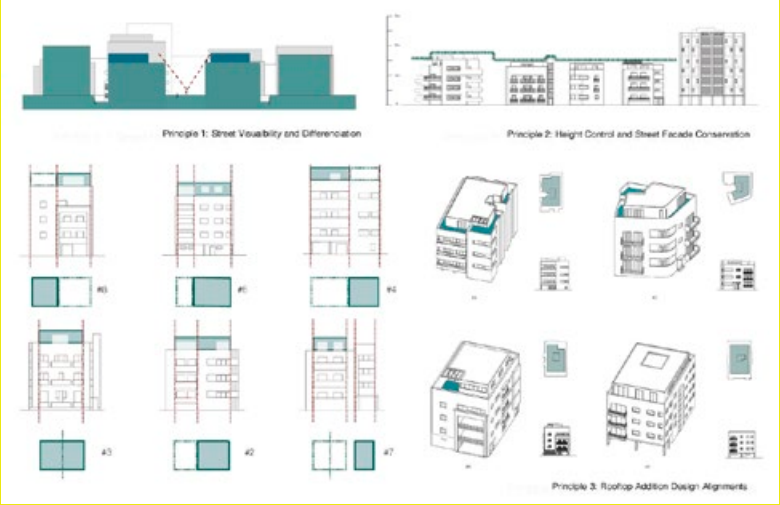

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THE VALUE OF MODERN LEGACY FOR ORDINARY PEOPLE ILLUSTRATED BY MICRO-HISTORIES OF CONSERVATION IN PORTUGAL

Vincenzo Riso

Overall framework

When we look globally at the developments and achievements of the last three decades, we recognize that every modern conservation project involves an attempt to bring into a valid and sustainable balance three different aspects that usually arise from the renovation of modern buildings: repair, upgrading and remodelling. Furthermore, when we review the individual stories of the same projects, we see that these three issues usually correspond to the interests of three different types of stakeholders, i.e., repair reasons are supported by conservation specialists, enhancement reasons are supported by users, and remodelling ones by owners/investors.

As a rule, 'rehabilitation measures' carried out under the orientation of 'conservation specialists' concern structures of an iconic, monumental character, which are scientifically conserved and restored as such on the basis of the existing public interest, with public funds specifically earmarked for this purpose.

In contrast, 'remodelling' promoted by 'owner/investor' management generally involves a larger number of structures, monumental or not, that a private company acquires and remodels in order to put them back into service on the real estate market. In this case, since every decision is tied to the interests of the private entity, every decision, including those of re-design, is evaluated by calculating the division between investment and profit. This means that scientific reasons have to be mixed with economic ones, and that those who design the project have to work harder to find a reasonable solution that in the end can be valid also in – and not in spite of – its economic viability.

I have treated the case of the 'upgrade intervention' designed for the benefit of the 'users' last, because here the efforts of those who undertake the task of re-designing the conservation could be even more complicated. In fact, in such situations the construction of an operational (including financial) path for the restoration of buildings/works is as important as the technical conditions for its implementation. This is the case when planners/designers for the preservation of structures participate

in the efforts to create the preliminary conditions for a project to be elaborated later. These are operations that are naturally attributed to the third sector economy.

Looking at the body of works of a well-known protagonist in the field, such as Wessel de Jonge, I would point out as an example of a publicly-funded intervention the restoration of Jan Duiker's Zonnestraal Sanatorium in Hilversum, in the category of privately funded interventions the adaptive reuse of Aldo van Eyck's former Amsterdam orphanage, and as illustrative of a case in which the architect also participated, working to establish the preconditions for the project, the refurbishment of Gerrit Rietveld's 'Om en Om' social housing in Reeuwijk.

Our case studies

As for the Portuguese micro-histories that I would like to present, it can be said in retrospect that this was the situation we found ourselves in when, moved by an interest that, at least initially, concerned only the value of Álvaro Siza's works as cultural heritage, we looked at, with a view to their preservation, two buildings he had constructed at the very beginning of his career. These are the Matosinhos Parish Centre/Community Centre (Porto, 1960) and the Lordelo do Ouro Cooperative Building (Porto, 1963), about which Siza himself recently wrote:

"The Cooperative building, a work I executed in my younger years, between 1960 and 1963, shows my interest in the use of exposed raw concrete, something rare in Portugal at the time (..). I had already used exposed rough concrete in the Parish Centre/Community Centre, a project from which I was removed by the sponsors (Building Committee and the then Abbott of Matosinhos), due to an unavoidable disagreement over planned changes during the course of the work. Lordelo's case would not be much different, except for the fact that I was dismissed after the completion of the works (in 1969), because of a disagreement about changes that would profoundly affect the building."

These are two buildings that had a rough start due to unfortunate circumstances, but then, although incomplete in one case and heavily altered in the other, performed for decades the tasks for which they were built and are now in a deplorable condition due to lack of proper maintenance. This is actually also due to the lack of appropriate strategies to adapt to changing functional requirements, as well as to economic difficulties faced by their owner institutions.

Thus, there are two buildings owned by non-profit but still private institutions whose managers do not seem to be aware of the intrinsic value of the architectural heritage they are dealing with. Moreover, this value seems to be perceived by the occupants as a burden that binds them in remodelling activities that they might like to be detached from.

And above all, the lack of institutional awareness of its importance, especially in the case of the Cooperative building, for which, due to the absence of any protective norm, there is a possibility that the building will be alienated and even demolished, to be replaced with the intention of monetizing the valuable location of its plot overlooking the banks of the river Douro.

In an attempt to do something – within our means, of course – in the first semester of the academic year 2017-2018 and 2018-2019, as part of the Design Studio Course Unit of the 5th year of the Integrated Master's programme at the School of Architecture, Art and Design of the University of Minho, which deals with architectural design in the preservation of buildings, we took the Lordelo do Ouro Cooperative building as a case study; the same happened with the Matosinhos Parish Centre/ Community Centre in the first semester of 2020-2021. Thus, in the hypothetical framework of an unsolicited conservation plan for each of the two cases, we addressed the necessary definition of an overall rehabilitation strategy before working on the forms of implementation of a specific strategy (i.e., the short programme of re-design). Therefore, we used the studio's autonomy of action to imagine ways and practices to reactivate the life of these buildings based on their architectural and spatial qualities. That is, we drew on their value as cultural heritage to show that this is a treasure to draw from, not a burden to carry. In this sense, we also always wanted to be pragmatic and consider the feasibility of the proposals.

That 'unsolicited conservation plan' was defined and produced in accordance with the Studio's program, which is usually divided into three phases. In the first phase students are given the full archive documentation of the original design dossier and asked to study and survey the chosen building so as to produce detailed observations and a comprehension of the built form, while drawings are also produced to register alterations and deterioration problems. The whole group of about 20 students is divided according to different tasks in order to produce a global result. Then, in the second phase, students are asked to imagine and set out a strategy, which could lead to a functional extension of the building's life. In this phase they work in smaller groups, so they can come up with alternative strategies. In general, this could be seen as an attempt at a new life for the building while trying to recover the interplay between the given structure and its social context. In the third phase,

the work becomes individual, consisting of a translation of the previously outlined functional reorganization strategy into a spatial organization for the building; consequently, at this point, minimum yet sufficient alterations can be defined. At this stage, each student has also to deal with the repair or improvement of a construction problem or detail, which is chosen in the logical continuity of the whole work.

Ultimately, our work was a kind of exploratory research aimed at identifying problems, outlining operational measures and organising a design agenda as the final result. None of the proposed global and detailed outcomes was intended to be a final result, but rather part of a series of interlocking hypotheses that could focus the stakeholders' attention on the functional and symbolic potential of these previously neglected buildings and on the real possibility of restoring them to the better condition they would deserve.

While in the case of the Parish Centre we could not go beyond a well-received final exhibition of the projects, in the case of the Cooperative we managed to open a city-wide debate by also involving local associations, city administrators, residents, and Álvaro Siza himself. Now the City Council is considering adding the building to the list of the city's protected buildings, and we can say that its restoration is considered a motor for the recovery of the social institution for which it was built. This means that we are trying to explore all of the different motives for the preservation of the building and to collaborate with all the stakeholders, recognizing that this is the only effective way to save it.

End piece

When we translate the individual case into general terms, we come across the central theme of the so-called Faro Convention, which asks the question: "Why and for whose benefit should we enhance cultural heritage?" Since 2011, when this framework on the Value of Cultural Heritage to Society came into force, the participation of a wide range of stakeholders in actions to recognize, protect, preserve, enhance and manage cultural heritage has become increasingly relevant; but when it comes to 20th century architectural and urban heritage, examples of this kind are still scarce – perhaps even outside Portugal. Also from our side, that is, as lovers of modern architecture, complex projects should be developed that, in agreement with their owners and through the participation of all those who have an interest in them, can achieve their reactivation and thus their preservation as cultural heritage.

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Local Edifício de 1963 é desconhecido de muitos

O "estranho caso" de uma obra esquecida de Álvaro Siza

Livro resgatou história da Cooperativa de Lordelo do Ouro e estudou como poderia ser reabilitada. Pode a arquitectura ser o catalisador de uma nova vida social e cultural desta associação portuense?

Quando os edifícios estão 25 anos sem levar uma pintura, esse é um problema que se traduz em desaparecimento, demolição ou recuperações muito custosas

Álvaro Siza
Arquitecto

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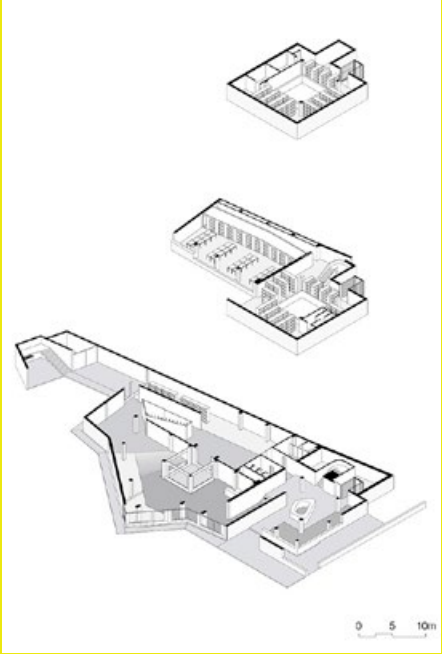
3. Matosinhos Parish Centre/Community Centre (Porto), ground-floor plan and longitudinal section of the upgrade design proposal (drawing by Ana Rita Cabral, Cláudio Meireis, Francisca Freitas, Henrique Ferreira and Pedro Silva).



4. Lordelo do Ouro Cooperative Building, Porto; isometric split view of the refit of the whole building refurbishment proposal, based on the recovery of original configuration (drawing by Álvaro Mendes and Nuno Gonçalves).

5. Lordelo do Ouro Cooperative Building, Porto; rare colour photo that illustrates its original features and condition as built by Álvaro Siza (Jorge Gigante 1967, collection and courtesy of the author's family).

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CONSERVATION STRATEGIES FOR THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE – THE CASE OF THE TOPPILA PULP MILL

Lei Sun

Introduction

Recent decades have seen factory closures in most communities. Due to economic turmoil, the industrial landscape has become a no man's land between former industrial buildings and the rising post-industrial sector.[1] In English these locations are often referred to as "rustbelts" in acknowledgment of their industrial revolutionary heritage.[2] These remnants of the city's industrial past show their once glorious development. They also possess significant historical and cultural assets, which are important for maintaining the city's historical landscape and lively local identity.

Modernism, which UNESCO defines as the architecture of the 19th and 20th centuries, is a collection of ideas, beliefs, values, and perceptions that had a major impact on art and society. Modernism in architecture employs geometric shapes, straight lines, and no decoration. Steel, glass, and concrete are typically used in construction to achieve this minimalism. Modernism in architecture prioritizes function over aesthetics, creating flexible, adaptive, and responsive places for occupants. An architect who advocates modernism emphasizes sustainability and energy efficiency in their designs.

Taking the case study of Alvar Aalto's Toppila pulp mill, this article discusses the need to uncover and gather elements of industrial silos when preserving and regenerating them in order to protect the integrity of the industrial heritage. In terms of sustainability, economic, environmental, and social factors are examined to ensure a better continuance of the heritage, while in terms of authenticity, alterations are reduced, so as to retain authenticity. Creativity is used to give the public new experiences. This article offers some recommendations for the potential revitalization of industrial silos in the foreseeable future; additional planning is nevertheless required for the transformation to take place.

Modern industrial buildings designed by Alvar Aalto

At the time when Alvar Aalto's Toppila pulp mill complex in Oulu was completed in 1931, Aalto's design aesthetic and philosophy shifted to modernism. In the design of the mill's silo, he focused on the relationship between its architectural form and function. The building's façades are concrete, a popular material in early 20th-century modernism, and comprises simple geometric shapes and clear lines. Aalto's general aesthetic was to incorporate nature and the environment into architecture so as to make it more humane – thus becoming a distinctive modernist architectural style. The Toppila manufacturing complex was demolished in 1980 and has been unoccupied ever since. The municipal authorities sold the building in August 2020 to a non-profit organization that preserves digital technology. The silo will become a research institute. When it comes to reusing an old industrial building, this article suggests four principles to do so.

(1) Integrity

The mention of a property in regard to its value must conform to its integrity, as per the World Heritage Operational Guidelines from 2005.[3] It ensures properties are kept in good condition, preserves their natural significance and exceptional universality, and aids in the cultural site's long-term development. Most of the buildings in the Aalto-designed cellulose factory were removed once manufacturing stopped, thus destroying its integrity. In the later refurbishment of the preserved silo, Aalto's initial design and the existing buildings must be modified as little as possible, with maintenance taking precedence so as to minimize the occupation and damage of the original space. Nonetheless, developing neighbouring vacant spaces for research and exhibitions may be considered. This will reduce occupation and deterioration of the original areas and enhance their cultural and functional integrity.

(2) Authenticity

Authenticity is crucial to heritage resource identification. The legacy and its sources must be real. The authenticity of historical industrial buildings depends on their ability to express their significance and portray historical industrial operations and social relations. Authenticity, in regard to cultural context, must be appraised in reference to a vast range of sources of information.[4] The same materials must be utilized for repair and maintenance throughout any regeneration so as to restore maximum workmanship and skill. To ensure architectural authenticity, any restoration of the

silo must follow adaptive reuse due to its small internal size and low floor heights. As most of the original complex has been disassembled and the loss of integrity has degraded authenticity, it is all the more crucial that the remaining industrial heritage buildings are reduced in use and maintained with their original look. Moreover, it's crucial to restore and show the silo's role and operation as a functional facility, so that the public may truly and intuitively understand its construction.

(3) Sustainability

Sustainable development is defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."[5] Aalto's silo is sustainable in the future. In terms of economic sustainability, the restoration and reuse of the silo can add to its value, and the planned industrial historical buildings can draw more attention and provide sustainable finance for the silo, for instance through creating heritage tourism, collaborating with businesses, and requesting government support. Regenerated silos can help build the city and improve social sustainability, fostering community vitality and local identity. The restored silo can increase public and social awareness of the need to preserve industrial heritage. Regarding environmental sustainability, the restoration follows Aalto's design philosophy for the building and honours the traces left by the surrounding historical environment. Furthermore, using energy-saving and environmentally friendly regeneration processes lowers energy emissions and ecological pollutants, thus boosting environmental sustainability.

(4) Creativity

Creative thinking is essential for industrial historical building protection and revitalization. Existing practices give some ideas and ways for the regeneration of industrial heritage, but this is not a one-size-fits-all copying or reproduction, which would lose the individuality of industrial history. Rather, it is an approach that was established in response to the particulars of the industrial heritage in question. For the silo to be repurposed, the process of conservation and regeneration can also be viewed in terms of enhancing the originality of the design, which can involve creativity and innovation in materials and conservation procedures, and can provide new ideas in conservation approaches through creative thinking to better protect and perpetuate industrial heritage buildings. Creative redevelopment can also preserve the industrial heritage and attract new visitors. Conversely, it is difficult to maintain

the cultural survival of a revitalized industrial legacy if it lacks the requisite of creativity to attract public attention. Creative regeneration can bring value to industrial heritage regeneration. To support creative development and transformation, silo buildings could feature creative experience amenities and programs. The public's interest in visiting and following the modern heritage would rise as a result of this, and the appeal of historical industrial buildings would be enhanced.

Conclusion

This article introduced the case study investigation of Alvar Aalto's Toppila pulp mill silo and gave advice at four levels for implementing its conservation: integrity, authenticity, sustainability, and creativity. The concrete silo has been left unoccupied for nearly 40 years, but its revitalization will contribute to research into the preservation and repurposing of industrial heritage buildings. In addition, the restoration of the concrete silo can serve as a model for the preservation of other industrial buildings. It will help the area prosper while retaining its own character in the long run. It may stimulate more concern for the long-term maintenance of industrial heritage. In addition to the proposal for the conservation and regeneration of silos and industrial heritage buildings on four levels, what is also necessary is systematic planning of a more comprehensive guide for silos and this type of industrial heritage buildings as well as the support of the conservation and regeneration of the modern industrial heritage.

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1. The Toppila pulp mill. The status of the abandoned silo.
   Photo: Maija Holma © Alvar Aalto Foundation

2. The factory buildings of Toppila Oy in 1938. Photo: Finnish Heritage Agency

3. The interior of the concrete silo.
Photo: Maija Holma ©Alvar Aalto Foundation

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