TEAM 10
Keeping the Language of Modern Architecture Alive

Conference organised by the Faculty of Architecture
Delft University of Technology
Chair of Architecture and Housing
5 and 6 January 2006

Pablo Allard
George Baird
Christine Boyer
Xavier Costa
Henk Engel
Hartmut Frank
Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente
Dirk van den Heuvel
Karin Jaschke
Aino Niskanen
Frits Palmboom
Max Risselada
Irénée Scalbert
Manfred Schiedhelm
Francis Strauven
Marco Vidotto

Sponsored by the Netherlands Architecture Fund and the
NWO, the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research
Colophon

Organizing Committee of the congress
Max Risselada
Dirk van den Heuvel
Gijs de Waal

Editors of the proceedings
Max Risselada
Dirk van den Heuvel
Gijs de Waal

Design
Gijs de Waal

With thanks to:
Catherine Spencer
Marcus Kempers

Sponsored by the Netherlands Architecture Fund and
NWO, the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research.
# INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>Max Risselada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Interview with M. Schiedhelm and G. Jullian de Ian Fuente</td>
<td>by Francis Strauven and Max Risselada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Keynotes

| 32   | Keeping the Language of Modern Architecture Alive                   | Christine Boyer                             |
| 72   | Meaning in Architecture                                             | George Baird                                |

## Mythopoiesis

| 88   | Team 10 riddles                                                     | a few notes on mythopoiesis, discourse and epistemology | Dirk van den Heuvel                                   |
| 110  | Mythopoiesis of Place and Culture: Aldo van Eyck, Herman Haan, and the Dogon | Karin Jaschke                                      |
| 126  | Laying a few traps — Remarks on Reima Pietilä’s lifework           | Aino Niskanen                                  |
Superstructures/structuralism

136 From Anthropology to Structuralism
Irénée Scalbert

144 Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente and Mat-building
Pablo Allard

Shifts around 1972

170 From Darmstädter Gespräch ('51) to the International Conference Architekturtheorie ('67)
Hartmut Frank

174 CIAM in the museum
Henk Engel

Reception after 1981

206 Team 10 and the School of Barcelona
Xavier Costa

210 Traces of a Birth and a sudden Murder: Team 10’s Siena Exhibition & Meeting, Autumn 1982
Marco Vidotto

222 Team 10 and the Dutch aftermath
Frits Palmboom
Introduction

This is the report of the congress ‘Team 10 - Keeping the Language of Modern Architecture Alive’, which was organised by the Faculty of Architecture, TU Delft, at 5 and 6 January 2006. It was dedicated to the work and ideas of Team 10 and concluded the Team 10 research project which resulted in the publication ‘Team 10 1953-81. In Search of a Utopia of the Present’, published with NAi Publishers, as well as the exhibition of the same name which was produced together with the Netherlands Architecture institute in Rotterdam.

Team 10 was a loosely organised group of individuals of mostly European architects. Core members were: Shadrach Woods, Alison and Peter Smithson, Aldo van Eyck, Giancarlo De Carlo, Georges Candilis and Jaap Bakema. They met within the CIAM – the international platform for modern architects that was dominated by Le Corbusier, Gropius and Giedion. After dismantling CIAM, Team 10 started to hold their own meetings. At these occasions they presented their projects, that served as vehicles for heated debates about the future course of modern architecture and urban planning. Wide-ranging questions that one discussed, concerned the welfare state and the rising consumer society, mass housing and ‘the greater number’, the role of history and context, the issues of collectivity and mobility, identity and modernization, participation and education. In doing so, Team 10 succeeded in shifting the discourse on architecture and urban planning, both in terms of epistemology as well as programme.

The exhibition and the book focused on the core members of Team 10. The conference, from which this current publication derives, provided the opportunity to widen our scope in order to include some of the other Team 10 participants as well, and to discuss other shifts in the architectural discourse parallel to Team 10. Besides this, it offered the possibility of a first evaluation of the Team 10 research project, and the formulation of questions for future research.

We were honoured to have two special guests for the opening session of our conference: Guillaume Jullian de la Fuente from Chili, and Manfred Schiedhelm from Berlin. Both attended various Team 10 meetings, and were responsible for two of the most seminal Team 10 projects. Jullian de la Fuente was the chef de bureau of Le Corbusier and co-designer of the Venice Hospital. Schiedhelm collaborated with Shadrach Woods on the scheme for the Free University in Berlin. A report of their conversation with Francis Strauven and Max Risselada is included in the book.

Invited keynote speakers were M. Christine Boyer, George Baird and Georges Teyssot. They were asked to reflect on the Team 10 history in more general terms: Boyer would discuss the practice of historiography in relation to the tradition of modern architecture,
Baird would reflect on the rise of postmodernism that paralleled the demise of the Team 10 discourse, and Teyssot would elaborate his critique of Foucault’s concept of heterotopia of 1967.

The larger part of the congress was dedicated to four parallel sessions with presentations of case-studies and discussions. These sessions focused on four separately defined themes. The sequence of the essays in this report follows the same structure. The themes are:

**Mythopoiesis**
In his famous ‘Homo Ludens’ Johan Huizinga discusses the elements of Mythopoiesis, stating that ‘conceptions are born as acts of the imagination’. This session aims to look at various positions in the postwar period that try to formulate humanist-existentialist alternatives to the seemingly dominance of the rationalist and positivist strand of modernist thinking.

**Superstructure and structuralism**
Within Team 10 and parallel to the group’s discourse a couple of all-encompassing approaches were developed that have been denominated with the terms of superstructures and structuralism. In a way, these approaches continued the prewar modernist concern for objective and collective architectural typologies, now combined with an interest in biology, linguistics and anthropology. This led to various new propositions, among which was the idea of Mat-Building.

**Shifts around 1972**
In the early 1970s the architecture discourse displayed a mixture of turmoil and indecision, without any position holding dominance. Around 1972 the case for autonomy of the discipline was forged, e.g. by the publication of ‘Five Architects’; it also brought a politicised Team 10 discourse to the US in the form of the Cornell lecture series organised by O.M. Ungers; and it saw radical countercultural experiments as well as experiments in participation and urban renewal.

**Reception after 1981**
In the 1980s younger generations of architects and critics started to look into the legacy of Team 10, partly out of dissatisfaction with the populist postmodernist rhetoric, and partly because they were educated by Team 10 members. This session presents various cases of appropriation and interpretation of Team 10 ideas throughout Europe.

*For more information on Team 10, see also www.team10online.org*
Max Risselada: I am happy to welcome you and to introduce you to our two most important guests: Manfred Schiedhelm and Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente. Although they were not part of the early meetings of Team 10, they became important later, because of the influential projects they worked on. For Manfred Schiedhelm this was the Berlin Free University, and for Jullian the Hospital of Venice. Both projects became part of the canon of Team 10.

Manfred Schiedhelm was born in Germany, in Warmes, and followed his courses to become an architect in Darmstadt, before he moved to Paris. Here he first worked for Bauduin Lotz, and in 1962 he started at the office of Candilis, Josic and Woods. He arrived at the office at the moment most of the ideas were developed. The office was put together – in the tradition of Le Corbusier – mostly out of foreigners. Of course, also Candilis, Josic and Woods were not French, coming from Georgia, Yugoslavia and the United States.

The early sixties was the start of the big European competitions, and Manfred Schiedhelm was involved in a couple of them, particularly the Frankfurt Römerberg competition (1962) and the competition for the Free University in Berlin (1963-1973). For Frankfurt the idea of the web was initially developed, but this building didn’t get built. The competition for Berlin, where the web-idea was again applied, was won and the building was executed in the period 1963-1973.

Schiedhelm became head of the branch which was setup to realise the Free University. And I think he worked on this project for almost 10 years. In this period he also got involved in the meetings of Team 10. In 1973 when the Free University was nearly completed, Schiedhelm organised a Team 10 meeting at the building. Unfortunately Woods couldn’t be there for he was very ill and died half a year later.

As all other Team 10 participants Schiedhelm was involved in teaching, both in the United States and at the TU in Berlin, where he had a chair for many years. He was also the guest editor of Deutsche Bauzeitung in the end of the seventies, when they made an edition on Team 10. This was a difficult period for team 10, and Schiedhelm certainly has seen team 10 in all its ups and downs.

Jullian Guillermo de la Fuente – who I will call Jullian in the rest of my talk – was born in Chili, where he graduated as an architect before he left for Europe – by boat in those days. In Paris he went to find work at Manfred Schiedhelm (l) en Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente at the Congress, 2006
Max Risselada: I am happy to welcome you and to introduce you to our two most important guests: Manfred Schiedhelm and Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente. Although they were not part of the early meetings of Team 10, they became important later, because of the influential projects they worked on. For Manfred Schiedhelm, this was the Berlin Free University, and for Jullian the hospital of Venice. Both projects became part of Team 10’s canon.

Manfred Schiedhelm was born in Warmes, Germany and trained to become an architect in Darmstadt, before moving to Paris. Here he first worked for Bauduin Lods, and in 1962 he started at the office of Candilis-Josic-Woods. He arrived at the office at the time when most of the ideas were being developed. The office was put together – in the tradition of Le Corbusier – mostly from foreigners. Of course, Candilis, Josic and Woods were not French, coming from Georgia, Yugoslavia and the United States.

The early ‘60s were the start of the big European competitions, and Manfred Schiedhelm was involved in a couple of them, particularly the Frankfurt Römerberg competition (1963) and the competition for the Free University in Berlin (1963-1973). For Frankfurt, the idea of the web was initially developed, but this building didn’t get built. The competition for Berlin, where the web idea was again applied, was won and the building was executed in the period 1963-1973.

Schiedhelm became head of the branch that was set up to realise the Free University and I think he worked on this project for almost 10 years. In this period he also got involved in the meetings of Team 10. In 1973, when the Free University was nearly completed, Schiedhelm organised a Team 10 meeting at the building. Unfortunately, Woods couldn’t be there for he was very ill and died half a year later.
Like all the other Team 10 participants, Schiedhelm was involved in teaching, both in the United States and at the TU in Berlin, where he held a chair for many years. He was also the guest editor of Deutsche Bauzeitung at the end of the ’70s, when they produced an edition on Team 10. This was a difficult period for Team 10; Schiedhelm has certainly seen Team 10 in all its ups and downs.

Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente – whom I will call Jullian in the rest of my talk – was born in Chile, where he graduated as an architect before he left for Europe – by boat in those days. In Paris he found work at the office of Le Corbusier in 1958. This happened at a rather important moment, for Le Corbusier had just sacked all his employees, and Jullian was the first person to work with him again. It was several months before other employees arrived, and during all this time Le Corbusier and Jullian were the only two in office. When Le Corbusier died in 1965, Jullian continued to work on the projects that were in process, the most important being the Venice hospital, which had started in 1963 – like the Free University. A first proposal for the hospital was presented in 1964, but the design process stretched to 1972, when for political reasons Venice decided not to build it. Jullian chose to have a short break as practising architect and started to teach in the United States. Later on he returned to Paris, where he established his own office. Some years ago he decided to give his archives to the faculty of architecture in Santiago, Chile. He now lives partly in Chile and partly in Boston.

Jullian’s involvement in Team 10 is indirect. He was an observer at the meeting in Royaumont (1962), and was present as a participant in Berlin in 1973. He might have been invited to other meetings, but didn’t come. Moreover Unger invited Jullian to Cornell to talk about Team 10 in 1972. Clearly, in Unger’s image, Jullian was part of the Team 10 group.

We asked them to be here together because they both worked on canonical projects at precisely the same period. Both have worked in very influential offices – and seen them from close up – and both were foreigners who came to Paris in 1958 and 1959.
Interview with Schiedhelm and Jullian de la Fuente


Venice Hospital, Le Corbusier, 1964-1972
The Free University and the hospital of Venice were important projects to be discussed at the meeting in Berlin in 1973, which had ‘matrix-building’ as its theme – Alison later transformed this term into ‘MAT-building’. The Free University was nearly finished, while the hospital of Venice was never built, and functioned as a parallel ghost-project. In this conversation, I hope we can discuss the birth of the projects, the development of ideas and the consequences of building, and how all these things influenced the process and the result.

We have decided to do this with a round-table-discussion, which will be started by Francis Strauven, who is a professor at Gent and who has studied these two projects. He is also the author of the biography on Aldo van Eyck, which makes him an expert on Team 10.

Francis Strauven: Let’s first start with a short presentation of some buildings that we will certainly discuss, so that everybody knows which projects we are talking about.

I will especially focus on the Venice hospital project, which was an atypical project in the career of Le Corbusier, at the end of his life. This is not a project with free-standing buildings in space, but rather the opposite. Here we see the development of some
kind of urban fabric, linking up with the existing city of Venice. It is a very horizontal structure, and the pattern of the roofs expresses an urban idea. As Max has already pointed out, the competitions for Frankfurt Römerberg and the Free University of Berlin were taking place in the same period. When we compare these projects, we see immediate similarities. Like the hospital, Frankfurt Römerberg is linked to the existing city and shows a structure that refers to the urban fabric. Candilis-Josic-Woods labelled this concept 'web'-building – as opposed to 'stem'-building, which was the concept for Toulouse-le-Mirail (1961). The web in Frankfurt makes use of a matrix, but is filled in a very complex way. The Free University in Berlin, which is actually not in the old city centre but on the outskirts of Berlin, takes the same stand.

The hospital was published for the first time in *Architectural Design* by Allen Conon. He refers to Frankfurt Römerberg and the Free University for good reason, because Woods used to visit Le Corbusier regularly at that time. It is not unlikely that Team 10 ideas were penetrating into Le Corbusier’s work, towards the end of his career.

Of course there are more references, such as the orphanage by Aldo van Eyck from 1959, which is, if you will, also a kind of web. I will not analyse the building because I could go on for hours. I will only focus on some important features. The most important difference with the web of Candilis-Josic-Woods is that the orphanage develops from
an open centre – in a centrifugal way. Another feature of this building is the structural similarity between the whole and the part. The whole building has a central square, just as every part has its little central square. We find the same correspondence between whole and part in Nagele. This correspondence is applied to get an overall coherence.

That idea was taken up by Piet Blom, who was at that time van Eyck’s most important student. He continued to study the centrifugal idea of part and whole. In 1959 he makes a housing project, which at first sight might look like something very randomly put together. Actually it was based on a sociological study, which led to different dwelling-typologies. He made a lot of these projects. In 1972 he made a plan for a new town between Amsterdam and Haarlem, Noah’s Ark. It was made out of little squares, which were neighbourhood units for about 10,000 inhabitants, linked up together in a huge urban texture. And that was an epitomising of van Eyck’s idea: the structural correspondence between part and whole, between house and city. Van Eyck took this project to Royaumont, really as an illustration of his ideas. And as you will all know, this project was heavily criticised by the Smithsons. It was a major conflict in the history of Team 10. Allison Smithson dismissed this project as a form of Fascism; van Eyck never got over that allegation.
If you read the account of Allison Smithson in *Architectural Design* it is as if the Ark were collectively rejected by Team 10, which is not at all true. This impression is created by her editing. In the original unedited drafts of the debate, there are several people who highly appreciate the project: I think of Kurokawa, I think of Wewerka, and I think especially of Jullian de la Fuente, who was there, and who had invited Piet Blom to come to the Atelier de rue de Sèvre in Paris. At that time they were working on the hospital in Venice, and when we look at Le Corbusier’s first sketches from 1964, we see a series of carré’s structured one way or another. He handed over these sketches to Jullian, together with a student housing project from 1925 that was never executed, consisting of a structure of small student cells united in a kind of urban fabric. This was perhaps the only example in Le Corbusier’s that showed a horizontal urban fabric. In this period Blom came to visit Jullian at the office of Le Corbusier, and brought his Holiday Project (1964) – he didn’t bring his Noah’s Ark, because he destroyed it.

**FS:** I would like to start with Manfred and ask him how the idea of a web was developed during the projects mentioned earlier. Also in the practice of Josic, Candilis and Woods it was a new thing. Where did the idea come from?

**Manfred Schiedhelm:** I had been working with the stem idea, which was used for the competitions in Toulouse and Bochum. We soon found out that the stem was a problematic model, for it didn’t succeed in reuniting different urban elements that we believed should work together. Therefore we were looking for a new model. I had a
wonderful experience in Venice where I discovered the different layers of fluids in the city – I mean literally: fluids in the form of canals, and overlain with a web of pathways and bridges. I was fascinated by that, and later, when I visited Manhattan, I found the same idea there, but much more Cartesian, much straighter; rigid in a good sense. It is very difficult to draw a line, and say: from here on, the web idea exists. There were many movements around that were pointing in the same direction. Even Jackson Pollock’s paintings, or wonderful examples of jazz that showed similar kind of interweavings. Seeing a city like a web just made perfect sense, whether you looked at Manhattan, Venice or the organisation of a German town like Mannheim. Moreover the web offered certain possibilities and advantages, such as the freedom of organization and the polycentric distribution of functions. These were important reasons for starting to investigate the idea of the web.

**FS:** The idea of a polycentric organisation seems very important indeed. I could ask Jullian the same question because at the same time you were working on the web at Le Corbusier’s office. But maybe I should first ask you how you got involved in Team 10?

**Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente:** This is a funny history. I was a very good friend of Shadrach Woods and I very often saw him in Paris. Because he was Irish and I was a Latin, we liked the same kind of drinks. That was not the most important part of our relationship, however. Woods invited me to participate in a meeting of Team 10 at Royaumont. So I went to Le Corbusier and said: ‘Monsieur Le Corbusier, can I go
to this meeting to see what is going on because I’m invited,’ but he said: ‘Out of the question, Jullian, you are not going there, because these people are bandits. They’re taking all my ideas, and never even thank me for it’. I said ‘OK’, shut my mouth and I waited. But one week before the Team 10 meeting was to take place, Le Corbusier called me to his office, and said to me: ‘Jullian, I think it is very important that you go to the meeting and tell me what is going on’. That was the beginning. That is why I went to the Team 10 meeting. That was my mission, to be a spy.

FS: Can you remember what you told Le Corbusier after returning from the meeting?

GGJdlF: I wrote an article on the meeting for Carré Blue – the French magazine that was very much influenced by Blaise Centrars. Actually it was Woods who was pushing me to write something about Royaumont. Before I sent the paper to Carré Blue, I showed the paper to Le Corbusier, and I was surprised because he picked it up and began to make a lot of marks in the text.

FS: The urban fabric that you developed for the Venice hospital shows influences from the web idea. How was it generated?

GGJdlF: When we started on the Venice hospital, Le Corbusier called me to his office – his cubical space of 2.26 by 2.26 – and for two hours told me what the problem of Venice was. That was the beginning of the project and when I got out of his room, Le Corbusier said that we had to start with a scheme similar to the student housing of the Cité Universitaire in Paris (1925)’. He gave me a drawing of that project. It was a horizontal building. He told me to keep this building in mind. The other thing he gave me was an article from Cité Radieuse, in which he took Venice as an example.
The ideas Le Corbusier had on Venice were all in that article. I began to work on the design, using the book and the drawing. But at a certain moment Le Corbusier came in and said: ‘We are going to do a high-rise building’, but I said that I didn’t think that was a good idea.

FS: He said that?

GJdIF: Yes, he did. Well, maybe he was joking. He spoke of twenty storeys high.

FS: Like in Olivetti?

GJdIF: Yes, like in Olivetti.

Now, to get into the schemes that you showed of Piet Blom, his plan with the swastikas, I have to say that it was an idea Le Corbusier was already working on before Piet Blom came with it. I showed Le Corbusier’s scheme to Piet Blom, because I was at that moment working on a project in Strasbourg, that was based on that scheme. This means Piet Blom saw what was going on and knew about it when he started his own schemes. A lot of ideas started with the palace of Strasbourg. You must know that there was a lot of interaction of ideas. I think the hospital of Venice was influenced by Team 10, but at the same time a lot of Le Corbusier’s models and ideas were taken over by Team 10 and others.

FS: But in case of the Venice hospital you were instrumental in flattening the building
It is not so simple. First, Le Corbusier was working on the Strasbourg building, and there was the museum in Tokyo. That building was intended to grow in different directions.

However, before we started on the hospital, I was working on Olivetti, a design that started with Le Corbusier’s plan for ‘l’usine verte’. This was also a flat building, that was entered on the upper level, and from there on you went down. A very typical kind of circulation.

So, the first five projects in which I was involved started as flat buildings. But in the case of Olivetti, Le Corbusier also soon wanted to go up with the building. I disagreed, but every time Le Corbusier came around, he would make Olivetti vertical again. I was taking it down, and Le Corbusier was taking it up. It was a big discussion.

FS: But that means that it was you, and your generation, who were introducing these horizontal buildings. And the references to existing urban fabric came from the same people.

GJdlF: First, you must know, in my generation Le Corbusier was like the Godfather. I mean that every time we had to design something, we went to see what he had been doing on the subject.

FS: But still Le Corbusier had never made a building like a new urban fabric – he never developed an alternative for his Cité Radieuse. Of course he did a couple of flat buildings, but they’re all in the countryside and do not refer to urban patterns. Also in
the way you describe the design-process of the hospital, I think we must conclude you played a very important role in the decision of making a horizontal structure.

**GJdlF:** I was there, lucky…

**MS:** It is probably a historian’s task to find out who drew which line at which moment, but I would say the cultural context is much more important. When the time is right for a new idea, the idea will come. Everybody at the time was working on alternatives to the problematic heritage of CIAM. Ideas like the web and the mat were just in the air. You only had to stretch out your hand and grasp them.

**MR:** When I went through the material for the Team 10 exhibition, I was very surprised to discover that the vertical organisation of housing was so self-evident. There was no discussion about it. When you were a modern architect in the ’50s, you made vertically organised housing projects, without question. I wonder where this changed and the groundscraper entered the discussion. There must have been a change of mood that made this happen.

**GJdlF:** Max, something is special about working with Le Corbusier. It was like working inside Pandora’s Box. We had all our toys: Le Corbusier projects, Le Corbusier ideas, Le Corbusier paintings, etc. We were like monks, and Le Corbusier was the Holy Spirit. He brought in the ideas and we followed him. We didn’t know where to, we only knew we had him around. That meant that every time we did a project, Le Corbusier arrived, he did a little drawing and we had to make an interpretation of what was going on there. And we went to search for it: oh my God, pilotis here….take this one, take that one, putting it all together.

And he would come along and make corrections or change the direction of the process. When I came to work in Paris, the first thing Le Corbusier said to me was: “We are going to make a building for the Americans. We are going to show them how to make architecture. You have to put all my ideas into this project’, and I thought: ‘oh my goodness!’ So I started with the design; I took the pilotis, I took all kind of things
from the office. And then he says: 'We don't have the sun here, but we have to put brise-soleils'. So I made this curve to form the brise-soleil, although there is no sun there. That was the nice thing about the Le Corbusier office. It was like an Italian boutique; it was a renaissance of ideas, and we were working there without thinking too much about what we were actually doing.

**MS:** To answer Max's question on where the idea of the *groundscraper* came from, one has to acknowledge the cultural context. At the time, a series of projects of the vertical kind had been built already, standing somewhere alone in a park, having all kinds of freeways around it. There were horrible examples in Berlin – one even by Gropius – and in many other places. That's why we started to rethink the whole theory of CIAM. In many cases we had to admit that CIAM was a failure. However, this should have already been recognised at an earlier stage, when you think for example about Plan Voisin. Today one wouldn't propose that, because one has had the experience of the horrible outcomes of places like Sarcelles.

**MR:** Now after we spoke about the office of Le Corbusier, what can we say in this respect about the office of Josic-Candilis-Woods, and particularly about the role that Woods played? He wasn't educated as an architect, and the story goes that Woods in fact never drew or sketched.

**MS:** The young people in the office – and I count Woods among them – started to protest against the CIAM way of design and planning, and also against Toulouse le Miraille. There the pedestrians are put on a platform, while the cars are on the ground, whereas it should be the other way round. We were really angry about these things, and that was the point when we tried to do something. Even though we admired heroes like Mies and Corbu, for their smaller projects, we saw that their work became problematic when they got involved in huge developments – with the sole exception of the unités. The series of housing slabs around the cities are very problematic, and in the last recording of Le Corbusier, the interviewer asks him what he things about those banlieu areas; Le Corbusier said he didn't want to talk
about it and that they were horrible places.

**MR:** How could the results of their big and small buildings be so different?

**MS:** It is very difficult to make a big building; they very rarely succeed. When you take the most wonderful buildings of Mies or Le Corbusier, you find that they all have a ‘seizable’ size. You can understand these buildings.

**FS:** I would like to return to Pandora’s Box: the office of Le Corbusier. Did the box, by the time of the 60s, include Team 10 ideas? And if so, what did they mean to the office?

**GJdlF:** When I began working on the hospital in Venice, there was a new cultural movement in Paris, as Manfred has already mentioned. The issue was how to add a new element to the Villa Savoye, so that I could deal with the continuity of the city. The aim was to create an element that didn’t have a determined shape, but instead was able to grow its way around and through the existing city. At that moment the influence of Aldo van Eyck was important, with his idea of the *in betweens*: a less determined space in between – and related to – more defined spaces. The problem of how to articulate that was very important to us. So, what is the hospital? It is a series of Villa Savoyes, mixed with the concept of continuity, and glued together with in-betweens.

Then we started trying some modern mathematics, and I was trying to work on the theory on group-form. It had to do with a sensibility for the organisation of different scale-levels, but also with finding ways of making everything not too complicated.

While searching for the definition of the perfect type of organisation, I remember I was writing big formulas on the blackboard, with X going up, going down, and Z going all kind of ways. Then Le Corbusier looked at it and said: ‘Jullian, maybe it’s better if you do your little collage instead’. That collage was in fact how we solved the hospital. Of course the hospital had a very complex form, and we were working with a lot of
different people, which made it even more difficult. I created a system, actually some kind of game, in which the plan was split up into many units. Every time we discussed the project with the hospital doctors, we didn’t show them the entire plan, but only the units that would be at issue. Later on in the office, we started to put all these units together, one by one, six metre by six metre.

**FS:** But I presume you were looking for references from others who were dealing with the same issues? You have already mentioned Aldo van Eyck, and you also invited Piet Blom to Paris at the same period.

**GJdlF:** I invited Piet Blom because I sympathised with him when I was in Royaumont. When I took him to the office in Paris, I didn’t tell Le Corbusier about it, and we went during the night. I took Piet there just to show him what we were doing. Later on I invited a group of friends – and also Piet Blom – to present the hospital, but this became a drama. I was fighting with all these French architects.

**MR:** They disagreed?

**GJdlF:** Yes, they disagreed, and they shouted ‘merde’, and Piet didn’t know what was going on.

**MR:** Can you say something more about the design process of the hospital? Because it is interesting that seven years went by between Le Corbusier’s initial sketch and the construction drawings. What happened to the design in those years and what were the important changes?

**GJdlF:** The scheme for the Venice hospital went through different stages. Le Corbusier died while we were working on the project, and I was put in charge of the project. The Italians asked me to continue. In this situation I had to make plans in accordance with Le Corbusier’s first schemes. We began to develop the plan in order to arrive at construction-drawings. What was important is that we developed a system of
structures: there was the superstructure that dealt with the city, and there was the structure within, which was important for the units. This helped us separate different issues, and gave us the possibility of using different types of thinking on different levels. In this way we were able to put the things together.

Another important thing that happened in those years is that I got more experience with the existing fabric of Venice, and used this in the design. I spent a lot of time studying what happened in the city, and I tried to relate the design of the structure to what I saw there. I measured certain spaces in the existing city, and used this in the design – for example the campiello in the hospital has the same dimensions as the Santa Maria Formosa. These things were important, for the hospital had to be some kind of organism that grew out of the existing city, without a prescribed form.

**MR**: And the form in the end came forth out of the main structure.

**GJdIF**: When the scale of the hospital became really large, I decided that all the facades were going to be different. In fact I was working like the old Spanish architects who came to a city with a little plan in their pocket – not much more than a scheme – which they put on the site and then started to adjust to the situation. During the process, I found there were many design-issues that came with the particular delicacy of Venice. The cultural circumstances are so important in a place like that that it is much more complex to make architecture. It takes a Giancarlo de Carlo to do that.

**MS**: Yes, and the interesting thing about Giancarlo de Carlo and Team 10 was that they studied history, but they didn’t apply it right away – as happens often with post-modern architecture, reducing history to one-dimensional themes. Instead, Team 10 tried to understand the essence of history, and to link it with today’s problems. That approach fascinated me and I believe it’s much more interesting than the schemes of Blom – those swastikas – for I believe a city can function much better without these rigorously designed hang-ups.
MR: Perhaps it would be good to look at the Free University now. Could you say something about the development of the project after the competition was won and about – let’s say – the contradictions of architecture’s life in reality?

MS: Of course the result of a project is always weaker than the original idea. What made this project exceptional is that, we have to admit, we didn’t know anything about building. The office had sent us to Berlin, but none of us had any experience with building on that scale. And we postulated everything. We said that progressive design should be matched by progressive techniques. At certain points we failed, because we didn’t know too much, but fortunately we had a fantastic man, Prouvé, who helped us discover a sort of facade system. However, the result hangs way behind the initial plan. The basic idea was that the design would be made by setting up a couple of rules, and that within those restrains everybody from the office could fill in one part. Everybody got a piece of the programme and made a part of the plan. The designs were totally different and I thought that was a positive thing. I put the parts together and I said to Candilis, Josic and Woods: ‘let’s build it like this’, but they disagreed and said that we couldn’t do that. We had this big chunk and that meant so much fee and so on. I failed to convince them – I was the youngest one at the time; I still think it would have suited the building perfectly if we had given every designer one piece. And hang the fee. The result would have been a much more varied building, in which some pieces were built with steel, others with aluminium, others with brick and so forth.

Georges Teyssot: Where did the co-operation with Prouvé go wrong?

MS: It went wrong when the facade leaked. We had trusted this fantastic man, who had been of great help. He had done very good work until that point and, but when we were testing his facade – placed by a French firm – was leaking terribly. Of course the weather conditions in Berlin were much worse than in France. Than there were some changes and there was a new test, but it leaked again. So everybody started to complain, which was very painful. We had to do all the drawings again with another
kind of facade. Later on, a government engineer came to check the new facade. He started to hang tons of steel to test if the facade was strong enough. I didn’t dare ook, for the facade was all made with flexible joints – rubber and neoprene. I thought, ‘Tomorrow the facade will break down,’ but when we arrived the next morning it was still hanging. However, I have to say it was a very painful process to go through.

**Georges Teyssot**: Since Prouvé designed and produced all the panels in France at that time, the whole modernist architecture of France is leaking.

**MR**: Let’s go to the audience. Any questions?

**George Baird**: You mentioned some examples that led to the web idea, like Milete. I was thinking about another reference that seemed to have been influential, and that is the palace of Split – or at least Bakema’s interpretation of it. Did this play a role in the development of the web?

**MS**: Not for me.

**MR**: I think Bakema’s article on Split was only published in *Forum*, and therefore internationally not so well known. It was never shown at a Team 10 meeting.

**MS**: But the orthogonal street system was a well-known historical thing, you could see it in Hercolaneum, and many places. And it made sense; you could generate much more freedom with it, instead of being stuck with a swastika.

**George Baird**: You gave a clear critique on Toulouse because the pedestrians are not on the ground, but in the Free University the pedestrians aren’t on the ground either.

**MS**: They are absolutely on the ground.

**MR**: But there’s a basement.
MS: Yes, we had to bring that it, to get the building approved by the fire department. The area covered by the building was too big, and the firemen wouldn’t have been able to get close enough with their engines if there were a fire in the centre of the area. Therefore we had to go underneath the ground, to give them an access-road. That was certainly a big and difficult compromise we had to make.

Irenee Scalbert: I was wondering whether you and your colleagues knew what was happening at the office of Le Corbusier and the hospital, and what kind of interest that raised.

MS: Yes, there was a close relationship between the offices. We knew about the hospital and we worked and discussed together on the same issues. Therefore I think it’s nonsense to try to find out who did something first, because we were all working on the same thing.

Karin Jaschke: At the Free University project, was there a particular idea of how the building would be used, and how inhabitation of the structure would take place? Was there a particular social plan?

MS: Yes, very much so. We were thinking all the time of how things could be used, and how more functions could be added. We were talking about housing on top, and about restaurants and shops in the building. The municipality said they would make a huge mensa and that the effect would be the same as the proposed shops. We were sorry that we didn’t manage to integrate more things, like pizzerias or other stuff. We fought particularly for getting housing integrated, but housing was a separate department in the municipality and it was impossible to get them involved. Fortunately the students started to take things over in some places. Now there is rose-coloured area for homosexuals and other such things. What is said however is that the caretakers didn’t like the students getting on the roof, and they closed it off. Also they closed almost all of the entrances – it used to be open at all sides – which ruined the
Udo Garritzman: How was the building put together in the end? When I look at the plans it seems there is a lot of correspondence between the different floors, where this doesn’t follow from the free plan, the columns and the idea of the web. Has it to do with the facade? Or with the measures of the rooms and the logic of their organisation?

**MS:** If there is any correspondence between the floor-plans, it is pure coincidence. It certainly doesn’t have anything to do with the facade. We tried to solve each floor without looking at the other floors or the facades. We kept on adding rooms, and tried to apply the modulor, although this was hard to combine with the structure of the columns. We had a fear of aesthetics at that time; related aspects in architecture were simply denied. We said: ‘To hell with aesthetics, to hell with architecture with a big A’. I think totally differently today. Something was lost and it is still lost today I believe.

**Karin Theunissen:** You were talking about the initial idea for Berlin, which was that there would be a set of rules, and that different people would work on different parts of the building. What in that case were the rules?

**MS:** We had a grid of streets, which were spread 65 metres apart, which is the distance you walk in one minute. The building was not allowed to rise higher than two storeys. Within this the system was completely flexible. Only later did we add a diagonal route, because after a while I thought the rectangular idea was too rigid. The route makes its way across the gardens. Probably the doors to these gardens are by now closed too. One more thing: I had always envisioned the streets open to the air, at least at the highest level. I think this was essential, but my partner thought the climate in Berlin was too harsh. Still I think a street needs clouds and sun, and so on. I think this would have been stronger.

**MR:** Perhaps we have still time to talk about that moment of ‘73 when the meeting was in Berlin, and partly took place inside the Free University. The building was just finished.
and Team 10 had a big discussion about it. One of the issues was what the function of a matrix was, and what it should do for a building as an instrument. I remember that some people, especially de Carlo, were talking about the matrix as a system of measures that was important for a building to make it comprehensible – a classical idea about measures. Therefore he was very much against the idea that the matrix was also the constructional system. For him, this should not be the intention of the matrix. The location of the columns should be defined in a different way. Do you remember that discussion and what was the meaning of the matrix in the Free University?

**MS:** It depends on what you call the matrix. I would prefer to call the spatial system in the Free University a flow-system. This defined the corridors and the routes in the building and in our design had nothing to do with the constructional system. The place of the columns stood apart from this. Within the corridors, the in-between fabric was totally free.

**MR:** If we compare this to the superstructure of the hospital in Venice, what did this structure do for the building?

**GJdlF:** The structure of the hospital developed in different stages. The scheme that Francis showed earlier was an initial idea. Later on, when we worked on it, we developed and transformed the scheme. An important thing was the scale: when we started to work more elaborately on the design we got a much better feeling of the scale of the building and what we wanted to do with the spaces. So, from the beginning there was the idea of the swastika, but we transformed it, after having studied the urban fabric of Venice, and we made relationships between the centres of the swastikas. And my idea was that when the building was built and occupied we would adjust the parts further so that in the end all the swastikas would be different, according to the particular use.

**FS:** That is the refreshing idea of the scheme.
**GJdlF:** It was not only a scheme, or at least not only an *abstract* scheme, because we were measuring all kind of things in Venice to get an idea of how things got used, and to see forms of occupation that we could apply in our building with the programme we had. Of course the building was to become a hospital, but it would be used by Italians, and it had to become part of their city. So, we had to know how they ate, the way they moved, when they were in or outside their beds. And more. The building should be more than a machine; it had to involve all these poetics of everyday life.

Another thing that we important to us while we were working on the hospital was the horizon. Because of the water, the horizon had two sides: one of the city and one of the reflected city. There was something mysterious and poetic in that; the reflection made Venice like one of Italo Calvino’s cities: one up and one down.

Everything got transformed all of the time. We made models, and then changed them completely, and made new ones. Of course we had to show facades and plans to discuss them with the people from the hospital and the municipality, but these were always temporary stages of the design process. The hospital was a compound of many different ideas.

The building had to be more than one idea; we would never make a scheme and say: ‘this is the project’. The hospital had to be the result of a process that involved everything that was in the air: ideas about structures and superstructures, ideas about a big box with all these little things going on inside, ideas about light, water and reflection, and so on. You see, these were in fact very different concepts, but we used them all, and at the same time. We were navigating in unknown territory, and we usually had just a very vague view of where we were going.

I remember that the first time I came to Venice, I took a hostel, and on the outside was a sign that said ‘con vista del laguna’. When I went to my room, I found out there wasn’t any view of the lagoon, so I went back to the owner and said ‘you’re deceiving me’, and I begged for a room with a view. He didn’t understood the problem and said that I had to open the window, and lean out: ‘There it is’. That is how we worked on the hospital.

**Audience:** [Laughter].

**MR:** OK, I’m afraid we need to end there because of the time. Thank you very much for offering us all this information, knowledge and poetry.
Interview with Schiedhelm and Julian de la Fuente
Team 10, Keeping the Language of Modern Architecture Alive
I. Keeping alive the language of Modern Architecture

Le Corbusier did not attend the CIAM 10 meeting in Dubrovnik, but nevertheless sent a letter from Cap Martin where he was vacationing. The evolution of CIAM, he believed, was a generational issue between those of 1928 (the founders) and those of 1956 (who were now over forty years of age). Before passing the baton to the younger generation, however, Le Corbusier felt it necessary to repeat the principles on which CIAM had been founded: solidarity amongst those who believed that architecture and urbanism were one; plus solidarity amongst those who prepared the Athens Charter and obtained worldwide recognition of its principles. This first CIAM held housing (that is equipping the new machine civilization) to be its major concern and towards this end it had formulated a program, detailed and prioritized all the necessary chapters of the book.

Now the job of ‘conquering’ was finished and many founders so rigid in their ways, it was impossible for the first CIAM to continue. Le Corbusier understood that the younger generation of 1956 was interested in practical action, based on worldwide needs expressed through facts and he believed this stress on action carried into fruition the ideas of the first CIAM. Still it would be necessary, he wrote, for this younger generation to create a new coherent program so that in thirty years time it too could pass on the baton to a still younger generation. In 1956 the second CIAM had picked up the relay of the first CIAM and therefore Le Corbusier felt there was no need for him to be present at Dubrovnik.

Just what did ‘picking up the baton’ and continuing the relay mean to members of Team 10, who were the generation of 1956? And how did this issue of continuity translate into the invention of a new language of modern architecture? Team 10 soon embarked on a journey (1956-1981) during which time they would debate intensely the meaning...
of images, the use of words and aesthetic expressions, the invention of new words, ideas and architectural forms. The working program for the next meeting to be held in 1959 at Otterlo in the Netherlands was sent to invitees by the ad hoc organizing group (Bakema, Candilis and Voelcker, with Ernesto Rogers, Alfred Roth, André Wogenscky). It underscored their intent to ascertain ‘if a true affinity of thought exists between participants, not only in spoken and written words, but more profoundly on the level of plastic invention, through the communication of direct building ideas.’ 3 So words and things, ideas and inventions sketched an outline for the relay of CIAM from the start.

In 1960, when Architectural Design (AD) offered Alison Smithson the opportunity to edit a special issue on CIAM Team 10, a task that involved snipping and cutting notes from discussions on projects held at Otterlo, she decided to conclude with a statement Giancarlo de Carlo had prepared.4 His last written lines raised the following question: whether an international organization like CIAM in its best days, one that might even be based on its best traditions, ‘may keep alive the debate on architectural culture.’ 5

In order to describe this ‘debate’ de Carlo noted that Team 10 continued the discourse of CIAM by comparing different examples of built work but grounded their discussions on ‘factual data’ investigating basic principles and means end analyses embedded within these practical works. This took their discussions beyond the nature of the ‘generic’ that had paralyzed post-war CIAM meetings. All the members of Team 10 agreed that CIAM had reached a dead end, unable to agree even on the language it should adopt to carry forward the modern movement. The older generation believed that modern architecture was established and its significance agreed upon; hence only small improvements or variations around its central rules were necessary to ensure its survival in the future. De Carlo thought to the contrary: to breath new life into modern architecture

‘leads [us] back to a radical reconstitution of the language which arises from the emotive solicitude of general observations (the machine age, mass
production, the great city) but emerges in its pure state freeing itself from the original contamination of its destination and use.'

Worn-out prototypes (such as man, society, and nature) and inanimate diagrams (such as the static grille) must be discarded allowing an uncorrupted language to bring vitality back to the field of architecture and ‘exert its purifying influence on Society as well, resolving its contradictions.’

Le Corbusier had followed this road with unwavering impetus and coherence. He had created his own language, its grammatical elements plus its syntax and poetical terminology. Through a series of projects, from articles of everyday use to the city, he revealed

‘the nodal points of a new universal style. But a language put together intellectually and in cold blood, basing its structure on an authoritative pretension which on principle holds itself aloof from the painful movement of contradiction, becomes rigid in form which rejects any possibility of communication with reality. Its roots must necessarily lie in the most abstract reasons – geometry – and in order to acquire an appearance of life must nourish itself with the most exciting estrangements – lyricism. For this reason Le Corbusier does not comprehend space which is not metaphysical or monumental or phantascientific, that is not in direct relation to the life which goes on within it on a human scale.’

Having had his say about Le Corbusier’s language of architecture, De Carlo still recommended that Team 10 pick up the relay that Le Corbusier offered: to keep alive the language of modern architecture yet simultaneously not allow what the older generation had, that is the ‘significant coexistence of contrarieties.’

To underscore Team 10’s intent to keep alive the language of architecture, Alison often selected supportive material inserted here and there as she snipped and
pasted together the Otterlo discourse. She reflects back to a discussion among Dutch architects on Neue Sachlichkeit in 1942. This idea it was stated would no longer be stimulating for postwar architects because it concentrated on things that can be analyzed.

‘Just the things which cannot be touched by words, analyses and reports have to be touched by architecture. The relationship man to man is too narrow, it must be man+nature+idea about nature. Shall we travel, not only to the moon, but shall we travel in total universal space?
To make man familiar with space ‘endlessness’, will become the main function of the art of making space (architecture).’ 9

At another point Alison inserts, under a section subtitled ‘Mood’, a complaint Aldo van Eyck made at Bridgwater CIAM 6 in 1947 (Theme: The human community in modernist civilization). He said CIAM refused to overhaul outworn values believing it could simply ‘evolve a transformed language to express what is being analogously transformed [in civilization]. No rational justification of CIAM can therefore satisfy us [the younger generation].’ CIAM excludes imagination, which he concluded was ‘the prime detector of change.’ 10

Keeping alive modern architecture meant constituting a new expressive language of form, at least that is what Le Corbusier had requested of them. Bakema wrote in 1957 that the variety of different ways of living is expressed in different types and thus a modern architect must draw up comparisons and never lose sight of the relativity of a given way of life if his concern is to maintain a democratic way of life. ‘The variety of types... is an essential part of the architectural expression, and the relation between the types is of decisive influence of the development of each type in itself.’ .... ‘Form is a visual means of communication between people. The modern movement cannot ignore this without losing quality.’ 11

Bakema mentioned this ‘possibility of comparison’ in an ‘Open letter to A. and P.’
Smithson’ written the year before in 1956. He explained ‘A society in which members are human beings exploring each in their own way the place where roots grow and where things began is not only an ideal but is becoming more and more a reality.’ These ‘roots’ and ‘beginnings’ will always be expressed in ways of living. Thus comparison of ways of living, Bakema argued ‘is one of the most important tools for recognizing life. This is the basic element of new democracy.’ Bakema was writing a few short months before CIAM 10 would convene at Dubrovnik trying to clarify its focus on ‘habitat’. But he was also writing a day after receiving MoMA’s 1955 catalogue ‘The Family of Man’ He was sure that a ‘new’ type of housing, ‘a visual group’ would result from integrating existing possibilities of styles of living which he saw evidenced in the catalogue. He wondered whether the Smithsons agreed, thus he proposed that they offer possibilities fitting the English context as he would do for the Dutch.12 Little did Bakema know how ‘English’ their proposals would be.

Parallel to Bakema’s proposal of the ‘comparison of types of living’ Alison and Peter Smithson wrote their own draft framework for CIAM 10 discussions, in which they assumed an agreement had been made by the group that the most promising mode of analysis would be considering each entity of Urbanism to be a form of ‘Human Association’. They tentatively called this the ‘ecological concept of Urbanism’ and suggested it led to the analysis of communities in their varying degrees of complexity. The problem of habitat, the Smithsons believed, must be studied as a whole thing in a network of other whole things.

‘The words, the entities, may change. At CIAM 10 we may put our finger on this change and find new patterns of association, but we must start by recognising what society has thrown up, recognised over the whole world not by size but in the spirit, to which we given the name, City, Town, Village, Isolate. We are not interested/concerned with forms of Habitat that do not recognise their parents, deny their umbilical cord, are part of no community.’

Secondly the Smithsons assumed that agreement had been reached on what they
referred to as the ‘doorstep philosophy’: clarifying that the basic relationship between people and life begins with the contact at the doorstep between man and man. It is the relationship between things that is of prime importance: ‘the wonder of the moment the plane is touching the earth.’ 13 ‘We must resolve the polarities, individual-collective permanence-change physical-spiritual inside-outside part-whole which we no longer believe to exist.’

Team 10 would continue to meet after Otterlo in order to discuss together their built work and Alison would continue to summarize in the pages of AD their discussions. The opening message of the ‘Team 10 Primer 1953-1962’ when it appeared in AD December 1962 was carried in a quotation from Aldo van Eyck at Otterlo.15 ‘Each period requires a constituent language – an instrument with which to tackle the human problems posed by the period, as well as those which, from period to period, remain the same, i.e. those posed by man – by all of us as a primordial being.’ 16 ‘The language architects evolved, however, and this after the pioneering period was over, coincides only with itself and is, therefore, essentially sterile and academic – literally abstract.’ 17 Bakema had already surmised in 1951 that the vocabulary man utilizes to create environments has enlarged and become richer. ‘So now the whole alphabet has to be used. We have to harmonize life on the ground and life which is in touch with the horizon.’ 18 As Aldo proclaimed: ‘What you should try to accomplish is built meaning. So, get close to the meaning and build!’

Alison inserted an odd selection from a 1959 RIBA lecture given by Reyner Banham on ‘Futurism’, odd because Banham was not a member of Team 10 discussions, but Alison must have found it underscored her intent. Banham claimed that no one teaches style, or a plastic system pertaining to architecture.
'This escape from style is reflected, quite naturally, in the buildings that are going up around us. It would be wrong to say that the builders are using the language of building badly, because they have not realized there is such a thing as a language of building: they do not know the words from which to construct sentences in my opinion, an architecture which is incoherent is useless.... One finds more and more that one is talking in a stylistic void. Such a stylistic void makes any teaching, any writing, any talking, almost a waste of time.'

Obviously how an architectural language expresses meaning concerned the members of Team 10, for the same year Peter Smithson was a curator of an exhibition on Le Corbusier in the Burlington Galleries. He surmised that one had only to make a comparison between the Barcelona Pavilion and the Villa Savoie, or Mies’ building at the Weissenhof Siedlung and that of Le Corbusier’s to see what he meant by the proclamation ‘Mies is great but Corb communicates’. Le Corbusier was the great visionary who could cause a man to leave home and start a new life.

Peter’s concern with architectural meaning and aesthetic expressions continued. In 1960 he declared

‘It is highly probable that the objects that we are so painfully devising might be the wrong ones and it is a good thing every now and then to let other specialists into one’s private world to see if their specialization makes one’s own irrelevant or, what is more probable, to produce mutual modifications of concepts. It is particularly obvious, for example, in the case of cars and signs and roads and buildings, that the underlying concepts are wrong, and it is quite mad to think in terms of styling and not in terms of change in the total living pattern, not in any philosophical sense, but pragmatically as things affect the use of other things.’
Styles of expression, concepts and meaning were Peter’s focus. ‘As far as architecture is concerned, [he continued] the question of appropriateness is a matter for radical organizational thinking; but it is also a question of language. What are the appropriate organizational forms of buildings and building groups which respond to today’s needs? How is the response to this need to be communicated? If no forms are discovered and no suitable language is evolved, the needs are not met and there remain unfulfilled, undefined longings in society as a whole.’ 23

When *AD*’s *Primer* was reprinted in book form in 1968, Alison inserted a section on ‘How to read the *Primer*’ perhaps because the underlying meaning of her random snippings and pastings, what she called an open matrix of comparison in which the reader could get lost, was far from coherent and the naive ideas most difficult to fathom. She explained this collection of documents and diagrams were the ones that individual Team 10 members thought central to their individual positions. It was also a history of ideas, how root concepts grew and changed due to contact with each other and how through the publication of these ideas in their naive form enabled them to continue life. Each section developed a root idea belonging to one person or group, i.e. ‘urban infra-structure’, ‘grouping of dwellings, and ‘doorstep’. Commentary, Alison noted, was placed on the sides as counterpoint to the main argument. 24

A preface composed of ‘reinstated convictions’ collected from Team 10 members in 1967 was also inserted into the original material. It opens with a statement by Erskine explaining the purpose behind the continued meetings of the ‘family’ members of Team 10. It was hoped that through the continued interchange of ideas the members could achieve ‘a certain excellence in our own work, – in architecture and community building, in speech and writing.’ 25 Alison followed this by de Carlo’s conviction:
‘If forms appear expressive, unexpressive, unrhetorical, ambiguous, unambiguous, open, closed, elemental, complex, and so on, each of these reflects a difference on the theoretical lines and on the ideological background. ... To assess the reason of our being together implies now a confrontation of the whole system of our personal behaviour from ideology, to theoretical lines, to forms.’ 26

More inserted statements follow underscoring the search for an expressive language to match the times. Charles Pologni felt that AD ’s Primer as dictionary need not be revised only updated here and there to the Team 10 way of thinking. ‘Dialogues provoked in that way and the continuous contact between members will help in the evolution of the ideas, enabling them to continue their life.’ 27 He explained that root ideas first formulated in Team 10 meetings, continued their life through publications, built works, and teaching all over the world. ‘The Team 10 Primer became a widely used dictionary in this dialogue. But a good dictionary doesn’t make the poet. Not even everyone using the same dictionary arrives at the same meaning for a given word.’ 28 Thus in order to make the reader aware of the emotional sensitivity of dialogue by those who agreed on at least generalities, the family membership had to be restricted to a few. A larger organization might be good for creating manifestos, ‘but ideas can’t be developed, can’t be kept alive that way. Just as a fire always goes out if a small number of people are not on fire themselves. Team 10 is needed to keep the Primer alive.’ 29

Alison ends this preface with a letter of conviction sent to her from Shadrach Woods. He sums up the situation neatly: there are two paths the architect can take. The architect can either think about solutions or about problems. The first is a dead end: it looks backwards and applies solutions and knowledge that is already old. The second is future-oriented and this is the path Team 10 must take. ‘We have to think otherwise, to image une architecture autre (and other politics); as we began to do together..... and, with all the best will in the world, I believe that we owe it to ourselves to go a good bit further along this road together.’ 30
By 1991, the idea of keeping alive the language of Modern Architecture so that it was worthy of inheritance and pushing Team 10 further along the road had taken on definitive shape and could be clearly outlined in the volume entitled *team 10 meetings* again edited by Alison Smithson. 31 Alison now declared with assurance that following CIAM 9 at Aix-en-Provence in 1953, where the phrase ‘Life falls through the net of the four functions’ was first enunciated, Team 10 came together in order to accept not only their inheritance of the principles of the Heroic Period of Modern Architecture, which they had begun to re-evaluate, but to move beyond the modernists’ ‘simple dreams’ into something more complex, something attuned to a changing society increasingly in flux from one continent to another. While not repudiating the four functions, still Team 10 ‘wanted a more delicate, responsive, net.’ New vigor needed to be inserted into the morality of the modern movement, and a new ‘spirit of hope’ instilled within the inhabitants of their built spaces.32

When members of the future Team 10 met in Aix-en-Provence, they were aware intuitively that a common language of modern architecture was no longer spoken at CIAM having devolved into personal expressions erupting sometimes into shouting matches in different national languages.33 Aix was the first meeting of CIAM that Alison and Peter participated in and where they displayed their Urban Re-Identification Grid. They intentionally joined the discussion group of Commission 6 ‘La Charte de l’habitation’ because they were pressing to introduce a new vocabulary into the subject of housing. Their provocative grid transformed CIAM’s four functions of housing, working, recreating and circulating into a set of associative relationships or links that tie together the house, street, district, and city. They disapproved, for example, of the word ‘neighborhood,’ its imagery too powerful to be useful, and they argued strenuously in Dubrovnik for its replacement by ‘cluster’ like a ‘cluster of grapes.’ 34 At Aix they had been, called the grid presented by GAMMA of Morocco (Housing for the Greatest Number) a ‘flashpoint’ and immediately grasped that an inventive leap had been taken into a new language of architecture generated by patterns of inhabitation found by examining the everyday living environments of bidonvilles and traditional
villages of North Africa. This paralleled their own grid on ‘human associations’ on the left side of which were inserted Nigel Henderson’s photographs of children playing in the streets of Bethnal Green, a working class district of London’s East End, juxtaposed on the right side with reworked plans and sections from their Golden Lane Housing project of 1952.

Alison could explain retrospectively in 1991 and hence more clearly than before that members of Team 10 and their invited guests could be considered to be inventors of a new language of modern architecture based on their ability to ‘ideate’. She was clear about the reason why she had become the historian of ideas for Team 10, tracing out how their concepts evolved as they met together and exchanged ideas. In order to answer the challenge Le Corbusier had addressed to them in his letter sent to Dubrovnik, she wrote rhetorically ‘[w]ill it [all this knowledge and information that she had assembled about Team 10] help you [the reader] regenerate the language of Modern Architecture so that it would again be worth inheriting?’

Team 10 would eventually offer an entire list of new concepts that an extended language of modern architecture must absorb in an inventive leap: ‘choice; identity; possibilities for change; connection (both actual and the sense of); protection from violation (by noise; of one’s sense of privacy; and so on); release from pressures of all kinds.’

From the start, however, Alison was not sure what to do with Aldo van Eyck and his penchant for structuring his writing around quotations. She noted this ‘technique of thinking we did not find fresh enough.’ Not only could Aldo shift language about with great ease – utilizing French, German or English in a single presentation – but to Alison’s great annoyance at Aix he was constantly whispering. By the Dubrovnik meeting, his antics were deployable: after reading only a page or two of Alison’s notes recording their conversations he flushed them down the toilet.
Eventually there would be an outright clash between the Smithsons and Aldo van Eyck. It started when Giancarlo de Carlo began to organise the 1966 meeting at Urbino around a theme suggested by the Smithsons, Shardrach Woods and himself on ‘the relationship of “to move” and “to stay” in the urbanization process.’ The Smithsons wanted to restrict the number of invitations so that the working group would continue to examine built work and not devolve into a reunion congress. Van Eyck was more open, believing that if this ‘fanatical you’re-in- and- you’re- out spirit’ continued, Team 10 would cease to exist in the future. Evidently Van Eyck won the debate, but now an argument over whether historians should be allowed to attend their meetings ensued. The Smithsons, Woods, and De Carlo believed their presence would change the working together nature of the meetings. Van Eyck thought this exclusion ‘absurd,’ writing to De Carlo he proclaimed

‘Our attitude must be critical and inclusive, never intolerant and exclusive.... That the theme should be thus clipped is of course out of the question altogether. Those who wish and are able to deal with the theme mentioned should of course go ahead. Those who do not wish to, or are not able to, are free to contribute according to their own judgement. This is the only course we can take.’

The Smithsons did not attend the Urbino meeting, so the inevitable airing of differences in public did not take place. They merely sent a brief position statement proclaiming: ‘We are not a Team without an agreed start[ing] point.’ Obviously the irreversible process of aging of the generation of 1956 had begun: they no longer held a common method of approach, or shared and spoke a common language. The fatal question had been raised: should Team 10 continue or cease to exist?42

A call went out for a ‘reinstatement of convictions’ – Alison collected the responses and edited them for inclusion as the preface to the re-edition in book form of the Team 10 Primer (1968). It was clear that the ‘family’ was turning inward on itself while the political context of the Vietnam war, the call for citizen participation in community
redevelopment projects, larger protests over Urban Renewal projects in general, and challenges to the Welfare State were politicizing group discussions in ways that could not be contained. Team 10 began to show signs of splitting apart.43

Aldo van Eyck clarified his meaning of open-endedness in an essay entitled ‘A Miracle of Moderation’ in 1969. ‘To force conception and perception (concept and the data found to support it) to coincide completely is to contract rather than to extend the meaning of either. The poetry lies in the persistence of scope – scope for undefined and latent multimeaning.’ 44

The ‘family’ of Team 10 would continue to meet and to discuss – even if they were a very small group. The 1970s were troubling times: the muteness of modern architecture now under attack by a younger generation of post-modern architects who longed for an architecture of communication. If architecture was to speak then some believed it must be decorated with visual signs that could be read, or at least relate visually to the image of the street through materials and icons. The historic preservation movement was also on the rise, cordonning off whole sections of cities and entire historic towns from any modern intrusions. These efforts to attain an ‘architecture parlante’ is not what Team 10 had meant by the morality of built forms, a democratic way of living, or form as visual communication. Yet even more troubling to Team 10 must have been the growing pessimism expressed in the 1970s that the future was lost, history ended, so any attempt to foresee the future, to plan for its betterment were naive statements ill fated at best. Team 10’s moral commitment to think together the future as a way of making it, was a utopian ideal now considered to be as moribund as the original language of modern architecture had been. Ad hoc architectural expressions and short-term social adjustments were all that should be allowed.

By 1977, it was felt, particularly by the Smithsons, that the collaborative meaning of Team 10 needed to be re-emphasized, as individual expressions seemed to thwart their collective efforts. Peter attempted to draw up ‘A proposition at Bonnieux’ hoping to summarize their working method. The essence of Team 10, he claimed, was its ‘design morality’ and this allowed each member to design reciprocally with each other, as well
as with the past.

‘Architecture in the present is inevitably fumbling and intuitive, in flux from day to day, without a clear face until that which is bearable at last presents itself. This will make reciprocity between designers also an affair of last moments, but the deeper underpinning of the shared morality, the shared intention, and the common formation of mind of those in the same generation should make these last moments fruitful. We believe we are under the obligation to try and do something separately together, to do with altering the feel of the emptying cities. This would present a method of an alternative urbanism: a method which I believe, would correspond to the next period of European social idealism. After all, why not try, most of our other dreams we have in some way realised.’ 45

II. The Englishness of Alison and Peter Smithson’s writings

There are several considerations of ‘English’ history that need to be explored in order to understand the next moment of ‘social idealism’, ‘design reciprocity’ or ‘doing something separately together’ as context dependent expressions. This means understanding their words, ideas, and concepts as utterances arising from a complex of attitudes or ways of thinking about the state of England as a culture and ‘Englishness’ as a national identity in the postwar period of rapid economic and technological growth, a time that saw dynamic demographic shifts, political readjustments in world affairs and eventual economic decline.

Economic growth in postwar England can be summarized as having the following phases: a policy of enforced austerity to achieve equality and a fair-share of limited-resources in the late 1940s and early 1950s, followed by rapid economic growth and technological modernization in the 1960s, offset by a deep reaction in the 1970s against the onslaught of economic growth fostered by the General Welfare state and the triumphant achievements of technology. The British economist E. F. Schumacher
turned his critical eye on the affluent society as early as 1961, culminating a decade later in his best seller *Small is Beautiful* (1973). He argued ‘that economic progress is healthy only up to a point: that the complication of life is permissible only up to a point; that the pursuit of efficiency of product is good up to a point.’ 47

The same year, 1973, the poet laureate Sir John Betjeman was hailed on the front-page of the *New Statesman* as a prophet of anti-growth. He ‘observed that destroying the surroundings in which people live – and which they like, and are accustomed to – amounts to straightforward robbery. It is stealing the people’s property,,,,; exactly the same as being burgled. In some ways, maybe worse. You can buy substitutes for the contents of a house. A familiar narrow street, with its obscure chapel, tree and corner shop, is irreplaceable.’48 Such anti-growth statements form the context for interpreting Alison & Peter Smithson’s writings on ‘Collective Design’ of the same period. While continuing the dialogue established by Team 10 on style, comparison of types, and design morality, their architectural examples increasingly look backwards to a time before redevelopment and rapid growth destroyed the connective links binding ideal architectural forms to the reality of the urban site.

To return to England in 1945, however, is to see it as the most crowded country in Europe, indeed the world if Singapore and Hong Kong are excluded. Its population growth had to be controlled and redistributed, its infrastructure modernized, its economic thinking transformed. A national policy of green-belts and new towns was implemented in order to guide development along balanced lines, ones that marked a clear distinction between town and country. But rapid growth in the 1960s turned the green-belt policy into an anachronistic tool of rural nostalgia strangling the vitality of city centers.. National plans controlling private property were forced to retreat after development rights were restored to landowners in 1951 and regulatory controls reinvested in municipal authorities. Housing projects were seen as less expensive and more expedient alternatives to ambitious new town projects or large-scale public investments in the center of cities.
Private developers were given free reign over these larger investments, while governmental authorities focused their energies on slum clearance programs within dense inner cities, rehousing displaced populations on estates outside the dense urban cores. Cities were reformed to the demands of modern life, motorways seen as exciting elements adding a sense of movement to the urbanscape, and keeping the heart of the city alive and vital. That is until Britain turned against modernization in the 1970s.49 Clearly Alison and Peter Smithson’s projects have to be placed in this context. They were openly critical about the new town policy, yet wanted clear demarcation between town and country. Their built project such as the Economist Building benefited from the total redevelopment of Regents Street, their housing projects were intended for London County Council estates, and they clearly celebrated motorways writing movement into their city plans.

There was as well a cultural backlash that rapid economic change engendered. The arrival of mass society in the wake of WWII gave rise to anxieties among the educated elite that a classless society would rise at the expense of traditional cultural values, that a watering down, even an Americanization would be the inevitable result.50 The Smithsons are most ambivalent about this leveling of society and their suggested discussion of ‘to move or to stay’ in the city must be understood in this context. A nation modernized, energized, rationalized according to technological and mass-consumer principles might not be able to transmit cultural values that some held central to the unspoken norms of ‘Englishness.’

A sense of familiness strengthened this idea: ‘everyone doing and saying and being what he or she has always done and said and been.’51 As George Orwell put it in ‘England Your England’ (1941): ‘[a]ll the culture that is most truly native, centers around things which even when they are communal are not official – the pub, the football match, the back garden, the fireside and the “nice cup of tea”.’ 52 It was an illusion, of course, but one repetitively used to characterize England as ‘an unassuming nation’ composed of ‘quiet, private and ordinary people defined by their modesty, kindness to others, loyalty, truthfulness, straightforwardness, and simplicity.’53
This sense of family was reinforced by a sense of belonging, or being at home, in a place called England. The question of race was central to what it meant to be ‘English’ and what threatened the sanctity of the home in the 1950s. Black migration to England began with a trickle of about 1,000 per year in the 1940s, increasing to 20,000 per year in the mid 1950s, and accumulating to half a million before controls were imposed through the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962. ‘Englishness’ was construed as white and native, symbolized by the hearth and the home into which strangers, those who knew nothing about English customs and conventions, were not invited.54

It is against this background of open criticism of the economic development policies of the General Welfare state as well as debates about the transmission of culture, the ‘ordinariness’ and everyday characterizations of Englishness that Alison and Peter Smithson’s writings must be placed from Alison’s love of Beatrix Potter’s places and the hutchies of Peter Rabbit’s home, to Peter’s discussion of heroic relics such as arcane rockets or antique railway cars, or the titles of their two books Ordinary & Light and Without Rhetoric.55

Thus it can be argued that the writings of Alison and Peter Smithson contain a sense of Englishness and of us/them dichotomies, yet allow for a gap, or ‘space between’ leaving their texts open to interpretation in the ‘charged void’

‘The most mysterious, the most charged of architectural forms [they claimed] are those which capture the empty air. The standing columns of the temple whose cella walls have gone, the empty barn, the Kahn house of the square brick columns, the chimneys of the English Renaissance… such forms are double-acting, concentrating inwards, radiating buoyancy outwards. The drama is set up by the rings of chairs at the round table before the knights arrive. The chimney of the English Renaissance can also be read as architecture’s own break with Rome; the center simply gone, and in place of the all summating dome the play of almost equals making magical emptiness in between and creating imaginary answering turrets beyond.’ 56
The Smithsons were both non-conformist yet traditional, both inward looking and outward bound, aware that ‘[t]hings need to be ordinary and heroic at the same time.’ They wanted it both ways, an England of traditional villages and bucolic landscapes and an aesthetics of mobility, with the car written in; a city that serviced the needs of a technological society. They write of this ambiguity in *Without Rhetoric* (1973):

> ‘For an English architect – fed from earliest years with sociology and with the theory of the picturesque – awareness of the mix should be easy. But, there is all the difference in the world between ‘melting-in’ and the deploying of an ordering which can make the whole mix make sense.’ 57

The mix that made sense entailed a sensibility about human patterns and the collective language of built forms; about repetition or ordered sameness; about how people read signs of the city and know unconsciously what they are to do and where they are to go.58 It is this mix with its unspoken assumptions about how the English read the words of their culture as evidenced in their writings on ‘Collective Design’ in the 1970s that is explored below.59

As prologue, it can be noted that a certain amount of Englishness and love of the English countryside and small villages, of English quietness and calm, is expressed in their earlier writings as well. Perhaps this rhetoric has gone unexplored because it forms the normal backdrop for things ‘English’ – the regional survey and distinctiveness of regional landscapes embedded in British town planning traditions such as Sir Patrick Geddes’ Valley Section and Outlook Tower. The Smithsons claimed they wanted to insert the same sense of quietude into the city of the machine so that it too could

> ‘be enjoyed with the same directness and deeply felt contentment we can still feel in the fishing harbour, the market place, the quayside, where older technologies and ways of doing things still hold.’ 60
Since the time for the rhetoric of the machine was over, they wrote in *Without Rhetoric*

‘the time has come for the lyricism of control, for calm as an ideal: for bringing the Virgilian dream – the peace of the countryside enjoyed with the self-consciousness of the city dweller – into the city itself.’61

The humanitarian links that assumedly bind all Englishmen together as decent caretakers of their brothers’ concerns are also present in the early writings of Alison and Peter. As their poetic musings pronounce:

‘The approach to a house is the occupants’ link with society as a whole
a lengthy climb up a rickety stair or down into a basement
up an avenue
up an estate road
along an air-conditioned artificially lit corridor.
These are man’s links with society,
the vistas down which he looks at his world;
they frame his perspective view.’ 62

Planners too often forget that a good road goes somewhere 63, while the General Welfare state provides housing based on universal ideas of middle class values. :

‘Behind the geometric façade our washing, or china dogs and aspidistras look out of placer. Life in action cannot be forced behind the netting of imposed pattern.’64

The home, the private sanctity that formed the essence of ‘Englishness’ is central to the activities of their new city:

‘The house, the shell which fits man’s back, looks inward to family and outward to society and its organization should reflect the duality of orientation… The
house is the first definable city element.’ 65

The second element is to arrange these houses to form a street, and these into a district – extensions of the houses where children first learn about the world outside the family. Then the ultimate community becomes the city as an arrangement of districts. 66

Peter offers an image of Alison cobbling with the following caption:

‘In a garden one thinks and builds outwards from the house into the surrounding space, looking for limits, looking for uses; giving sense to random places. So also should the city grow.’ 67

Seeing the city as a collective work of art, meant the Smithsons were concerned with finding the correct words that constitute a form-language for contemporary times.68 Instead of seeing each building as a unique fragment of the city, they saw each fragment containing within it the formal and organizational seeds of a ‘freely arrived at group form’. like those of the medieval ages.69

‘... The words of a form-language, … , are inventions: the evolution of the complete language not the work of a particular person, but of a whole period. In our period we can recognize certain needs, that have been with us for years and can reasonably be assumed to be a permanent aspect of our life, for which no appropriate forms have been invented.....’70


The language of architecture that Alison and Peter Smithson deploy in the series of articles on ‘Collective Design’ written between 1972 and 1975 is of course addressed to readers of Architectural Design and members of Team 10, but they are also offering advice to the general public, extending their special vocabulary and conventional
modes of address to a wider set of social concerns and users of the city. Peter focuses on furthering the formal language of architecture, while Alison directs her comments towards the social context in which this language is spoken. It is a discourse that tries to strengthen the connection between an ideal base of modern architecture and present-day concerns of a machine-serviced city. Historical examples are particular acute in this series of articles for they form the base on which the language of modern architecture was created yet transformed and brought up to date through continual usage.

Nevertheless their selected illustrations and examples reveal a taste for the picturesque and the classical, exposing characteristics of Englishness. Vocabulary words such ‘scatter’, ‘cluster’, ‘mobility’ and ‘streets as mesh in the air’ now find a corollary in interlocking meshes between past architectural forms and present uses and sites. The rhetoric of their written statements, the aesthetic clarity of their vocabulary and the examples reflected on as well as the visual images inserted also mesh as counterpoints to each other. Concerned with the inner workings of the language of architecture, with lessons learned and re-learned in different contexts, and questioning how to apply these design principles in an open-ended non-authoritarian fashion, their intension is to keep the delicate elements in the fabric of the city quietly and calmly talking to each other. Yet their own discourse begins to turn in upon itself; repetitive and hermetically sealed, it may no longer have been a language worthy of inheriting. There is a foreboding sense of an ‘end’ to future-oriented proclamations in their rhetoric, a creeping awareness that an era is drawing to a close. Peter outlined this reflective gesture and closure in the mid-1960s proclaiming

‘I now think that it is reflection – thought, re-thought, lessons re-learned, experiences re-experienced and action taken in the light of reflection – that plays a paramount part in the growth of a sensibility. .... All the practical arts from engineering and rocketry to medicine are reflective, concerned with the inner workings of their own discipline: they’re difficult, available only to a few, absolutely not instant.’ 71
The Smithsons begin the series of Collective Design with an essay entitled ‘Signs of Occupancy’ opening with a question: how to base their ideal of a house on the ‘gentlest of styles’ left open to interpretation? ‘Style’ is important they write

‘[f]or style is a special flavour of form-language that is fundamental to architecture. A word which is solidly established in form language can help one to recognise self – and, at a practical level, it can tell one what a thing is and how it is to be used.’72

Older form-languages were used as ‘instant communicators’ but today there are a mass of usages without any form such as the journey from car-park to supermart, garage to house, car silo to terminal building, underground to office. In fact Disneyland and other such places lead one to think that contemporary form-language is a pretty inarticulate affair. And ‘standardization’, once committed to solving the problems of the many, now communicates ‘indifference’, even a kind of indolence.

They use as a counter-example the rich and flexible form-language spoken by the terrace houses of Bath, the mix of architectural styles within a static framework is admirable while the relationship these establish with the street, services, and yards were used for the base of their ‘street-deck format’; ‘It is, we feel, a solidly established form capable of being articulated through its sub-forms towards a livable and relaxed ideal house’ 73 These forms make a clear statement about dwellings for mutual social support; indicating clearly how a place is to be used, never leaving occupiers in doubt yet refraining from telling them where they can walk, where to play, where to deliver services. A form-language, Alison and Peter declare, indicates and enhances use, it sets up a dialogue between object and user, if used well the object improves; if used badly it is degraded and dialogue ceases.

Having introduced such discordant example as Disneyland, Peter pursues the concept of collective design this time utilizing real estate advertisements from
Houston Texas. He labels these new developments ‘little Versailles’ 74 Still intent on following a linguistic analogy, yet never mentioning grammatical structure or linguistic transformations, he nevertheless deploys the words ‘urban structure’ and ‘urban form’ in order to explain that each generation develops its general community pattern or structure and its characteristic building groups or form. Hence the urban structure of the 19th century was ‘centristic’ and its urban form the street; while contemporary structure is ‘scattered’ and its form the ‘cluster’ Transformations occur within this language of forms: one intended use evolving into something quite unexpected.

Thus his example of ‘little Versailles’ begins to make sense: motorways unintentionally generated a scattered urban structure and enabled the competitive development of multi-family collectives and industrial research campi. These unique urban forms are surrounded with acres of open-space and shared facilities yet each displaying unique characteristics and sets of attractions. This Houston pattern is an alternative to the run-over pattern of suburban development – it could generate affection for place, the beginning of a feeling for collective design. Because these places have special locational qualities [i.e. near a golf course, or a view of the river] yet their collective form fragile and easily destroyed by changes of use, these ‘little Versailles’ may soon make it acceptable ‘that an urban-form can be as delicate and as irreplaceable as a Boticelli, and more amazing because one can live in and share it.’75

The message becomes clearer: a dialogue between user and object depends on collective action – first the base form is initiated then perfected before being invested with deeper levels of meaning.76 To explain how this form-language is elaborated over time from initiators to successors is Peter’s next charge. He utilizes as examples Greek temples, town squares and high streets, each an embodiment of a long-lasting idea capable of elaboration yet done so by acknowledging its generating form. In such a manner the architect contributes to collective design: the addition of a single building to an existing group ensures that its space locks onto existing ways and geometries and is itself ‘dressable’. In other words its style must be like a ‘flavour’ in its form-language. Peter draws an analogy from his arcane bag of historic examples: likening the architect
‘anticipating the occupier’s and future occupiers’ design activity as a ship is designed in anticipation of its three-yearly re-paint, designed in a way that knows what change and re-generation a re-paint can bring.’ 77 Thus a collective design for a whole building group requires general agreement on its ‘common generative intention’ and its ability to respond.78

Alison and Peter judge a building’s effectiveness by two measures: how far it communicates the dream and its day-to-day livability. The dream requires ‘lightness of touch’ which in turns allows the building to be ‘interpretable’ in different ways by the occupiers. This is what Peter has called ‘dressable’, capable of responding to seasonal or festival decorations, temporary changes done by an occupant without shifting the underlying structural forms or destroying the meanings of these forms. 79

Having elaborated the form-language of contemporary architecture, and its collective responsibilities for action – that is to follow through on initiators’ intentions, to acknowledge the generating idea behind these structures and forms, and to allow for an open-ended interpretation by users, there are social and political issues to address. The role of writing, as Saussure taught, is to represent other system of signs and to transfer their meanings not abstractly but as part of social life. It is the community, which validates and guarantees the operation of a given system of signs from the rhetoric of the written statement to the designed image.

Alison takes up her pen wielding it as mightily as a sword. She opens her article entitled ‘The Violent Consumer or Waiting for the Goodies’ with the following disclaimer. Words such as ‘jealousy’ ‘greed’ ‘avarice’ were used by the first consumer society in the 19th century to express ‘revulsion’ over the disintegration of character in those less-fortunate workers who produced but could not consume ‘the multifarious supply of goodies.’ The same set of words, Alison notes, has been resurrected in the present-day age of resentment and used to characterize the population who feels they have been marked down because they are not frontrunners in the consumer race. 80 There is no denying that a gap exists between individual expectations of consumption,
and deprivation and limits placed on the social provision of goods

Society hands-out many-layered social services but all the providers hear in return are complaints from the dissatisfied or evidence of vandals who destroy their subsidized places. With no sense of accountability or tenant control, the welfare system simply grinds on relentlessly. ‘But the lack of reciprocal obligation is there for all to see, encouraging to the baddies to continue their destruction, immensely discouraging to the creators and providers of the goodies.’ 81

The gap is widened by architect-urbanists who keep building ‘forms’ ill-matched to societies needs. ‘By tradition, modern buildings are releasant, not at all overpowering or threatening. Yet it could be that this very quality does not provide the necessary protective framework for lost human animals: the apparent lack of discipline, the light touch, the lack of rigid, strict, obvious, imposing rules might be actually bewildering to wild human animals requiring basic rules for decent life.’82

Alison also blames the media for cultivating a ‘hot-house’ of miscommunication. First in films, then by television, over the last four decades, they have given the impression that ‘baddies’ are subdued by a ‘goodie’ who sweeps in, sometimes subverting the rules of the welfare state, to do some philanthropic service before vanishing. Reciprocally the ‘baddies’ learn from these examples just how far they can go in their wanton ways.

‘Mass communications tend to be an iceberg: the bit most of us never see – baser films, banal magazines or comics, baser instinct paper-backs, blatant advertising – is that to which the ship of state is most vulnerable. The hidden bulk of the iceberg out-balances all the visible face civilized society judges as acceptable – that is, free education, the family, the creative minority in the community, the myriad balancing good works of government, state, municipality, and institutions.’83
It boils down to the clear fact that the welfare state, architect-urbanists, the mass media are sending corrosive messages! What is needed instead is a ‘precise meshing’ between resources available and collective ideals shared by the makers of society over what they want it to be, including an honest understanding that care of possessions does not result from an increased supply of the ‘goodies’. Yet this future-oriented discussion about the direction society is going, was wanting in the pessimistic culture of the 1970s, causing a shift in the Smithsons’ rhetoric. If they used to believe that advertisement fell into the role the church once played establishing patterns of life, morals, and aims, now they are aware that not all of society are consumers, that a serious imbalance exists between the endless supply of individually consumable goodies and the meagerness of social services for those who are entitled to their provision.

Once again it is a matter of dialogue: to reveal desired patterns of association and identity and to remove the hidden costs a welfare state imposes. Alison claims the rediscovery of patterns of association and identity requires that people are content with their surroundings. Perhaps through dialogue disgruntled tenants might realize their resentment derives from feeling trapped in the city, surrounded with a certain anonymity they find alien and frightening. These resentful tenants must be brave enough to leave their detested council flats and target-in on more realistic dreams cut to their size. They might even leave the city altogether, moving to an easier-going place with a less competitive pace.

To answer the inevitable gap between community-wishes and answered needs, tenant participation is a new try. But here too complete honesty is required and an awareness that arguments for accountability evolve over time.

‘Fashion in lifestyle and social ethics play over the face of cities: we see built fabric used over generations. And to sustain this long-term use, individual buildings need to have a quality of fabric; provision of quality being an affirmation of respect for, and belief in a society, a visible confirmation of
subscription to that society, a willingness to further ideals. Lack of quality speaks clearly to everyone of the converse.’85

Alison launches into a long discourse on the moral responsibilities of architect-urbanists. Since architecture is a long-term art, it is an immoral act to leap without foresight. Hence architect-urbanists must ensure that architecture belongs to society as a whole, that occupants understand they hold a house in trust for those who come afterwards, and for those who simply enjoy looking at cities. She takes as illustration a map of Charles Booth’s social survey of London in the 1860s, a map that proves Londoners had a greater variety of choice in habitats and a greater differentiation in their quality of life than today’s city-mix.

Having attacked the welfare system, architect-urbanists, and the mass media, now the British education system is called to account in order to explain why everyone should receive the same level of book-learning completely neglecting education for the interdependence of community life.

‘Some syllabus must be capable of transmitting the nature of civilized community; in all its aspects, self and possession maintenance, self and budget management, the where-with-all to make value judgements in the face of the mass media geared to selling, responsibility for self and others.’86

Alison launches another attack: the problem being the implicit nature of what it means to be English. ‘We assume we are English with English standards, and that all-comers see these standards clearly and will go along with them and contribute to their furtherance.’87 Reflecting back to bills of emancipation in the 19th century and the opening of the British educational system to all, Alison is strangely conservative. She decries the fact that society was and is devoid of a method to diffuse accepted standards, ethics and unspoken codes of behavior, with the result that

‘a de-Anglicizing ... effectively swept away the incestuous control mechanism
of our Englishness. The glue of a particular society became less and less adhesive. Gradually, the visible result, a hundred years after such emancipation we see the loss of the particular English milieu: today an indigenous cultural mix that permits the last break-up of towns and cities, and these somehow get rebuilt in a life style more alien to many of us than ever were Victorian Italian Romanesque or Victorian Venetian Gothic. In many buildings, added even to cultural institutions, instinctive sense of English scale seems lost.'88

Swinging back and forth from moral decline to visual disarray, Alison is swept up in the twists and turns of her own critique so that the reader cannot discern where she actually stands. For many who use the city, she complains, the mix is becoming incomprehensively strange yet we continue to assume ‘our communal Englishness.’ This is now patently impossible when migrants are so many strangers in the land. She repeats: the provision of welfare services without thought gives cause for the beneficiaries to smash and foul in blind violence the sections of the city so provided. Large urban building complexes are the reason why the ‘them and us’ of nationalism, patriotism, and religion has been transformed into the ‘mass-resentment movements of the haves and have-nots’. Even though the leveling of mass society intended that all should have, it merely perpetuated inequalities of ability, political sense, and ethnicity.

Echoing Shumacher’s small is beautiful. Alison suggests that the fragmentation of mass movements into smaller groups is worth trying as a solution.

‘Fragmentation, so that the pieces each become the size that mends minds, responding to those demands in society that are poles apart at the moment: the wish for anonymity – or identity; the desire for pattern of association – or dissociation; a turn away from the solution to be universally consumed towards solutions personally made or chosen; a return to different quality of life to be enjoyed in built places.’89
Freedom must be balanced by responsibility for that freedom and opportunities provided for worthwhile achievement and contribution to the community. Alison fears if not the waste of energy will generate resentment, and this in turn will allow mass movements to take command – 'gangs form in the void where the community glue ought to be and is wanting.'90 This instinct for grouping, however, could be a tool in the age of education if it is understood that groups are not similar, nor cohesive with established values-language, nor do they feel equally secure swimming in society. For more than half of society, the dream of a universal society is no longer the answer.

Having lashed out at the welfare state, and the socialist dream of equality and universality, Alison turns back to the architect-urbanist and the state of places overrun by tourism and the pressures of consumerism. The moral responsibility of architect-urbanists requires they provide different places ‘work-based, ethnic-based, mind-reasoned... whatever real motivation can be brought together, so that each maintain their chosen characters and become more themselves.’91 This inevitably leads to a rediscovery of patterns of association where like-minded people, ‘in unison with mood and quality of life’ will find a place. This autonomous forming of groups, will be free to choose between good and bad, clean and dirty, without reference to being brought back up to standard by someone who knows better.

‘Such an immense concept-step, this time from mass organization to allowance of patterns of greater diversity, has to be taken this century. The making of the civilizing choice must become the most precious aim, and society in all its guises should prepare each child to be so free.’92

If the provision of housing estates by the general welfare system was under attack by Alison in her articles about ’goodies’ then her next attack is on the worn-out garden city ideal. Even though the state’s provision of green-belts and new towns had been severely curtailed in the 1950s, still the policy was worthy of renewed criticism because it was based on wrong assumptions. Garden cities, Alison believes, require an order
of a looser kind of thinking, with no signs of bureaucratic or self-imposed control. If society fails to be clear about what a garden city means, then sloppy thinking about the meaning of the city also occurs. A garden city may require a sheltering wall, a thought-worthy element in the language of architecture. Alison draws an example from the wall-buildings along a narrow street of almshouses in Antwerp, a clear demonstration that there are a number of ways to protect others while protecting oneself, providing the language of architecture is rich enough. Another fine example is drawn from Edinburgh Old Town tenements clustered together yet reaching their sheer wall upwards to extend spatially the rock of the city. Regulatory controls of today would never tolerate such collective action, disallowing the aspect-prospect that such places achieve.

'What language finger-holds do we have left on big wall, bigger wall, if the most pervasive pressures have been all kinds of equating, leveling ones? What anchors are there in the protective-urban-living-wall for any language of architecture rooted in traditional ways of communicating about people to people? What is the nature of such private-life-protective walls, where the end wall of the last unit of a standard row is actually doing a different job, whether it is the quiet end to the inside of a group, or the end to the external, noisy world?' 93

We need, Alison concludes, a suitable language of the wall for both garden cities and the city – understanding the wall as enclosing space, offering a place to look out from, not just a wall-skin. She asks rhetorically '[w]hat lies beyond the wonderful liberating dream the Unité (by Le Corbusier at Marseilles) finally celebrated?' 94

The wall separates the private from the public, the inside from the outside. It generates a need to think collectively about the quality of built form, yet it must be understood as well that an individual’s action inside the walls of his home effects the community outside.95 Alison uses an example of a man who built a new chimney for a new fireplace in an opened-up interior, although his house was a collectively designated house whose exterior was worthy of preserving. Unwittingly without any awareness of
the damage he created, this man slapped up a new chimney destroying the traditional relationship between roof and outside walls. The bureaucracy that could protect the fabric of collective possessions and regulate this hurtful action was interested in controlling only as far as the controlled comprehends. Hence there is no guarantee for the quality of individual acts. The problem, like that of the wall, is how to match the inside to the outside face, and both to acts of daily life,

‘the acts of placing, caring, renewing, cleaning, enjoying – so that they mesh together to become the fabric of a culture? – every item of life contributing to a unison whose nature joins the poetry of the collective?’

‘The extreme fragility of our society requires greater social discipline: notions of freedom in a highly specialized industrial society where many pieces interlock have themselves to interlock: ....’

Peter Smithson continues with a story about ‘the good natured gas-man.’ He is looking for spaces in the contemporary city for the collective, spaces that are not ruled by the automobile. Turning back to 19th century England, he reflects on the great servicing-surfacing upheaval wrought by the laying down of pipelines, underground subways, and the hard-servicing of roads for vehicle use. There were side benefits to this great upheaval for it provided many places for waifs and beggars to get water, food, warmth and shelter. As vehicles demanded a public right of way, the variety of these multi-use places began to decline until the city became a place of people passing, faceless masses in transit, commuting in ebbs and flows. Peter laments the failure to provide spaces for the collective but does so in a curious plea:

‘There used to be so many places to get away from others. – docklands, warehouse areas, empty market places: now can anyone be courting or frolicking by night among city office blocks? By day how can one walk undisturbed by cars, thoughts not wiped out by window displays, speech not blasted in holes by discotheques? – Must the hard-surface urban walk-
land always be an old street rescued – **by concrete tubs and spindly birch** made urban garden-simulation? Are these enough of an invention, these transpositions?'99

He finalizes this collection of essays by ‘making connections’ between buildings and nature. There are only a few examples where this mesh is made with perfection such as the Royal Crescent at Bath. The half-crescent of the structure is mindful of the prospect as it faces the sun, is sited so that the ground slopes toward the south, and gives each inhabitant a view.

‘Its order is **ideal** – grand, classical, regular – but at the **real** level those columns carry also the irregularities of construction, and of first inhabitants’ special requirements, as easily as they now carry the *dressings* of the successor inhabitants.’101

‘Bath is an **ideal** city, theorised – about in advanced by its architects, and realized sequentially at the high tide of the landscape movement.’102 It is a fine example of English Palladianism and an example of how a consciously generalized architectural language can be the agent of direct connection. Most architects believe that the classical tradition is cerebral and uncommunicative, replaced in England by the deliberate simplicity and directness of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Peter disagrees

‘From its isolated temple beginning, the language of classical architecture had become the language of cities, not absolutely specific to particular folk or place, seemingly not invented by actual individual men – **even attributable** innovations, such as the baluster or the tabernacle window, seem as if they had always been part of the language. Each generation extended, enriched, re-worked an accepted base.’103

For present-day cities, architects require a cool, rather impersonal architectural language to deepen the base-connection, and give it meaning and a sense of
continuity with modern architecture. ‘For modern architecture was intended as both an affirmation of an older dream of a machine-civilisation, and a cry of joy at an actual arrival.’ 104 This modern language connected both ideal and real levels, and it is the language that Peter Smithson’s generation inherited, which they had to extend with new moods all the while resonating with its base in machine-culture.

‘To trigger the impulse to collective design, [Peter writes] it is connection at the real level that seems critical: for the inhabitants to know without conscious thought where to offer their abilities –

to dress,
to plant,
to play,
to drive,
to clean,
to innovate,
to manage for themselves and their group.’ 105

IV. Mies is great, but Corb communicates
Alison and Peter Smithson claim their generation’s interest in Greek architecture, its precision and purity, came through the writings and works of Le Corbusier. 106 Yet they understood that the Greeks had no sense of space merely putting down objects in a charged void, the coming together of building and site. Space was invented later yet they state: ‘[t]he clear recognition of what a thing is not carries within it the seed of what a thing is’ 107 This could be applied to their inheritance from Le Corbusier as much as the Greeks. They were believed they were doing through their writings the same thing that Le Corbusier had done: giving a sense of another aesthetic. They were clearly aware that they came after Le Corbusier. By the early 1950s, they had visited almost all of Le Corbusier’s buildings in France. Pessac still had many of its original inhabitants; other buildings had yet to be renovated and destroyed. They felt drawn
to re-look at the 1920s to see how rich and different that architecture had been, giving us through the selection of key images retrieved from a small community of architects ‘The History of the Heroic Age of Modern Architecture’ appearing in AD in 1965. 108

The challenge Le Corbusier laid down to Team 10 in 1956 to keep the language of modern architecture alive so that it would be worthy inheriting in thirty years time may not have been achieved by Team 10. De Carlo had warned about ‘significant coexistence of contrarieties’ but this proved no barrier against the confusion of the 1970s and the devolution of the utopian ideal that architecture could shape society. 109

If modern architecture, as Giedion said, was to speak to us about how we want to live together in the world then in order to understand the baton that Le Corbusier passed on, we might turn to explore just what Le Corbusier meant by the language of modern architecture, and why he too wrote so much, and what the outpouring of so many words might have meant. 109
Notes

2. “Je tins pour decisif cette reprise de l’action par la generation meritee, c’est pour cela que je ne suis pas a Dubrovnik.” “Message de Le Corbusier adresse au Xe Congres CIAM a Dubrovnik” Doc 11. Roquebrune-Cap Martin 23 Juillet 1956. p. 3 Fcorb.59
5. Giancarlo de Carlo, Italy “Summary” in Alison Smithson, Guest editor CIAM Team 10” AD 30,5 (May, 1960): 205.
8. Giancarlo de Carlo, Italy “Summary” in Alison Smithson, Guest editor CIAM Team 10” AD 30,5 (May, 1960): 205. Yet modern architecture, as endorsed by the first CIAM, led to meaningless expressions. For example, Kenzo Tange’s Statement at Otterlo considered two different tendencies in postwar artistic expressions: one leading towards abstract and universal forms and the other towards subjective meanings. “Despite the universality of present-day visual language, we neither know nor care for its message. A similar trend towards specialization and individualization has also been present in the method of functionalism in contemporary architecture. The trend to compose architectural space to fit each individual and accidental phenomenon in life is much in evidence in naive formalism.” Neither trend could offer the architect a meaningful language in which to comprehend contemporary reality. Kenzo Tange, Japan “Statement” in Alison Smithson, Guest editor CIAM Team 10” AD 30,5 (May, 1960): 201.
17. Aldo van Eyck, Otterlo Meeting in “Team 10 Primer 1953-1962.” Edited by Alison Smithson for Team
Team 10, Keeping the Language of Modern Architecture Alive

19 Aldo van Eyck in Edited by Alison Smithson for Team 10 AD 32,12 (Dec. 1962): 564.
23 Peter Smithson, IAU Catalogue, 1961 in Edited by Alison Smithson for Team 10 AD 32,12 (Dec. 1962): 564
31 Alison Smithson (ed.) Team 10 Meetings 1953-1984 (New York: Rizzoli, 1991) (copyright 1991 by Alison and Peter Smithson and Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Architecture).
38 Alison Smithson (ed.) Team 10 Meetings 1953-1984 (New York: Rizzoli, 1991) (copyright 1991 by Alison and Peter Smithson and Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Architecture) 9.
42 Max Risselada and Dirk van Den Heuvel, Team 10 in search of a Utopia of the Present (Rotterdam: NAI, 2005): 142-143.


46 Ideas about ‘social realism’, the gap between social expenditures and patterns of living, even the criticism of the messages of the mass media expressed by Alison & Peter Smithson in the 1970s are similar to arguments made by Raymond Williams in The Long Revolution (1961)


60 Peter Smithson “Contributions to a fragmentary Utopia” AD (Feb, 1966): 64.


67 Peter Smithson “Contributions to a fragmentary Utopia” AD (Feb, 1966): 66.
68 Peter Smithson “Contributions to a fragmentary Utopia” AD (Feb, 1966): 64-67.
78 Peter Smithson, “Collective Design: Initiators and Successors” AD 43 (October 1973): 623...
80 Alison Smithson, “Collective Design: The Violent Consumer or Waiting for the goodies” AD 44 (May, 1974): 274-78.
81 Alison Smithson, “Collective Design: The Violent Consumer or Waiting for the goodies” AD 44 (May, 1974): 274.
82 Alison Smithson, “Collective Design: The Violent Consumer or Waiting for the goodies” AD 44 (May, 1974): 274.
83 Alison Smithson, “Collective Design: The Violent Consumer or Waiting for the goodies” AD 44 (May, 1974): 274.
85 Alison Smithson, “Collective Design: The Violent Consumer or Waiting for the goodies” AD 44 (May, 1974): 276.
86 Alison Smithson, “Collective Design: The Violent Consumer or Waiting for the goodies” AD 44 (May, 1974): 276.
87 Alison Smithson, “Collective Design: The Violent Consumer or Waiting for the goodies” AD 44 (May, 1974): 277
88 Alison Smithson, “Collective Design: The Violent Consumer or Waiting for the goodies” AD 44 (May, 1974): 277
89 Alison Smithson, “Collective Design: The Violent Consumer or Waiting for the goodies” AD 44 (May, 1974): 277
91 Alison Smithson, “Collective Design: The Violent Consumer or Waiting for the goodies” AD 44 (May, 1974): 278.
92 Alison Smithson, “Collective Design: The Violent Consumer or Waiting for the goodies” AD 44 (May, 1974): 278.

Kaft Meaning in Architecture
The Publication of *Meaning in Architecture*

*by George Baird*

I have been asked by the organizers of this conference to offer a commentary on the historical circumstances in which the 1969 anthology *Meaning in Architecture* was conceived by my co-editor, Charles Jencks and myself. I presume, given the overall conference theme, that the organizers imagined such a commentary might throw some light on the latter part of the historical period of the ascendancy of Team 10 itself. During the few weeks since the invitation to speak was extended to me, I have done my best to fulfill this imagined expectation. But I must caution you first, that as far as I can tell, the link from *Meaning* to Team 10 link is a slender one, and second, that your request has – insofar as it has been dependent on my ability to respond – resulted in a rather – even embarrassingly - autobiographical commentary. This having been said, I will say that it is an honour and a pleasure to be invited back again to the TU, and that ‘though the link to Team 10 of my book – and of my own later thinking – may be slender, it is an important link for me. With that, let me begin.

I graduated from the School of Architecture at the University of Toronto in 1962.
As of that date it was a school I would describe as a somewhat provincial one.
Notwithstanding this, I had the good fortune to work for a summer during my studies in the office of a talented Toronto architect Jerome Markson, and upon graduation, I went back to his office, where I worked on a variety of small projects for two years. But it is also true that during that period of time, the insufficiencies of my education – especially in its intellectual dimensions – began to trouble me, and I began to contemplate the idea to return to school. Those of you who are old enough may remember that the famous architectural names of that era – especially in North America – were figures such as Philip Johnson, Paul Rudolph, and Eero Saarinen.

But I was uneasy in regard to what I saw as the too-decorative tenor of such late modernist work. Young architects who sought a greater gravitas than these then-
prominent figures could provide looked instead to Louis Kahn. His Richards Medical Laboratories Building at the University of Pennsylvania had recently been published. But then, suddenly, there was the publication of James Stirling’s and James Gowan’s Leicester University Engineering Building. With this, Kahn was joined in evident gravitas by a compelling new British design partnership. As a consequence, I found myself leaning away from the possibility of graduate work at an American university (the choice of most of those of my peers who were interested in post-graduate study), and instead, to the alternative of Europe. My curiosity about Scarpa – another of my early heroes - made me think of Italy, but in the end the ease of finding funding for graduate work in Great Britain (for a Canadian such as myself) pointed me there.

And so it was that in September of 1964, I found myself a British Council scholar, and a graduate student at the Bartlett School, University College, London. You may be amused to know that so provincial was my knowledge at that time of the world of architectural academe, that I was unaware that London was a world center of discourse about architecture at the time of my arrival, or that the trajectory of my personal thinking about it was to come to intersect with a number of key debates in the field, over the next few years. I only later came to understand how lucky I was to have arrived in London when I did.

The advisor to whom I was assigned at the Bartlett was Robert Maxwell. (Another indication of the provinciality of my outlook upon my arrival, was that I was initially disappointed that I was not assigned to the “more famous” Peter Banham, also then a member of the faculty at the Bartlett. And it was only one of the markers of my London learning curve over the next months, that I came to understand the inappropriateness of Banham, and the utter appropriateness of Maxwell, as an advisor to me.) Maxwell is Anglo-Irish, and during the period of our advisor/student relationship, exuded a deep skepticism in respect to all things English, as well as an equally intense Francophillia. These two features of his sensibility together proved most valuable for my intellectual development. Together with Jim Stirling, Maxwell had been a student of Colin Rowe at the University of Liverpool, and he proved to be an invaluable opener of the doors of
intellectual, architectural London. Through him, I came to know Peter Banham, Alvin Boyarsky, Alan Colquhoun, Peter Cook and the other members of the Archigram group, Kenneth Frampton, Leslie Martin, Cedric Price, Colin Rowe, Joseph Rykwert, Sam Stevens, Alison and Peter Smithson, James Stirling, Colin St. John Wilson, etc. Thus was launched my education in what we all eventually came to know, in the years after 1968, as ‘architectural theory’.

Now it is true, of course, that this body of ideas did not emerge, fully formed, in the London milieu of that era. But it was clear that everyone saw the time as being a transitional one. The Smithsons had just ceased teaching at the Architectural Association School of Architecture; leaving the school ripe for an ideological takeover by the Archigram group, by its sometime fellow-traveller, Cedric Price, and by the energetic promoter of both of them: Peter (or to use his nom-de-plume Reyner) Banham. Most of the other members of the circle of my London mentors were somewhat skeptical of the cogency of the Archigram, Price, and Banham arguments, but the force of their intellectual position had been somewhat blunted by the recent departure for the United States of their formidable colleague Colin Rowe, together with his then little-known protégé: Peter Eisenman.

And so, for this curious young Canadian, the London architectural scene I began to understand, was intensely engaging and provocative, but also somewhat inconclusive in its broad intellectual trajectory. It was in these circumstances that I also met up for the first time with a fellow graduate student at the Bartlett School, this one with Peter Banham as advisor. I speak, of course, of the person who was to go on to become co-editor with me of Meaning in Architecture: Charles Jencks. Jencks’ area of research was recent, modern architectural history. He proposed a dissertation on recent developments in modern architecture, that would follow on from the canonical histories that had already been published, including Banham’s own Theory and Design in the First Machine Age. I, on the other hand, had a much less well-defined – and probably more theoretical - area, one having something to do with psychology and design. Since Charles’ undergraduate degree had been in English Literature (prior to his Master of
Architecture at the Harvard Design School), he was quite familiar with literary criticism, and was able to introduce me to such important critics (for literary theory) as I. A. Richards and William Empson. I, on the other hand, was attending seminars with such figures as E. H. Gombrich and Richard Wollheim, and continuing to be uncertain as to where my research was leading me.

In the meantime, a more complete picture of the evolution of ideas about architecture in the Great Britain of that time was gradually becoming clear to me. As I have already noted, the previous great influence of the Smithsons was at this time in some decline. Except in the hands of the formidable Stirling (who by this time had broken up with his former partner Gowan) the tradition of Anglo Corbusianism was also waning (the departure of Rowe for the US contributed further to this). On the other hand, it was possible at the same time to identify a troika of other architectural tendencies that were clearly on the rise. At the one edge was the movement (now almost forgotten) of “systematic design methodology”. Emerging from a particularly British disillusionment with late modernism, and from the traditions of prefabrication that had been popular on the political left in the period after the Second World War; systematic design methodology had found a secure home at the Bartlett school, during the period of time that it was led by Richard Llewellyn-Davies. Numerous ‘research’ studies were being undertaken at the time, and the hope of the protagonists of such methods was that architectural design could, in time, be rendered fully ‘scientific’. Co-incidentally enough, a number of quite parallel ideas were being promoted in a dissertation being developed at this same time by a young scholar at Cambridge University. The scholar in question was Christopher Alexander, and his dissertation was published in 1964 under the title *Notes on the Synthesis of Form*.

At the other edge was Archigram itself: much less ‘intellectual’ than design methodology, much less ‘cerebral’ than the work of Alexander, Archigram was exuberantly iconographic, populist, Americanophile, technophile, and futurist. No wonder Archigram became the perfect ‘architectural’ dimension of the 1960s ‘swinging London’. Finally, lying somewhere between the cerebral projects of the methodologists
on the one hand, and the voluptuous exuberance of Archigram on the other, was the production of Cedric Price: rhetorically matter of fact, disputatious, and ideologically rigorous, Price’s work occupied a territory that made it a central pivot point for the polemics of the scholar and journalist Reyner Banham – even though, depending on the circumstances, Banham could be counted upon to defend the interests of Archigram, and sometimes even of the design methodologists as well.

Such, then, was the general character of the London milieu in which I was attempting to formulate a more developed position as to what ‘psychology’ might be able to do to intellectually reinvigorate ‘design’. And while it was not, in the first instance clear to me what the way forward for me would be, it was clear to me that I was more engaged by the interests of the older generation of London figures –especially Maxwell, Rowe, Rykwert and Stirling – than I was in any of the mostly younger, and then-more-fashionable technophile ones.

One of the places to which my ‘psychological’ interests led me, was communication theory, and I soon found myself reading such authors as Colin Cherry and Norbert Weiner. Then, I came by chance to learn of the new nexus of ‘symbolism’ and “communication” being pursued by a number of contemporary French intellectuals. As a consequence, I found myself investigating the work of the anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss, and the literary critic Roland Barthes. Soon, I was led to ‘semiology’ itself, and a productive intellectual direction opened up for me. Not only did this then-unfamiliar discipline provide an intellectual way for me to deal with my interests in ‘symbols’ in architecture, it also stood as a sufficiently rigourous intellectual praxis, as to be able to counter the mystique of “science” then so popular among the various technophile factions then growing in influence on the British scene.

And so I was off. First, I defended Christian Norberg-Shulz’ recently published *Intentions in Architecture* against a dismissive review in the Architectural Review. In the wake of that, I was offered the possibility to guest-edit a special number of the Journal of the Architectural Association, *Arena*. In June, 1967 was published the ‘Meaning in
Architecture’ issue of the journal, including my essay ‘La Dimension Amoureuse in Architecture’, together with essays by Alan Colquhoun (the now famous ‘Typology and Design Method’), Joseph Rykwert (the equally famous ‘Sitting Position’), Norris Kelly Smith and Sam Stevens. The review section of the issue included a review by my co-editor, Charles Jencks, of the just published book by Robert Venturi: *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, and the cover exhibited a quotation from Aldo van Eyck (This is the first Team 10 reference in this essay).

Those of you that are familiar with the arguments of ‘la dimension amoureuse’ will recollect that the title was a quotation from Barthes: ‘le rhetorique est la dimension amoureuse de l’ecriture’; and that in the text in question, I set out a historical context for the emergence of a ‘linguistic analogy’ in architecture, as well as a detailed account of the structure of semiology, as Barthes had developed it from the work of the Swiss linguist Fernand de Saussure. Thus I proceeded to set out the three well-established binary terms of semiology: signifier/signified; langue/parole; and systeme/syntagme. Having set out this theoretical armature, I then polemically pitted two recent projects against one another. These two were Cedric Price’s ‘Thinkbelt’ and Eero Saarinen’s headquarters building for CBS. In doing so, I attempting to demonstrate how a focus on “meaning” in architecture, could problematize each of them, albeit in opposing ways.

Sufficient interest was generated in London circles by the special issue of *Arena* that the possibility arose to turn the issue into a full-fledged book length anthology. Since this possibility arose just as I was leaving London to return to my home city of Toronto, my co-editor Jencks accepted the responsibility to put the larger, book version of *Meaning in Architecture* together. And in 1969, it was published. The expanded version included most of the material from *Arena*, as well as new essays by Charles Jencks, Reyner Banham, Francoise Choay, Kenneth Frampton, van Eyck himself, etc.

With the publication of the book version, I think it is fair to say that Charles and I were turned into minor celebrities in architectural academe. For example, upon its release, the book received the lead review in the well-known political and cultural London
weekly *The New Statesman*. (Admittedly, the review, written by a younger admirer of Cedric Price, was a negative one, but the fact that it was so prominent meant that the fame of the publication was enhanced by it.) Then too, later on, a review of the American edition appeared in *Architectural Forum*. (This one, which was largely positive in tone, was written by none other than Peter Eisenman, who later admitted to me that he had also earlier written the readers report that recommended to George Braziller that he publish the American edition in the first place.) Over the next few years, the book attracted a considerable amount of notice. Francoise Choay arranged for the publication of a French edition, and H. Blume Ediciones published a Spanish one. The new ‘linguistic analogy’ in architecture truly took hold. It is probably fair to say that for the decade of the 1970s, it established one of the main themes of theoretical discourse in the field of architecture, especially in the English-speaking world.

But before concluding this commentary, I feel myself obligated to comment further, and to say something in regard to the longer-term impact of the publication of the book, and to the dissemination of some of the ideas it introduced to the arena of more general discourse about architecture. There are three reasons, to my mind, to do so: first, because there was, in my view, such an impact; second, because that impact was, in my view, in many ways a negative one, and third, because an exploration of that impact has, in my view, the possibility to lead us back to a further consideration of some of the ideas of Team 10.

Keep in mind, of course, that between the publication of the first version of *Meaning in Arena* in 1967, and that of the book version in 1969, the climate of architecture – and especially of architectural education – had changed dramatically. For 1968 saw the epochal ‘May events’ occur, and no university discipline in Europe or North America was more affected by them than architecture. Thus, by the time of the publication of the book version of *Meaning*, the orientation of the most thoughtful observers of architecture and architectural education had already been changed, and had become much more critical of corporate architecture, much more politicized, much more interested in a range of alternative approaches to practice. The book version of
Meaning fed directly into this new set of interests.

For example, in addition to their interest in ‘meaning’ per se, many of the contributors to the book also shared a keen desire to re-invigorate architectural and urban history. Thus, I think it is fair to say that one of the early influences of the book was to buttress the new interests in such history that were so important for the post-'68 reformers – especially for those who wanted to go beyond the complete politicization which overwhelmed so many young architects in those years. And thus it was – for me, at least – that the European rationalists’ work with building typology and urban morphology appeared as a logical companion to the ideas from semiology that had underpinned my ‘dimension amoureuse’. Thus I watched the growing documentation of the rationalist project for the city with considerable curiosity.

But it is true, of course, that as time went on, the interests in history, in many protagonists’ hands, gradually evolved into a new historicism. I can personally claim, that as early as 1976, at an OPPOSITIONS Forum in New York, I expressed public concern as to the possible consequences of Arthur Drexler’s having organized the large exhibition on the architecture of Paris’ 19th century Ecole des Beaux Arts, at the Museum of Modern Art in 1973, fearing the onset of precisely such a historicism. At the same time, I carried on with my own work of importation of the ideas of typology and morphology in North America, publishing a long essay on the topic in Design Quarterly in 1978.

But, by then, it turned out that the historical tide had already been turned, and that it had been turned by none other than my co-editor on Meaning, Jencks. In long historical retrospect, it would seem that the most powerful influence of ideas from Meaning on architecture generally, occurred in 1977, with the publication of Jencks book: The Language of Post Modern Architecture. Coming on top of Drexler’s subversive Beaux-Arts show and MoMA, as well as a whole series of polemics by such architects as Charles Moore, Robert Stern – and even Michael Graves – Jencks’ book contributed to a new ideological and intellectual tendency in architecture, particularly
in the Anglo-American world. This was ‘post-modernism’, and its ascendancy lasted for a decade or so. As a consequence, over time, the semiological project in architecture came to be seen as inescapably bound up with the design project of post-modernism. Whether I liked it or not, during the ascendancy of the sometimes historicist, sometimes pragmatic project of ‘post-modenism’. my Europhile interests in typology and morphology, came to be seen as just another strand of post-modernism. For example, Aldo van Eyck entered the fray in these years, with his notorious polemic: *Rats, Posts, and Other Pests*, lumping the project of rationalism together with that of post modernism, just as a dissident group of North American critics were also beginning to do.

But the North American critics of post-modernism – at least the ones who turned their guns on me, did not start from a personal defence of modernism, as van Eyck did. In large measure comprising a group of protégés of John Hedjuk, they mounted their critique from an origin in phenomenological philosophy, and they labelled both rationalism and post-modernism as forms of inauthentic, pre-constituted knowledge. As an intriguing example of their polemical approach, I show here a cartoon drawn by a student of Alberto Perez-Gomez (a leading member of the phenomenological camp) targeting my own work on typology and morphology in North America. By 1988, and the advent of another bellwether exhibition at MoMA *Deconstructivist Architecture*, the critics of post-modernism had had a decisive effect, and the decade-long hegemony of post-modernism in North America was broken – at least among architectural elites, and in leading architecture schools. The opening of this same exhibition probably also represented the high point of what I have elsewhere called architecture’s late 20th century ‘ideology wars’, with Perez-Gomez and Libeskind’s guerrilla attacks from one flank, and such polemics as van Eyck’s on another, both battling Moore, Stern, Jencks, the Venice Biennale, as well as the publication machine associated with Andreas Papadakis’ version of the Journal *Architectural Design*.

As far as I can tell, the territory of architectural discourse as it gradually came to be coarsened during those wars, still, in large measure defines it today, save of course,
for the advent of the international star system. To be sure, computer-aided techniques of fabrication, and various thematics of sustainability are important new dimensions of architectural theory today. But neither of these has so far demonstrated a capacity - as post-modernism and deconstruction both did – to provide a comprehensive redefinition of contemporary architectural possibility, during their respective periods of greatest power. It is in these senses that I conclude first, that the project of semiology in architecture did in fact have a significant influence, and second, that that influence was largely negative.

In conclusion, let me now turn to three episodes in architecture during the 1980s and 90s – each of which I have written about recently - that for me give some indication of what was lost during those years, and that might conceivably be recovered today. The first one begins in a now notorious publication: Maurice Culot’s and Leon Krier’s *Rational Architecture* of 1978. This is a publication that tends nowadays, in retrospect, to be seen as just another of the self-promotional documents of historicist post-modernism. But I have always been intrigued by what I have seen as a surprising ideological ecumenicism in its pages. To be sure, the publication is indeed polemical. On this page, we see Giorgio Grassi’s student residence project at Chieti, opposed in dramatic fashion to a whole series of building forms that it is impossible not to associate with Team 10. (As if that were not enough, the graphic technique employed of the big ‘X’ through the image of the rejected alternative, is appropriated by Krier directly from le Corbusier.) Then too, projects of Leon Krier and his brother Rob are prominently presented in the volume. But it is equally true that one can find within the volume, projects of the Office of Metropolitan Architecture, such as this entry to the Roosevelt Island housing competition. And not only that. If one works one’s way chronologically backwards through even the projects of the Krier brothers that are included, it is not difficult to find ones that take on a strongly megastructural form which is itself strongly reminiscent of Team 10. Indeed, it is possible even to find in the pages of *Rational Architecture* this project from 1964 authored by Rob Krier together with Matthias Unger.
With the name of Ungers, we arrive – more or less – within the circle of Team 10 proper, and it seems to me that this awkward, ideologically incorrect juxtaposition ought to become the starting point for a new, less fevered and more open history of the past quarter century of architecture than the one we have been presented with in recent years. After all, if, at that time, it was within the realm of possibility for a figure from the younger generation of Team 10 to work collaboratively with members of a younger generation of architects who subsequently went on to become part of the Rationalist group, then surely we are obliged to try to see past the ‘ideology wars’ of the 1980s and 1990s I have just referred to, to understand how, in an earlier time, this would have been possible.

Another of the episodes with which I propose to conclude concerns a publication just one year earlier than that of Rational Architecture. This is the special issue of Architectural Design published in 1977, focusing on the early work of the Office of Metropolitan Architecture. The first leading publication on that work, the issue included an essay by me, and in it, I attempted to portray the positive future I saw for the office, emphasizing the promise of its surrealist sensibility combined with the tenets of rationalism, especially as they bore on the future design of the city. But here too, my hopes have been largely disappointed, especially recently. More recently, the ‘ideology wars’ of which I have spoken seem to have encompassed even the redoubtable Koolhaas. I am given to understand that he sees himself as ‘having cut the umbilical cord’, and now dissociates himself from the thrust of much of the early work of the office that I myself so much admire. At this stage, I can report only that I remain struck that even a work from as late as 1991 – his contribution to the housing exhibition at Fukuoka, Japan - still bears evidence of his early interests in the city – and in particular of the formal urban strategies that we associate with Team 10 itself.

This brings me to the last of the three episodes with which I proposed to conclude, one that returns us definitively to Team 10 itself. In 1999, the Architectural Association published a number in its occasional series of Exemplary Projects, this one focusing on Candilis, Josic and Woods’ famous project for Berlin Free University. I found the
publication extremely interesting, since I had commented on Team 10’s ideas of urbanism and public space in my 1995 publication *The Space of Appearance*. My interest in following up on that commentary was accepted by Mohsen Mostafavi, and later that same year, I published a review of the volume, in *AA Files*. As part of the argument of the review, I recounted the by now well-known story of Shadrach Woods early interest in the idea of ‘stem’ as an organizing principle for urban scaled projects; of the intersection of that idea with others having to do with the growing rediscovery of urban grids, such as those of ancient Roman towns, and of the resultant creation of the ‘mat’ concept that was explored first in the firm’s 1964 competition entry for the reconstruction of downtown Frankfurt, and then finally implemented in the scheme in the project for the university in Dahlem Berlin, a few years later. I say that I ‘recounted’ this well-known story, but this characterization fails to capture the extraordinary, revelatory power of this breakthrough. For with it, it still seems to me, the single most important formal idea embodying the relationship of architecture to the city was established of the entire 20th century. As Aldo van Eyck would have, it, this breakthrough truly did enable us to imagine the ‘city as a building’ and the ‘building as a city’.

But then I went on to note what I saw as the important failures of the conception of the mat building, at least as it was elaborated at BFU. First of all, that it was located in a remote, low-density suburb, rather than in an already intense urban area, such as would have been the case had the competition entry for Frankfurt been implemented. Second, that it was lifted up off the ground just enough that the continuity of its movement systems with those of the surrounding patterns of settlement was interrupted — we are told that Woods was fascinated by the passages of Paris, and saw these as precedents for the idea of the mat that was proposed for both Frankfurt and BFU. But these passages, of course, do occur in an existing built-up urban precinct, and are absolutely co-planar (in vertical section) with the network of extant public routes that surrounds them.) Finally, there is the problem at BFU that the scale of the so-called “interior streets” that permeate the mat is not large enough in scale to acquire an urban status comparable to the passages just referred to, and as a
consequence, that they tend to devolve back to the status of institutional corridors, rather than truly public thoroughfares.

Already in 1995, I argued that in historical retrospect, one should regard the urban ideas of the late period of CIAM, of Team 10, and of the European Rationalists, as three distinct generations of revisionist thinkers about the relationship of architecture to the city. These successive revisionisms can be captured, in my view, in a summary of the three generations’ respective stances regarding the urban street. First, as we all know, in the notorious image in the Radiant City, le Corbusier rejected the idea of the historical street altogether. We all also know that by the period of late CIAM, doubts as to the wisdom of this wholesale rejection of the street had begun to set in. But surely it is a key part of the historical importance of Team 10 that it rediscovered the importance of the urban ‘idea’ of the ‘street’. To be sure, in the first instance, it rediscovered it as the ‘interior street’ or the ‘street in the air’ as devised by le Corbusier late in his own career. Still, there is no doubt in my mind that the intersection of Wood’s idea of stem with that of the rediscovery of the idea of the grid, would not have been so potent, had the metaphor of the “street” not been as intense as it was in the minds of the Team 10 generation.

To my mind, the further step taken by the European rationalists was simply to remove the quotation marks from Team 10’s metaphorical ‘idea’ of the ‘street’, as they had re-invigorated it, and to posit once again, the overriding historical importance of the street in its literal (as opposed to metaphorical) form: back down on the ground (rather than raised in the air at all), and closely interconnected with existing routes in the urban surroundings.

In the text I wrote about BFU, I preceded from these observations to conclude that it is now beginning to be possible to look at Team 10 through two distinct historical lenses. If we look at them from the perspective of orthodox modernism as represented by CIAM, then they tend to appear as radical revisionists. If, one the other hand, we look at them from the perspective of today, they appear – quite poignantly, in my view
— as the last defenders of the modernist project. (In this regard, it was interesting to me to discover that Woods still thought in 1964 that the implementation of the Frankfurt project would still entail the total public ownership of the land on which the project would have been built. No wonder then, to see Wood’s bitter disillusion a few years later, when the BFU project was scorned by the student leaders of the ’68 events in Germany.)

This curious historical reversibility is for me, only one of the many ironies that await sensitive exploration, perhaps by the younger generation of scholars present here today. For my own part, I can say that it still continues to astonish me that it should have been one and the same person, the formidable van Eyck, who attacked Gropius on behalf of the younger generation, in the dying days of CIAM, and who also later attacked the younger generation itself, in his later polemic at the Venice Biennale, ‘Rats, Posts, and Other Pests’. I concede that the explorations I am here calling for will not proceed without pain, but so important are the issues at stake – in my view far more so than many of the fashionable issues which command such media attention in our field today – that I hope most profoundly that they will take place. I hope that they will be historical; sociological; political; and formal; and that they will be taken up with the commitment, imagination, and the ethical integrity the architecture of our own era needs.
Otterlo circles, van Eyck, 1959
Team 10 riddles
A few notes on mythopoiesis, discourse and epistemology

by Dirk van den Heuvel

I. Poetry

My intervention, a rather rough sketch I must admit, is not so much a finished argument, but rather a series of observations with regard to the character and structure of the Team 10 discourse. From these observations I’d like to come up with a set of hypotheses that might clarify this discourse, as well as some issues surrounding the architectural discipline in general, and the development of architectural knowledge. This means that we have to try and look into a few theoretical questions, and also, that some part of this presentation might be rather abstract. But I think this is necessary in order to try and answer what we are actually looking at when we are looking at Team 10 and their intense exchanges during the meetings they organised.

This speculation has been developed during the preparations for our exhibition and publication, but also by way of a six month seminar given by Christine Boyer, here at Delft, and a correspondence with Jos Bosman. The seminar brought a close reading of Johan Huizinga’s ‘Homo Ludens’ – something which I should have done much earlier – and the correspondence with Jos Bosman helped me understand particular positions inside the meshwork of Team 10, especially the one of Aldo van Eyck. At some point in this correspondence Jos Bosman started to focus on the importance of the introduction of the question of meaning in the architectural debate of the postwar years, most notably in relation to the book by Baird and Jencks Meaning in Architecture. Bosman also recalled again that Van Eyck sought a certain ‘vagueness’ in the discourse: ‘nous avons le droit d’être vague’ – Van Eyck is said to have exclaimed at Dubrovnik in 1956.

This ‘vagueness’ is linked to a rather crucial statement about meaning and architecture, which was published by Van Eyck in the same book by Baird and Jencks – Van Eyck sought:
‘... play for still hidden meaning slumbering in what is perceived as well as in what is conceived. To force conception and perception to coincide completely is to contract rather than to extend the meaning of either. The poetry lies in the persistence of scope – scope for undefined and latent multimeaning.’

(‘Meaning in Architecture’, Baird / Jencks p. 174)

Clearly, this statement was aimed against any kind of dogmatism, most notably the rise of semiotics and structuralism; and to some extent it also explains why Van Eyck would resist the postmodernist turn of the architectural debate in later years. But what struck me most was the notion of poetry – normally I would have discarded it as something too conventional, an analogy completely worn-out by any architect who wanted to pose like Le Corbusier, in an attempt to synthesise the arts, architecture and everyday life. However, I had read Huizinga by that time. And I realised that ‘poetry’ was not just one more metaphor in order to be ‘vague’, or even escapist, but that it was at the heart of the discourse I was looking at.

If we follow Van Eyck, as well as Huizinga, poetry is linked to this ‘hidden, slumbering meaning’, meaning that may be actualised from this slumbering by the very act of playing; and ideally, this actualised meaning would carry a multiplicity of new, still virtual, or latent meaning that might unfold in future play.
II. Homo Ludens

In his still famous *Homo Ludens* of 1938 the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga discussed what he called the play-element in human culture. Much has been said about this notion of play and how it intrinsically belongs, or should belong to our creative practices. Nevertheless, I would say that this conventional ‘playful’ interpretation and appropriation of Huizinga’s study overlooks some key issues with regard to the development of human culture in general and that of discourse and epistemology more specifically. It could be said that Homo Ludens is part of the other, so-called hermeneutic tradition that is developed partly in opposition to and partly parallel of western positivism and scientific rationalism.

Of course, making such general distinctions is always problematic, since it precludes the ambiguities at stake. For instance, Huizinga based much of his claims on then up-to-date anthropological studies as well as general historiographical knowledge of ancient cultures, both of which are a natural outcome of the positivist and rationalist tradition, and as such are constituent components of modernist thought and practices.

Also, the phrase ‘hermeneutic’ tradition is problematic – and I use it only because I have no better alternative. It is a tradition that is not very easy to define, and that comprises various, sometimes opposing strands of thinking. The term is closely linked to the ideas of Hans-Georg Gadamer, yet today’s best-known representative would be Paul Ricoeur, who died last year. But rather than limiting this tradition to these particular positions – for now I would suggest that this western, academic school of thought comprises a range of positions including the ones of existentialist philosophy, phenomenology, as well as elements of critical theory. Today, cultural studies and theory might be called the natural inheritors of the methods and postulates of this tradition.

Why is play so important to Huizinga?

To him play is one of the actual loci of the continual regeneration of our cultural practices, eventually also including those of politics, warfare and knowledge. The importance attached to regeneration also demonstrates the vitalist dimension that is an
implicit postulate of Huizinga’s study.

Huizinga states:
‘We have to conclude, that civilization, in its earliest phases, is played. It does not come from play – like a baby detaching itself from the womb: it arises in and as play, and never leaves it.’ (Huizinga p. 173)

With regard to his time Huizinga chose the figure of the poet as the one who holds the key to pure play, and thus cultural regeneration. In his chapter on ‘Play and Knowing’ Huizinga discusses among others ancient poetry and riddle games and contests as part of the development of human knowledge. Immediately after this chapter we have the key chapter of Huizinga’s study, the one called ‘Play and Poetry,’ and after that one the extras of ‘The Elements of Mythopoiesis’, and ‘Play-Forms in Philosophy.’

‘Play and Poetry starts with the following statement:
‘In touching on the origins of Greek philosophy and its connection with the sacred contest in knowledge and wisdom, we inevitably touch the shadowy borderline between the religious or philosophical mode of expression and the poetic.’ (Huizinga p. 119)

Poetry or ‘poiesis’ is to Huizinga a pure ‘play-function’. ‘It proceeds within the play-ground of the mind, in a world of its own which the mind creates for it.’

And Huizinga continues ‘Poetry ... lies beyond seriousness, on that more primitive and original level where the child, the animal, the savage and the seer belong, in the region of dream, enchantment, ecstasy, laughter. To understand poetry we must be capable of donning the child’s soul like a magic cloak and forsaking man’s wisdom for the child’s.’ (Huizinga p. 119)

Here we start to understand why Huizinga’s study had such an enormous impact on the postwar avant-gardes; especially the favouring of poetry and language, the child, savage and seer explain his influence on the French Lettrists, and Situationists, as well as the Dutch Experimentele Groep and Cobra. With regard to Huizinga it must
be noted that the Dutch Experimentele Groep and Cobra included poets next to painters, that many of the artists involved practise both branches of the arts, and that these branches were considered to be completely equal and complementary. The Experimentele Groep would lay the foundations for the most important postwar moment in Dutch poetry, namely that of the movement of the Vijftigers.

With regard to Team 10, Aldo van Eyck is the one of whom can be said he completely belonged to this ‘ludic’ tradition – he was close to the Dutch artist Constant (a member of both the Situationists and Cobra), and Van Eyck moved in the circles of Cobra and the poetry movement of the Vijftigers.³ I think it is valid to say that without these contacts the series of the Forum magazine as edited by Van Eyck, together with Bakema, Hertzberger, Hardy, Apon and Schrofer during the years 1959-1963, would never have looked the same – in particular, when it comes to the special treatment of image and text, with images used as autonomous texts, and words and phrases turned into images – such as ‘vers une casbah organisée’, and ‘labyrinthian clarity’. Later, I will return to this issue of ‘word-images’, its role and importance.
III. Play, Poetry and the Team 10 discourse

How does this ‘ludic’ tradition and its notions of play and poetry relate to the Team 10 discourse?

First of all, the rhetoric that one comes across is riddled with references to play and poetry and of course, children too. One of the more important presentations that announced the Team 10 sensibility was the Urban Re-Identification Grid of Alison and Peter Smithson, produced for the CIAM congress in Aix-en-Provence, 1953. Half of this grid is occupied by a series of pictures of children playing on the street, hopscotch, roller-skating, rope-skipping and so on – pictures taken by their artist-friend Nigel Henderson, with whom they frequented the meetings of the London Independent Group – that other artist-fraternity of the 1950s, parallel to the SI and Cobra. But I’d say that this presence of children and play is not the most important aspect with regard to the Team 10 discourse – it is rather the way the meetings and exchanges of Team 10 are organised that deserve our attention here, the very structure of the discourse.

The Smithsons were most active in publicizing the Team 10 story, Alison most notably, who edited the various Team 10 publications in Architectural Design, including the special edition Team 10 Primer. The general presentation of the group is one of critical, yet open-minded meetings and a looking for a ‘working-together-technique’. The most informal image is given by Peter Smithson in the retrospective ‘Team 10 meetings’, of 1991, and which was also edited by Alison. Describing the group’s interactions he writes:

’a children’s television programme fragment, a playground, recalled Team 10 to mind: every child playing by his or herself, inner-concentrated each in their own private game a small boy puts on roller skates he teeters away, falling frequently he works his way round the edge from support to support he is seen by another child who gives him the end of a skipping rope and pulls him along other children join in the pulling
they see it as something only possible if they join together
six or seven pull, one small boy is pulled
suddenly the pulling stops
each resumes his private play.\textsuperscript{15}

Of course, the metaphoric image is a wonderful and inspiring one, but is it also truthful?
Were the gatherings of Team 10 as informal and innocent as suggested here?
When one looks at the documents remaining in the archives, especially the letters
that accompanied the preparations for the various meetings, quite a different picture
emerges. In the Team 10 correspondence fierce battles unfold – over who and who
not to invite, or over the exact theme of the meeting. One finds sharp dissent about
such things as the taping of the meetings, the publicizing of the talks, and so on and so
forth. Apparently, there were implicit rules of procedure, and propositions for amending
those rules, a tough fight worthy. And it is these very rules by which to play, that bring
the Team 10 discourse close to Huizinga – not just in metaphoric terms, which is the
usual sense in which Huizinga’s ‘play’ is understood, but rather in terms of structure.

Looking at the Team 10 meetings, how they are organised and what happened during
them, they seem to be quite in compliance with Huizinga’s definition of play. Huizinga
is very clear about this formal definition – he describes it in the first chapter ‘Nature and
Significance of Play’:
‘Summing up the formal characteristics of play we might call it a free activity standing
quite consciously outside “ordinary” life as being “not serious”, but at the same time
absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material
interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries
of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the
formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to
stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means.’ (Huizinga
p. 13)
This definition allows Huizinga to look at the most disparate human activities in order to
isolate and highlight what he calls the ‘play-element in culture’. And although Huizinga
refrained from looking into the issue of architecture, it is surprisingly easy to relate various moments within the discourse of architecture, such as that of Team 10, to his definition.

This is how the meetings perfectly fit each criterion of Huizinga:
the Team 10 meetings can be described as staged occasions that provided a space or platform that was in principle free, and stood apart from the ordinary, everyday practices of the architect;
the gatherings were limited in time and space;
there was certainly no direct profit to be gained;
as mentioned there was a set of certain rules and order of procedure – for instance, one visited realised works by Team 10 participants, one brought exclusively one’s own projects, and there were only architects allowed to speak, first a presentation then questions;
and may be more than anything, the Team 10 meetings produced a ‘play community’, or ‘family’ in the words of Team 10. Who was allowed to enter the Team 10 circle was a special matter of continuous concern to the core members of the group.

Next to the definition of play, actually straight after it, Huizinga mentioned another key aspect of play, namely the aspect of contest, or the representation of contest. He translated this into the agonistic impulse, or agonistic principle of play, before he started describing countless examples of the play-element in human culture. And this aspect too, fits the Team 10 discourse like a glove as I will show.

The agonistic principle becomes most tangible when Huizinga developed his argument on play and knowing. In the concluding paragraph of the chapter ‘Play-Forms in Philosophy’ he wrote:
’All knowledge – and this naturally includes philosophy – is polemical by nature, and polemics cannot be divorced from agonistics. Epochs in which great new treasures of the mind come to light are generally epochs of violent controversy.’ (Huizinga p. 156)
According to Huizinga this agonistic principle could also be located at the heart of poetry. Indeed, to him the ancient riddle and poetry contests were evidence of the inherent poetic development of human knowledge. Near the end of his lucid argument on play and poetry, Huizinga said among others:

‘As a form of competition proper, archaic poetry is barely distinguishable from the ancient riddle-contest. The one produces wisdom, the other words of beauty. Both are dominated by a system of play-rules which fix the range of ideas and symbols to be used, sacred or poetic as the case may be; both presuppose a circle of initiates who understand the language spoken. The validity of either depends solely on how far it conforms to the play-rules. Only he who can speak the art-language wins the title of poet. This art-language differs from ordinary speech in that it employs special terms, images, figures, etc., which not everybody will understand.

The eternal gulf between being and idea can only be bridged by the rainbow of imagination. The word-bound concept is always inadequate to the torrent of life. Hence it is only the image-making or figurative word that can invest things with expression and at the same time bathe them in the luminosity of ideas: ideas and things are united in the image.’ (Huizinga p. 133)

At this point, I’d like to return to the word-images as developed and deployed by Team 10 and *Forum* magazine.

When I read this passage I myself was submerged in the image-world of Team 10; to me, it was, and still is, impossible not to think of the word games of the Team 10 protagonists, when reading Huizinga’s endless descriptions of the ancient contests at distant and mythical places. Reading about the spirit of nordic poets, the Potlatch festivals, Brahman and Buddhist wisdom, the simultaneous tragic and comic dimensions of Greek drama, and so forth and so on – I couldn’t help but relating this to the development of discourse in architecture, and especially the circle of Team 10, and their riddle-like disputing.

Many of the presentations by Team 10 protagonists can only be grasped, if we keep
this ludic-poetic dimension in the back of our mind – be it the already mentioned Urban Re-Identification grid by Alison and Peter Smithson, with Henderson’s pictures of playing children to demonstrate the new discursive game they sought to play; be it the simple sketches Bakema used to draw while lecturing to clarify his cosmological notion of ‘Total Space.’ However, the ‘real’ homo ludens was of course, Aldo van Eyck. As far as can be deducted from the stories, correspondence and minutes kept in archives, his presentations were the re-enactment of the ludic game par excellence. Many of Van Eyck’s presentations can be understood in the ludic sense of formulating poetic riddles, that can only be solved and surpassed by equally poetic formulations. Especially at the meeting in Royaumont (1962) this led to vehement discussions on the city and its order.
IV. The figurative word of van Eyck

With regard to the early Team 10 discourse and Van Eyck’s special contribution one can point to three instances of the ‘figurative word’ that combine, and unite ideas and things as Huizinga would like to see it. I’m referring to Van Eyck’s presentation of the ‘Lost Identity Grid’ at the CIAM congress in Dubrovnik (1956), his diagram of the Otterlo Circles, presented at the last CIAM congress at Otterlo (1959), and his ‘tree-leaf’ diagram presented at the Team 10 meeting in Royaumont (1962).

The ‘Lost Identity’ grid (1956)

At Dubrovnik, besides the grid for the new village of Nagele, Van Eyck presented some of the children’s playground designs he had been making for the Amsterdam Public Works Department. By then he already had some ten years of experience in designing playgrounds all around the city, both in the new expansion areas and in the historic centre, where sites damaged from the Second World War took on a new temporary function for children’s play. Van Eyck had spent the war in Switzerland, and on his return to the Netherlands in 1946 almost immediately found employment in the Public Works Department which was led by Van Eesteren. Van Eyck probably made initial contact with Van Eesteren, then the president of CIAM and a former member of De Stijl, through the intercession of Carola Giedion-Welcker and Nelly van Doesburg.

Van Eyck’s grid closely adheres to the instructions for presentations in CIAM newly drawn up by the younger generation; no long-winded analyses and elaborate diagrams here as in the case of the so-called ASCORAL-grid that was used for the congress at Aix in 1953, but instead four panels were used by Van Eyck to briefly outline the problem, to illustrate design solutions and to sum up in a pithy statement. The layout of Van Eyck’s panels relates directly to earlier presentations and publications by the Dutch forerunner of Cobra, the ‘Experimentele Groep’. The young poets and painters in this group, with whom Van Eyck was very closely associated in that period, created something of a commotion in Amsterdam in the late 1940s.

Van Eyck’s presentation amounted to an associative account of the city and its
children. Photos and associated texts were woven into a graphic, poetic metaphor for the task facing architects and city planners in the post-war years. At the same time, the grid offered real solutions for achieving immediate improvements with few resources, for the benefit of those for whom it counted most – children, who are generally absent from the main discourses of architecture and planning.

It can be said that Van Eyck's playgrounds marry his profound interest in non-modern cultures to poetry, art and the world of the child.

The design of these innumerable playgrounds (probably around 860 of them) also gave Van Eyck an opportunity to develop various compositional techniques and to test them directly in practice. The playgrounds formed an effective laboratory for the ideas he was later to encapsulate in his 'Otterlo Circles' diagram (1959), in which he united the modern tradition with those of classical architecture and of vernacular or spontaneous building.

*The Otterlo Circles (1959)*

Without a doubt the Otterlo Circles are Van Eyck's best known 'word-image.' Both Francis Strauven and Lefaivre and Tzonis have commented on its central place within the discourse of CIAM and Team 10.

There are two different versions known. Both display two circles, in which in the left one three different 'traditions' of architecture are mounted: the tradition of modern architecture, the one of classical architecture, and the vernacular tradition. Between the two versions the chosen images by which these traditions are represented differ, yet the traditions themselves remain the same. In the latter version, the images are combined with small slogans referring to those traditions. We read: 'vernacular of the heart' for the vernacular tradition, 'immutability and rest' for the classical tradition, and 'change and movement' for the modern one. Between the classical and the modern Van Eyck glued: 'concepts of the mind'; and between the classical and the vernacular: 'extensions of collective behaviour.'

Of course, the positioning of these phrases is immediately communicating Van Eyck's
criticism of the CIAM version of the gospel of modern architecture: it was too ‘rational’, and fell short in a possible collective grounding.

In the right circle of the first version we see three pictures of bronze age sculptures of a woman with a child, a standing man and a group of people; in the latter version these are replaced by one picture of a group of Kayopo Indians from Venezuela, who are dancing in a circle – as an example of image-rhyme [beeldrijm] a perfect poetic gesture.

Outside the circles more slogans and rhetorical questions are glued. First of all: ‘par NOUS’, and ‘pour NOUS’, which becomes ‘BY US’, and FOR US’ in the second version. And in smaller lettering at the bottom:
‘is architecture going to reconcile basic values?’ and ‘man still breathes in and out. is architecture going to do the same?’

In the second version these are replaced by:
‘when is architecture going to bring together opposite qualities and solutions?’
‘get close to the center – the shifting center – and build.’
‘to discover anew implies discovering something new.’, and finally:
‘we can discover ourselves everywhere – in all places and ages – doing the same things in a different way, feeling the same differently, reacting differently to the same.’

These aphorisms act as elements of a discursive game, as riddles in the ludic sense: questions and assignments that need resolve and resourcefulness, quite like a sphinx might ask, or a Gordian knot.

The ‘Tree-Leaf’ diagram (1962)
Within the circles of CIAM and Team 10 the two aforementioned word-images were greeted with almost unanimous delight. The third word-image I show here, the ‘tree-leaf’ diagram of 1962, met heavy criticism, however.

Van Eyck drew this diagram to explain his idea of reciprocity between city and house,
he linked the classical analogy of house and city, borrowed from Alberti, with another analogy that was quite fashionable at the time: the city as a tree-structure. Hence, Van Eyck came up with his own image of a tree and a leaf, as a parallel to city and house. In his diagram he reduced the representation of tree and leaf to such a degree that they appeared as almost the same thing. The diagram is accompanied by a text that reads:

'tree is leaf and leaf is tree – house is city and city is house – a tree is a tree but it is also a huge leaf – a leaf is a leaf, but it is also a tiny tree – a city is not a city unless it is also a huge house – a house is a house only if it is also a tiny city.'

Once again, I'd like to stress, that this diagram, its child-like drawing and its equally child-like text are to be understood as part of discursive game, as a riddle that can only be solved by another riddle. Van Eyck's presentation was the eloquent re-enactment of the persona of the *Homo Ludens* juggling metaphors and analogies to provoke his peers to come up with even better and more imaginative ones. However, following the transcripts of the meeting it seemed the riddle is not appreciated in the first place, and reciprocity in general as a design generating concept. It was presented parallel to a scheme of one of his students, ‘Noah’s Ark’ by Piet Blom (1962), which was also highly criticised. Yet, I do not want to focus on this scheme – as interesting as it is, and the discussion it triggered – but I want to focus on the role of the word-image of the ‘tree-leaf’ diagram.

At that particular September day at the former *l’abbaye* of Royaumont, where Team 10 and its *entourage* had gathered, Van Eyck did not make things very easy for himself nor his audience. In his extensive presentation he linked the classical analogy of house and city, borrowed from Alberti, with another analogy that was quite fashionable at the time: the city as a tree-structure. Hence, Van Eyck came up with his own image of a tree and a leaf, as a parallel to city and house. In his diagram he reduced the representation of tree and leaf to such a degree that they appeared as almost the same thing. The diagram is accompanied by a text that reads:

'tree is leaf and leaf is tree – house is city and city is house – a tree is a tree but it is also a huge leaf – a leaf is a leaf, but it is also a tiny tree – a city is not a city unless it also a huge house – a house is a house only if it is also a tiny city.'
let alone solved or surpassed. A young Christopher Alexander, who was present as a guest, reacted with undeniable anger: ‘You know damn well that a tree is not a big leaf, that it is useless in that respect to come up with the parallel image.’ Fellow Team 10 member John Voelcker also reproached Van Eyck for presenting ‘an image of an image.’

Unfortunately, during the discussion it remains quite unclear why Van Eyck supplemented Alberti’s analogy with his own. Alberti’s analogy by itself may have sufficed to highlight the reciprocal, non-hierarchical interdependency between the part and the whole, the small scale and the large scale, as Van Eyck attempted to do. Only a few years later, after Alexander had published his essay ‘A city is not a tree’ (1965) Van Eyck felt it necessary to respond and clarify – at least partly – what his position was. More wordplay followed when Van Eyck quoted wordsmith Shakespeare casually introducing Surrealism at the same time:

‘I tried to replace the current false “organic” city-tree analogy, because it is based on the sentimental, though well-meant, assumption that, ideally, the man-made city should behave, and hence also be “planned”, according to the same kind of system of ascending dimension and ascending degree of complexity. … The analogy is false the way all such analogies are false – and unpoetic – because it overlooks the real meaning of both city and tree. I replaced it, therefore, by two separate, autonomous though intersuggestive identifications: leaf is tree – tree is leaf, and a house is city – city is house. By their inclusive ambiguity they tell us that a city is a semi-lattice. Also that a city is chaotic and necessarily so (when we say city we imply people). Cities, moreover, as Shakespeare said of man are “of such stuff as dreams are made of.” The dream, of course, implies infinite cross reference. And so does the city. Both are as a man is! This is why cities neither should nor can ever reflect the kind of order a tree wrongly suggests. Wrongly, because a tree is not a tree without its inhabitants. They – the birds, beasts, and insects – see to it that a tree is also a semi-lattice! Anyway, a city is no more a tree
than it is not a tree. That goes without saying, hence also without Alexander’s mathematics.\textsuperscript{10}

Next to the emphasis on association and cross referencing one should note that according to Van Eyck only by way of a \textit{poetic} analogy the real meaning of city and tree can be conveyed.

After his exposition on the image analogy tree-leaf and house-city, Van Eyck continued his exposé explaining every little detail of the plan by Piet Blom to further elaborate his argument. For Van Eyck Blom’s plan was an excellent example of the idea how the largest and the smallest scale levels reflect each other mutually. To him it presented an elaboration down to the smallest scale level of his ideas on the so-called ‘configurative process’, as expressed in his contributions to \textit{Forum} at the time and demonstrated in his own project for the Amsterdam Orphanage [Burgerweeshuis, 1955-1960].

The discussion concentrated almost immediately on how the architecture of Blom fixed, not liberated the daily life of the residents. The presumed concurrence of use and form in Blom’s plan was reason for the Smithsons, carefully backed by Jaap Bakema, to comment negatively on the plan. When going through the typescript, at a certain point we find ourselves in the middle of the discussion on the relation between use and form. After a remark of Alison Smithson, Van Eyck says angrily: ‘Don’t talk about the Gestapo. You didn’t have the Gestapo in England, so don’t talk about Gestapo’.

This is the moment Jaap Bakema sides with Alison Smithson, albeit in much more cautious terms. He speaks in defence of Smithson, who apparently was the first to use the word Gestapo. Bakema says:

‘I have the feeling when I look at it [Blom’s plan, DvdH] that this multiplicity is a wonderful thing to look at, but suddenly there comes a doubt when I look at it and I think: Hey, that’s well organised for me – where I have to be alone and where I have to be together and when – and that’s why Alison comes with the name Gestapo, of course, not thinking about the police but thinking about the spirit in which it is ordered
for you – how you have to be alone and how you have to be together. I think that’s the point.’

The discussion on that day in Royaumont did not produce any final conclusions. Van Eyck felt that his Team 10 fellows were taking the plan too literally. He understood Blom’s plan as the imagination of a possible future city, not as a proposal to be immediately built, in his words it represented the poetry of a ‘snowflake’. However, this qualification was no longer to any avail, the family wasn’t getting any closer. Finally, Shadrach Woods asked Aldo van Eyck, ‘Aldo, do you honestly think that this is poetry in the sense that it illuminates our life in some way today? Do you really think that this is poetry?’ Van Eyck mumbled affirmatively, upon which Woods concluded, ‘Then there is no point in talking about this any more. We are talking about different poetry.’ ‘Poetry’ was to be the final criterion, and apparently this time Van Eyck had failed, and discussion broke down.
V. Framework of truth and knowledge
At this point I’d like to go back to Van Eyck’s ‘vagueness’. And I like to relate this to some of our own questions today, in our schools and universities, namely to questions of knowledge and the development of knowledge. With regard to play and poetry, it seems clear why Van Eyck called for this ‘vagueness’, or the ‘slumbering of meaning’. But what does it mean when we consider the possibility of an architectural epistemology? Something that was suggested by Georges Teyssot when he discussed the ideas of Michel Foucault in his essay on Heterotopia (1977). Foucault’s ‘episteme’ is related to the world of science. In a short discussion at our Team 10 congress Teyssot himself clarified that because of this Foucault denied that architecture could have its own ‘episteme.’

The notion of ‘episteme’ is quite similar of that of the ‘paradigm’ as defined by Thomas Kuhn – both are about frameworks of knowledge within which hypotheses, statements and test results are validated; some then are considered to be true, and others that don’t fit and fall outside of this framework are considered to be wrong. It is in this sense that these frameworks structure and direct our discourses. But then again, what does it mean when we consider mythopoiesis as a possible framework for architectural epistemology? A framework capable of measuring and validating architectural hypotheses? Is architectural truth and knowledge, then poetic truth and wisdom?

Huizinga was very clear about the issue of mythopoiesis and knowledge, yet it further complicates the relation architecture and science. In the mythopoietic sense as proposed by Huizinga, poetry is considered to be capable of synthesizing and expressing the knowledge of human existence within a cosmological order – unlike the natural sciences for instance, or positivist philosophy do.

Yet, at the same time, the scientific discourse does contain various elements of mythopoiesis, how unlikely this may seem at first sight. Scientific discourse too, makes use of ‘riddles’, and riddle contests; and concepts for a cosmological order are also
part of the discourse of the natural sciences. It might suffice here, to mention as an example of a riddle the famous theorem of Fermat, and as examples of cosmological concepts the theories of Intelligent Design, Gaia theory or chaos theory.

As a conclusion, a final problem: concerning knowledge and truth and whether they are relative, or universal. To think of ‘frameworks of knowledge’ means conceiving of knowledge as something relative. If we follow Van Eyck and Huizinga, a certain ambiguity, not to say contradiction emerges.

When play is considered as a provisional within its own boundaries of place, time and procedure – this seems to be completely in line with Kuhn’s concept of the paradigm. Also in line with this, Huizinga put the figure of the Greek sophist central in his chapter on ‘Play Forms in Philosophy’ – Platonic truth and knowledge (pure and universal ‘episteme’) yield to sophist ‘doxa’, or common opinion. ‘Truth’ is relative and the outcome of ‘dialogues’ and ‘tests’, or let’s say poetic contests – quite like the meetings of Team 10.

Yet, at the same time Huizinga seems to understand the whole notion of play as a human capacity that is also universal. And this is rather in contradiction with any relativist thinking. When it comes to a relativist or universal positioning Huizinga seems to be evasive, anyway. In his chapter on play and philosophy Huizinga called the ‘problem of “universal”’ ‘relatively unimportant’, although still ‘unresolved today’.

So, it is at this point, I must admit that my own story starts to break. Even more so, in the case of Van Eyck, who – unlike Huizinga – would remain a forceful defendant of Platonic universal truths, which seems so at odds with his call for ‘vagueness’, latent polyvalence and multi-meaning. Van Eyck would state – as he did in his ‘Otterlo Circles’ – that humans and human value are the same, everywhere, and at any time. It is this point that the issue of morality takes over and starts re-directing the discourse. And, it should be noted here, too, that next to poetry, morality is the second force and framework that directed the Team 10 discourse, and that of modern architecture in general.
Notes


3 For the record: according to Van Eyck’s biographer Francis Strauven Van Eyck had not read Huizinga’s Homo Ludens – it was not in his library, and he hasn’t referred to it in his writings. Still, according to Strauven Van Eyck had appropriated the term mythopoiesis through the writings of the British archaeologist Henry Frankfort. (see Aldo van Eyck, The Shape of Relativity, Amsterdam 1998, pp. 449-451)


6 For a discussion of Van Eyck’s playgrounds see: Liane Lefaivre, Ingeborg de Roode (eds.), Aldo van Eyck. De speelplaatsen en de stad, Amsterdam / Rotterdam, 2002; especially the texts by Lefaivre pp. 24-49, and Francis Strauven pp. 66-83. Although Lefaivre makes extensive references to Cobra and Huizinga’s Homo Ludens, she omits the relation with poetry; Strauven doesnot mention Huizinga at all.

7 According to Lefaivre; Liane Lefaivre, Ingeborg de Roode (eds.), Aldo van Eyck. De speelplaatsen en de stad, Amsterdam / Rotterdam, 2002

8 See: Francis Strauven, Aldo van Eyck. The Shape of Relativity, Amsterdam 1998, pp. 346-354, and:


10 Francis Strauven (ed.). Niet om het even, wel evenwaardig. Van en over Aldo van Eyck, Amsterdam, 1986, p.137
Mythopoesis of Place and Culture: 
Aldo van Eyck, Herman Haan, and the Dogon

by Karin Jaschke

' Maybe nothing in the history of CIAM has been more touching than its encounter with the subject of 'strange and humble' countries. Faced with the last remnants of an archaic world, CIAM discovered the miracle of a more complete kind of people; the humble genius of the integrated community.'  

This Aldo van Eyck stated in the first issue of Forum, edited by him, and distributed to the delegates of the CIAM conference in Otterlo in September 1959.

Indeed there was within CIAM in the 1950s a general motion towards expanding the modern architectural discourse beyond the confines of Western and Westernizing countries. At the 9th CIAM conference in Aix-en-Provence in 1953, the commission on the Attitude Vis à Vis de Données Naturelles et des Civilisations Archaïques, chaired by Sigfried Giedion and van Eyck, had declared that, “Our attitude in approaching strange civilisations is humble,” and emphasized the necessity to acknowledge the perceived superior aesthetic sensibility of ‘archaic’ people, instead of continuing to judge such people by their relatively lower technological standards. Obliquely related to this was a new concern with ‘the general problem of the homeless global poor,’ and an interest in the living conditions of non-Western people considered in relation to the local cultural context, as reflected in the notion of ‘habitat’ and explored by the work of the GAMMA and ATBAT groups in North Africa.

While the concern with a non-Western Other never became a predominant issue for CIAM or Team 10, it constituted a subtle but pervasive undercurrent of the debates of the late 1950s and the 1960s. Aldo van Eyck was probably the one Team 10 member who championed the subject most consistently and who was able to successfully integrate into his own work a range of practical, theoretical, and ethical ideas derived from this engagement.

Van Eyck’s interest in traditional, non-Western cultures was complex and extended
well beyond the ‘enjoyment’ of other cultures that he derived from the artefacts and ideas of people from all over the world.\textsuperscript{4} Informed by anthropological literature, it encompassed a theoretical interest in cultural configurations and processes, and, importantly, a concern with questions of a more ethical nature, relating to the premises and practice of anthropological research on the one hand and to questions of Western hegemony and the disintegration of traditional cultures on the other. In the midst of late-colonial and decolonising scenarios, van Eyck was remarkably lucid about the fact that,

‘emancipation unfortunately seldom works out until the cultural differences, which impede it, are attenuated and the standards ‘elevated’ to those of the materially most powerful. If the standards of the most powerful are as incoherent and as spurious in many ways as those of our industrial age, this implies a great human tragedy.’\textsuperscript{5}

It is clear from this that van Eyck’s interest in traditional societies was linked to a broad cultural critique of Western civilization, as had been the case earlier in the century with modernist primitivisms and other orientalist and exotic references in the history of the West. Van Eyck was convinced that there existed in traditional cultures a fundamental dimension of fulfilled human living that had been lost to modern society to a large degree and needed to be recovered, albeit in a modern guise. Van Eyck envisaged this dimension as one related to memory, imagination, associative thinking, and artistic creativity, as opposed to rational and analytical modes of thinking and being. This idea and van Eyck’s general outlook were of course part of a broader tendency in modern philosophical and critical thinking, and art practice, stretching from Romanticism to such diverse theories and movements as anthroposophy, psychoanalysis, surrealism, phenomenology, and hermeneutics. In a hypothetical manner, van Eyck’s ideas, and arguably even the broader strand of modern Western attempts to conceptualize non-rational modes of human existence, may be described as mythopoetic, or mythopoeic, not in a strict literary sense as myth and mythmaking, but rather, if not exclusively, along the lines of Ernst Cassirer’s understanding of man

\begin{flushright}
112
\end{flushright}
as a ‘symbolic animal’. The scope and interest of using the notion of mythopoesis to denote aspects of a broader non-rationalist tradition of Western thought as well as the dimension of human existence foregrounded by these approaches cannot be explored further here. Rather, the paper will point out two instances in van Eyck’s work where the notion of mythopoesis appears to provide a useful conceptual and terminological framework for understanding his thinking: this concerns firstly the idea of place-affinity and secondly the question of intercultural communication. They will be examined in relation to van Eyck’s engagement with the Dogon people of Western Africa, whom the architect visited in 1960. A brief account of this journey will lead to a discussion of van Eyck’s understanding and experience of Dogon culture and a comparison of this to the approach of his travel companion Herman Haan, whose extraordinary double career as architect and self-taught archaeologist-ethnographer can only be evoked here insofar as it puts into relief van Eyck’s position.

Although van Eyck had been interested in traditional cultures since his student days and had travelled to Algeria and Tunisia in the 1940s and 50s, it was only in early 1960 (after completing the orphanage building) that he actually experienced life in a tribal community from close up. Van Eyck had harboured the desire to visit the Dogon since first learning about them from a report by the ethnographer Marcel Griaule in the surrealist journal Minotaure, in the 1930s. When Herman Haan set out to visit the region in February 1960 in preparation of an exhibition at the ethnographic Museum voor land- en volkenkunde in Rotterdam, the van Eycks seized the opportunity and joined him.

Van Eyck, his wife, and Haan travelled to Africa by plane. They stopped in Niamey in the Republic of Niger and continued via Bobo-Dioulasso and Ouagadougou in present-day Burkina Faso onto Mopti, a provincial port town situated on a branch of the river Niger, some 150 kilometer north of the Dogon region. From Mopti, possibly with a detour via the city of Djenné, Haan and the van Eycks hitchhiked on a truck to Bandiagara, the Dogon region’s administrative centre. In Bandiagara, the party split up. Haan hired a guide and bought mules, to trek across the plateau and hike 200 km along the foot of the Bandiagara escarpment. He intended to collect Dogon
artefacts and gather first hand information and documentation on Dogon culture for his exhibition. The van Eycks for their part wanted to go to Sangha, an important Dogon village. After initial problems to find transport, a car from Sangha was pointed out to them: it belonged to a researcher from Zurich, Fritz Morgenthaler, who was conducting a pioneering four-months study in ethno-psychoanalysis with the Dogon people. Morgenthaler agreed to give them a ride in spite of his initial reservations over the arrival of the Europeans and, once in Sangha, Morgenthaler, his colleague Paul Parin, and their wives Ruth Morgenthaler and Goldy Parin-Mattëy factually became the hosts of the van Eycks for the duration of their stay. Van Eyck spent his time photographing and filming, and when Haan rejoined the party after ten days, the group went on a two-day trip to visit the village of Yougou Dougourou on a nearby table mountain, returning to Sangha just in time to witness a Dama celebration, a spectacular ritual concluding a period of mourning. After five weeks of travelling, they returned home in the last week of March. 8

It is fair to say that the encounter with Parin and Morgenthaler was key to van Eyck’s experience and understanding of Dogon culture. In Hannie van Eyck’s words, “it was incredible because we didn’t know anything about the Dogon really, and after this visit we knew quite a lot. When we went to the village and saw something, we often didn’t understand what those people were doing, why they were laughing. Then we would come home and have a meal with Parin and Morgenthaler and talk about it.” Parin and Morgenthaler encouraged the van Eycks’ conscious effort not to intrude unduly upon the local people’s affairs. As Hannie van Eyck recalls, ‘we promised Parin that we would not take anything that had any significance for those people. We bought one of those pots that they use for everyday things, but nothing of any special interest because if you did that, and it was discovered who gave it to you, that person would have been excommunicated. ... We wouldn’t have known that, had we not met Parin and Morgenthaler.’

These statements and Aldo van Eyck’s writings suggest that he and his wife were acutely aware of the ethical and cultural problems that their presence amidst the local community posed. This did of course not resolve the contradictions inherent in their
status as tourists and architects amidst a traditional community and their engagement as a whole. From a critical postcolonial point of view there are substantial difficulties with the idea of an “unintrusive” presence in a situation as described above, the late-colonial context of which was providing the structural preconditions for the visit in the first place. There is also the readiness of the van Eycks to buy ritual objects from Western dealers and, more generally, van Eyck’s involvement on some level in the reproduction of certain stereotypes about traditional communities, in particular regarding the constancy and harmony of their lifestyles.\textsuperscript{10} However, it is important to understand van Eyck’s outlook and behaviour in historical context and to acknowledge the relative degree to which he recognized and managed to extricate himself from the historically constituted asymmetries of perception and interaction between Western and non-Western actors. Although his work was on some level perpetuating these fundamental structural inequalities, with the Western observer representing and talking about the non-Western observed, it also contributed to their realization and undoing by raising public and architectural awareness of at least some of the problematic issues involved in Western-non-Western relations. For instance, while in parts van Eyck’s writings reproduced generalizing views of the Dogon and traditional cultures, he also drew on Morgenthaler’s and Parin’s ethnopsycholanalytic research, foregrounding individual rather than collective agency in the traditional community, and thus shifting away from earlier and more stereotypical perspectives on traditional communities.

Herman Haan, in the meantime, took an entirely different approach to matters. Haan had conducted extensive prehistoric research in the Sahara and was connected since the early 1950s with the ethnographic museum in Rotterdam, for which he collected artefacts in North Africa and curated two major exhibitions on North African themes in 1956 and 1958. He knew the countries of the Magreb well and had spent considerable time living with traditional communities. When he attended the Otterlo conference in 1959 and presented material about Tunisian settlement types from an ethnographic survey, he had been to Africa about twenty times.\textsuperscript{11} At the conference, van Eyck described Haan as ‘a sublime amateur,’ and continued ‘he is a Sunday-artist
in everything except in life. He is a Sunday-artist in architecture, he is a Sunday-artist in anthropology. He is an extremely good anthropologist - I’ve been to the Sahara with him'.  

Five month later they went to the Dogon, and, in contrast to van Eyck and his wife, Haan was intent on experiencing first hand as many aspects of Dogon culture and everyday life as possible. In the account of his journey in the catalogue of the later exhibition on the Dogon, his empathetic attitude is evident. In the form of a diary, Haan describes the landscapes and villages, the flora and fauna, the customs, habits, and demeanors of the people and recounts mythical stories that were told to him. However, he also tells the reader about the mid-day-heat, the drab taste and burning feel of hot millet, the sound effects at the foot of the cliffs, and his dealings with the local people, including a number of occasions where difficulties and misunderstandings arose. The atmosphere and genius loci of the cultural and natural environment was clearly what Haan tried to grasp himself and share with his readers. After rejoining the party in Sangha, he sought the proximity of locals and, whenever possible, spent time with them rather than with his fellow travellers, to the point of irritating both the van Eycks and the Swiss ethnographers. Hannie van Eyck remarked on his attitude that,

’Haan had a different approach to the local people. He wanted to be the same as them. But this doesn’t work, they will not understand and just ask, ‘Why are you sleeping on the floor, when you can have a stretcher?’ This attitude is beyond them, and we didn’t like it either. Haan had the idea that he ought to do what they did, that he had to behave like them, but that is not the way to discover how people really are. They just think ’What a strange thing – why is he acting like this?’

The feeling that Haan’s desire to adapt to the lifestyle of the Dogon was excessive was echoed in comments by other contemporaries and travel companions of Haan. Although the van Eycks and Haan were befriended and although Parin and Morgenthaler thought of Haan as an original and sympathetic character, his attitude was alien to them.
Van Eyck and Parin and Morgenthaler, on the other hand, shared a very similar outlook and formed an intellectual friendship that continued long after the trip. Back in Europe, Parin and Morgenthaler agreed to contribute articles to an essay about the Dogon that van Eyck was putting together. They encouraged van Eyck to link his ideas on ‘relativity’ to Dogon culture and contributed their own views on the issues that van Eyck raised. The long, co-authored essay that resulted from these discussions appeared eventually in 1967 in the Dutch magazine Forum under the title ‘Dogon: Basket – House – Village – World’ and was published a little later in English as ‘A Miracle of Moderation’. In this essay van Eyck introduced the readers to the Dogon and explained how their culture illustrated and corroborated the concepts that he had developed during the 1950s, including relativity, right-size, and dual- (or later twin-)phenomena. The essay contained a succinct summary of Dogon history, geography, beliefs, and customs by Paul Parin while Fritz Morgenthaler contributed an anecdotal account that showed the complex identification of the Dogon with their built environment. Van Eyck introduced the subject, provided additional ethnographic information in the long captions to his photographs, and interpreted the accounts of Parin and Morgenthaler in the light of his own agenda. Van Eyck found that the Dogon like the Pueblo people whom he had visited the year after the Dogon trip,

‘tell us ... that right-size is not a quantitative matter at all. They reveal once again that what large and small, many and few, far and near, part and whole, unity and diversity, simplicity and complexity, etc., etc., mean in a qualitative and relative sense, depends on what they mean in terms of each other, i.e. as a linked sequence of twinphenomena. In a valid solution - whether it is a Pueblo or a Dogon village, all these qualities are simultaneously present. Each acquires something of the meaning of the other and is enriched by it — given perspective. This is what I call right size.’

The foundation from which such interconnectivity of meaning and experience could spring, could be located firstly in the tight correlation of a spatial network of sites and objects, and secondly in a collective belief system, and a corresponding mental
structure of the individual. This was supported by an encompassing mythology, a cosmological “system” of symbolic meanings. However, while drawing on Marcel Griaule’s ethnographic studies for this interpretation, van Eyck, like Parin and Morgenthaler, saw the ‘Dogon system’ less in Griaule’s metaphysical and idealistic terms than as a concrete lived reality, manifest in everyday events and based in the socio-psychic structures of the Dogon.17

It was in conversation with Morgenthaler that van Eyck sought to understand in more detail the mechanisms by which these structures and cultural patterns generated the ‘valid solution’ that he saw in the Dogon. In his contribution, Morgenthaler tried to illustrate through concrete examples how ‘relativity’ worked in practice and, more importantly, the role that the built environment played in this by generating and supporting what van Eyck called place-affinity. According to Morgenthaler, the Dogon, ‘are largely content and at their ease,’ because ‘psychic tensions arising from contact with fellow men are not of lasting consequences with the Dogon’. He explained:

‘they hardly ever experience the pressure of dammed up feelings that can find expression in hoping and longing. Tension will usually be discharged at the point of its origin and without delay, distributed, and cleared in a common transaction. This can succeed to a high degree, because for each emotion, each disturbance, and all impulses a material or spiritual response lies ready to facilitate abreaction, without disturbing the external or internal order that defines their world.’18

Morgenthaler related how an old Dogon man, Bai, made up for the inability of the ethnographer and his companions to respond adequately to the elaborate ritual greeting by spontaneously launching into a pantomime, replaying the situation, and thus completing the exchange himself, on behalf of the foreigners. On another occasion Morgenthaler spoke with Amba, a younger Dogon, about his family and the house the latter intended to build for them. As the Dogon explained the relations between family members and the corresponding living arrangements as they
developed over time, an intricate system of family ties and living situations emerged. Morgenthaler summarized, ‘Then just as father and big brother match each other, so do the building of a house and the act of procreation, the house and the child — not symbols of each other, not just comparable parts of a whole, but one and the same, like the square basket with the round opening that is at once basket, granary, and cosmos. In such continuity of psychic experience appears the wholeness of the Dogon culture.’ Morgenthaler’s third episode was about his encounter with Dommo, a middle-aged man, who wanted to show Morgenthaler ‘his house’, but ended up taking the ethnographer around the entire village:

‘Dommo’s wish to show me his house took us in turn to the council-place of the elders, to the village chief’s place, to the priest’s, then to the place of the family elder, and just at last to his own dwelling. To each of these places he is bound by a quite definite part of his sense of ‘being home’. So it is in this culture that a house is never sold, for one calls a house the people living there.’

In a series of letters written between 1961 and 1968, van Eyck and Morgenthaler continued to discuss the idea of a relational understanding of house, village, and, in fact, the entire region as a basis for the Dogon people’s mental equilibrium. In this context, Morgenthaler mentioned the fearful behaviour of the otherwise self-confident Dommo during a trip to Mopti, outside the Dogon region. Van Eyck saw in this anecdote a confirmation of his ideas about the local attachment of the Dogon. However, Morgenthaler did not want to add this to his article because, as he noted, the story would need contextualization in order not to create misunderstandings and the text would suffer from additions and didactic explanations. In a later letter, apparently upon van Eyck’s insisting on the relevance of the story, Morgenthaler somewhat exasperatedly launched into a lengthy explanation pointing out that many Dogon adjusted remarkably well while working abroad and that this was disproving any simple conclusions that the story might suggest.
‘That Dommo lost his ... [mental balance] means that he had it at home in Dogonland (the entire world order). I cannot possibly lose it because I haven’t got it in the first place. But that does not imply that who has it in the first place must lose it in all circumstances abroad. To lose or not to lose it depends on inner-psychic factors that can be described psychoanalytically speaking by structural functions of the personality. The structure of Dogon-personality is quite different from our personality structure.’

Morgenthaler ventured a hypothesis about the ability of the Dogon to cope with expatriation by engaging in a form of storytelling that went beyond nostalgic representations and provided a quasi-real experience of ‘being at home’ in the world. In another exchange of letters a few years later, Morgenthaler expanded on this. Van Eyck had asked him whether a fable while told by a Dogon abroad became identical with his ‘entire world order’ providing ‘an emotionally accessible reality (conveying what is)’. Morgenthaler then explained about the workings of the Vorstellungsrepräsentanz, a psychoanalytic conceptualization of a psychological mechanism which under certain circumstances allows for a told story to be experienced as real. In the case of the Dogon, the system of symbolic and experiential correspondences including the house and the village would be at the core of this process.

In the essay, van Eyck left out the story about the Dogon’s uneasy feelings on being away from home, but he quoted Morgenthaler’s remark ‘that the Dogon feels well and happy only when he is in Dogonland, in the region within which his village lies amongst other villages’. He then translated Morgenthaler’s explanation that,

‘...it is probably true that ... [the Dogon’s] village, within the region and country where it lies, belongs also to the ‘entire world order’ and that it can be replaced by means of corresponding experiences. He will thus not merely feel himself at home in his village among other villages, in the region and country to which he belongs, but will actually BE there when he recounts a fable to a fellow Dogon in foreign territory. The difference between the
Dogon and us is not that we are unable to remember similar representational images or to transmit them to others in order to feel at home in a foreign land; no, the difference lies somewhere else. With us such images are fantasies. We tend to look at them hoping that they will conjure up what we miss, whereas the Dogon by means of the process referred to above transmits what IS and not what he misses, because, in fact, he misses nothing.  

Van Eyck’s understanding of the ability of the Dogon to “inhabit the story” or myth is the logical correlate of his attempt to cast the built environment as part of a new mythology or framework of imageable and meaningful references, or what may be called the mythopoeic dimension that modern society needed in his view. Van Eyck’s architectural theory may in this sense be said to aim at a mythopoesis of inhabitation, as well as the possibility for each individual to inhabit a mythopoeic dimension in society on the basis of psychological and socio-cultural constructs and mechanisms rather than metaphysics. Van Eyck argued, echoing Joseph Rykwert’s proposition in The Idea of a Town, that instead of cosmic references, redundant in a modern society, “an ‘interiorization of the mind - an ‘interior’ universe” may provide the frame of reference that would allow modern man to “be ‘at home’ nonetheless.” The mythopoeic cosmology of traditional societies was thus recast as a modern, mythopoeic psychology. All the while Morgenthaler stressed the vast differences in personality structure, the fact that a method so intrinsically modern in its premises as psychoanalysis could be shown to work on a traditional African people must have seemed to van Eyck enough legitimation for drawing on Dogon culture for reference and example.

Far from engaging in this kind of theoretical debate, Herman Haan’s fascination with the Dogon unfolded in an entirely different direction. Following the trip in 1960, Haan went on to visit the Dogon many more times, most spectacularly in 1964 when he began his archaeological and anthropological studies of the caves lining the Bandiagara cliffs in cooperation with Leiden university. This expedition, while of
reasonable scientific credibility, was also the object of a series of up-to-date television broadcasts which helped finance the enterprise in part. Later on Haan continued to travel to the Dogon region whenever work and money permitted and initiated extensive if not altogether successful humanitarian projects in the area. Haan's motivation for the engagement with traditional societies came out of his genuine enthusiasm for the traditional lifestyles that he had encountered during his trips. At the same time, through decades of first-hand experience and observation Haan was acutely aware of the pressures that bore on traditional societies and the processes of change that apparently unchanging traditional societies were in fact undergoing, in particular under colonial and post-colonial conditions. Like van Eyck, Haan was driven by a desire to impart to his fellow architects, but also to the broad public, the impressive character as well as the tenuous historical situation of many traditional people. He gave lectures and talks, using audio-visual materials, and most importantly curated a series of exhibitions at the Rotterdam museum. Haan's way of describing the cultures in question corresponded to his direct and uninhibited way of joining local populations in their every-day life: his films and exhibitions were lively and hands-on, giving a graphic and animated impression of the life of the communities. For Haan, intercultural understanding arose from first-hand experience and personal contact, a fact that he brought to a fitting conclusion when inviting his close friend over many years, Diankouno Dolo from Sangha to Holland, a visit that the Dutch papers did not fail to report on.27

Arguably, this kind of lived intercultural communication could not have been further from van Eyck's understanding of such matters. In conclusion it is necessary to return once more to van Eyck and look at his conception of intercultural relations. As for his approach to place-affinity and the role of story-telling, it may be argued that van Eyck conceived of intercultural relations in mythopoeic terms. In the essay about the Dogon, van Eyck cautioned the reader against "a kind of admiration that is both nostalgic and harassing," and by this presumably implied both Haan's empathetic involvement and the unmediated yearning for a return to supposedly simpler social and material conditions. Rather, he was suggesting, the Dogon ought
to be considered in a way that may be said to be ‘poeticising’ and even encompass a kind of intercultural mythopoeic activity: van Eyck explained that the ‘Dogon image,’ meaning the mental representation or idea of the Dogon as conjured up by the texts and photographs, needed to be held in the mind at a distance, as it were, and ought not be taken as a literal reference. Keeping this distance, more could be glimpsed of the character and interest of the culture than by too direct a perspective on it. For this purpose, the Western observer needed to adopt a special kind of receptive stance toward his or her Other. Van Eyck wrote that,

‘... there are perils lurking behind any desire to pen the mind to the kind of image chosen here. If we attempt to transfer too directly what we have become aware of again into a construed opinion, thereby freezing the meaning of it through arbitrary influence or ready-made definition, we will not only blunt the acquired awareness but also lame the formative potential this awareness would, without such false exploitation of data, be able to guide. We must, in fact, keep nourishing this awareness; allow it to embrace the dormant meanings it detects, assimilates, and carries with it – apprehended though left significantly undefined. Finally, architect-urbanists must see to it that those meanings which are of lasting human value are silently and unobtrusively contained in what they conceive, and not over-empatically or superficially transferred. The fulfilment of art – hence of architecture also – rests in its potential to perpetuate awareness as such.’

The collage-like layout of texts, photographs and captions of the essay may have been intended to call up the kind of associative, oblique, poetic awareness or mode of perception. At the same time though, the essay was emphasising the coherent and integrated nature of Dogon culture itself, an understanding of culture based in van Eyck’s familiarity with cultural anthropology and in particular the work of Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict. The kind of image that van Eyck suggested as a basis for approaching another culture productively (and, supposedly, unintrusively) relates to Ruth Benedict’s comparison of traditional cultures with works of art and with artistic
styles in the Western sense, an idea that was echoed in remarks by other cultural anthropologists in her circle, including Margaret Mead and Edward Sapir. For Mead cultures had to be ‘satisfactory and gracious’ and Sapir talked about cultures as the ‘art of living’. These statements describe a general, aestheticising view of cultures and appear to encourage a ‘poeticising’ engagement with them. This link of ethnographic and, in the largest sense, artistic, perspectives went further, as there were no sharp distinctions for Benedict between her ethnographic work and her ideas on contemporary Western society in general or her private life for this matter — indeed she wrote poetry, as did her colleague Edward Sapir. The casting of the ethnographic object as a work of art and the conjunction of ethnographic investigation and poetic creation in the ethnographers’ work describe an ethnographic mode, and cultural mood, that appears to correspond closely to the one that van Eyck envisaged in his own work. This points to a paradigmatic (and essentially modern) way of acting in and reacting to a cultural context, combining distanced, objective observation and poetic, engaged creation, whether within a modern context or an intercultural constellation. It was in writing about the Dogon that the actual experience of a non-Western people could be sublimated into an oblique, poetic view of a culture as image that was itself both functional and poetic, ‘satisfactory and gracious.’

This poetic reception and general awareness, it seems, is what van Eyck meant when he asked for a generous ‘multilateral justification’ of Western and traditional non-Western cultures. The hope that this kind of approach would contribute not only to an enlightenment of the Western observer but also to the preservation of cultural diversity and a productive, emancipatory cultural exchange, was clearly overly optimistic, but the attempt to come to terms with the difficulties of relating in an ethical and constructive way to other cultures was a valid question that van Eyck expressed maybe more poignantly and creatively than his contemporaries.
Notes
2 Ibid., p. 226, translation by the author.
3 Ibid., p. 216, translation by the author.
4 Van Eyck used this term in his speech at Otterlo. See transcripts and recordings of conference, archive of J. Bakema, NAI, Rotterdam.
5 Aldo van Eyck, *The Child, the City and the Artist*, unpublished manuscript, private archive Hannie van Eyck and University of Pennsylvania archives, ca. 1962, p. 160. An edited version of *The Child, the City and the Artist* will be published in 2006 by Francis Strauven and Vincent Ligtelijn.
7 According to Herman Haan (see *Mythen, maskers, magie*) they took a boat trip on the river Niger. Parts of a film by van Eyck was probably shot during this trip. (The film is in the private archive of Hannie van Eyck). Although accounts by Paul Parin, Hannie van Eyck and Herman Haan largely correspond they differ on a number of details and the chronology of events. The account given here represents a likely version.
8 According to van Eyck’s passport, the trip lasted from 19. February to 25. March 1960.
9 All quotes by Hannie van Eyck are from a conversation with the author on 12.3.2002.
10 According to Francis Strauven, van Eyck mentioned later in life that problematic issues such as the practice of female circumcision in African communities had initially escaped his attention and later lead him to reconsider his ideas in certain respects.
11 Alison Smithson writes in *Team 10 Meetings* that in 1960, “Herman Haan had been thirty-six times to the Sahara.” The frequency of his travels to Africa seems to have been the cause of quite some interest and astonishment in Team 10. Alison Smithson (ed.), *Team 10 Meetings*, Delft: TU Delft, p. 27, footnote 120.
12 From transcripts and records of Otterlo conference, archive of J. Bakema, NAI, Rotterdam.
13 This has been confirmed by a number of people who traveled with Haan, including the anthropologist René Wassing and fellow architect Joop van Stigt. (Conversations with the author.)
14 Herman Haan, *Mythen, maskers, magie*.
The Dutch version of this passage is shorter. Instead of „right-size“ and „twinn phenomena“ van Eyck talks about the need to think in „qualitative and relative“ terms of seemingly unrelated phenomena or concepts, such as small and large, and reminds the reader that „measure“ or „scale“ are not quantitative issues.
19 Ibid., p. 30.
20 Ibid., p. 33.
21 Letter dated 30.12.64, orthography and grammar edited by the author.
22 Letter from January 1968.
23 Aldo van Eyck, „Miracles of Moderation“, *Zürich*, p. 34.
25 Aldo van Eyck, „Miracles of Moderation“, *Zürich*, p. 15.
28 Aldo van Eyck, ‚A Miracle of Moderation‘, *Zürich*, pp. 8, 9.
29 Van Eyck library contains books by Boas, Benedict, Mead, and Sapir.
'Laying a few traps’ – Remarks on Reima Pietilä’s lifework
By Aino Niskanen

Reima Pietilä (1923-1993) was probably one of Finland’s most controversial architects. His work cannot be fitted into any category or group, and for years he worked without receiving a single commission in Finland. Unlike most of his Finnish colleagues, Pietilä was theoretically inclined and he enjoyed having discussions on architecture theory. This essay will deal with the ideas Pietilä brought to life in his key works and will discuss Pietilä’s contacts with Team 10.

Abstract forms and mathematical series were important starting points and inspirations for Pietilä’s early works. As a student, he turned the flat in which he was living into a studio, populating it with large plaster sculptures. Later, he tried his hand at large wooden sculptures. He was interested in all forms of abstract art, including modern music: he enjoyed listening to Karlheinz Stockhausen’s music, and he counted the composer Luigi Nono among his friends. Reima Pietilä’s winning entry for the Finnish pavilion at the Brussels World Fair (1956-58) was based on abstract forms, a rhythmic modulation of forms, in an effort to solve the problem of ‘how to break the straight angle.’

In a sense, the entry was a ‘theoretical discussion’ with Aulis Blomstedt – another Finnish member of CIAM – who sat on the competition jury and who had created a modular system of his own. That type of ‘discussion’ was a familiar method for Reima Pietilä: he had dedicated one of his school works to Le Corbusier, another to Frank Lloyd Wright, and a third to Mies van der Rohe. Pietilä explained there was an inherent ambivalence in the Finnish pavilion: it could be experienced on the one hand as something national and local, but on the other as a purely abstract composition.

Pietilä’s next major project, the Kaleva church in Tampere (1959-1966), was a modern version of a Gothic cathedral. The experimental building technique of its high walls
made use of slip-cast concrete. Its interior rough concrete surfaces, in the spirit of Le Corbusier, were the first example of its kind in Finland. Pietilä called the church a homage to the Italian futurist Umberto Boccioni. He described the relationships and the form of the plan in terms of five ‘rules’:

1) an angled line makes an embryonic form,
2) all embryos vary in size,
3) each unit has at least four embryos,
4) the form characteristics are continuous in adjacent form units, and
5) there is a continuous transformation.

The form of the resulting plan resembles a fish or a leaf. Pietilä often had zoomorphic shapes in his plans, but it is impossible to say whether the resemblance is coincidental or intentional. Pietilä later called the character of the church 'phenomenological.'

In 1962, Reima Pietilä opened an office with his wife Raili, and for more than thirty years they worked together on numerous projects, most of which were abroad. The first project they did together was the student union building ‘Dipoli’ for the Helsinki University of Technology, which was built between 1966 and 1971. The general plan for the campus area of the Helsinki University of Technology was made by Alvar Aalto. Pietilä’s plan for Dipoli consisted of free, organic forms for the lobbies and halls and a straighter, rational part for the offices. Aalto, who sat on the competition jury, criticised Pietilä for not having designed a completely organic form under one roof. Consequently, Pietilä thought the jury would reject that kind of approach, as Dipoli was quite near the University’s main buildings, which Aalto had also designed; Aalto and Pietilä – who was 25 years younger – were personally on civil but somewhat distant terms.
Pietilä asked himself when designing Dipoli how it might be possible to design a surrealistic building that was also functional. The interior of Dipoli is cave-like and his competition entry was called ‘The cavemen’s wedding march.’ According to Pietilä, Dipoli was supposed to be a ‘cloudlike concentration of masses’, and completing the project meant for Pietilä testing the limits of good taste – indeed, approaching kitsch.

In Dipoli, materials meet in a forceful way: copper, stone, concrete, and wood. The building seems to grow out of huge forms of bedrock – Pietilä described how during the competition he took a walk on the building site and felt the form of the rock through the soles of his shoes like a shaman. The role of a shaman was one he liked. As Raili Pietilä later remembered, Dipoli was an exciting and wonderful project that generated new ideas all the time, although there were many great ideas that could not be realised. Dipoli attracted attention abroad, and Christian Norberg-Schulz and Oscar Hansen wrote positive reviews. However the debate that followed in Finland after a publication in the Finnish Architectural Review was a difficult experience for the Pietilä’s. They were criticised for Dipoli’s individualism, and for years did not receive a single major commission in Finland.

The Suvikumpu residential housing project in Tapiola (1962-1969, 1981-1982) was launched more or less at the same time as Dipoli. On account of its rhythmically arranged, dispersed spaces, Reima Pietilä called this project an example of de Stilj architecture in Finland. He also defined its architecture by referring to avant-garde architecture after World War I, ‘the period before the dogmatic time.’ The Suvikumpu housing unit should project an image of the forest in which the colours of the facades blend in with the surrounding trees. Snow should be allowed to remain lying on its
walls. Dipoli and the Suvikumpu apartment buildings are from the same period and have common features. The facades of Suvikumpu had the texture of concrete formwork boarding resembling the timber used in the Dipoli building. Young colleagues criticized the fact that the timber and the concrete painted in different shades of green looked the same. The Suvikumpu residential housing unit stands in vivid contrast to the bleak housing areas of its time.

Twelve years passed after their successes in the Dipoli and Suvikumpu competitions before the Pietilä’s finally won another major project in Finland. Reima Pietilä didn’t suffer from these long periods without work, according to Raili Pietilä: ‘Reima thought that it was actually quite OK, as he was writing and thinking of new buildings, and he thought that one can always think and sketch.’

In 1978 they won a competition in Tampere for the Metso Library (1978-85). The library is hidden in a park, and from the air looks like a big bird (a wood grouse) in the middle of a mating ritual. The axes of the dome have the direction of the axes of the earth and are reminiscent of classical domed libraries in Helsinki (the neoclassical rotunda of the National Library of the University of Helsinki from the 1830s) and Stockholm (the City Library by Erik Gunnar Asplund from 1920-1928). The central shape of the Metso Library turns like a spiral. Pietilä spoke of Henry van de Velde’s theatre in Köln (1914) and of Erich Mendelsohn’s sketches from the eastern front during World War I as inspirations for the form of the library. One is also reminded of Baroque architecture with its dynamic movements. The shape of the copper roofs are reminiscent of Archigram architecture, and some views towards the garden bring to mind Japanese temple architecture. Whereas the Finnish pavilion at the Brussels World Fair was based on abstract forms, and the Kaleva church had a phenomenological character, Pietilä felt that in the Metso library a metaphoric context was
being returned to architecture.

The competition for the Finnish Embassy in New Delhi (India) came to a conclusion in 1963. Pietilä thought that the embassy should be an image of Finland. In the winning entry, one folding roof was supposed to cover the whole. The Pietilä’s worked on their competition entry in central Finland, where the scenery is impressive. As Raili Pietilä recalled: ‘You didn’t have to do more than squint your eyes and imagine that there are mountains here, the Himalayas just nearby. But when we went to India, we talked about how in winter the lakeside view is a long open stretch to the northeast where winds and dry snow blow, forming ridges of snow. When you look at such a view, it is like looking at mountains. It became one of our starting points; our motto was ‘Snow whispers from the slopes.’ The commission went to the second prize winner, who died soon thereafter. In the early 1980s, the Pietilä’s were awarded the commission but the original design of their competition entry was changed, as Indian officials would not accept a large building under one roof. The embassy was built of local material with local people.

In 1973, the Pietilä’s were invited to Sief Palace Area buildings in Kuwait (’73, ’78-’82). Raili Pietilä gave an account of her and her husband’s involvement in this large project. ‘One day in 1970 an offer of work arrived. It was a telegram over half a metre in length from Kuwait. We were asked whether we were interested in coming to London to discuss a possible design project in Kuwait. We checked on the map to see where Kuwait was.’ The idea was to commission international architecture firms to submit proposals for the master plan of Kuwait. The suggestion to invite the Pietilä’s came from Sir Leslie Martin, a consultant who had visited Finland and seen Dipoli. In London, the Pietilä’s met the clients and other invited designers: Candilis, the Smithsons and the Italian architect, Belgiojoso, of the BPR partnership (Belgiojoso – Peressutti – Rogers).

Later, all the participants were commissioned to work on separate projects for further development. The Pietilä’s were occupied with the buildings of the Council of Ministers
sources: from ancient Mesopotamian walls, the colours and patterns of rugs in Arab tents, the rhythms in pearl-fishers’ songs and camels in a caravan, and the shape of ancient serais and merchant palaces.

Play and playfulness were characteristic of the working atmosphere of the Pietilä’s office. They belonged to Reima Pietilä’s working method and were a part of his rhetoric. His approach to architecture was experimental. The Pietilä’s worked on exhibitions together, usually very inexpensive ones, sometimes in their home. Raili Pietilä remembered that ‘it was fun. At the time we had no work, Reima was doing exhibition sketches on a piece of paper and we thought, what the heck, let’s just do it... Reima spoke about setting traps like a hunter: he would put questions to himself, for example, on something that he had seen, let’s say a project in the Finnish Architectural Review... Why had the architect solved a problem in a particular way, why not in such or such a way? The problems could be theoretical too: ‘Why so? Why not that way? What would happen if I place something here and another thing there and draw a line between them – what would happen?” During the course of the day, he would set these traps, snares, and when he would come back to the same picture a few days later, he would find an answer to what had puzzled him waiting.’

Regarding the significant role that competitions had in their work, Raili Pietilä had the following comment. ‘Reima’s opinion was that wild, theoretical attempts are quite appropriate in competitions. Competition entries can be largely based on theory, as you never know what the result will be. Since it is very uncertain that you will win a competition and you don’t know whether it will ever be implemented, you can throw in some bolder ideas. When we started on a project or a competition, Reima used to say
'Let's see if this theory works,' and he would lay a few traps.'

Pietilä combined images and words into a kind of pictorial-literary poetry in which some of the Finnish words and notions were his own innovations. It is by no means easy to track down Pietilä’s sources, as they cover a wide variety of fields ranging from the history of early modernism to the post-modernist discussion on phenomenological philosophy. Even in childhood, philosophy was a ‘hobby’ for Pietilä. He was not only a hunter who set traps, but also a collector of different fields of knowledge, including linguistics, geology, morphology, zoology and ethnography. His archive with letters, speeches and writings reflects his knowledge of many languages – as well as his own notational ‘language,’ which was a combinations of images and words.

From his early years as an architect on, Pietilä participated in CIAM. Later, he was affiliated with Team 10. He took part in meetings in Dubrovnik (1956) and Rotterdam (1974), wrote for *Le Carré Bleu* and taught in Giancarlo de Carlo’s summer school. Some of the members of Team 10 became long-time friends, including Aldo van Eyck, Georges Candilis and Balkrishna Doshi. Pietilä had close contacts with Christian Norberg-Schulz, who – as one of his last projects – was planning to write a book on Pietilä’s work. Unfortunately, time ran out on him. The link between Pietilä’s approach to architecture and those of the members of Team 10 remains to be studied. Similar positions can possibly be found in their ideas on town planning, though Pietilä had few opportunities to realise them. Certainly he shared with other Team 10 members a growing interest in the ‘everyday’ of ordinary people, in their locality and regionality. As time passed, he came to speak of ‘place’ rather than ‘space.’

Pietilä called himself a doctor who examines his patient, architecture. And he said of his sketches that they were the opposite of Ludwig Wittgenstein’s sentence: ‘Worüber man
nicht sprechen kann, darüber muss man schweigen’ – his embryonic forms resembled ‘tentative baby-talk’. In a fascinating pictorial poem entitled ‘The architectural iceberg’ (1985) dedicated to Aulis Blomstedt, Pietilä portrayed himself as a fisherman whose hook sinks to great depths, down to the unimaginable.

References
This paper is mostly based on Reima Pietilä’s own descriptions of his work and on my discussions with Raili Pietilä. Quotations from her in this essay are translations from an interview published as ‘Pietilän toinen puoli’ (Pietilä’s other half) in Arkitehti 2004/6, 28-35. Pietilä elucidated his work in his own words in ‘Pietilä, Modernin arkitehtuurin välimaastossa’ (Intermediate Zones in Modern Architecture). Other sources are the Museum of Finnish Architecture and the Alvar Aalto Museum. Jyväskylä, 1981.

Space of Urban Events, Exposition SPace Garden, Pietilä, 1971
It is often assumed that the Modernism of CIAM became undermined by new, more up to date concepts. In the way for instance ‘habitat’ was meant to replace ‘housing’. But the conflict, it seems to me, was not a theoretical one - between old and new concepts, between an old and a new generation. Rather the monolithic concepts of Modernism (type, standards, universals…) came unstuck under the sheer weight of experience.

Nothing better suggests this corrosive effect of real, lived experience than the early Grids associated with Team 10. The Mahieddine project shown at Aix in 1953 is a good example. Beneath a picture of a shanty town in Algiers, we see a section which is conventional and safe in its modernity. And yet we read in the caption that one must ‘put at the disposal of occupants the materials which will enable them to complete their homes according to their own wishes’. Further to the right, we see pictures and drawings of people together with their things - bedding, coffee pot, boxes for storage. It is clear that whomever took these pictures had met with the inhabitants. Next to a picture of a table, we read further that in the midst of material poverty, ‘intimacy, hospitality, family and communal life express a magnificent civilization’. Further still to the right, we see a plan of the shanty town of the kind which Patrick Geddes drew in India, marking the location of water stand-pipes, lavatories and public lighting. The plan that was proposed is pure Charter of Athens. Great survey, lousy design. But in hindsight, it is impossible not to think that the sympathy and the depth of the survey could not have undermined the rational foundation of the Charter.

For contrast, we can look at the Casablanca grid by the group GAMMA. The architecture is far more interesting, even sensational in its formal presence. But the analysis is less sensitive than in Algiers. In fact it scarcely departs from the hygienist considerations of CIAM (eg. density, light…): there is no hint here to that other civilization referred to in the Mahieddine Grid. The vernacular is not presented as a genuine subject for the study of anthropology, but as a means for the definition of
standards. Great buildings, poor survey. This is not to say that one grid is better than the other, but rather to draw attention to the immense gap between architecture and experience which existed at the time, and to illustrate the conflict then faced by CIAM (and soon by Team 10).

This conflict went right to the core of the notion of Habitat. In the now famous document prepared by the Smithsons for the Doorn meeting of 1954, we read (item 3) that habitat is concerned with the particular house in the particular type of community. In other words a call for the recognition of the concrete nature of experience. But immediately below (item 4), we read that communities are the same everywhere, that they consist everywhere of the quartet of isolate, village, town and city which characterizes Geddes’ valley section. Incidentally, we can also notice in this text and in the draft framework for CIAM X, traces that seem to anticipate Structuralism: the urging to consider every community as ‘a particular total complex,’ and to remember that ‘what is important is the relationship between things.’ Totality, relationships: these are the two main concepts of Structuralism.
In this conflict, anthropology was the loser. We can see this already in the beautiful project by Van Eyck and ‘de 8’ for the village of Nagele (presented at Dubrovnik in 1956), which suggests the triumph of architecture invention over empirical study. The project is ‘physical and plastic’. In fact, seldom has modern planning been more spatial, more sculptural. But does this make it social? Van Eyck insisted that architecture and the social should remain distinct. Only because of its autonomy can architecture, with the visual means at its disposal, could contribute to human relations. And so to insist on the symbolic value of architecture, on its capacity to signify protection, solidarity –what is held in common.

Coming back to Structuralism, this insistence upon the symbolic role of architecture, upon the reciprocity between architecture and society, is essentially foreign to it. For Levi-Strauss, significations were not symbols that could connect one structure with another, for instance architecture with a particular village community. Signification belonged in the structure itself and drew its meaning from its position inside it.

There is something in van Eyck’s endorsement of plasticity, in his belief in the necessity for art, which points to an interest shared by most members of Team 10 (one that is perhaps not yet fully recognized). At the meeting held in Paris in 1961, participants declared being ‘concerned with…an understanding and feeling for the patterns… of present day society’. We see patterns for instance in the sketches by the Smithsons for the Dubrovnik grid which remind one of Paolozzi, and in the platforms
for Berlin Haupstadt. We see them in the work of Bakema and the repetition of de Stijl-like motifs. We see them, too, in the work of Candilis Josic Woods for Bilbao and elsewhere. They became at times so extensive as to precipitate a crisis within Team 10. How could one stress repetition to this degree and claim at the same time that life forms are in principle unique?

The issue was recognized by van Eyck when he admitted that the problem of designing for the greatest number remained unsolved. Later still, at the 1968 Milan Triennale, he wanted to show the importance of extraneous elements – natural phenomena, fantasy… – to the serial production implied by the greatest number. It seems like an admission that the difference (which then seemed unimportant) between the Mahieddine Grid and the GAMMA Grid, that the rift between empirical survey and rational planning, between specific situations and generic solutions, could not be mended.

The issue was not limited to Team 10. In the 1960s, architects were faced with a dilemma which one could have done without: either you sided with experience, or you sided with Form. Either you went down the route of participation (de Carlo, Erskine) and moved, I think, outside the main intellectual orbit of Team 10 (there were more advanced projects based on participation elsewhere). Or you granted Form a much greater autonomy. Chief among them, there was Herman Hertzberger, and to a lesser degree, the mat-builders (the Smithsons, Candilis Josic Woods). Either you had, as it is said in the catalogue, understatement, or you had overdesign.
People from both tendencies occasionally used expressions which recall Structuralism. For instance de Carlo referred to ‘a totality of relations between the spaces and the users,’ Candilis, to ‘a whole that is greater than the sum of the parts’ (Frankfurt Römerberg). And we know the explicit references made by Hertzberger to Saussure and to his distinction between langue et parole, language and speech. But did this make Hertzberger a Structuralist? In his conception of Form as an instrument, the symbolic relationship articulated by van Eyck is maintained, the difference being that the symbol is now more ‘open’, ‘multivalent’. More to the point, Hertzberger’s use of endlessly repeating elements remained indebted to Team 10’s interest in patterns. It remained rooted in the Modernist search for standard components and formal types, and their repetition to accommodate the greatest number. All this could hardly be more at odds with Saussure’s conception of language. For Saussure, language is founded on the arbitrariness of signs, and this arbitrariness excludes in turn all symbolic considerations. Language – and this touches, too, on the kernel of Structuralism- is constituted not by contents, but by a system of pure differences.

For a true Structuralist in architecture, we must look outside Team 10 and turn to Jean Renaudie. Though he was influenced by Team 10, notably in his condemnation of the Charter of Athens, you will find in his work no patterns or symbols. You will find no interest in repetition and no desire to accommodate the greatest number. Instead his buildings rely upon pertinent differences. No participation and little consultation...
influenced the design process. Like Levi-Strauss who claimed not to know what human society is, Renaudie used to say: ‘les gens, je ne connais pas’ (I do not know who, or even what people are). Like the work of Structuralists, his architecture was scrupulously formal. And yet – this is what I find interesting – it remained deeply committed to the well-being of inhabitants.

There is in the evolution of Team 10 a striking irony. Having started with a revaluation of concrete experience, with an attempt at re-identifying architecture with the social, they came to the conclusion that such identification could not be achieved by architectural means. Only appropriation by the inhabitants was possible, leading them to retreat from the functionalist doctrine, and to acknowledge architectural form in itself (however ‘open’ or ‘multivalent’). The issue was no longer the identity between architecture and life but, more fundamentally, the irreducible difference between them, and how inhabitants could live with it. This formalism –call it an ethical formalism—was, if anything, what made Team 10 in the last years of its existence occasionally Structuralist. Whether this was a wise new direction is a different matter altogether.
Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente and Mat-building

*by Pablo Allard*

In 1974 Alison Smithson publishes her article ‘How to recognize and read MAT-BUILDING: Mainstream architecture as it has developed towards the mat-building.’

Taking the format of a retroactive timeline, or a graphic genealogy, she included among many works from Team 10 members, examples of vernacular architecture and the like, and a special reference to the Venice Hospital project by Le Corbusier. Even when the images are correctly dated and representative of the two most significant aspects of the Hospital project at that time – the cells above and the circulation, services and pilotis below – what really calls the attention is that the project is not simply attributed to Le Corbusier but labeled: ‘Le Corbusier + Jullian’ in allusion to Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente – a young Chilean architect who started working for Le Corbusier in 1958 and later became his closest collaborator and Chef d’atelier. If we search for some justification to this labeling, Smithson, at the end of her article – on the section for illustration credits – attributes the left image to the original plan from Le Corbusier’s *Oeuvre Complete*, and the one on the right as the final plan completed by Jullian after the master’s death. In fact, the image attributed to Jullian’s final plan does not correspond to his scheme, both plans are from the same 1964 first concept plan, and the easiest way to notice the mistake is by observing the location of the Hospital’s chapel, that in the latest Jullian project of 1966 – and following the changes made in the second Le Corbusier project of 1965 – is shifted from the western edge of the building to the head of the Cannaregio canal.

That mistakenly placed plan, along with that peculiar inclusion of the sign ‘+’ in the authorship of such an early scheme could be easily overlooked by the distracted reader, but also can open new ways to understand the position that Jullian’s participation on the Venice Hospital played in relation to the discussions that mainstream architects – particularly the Team 10 – were having at that time. This subtle recognition of Jullian’s work in the hospital project underlies a very suggestive proposition, that the project could be interpreted as a work developed ‘in addition to,’
rather than ‘following to’ Le Corbusier.

The images published are from the very first scheme for the hospital dated October 1964, almost a year before Le Corbusier’s death while he was actively involved in the project and Jullian was still working in Paris.

During the following months Jullian is asked to lead the team that traveled to Venice several times to do field research and present the project to local authorities. That following summer Jullian requests Le Corbusier’s consent to spend his vacations working on location, from this moment on, he and the team establishes in the island in order to advance the project. On August 26 1965, Jullian wired Le Corbusier asking permission to stay longer in Venice to develop further the scheme; Le Corbusier’s response was a short and decisive ‘D’accord.’ The day after, the master died while swimming at Cap Martin. The team, after recovering from the shocking news, decided to stay and continue the work under Jullian’s direction and Jose Oubrerie’s assistance².

What calls the attention on Smithson’s labeling of the project is not the fact that Jullian was effectively in charge of the completion of the project, but that these events happened later and after that the project was mistakenly shown. One could argue that it was just a question of crediting both stages of a building – the development took more than nine years – but in fact, and given the precision embodied in a timeline such as Smithson’s the intention of provoking certain suggestions of a cross-fertilization becomes more evident.

Going back to some events that happened before the Venice Hospital was commissioned. It is well known that Le Corbusier didn’t subscribe to the philosophy of Team 10, and that even if he kept a close look to their work and discussions, his feelings towards the group were not the best. Despite that, and against the masters will, the young Jullian accepted an invitation from the group to participate as an
observer in their meeting at the abbey of Royaumont, France (1962). Jullian himself remembers that the master was very irritated when his close collaborator told him he was planning to attend the meeting. Surprisingly, and despite his disgust, Le Corbusier let him go.

The events that followed that invitation are probably key in the history of the Team 10 and the development of what we know today as ‘Field’ or ‘Mat-buildings’; and the consequences of Jullian’s presence in Royaumont extend further than just his role as a mere observer -or the fact that he is later credited by Alison Smithson for saving the only existing copy of the meeting transcriptions³.

The Team 10 meeting at the Abbaye Royaumont in September 1962 witnessed one of the most critical points in the discussion over the group’s attitude towards architecture and the city, in Alison Smithson’s own words: ‘it is the only firm link between the Team 10 emotions and manifestos of the fifties and the seventies when their ideas began to come to fruition…’⁴ Then she mentions these ideas incarnated in projects such as the Berlin Free University, Tolouse-Le-Mirail, the Catholic Church at the Hague, and later adds: ‘Most of these projects had been conceived as general notions or, were in the preliminary design phase at the time of Royaumont and in the expositions and discussions of this text can be heard the voice of the thought that was to bring them into being.’⁵

One of these discussions is mentioned by Jullian as the most essential to his own understanding of the direction architecture was heading at that time, it was the infamous presentation of Piet Blom’s ‘Noah’s Arc’ by Aldo Van Eyck. Blom’s project was never published, but in many texts is depicted as a snowflake shape, that by means of unlimited repetition and indefinable scale served as a model or formula to illustrate the subtle analogy between house and city. What awaked the fury of his colleagues was the radical and indifferent pattern of repetition in the project, instead of offering multiple systems that by interaction could help to solve the complexity of the city. The discussion during Van Eyck’s presentation came to an abrupt closure as follows:
Alison Smithson: What worries me is that it all goes North, East, South, West and just keeps repeating.

Peter Smithson: I think it’s the exact opposite of what we are looking for. We’re looking for systems which allow things to develop as they needed to develop without compromising each other. Here you have a system which takes absolutely literally the concept that the city is a big house; it is a completely false analogy, a false image. I think you have misled this boy [Blom]. I really do. I think you have abrogated your responsibility to define what you mean by a city as big as a house.

Shad Woods: Aldo, do you honestly think that this is poetry in the sense that it illuminates our life in some way today? Do you really think that this is poetry?

Aldo Van Eyck: Uh huh.

Shad Woods: Then there is no point in talking about this any more. We are talking about different poetry.  

This problem of oversimplifying the complexity of the city is what remained perturbing the young Jullian. And nine months later, after discussing the matter in a long conversation with Chad Woods, the latter insisted that Jullian should put all his feelings in writing. This is how; in June 1963 Jullian writes his text Notes sur Royaumont. The
original text, passionately handwritten in Spanish, was published untouched and with translations in English and French in *Le Carré Bleu*. A tabloid-like periodical that sympathised with the work of Team 10. Paradoxically inscribed in a monographic number on the work of Piet Blom, Jullian’s text reads:

‘At Royaumont:

Structures are Proposed,
Structures with ‘Supposes’,
‘Supposes’ that impose a condition of growth’

‘...mobile and flexible structures’

‘...they say:
It is to create the continuity between
what exist and what shall be’

‘...But how to produce the conjunction?
How to configure the places,
and articulate the transition?’

When asked about Le Corbusier’s knowledge of this text, Jullian responds that Le Corbusier not only knew about it, but one day came at Jullian’s desk and silently handed him a copy with some corrections, handwritten by himself.

Even if Jullian insists that most of the discussion about mainstream architecture at the Rue de Sevres was happening only between the assistants and never included Le Corbusier himself, there was a feeling that he knew what was going on. Moreover, despite de fact of a certain distance and respectful devotion imposed by the master, Le Corbusier gradually allowed his assistants some glimpses of liberty within the atelier. Jullian even mentioned that when they were working on the project for Olivetti (1962),
he once stepped in a used bookstore with a botanical treaty – *fully illustrated with* enlarged microscope pictures of cells and microorganisms – *that fascinated him and* promptly bought. Without mentioning a word, Jullian carefully selected an image that beautifully depicted the moment when a cell was splitting into four new nuclei; he drew it over the rigid plan of the factory’s workshop areas and left the book open on the side of his drawing table. Moments later, while the master was overlooking at the work on the atelier, he stopped at Jullian’s desk, and without any excitement said: ‘Interesting, …keep going.’

That happened just a month after Royaumont, and what at that time was just a sort of collage exercise or superposition of an irregular shape over a very precise, regular and extendible industrial space – *despite the formal attributes* – *was probably the* manifestation of a search towards liberating the plan from its rigidity and activate it by means of interconnected centralities. Jullian writes in *notes sur Royaumont*:

‘A “cuore” [sic] as tried to be found
A place into which the city pours in
And that allows its continuity
But the problem gets complexified [sic]
And continuity with ‘cuore’ turns into chaos

Then
The term ‘cuore’ [sic] is important
And from unique term in a city
Where the citizen exists
It becomes what must be usual
That is
That every step in the city must be ‘cuore’ [sic]
Means to include the citizen.

Then to create places
Coralize [sic]
Means: exigency
Opening to all solicitations
And variabilities [sic] of the citizen
And concrete acts, precise and definite
Incorporated to this reality.¹¹

After accepting the commission and upon his arrival to Paris, Le Corbusier called Jullian to his cubicle at the Rue de Sevres, there he told his young assistant they were going to design the new hospital, and carefully instructed him for more than two hours on all his perceptions of the city, how they were to approach the program and the context, after that, and without showing him any drawings, the master ordered Jullian to start sketching using the chamber section of the Cité Universitaire project from 1925 [see also the interview, from page 9 onward]. Jullian promptly started transcribing Le Corbusier’s thoughts and only few days later, the master called him to show the sketches he had drawn during his last trip to the island. As Mazzariol depicts:

‘The preparatory drawings had been developed in solitude, away from Paris. Jullian waited impatiently in Rue de S’evres for the beginning of the new venture…Le Corbusier came back with a few sketches. Having decided on his horizons, he had settled on the shape of the cubicles –which were to be the fundamental organism and nucleus of the new invention. Everything else ensued from this. The essential thing was that the shape of the building as a whole should not be closed in or in any way tied down to a definitive formula; that it should remain an open embellishment to the waterside.’¹²

These ideas are the ones Le Corbusier tried to engrave in Jullian’s mind during their previous discussion, but at the end, the most novel and powerful ideas came embedded in the few sketches the master showed him that day, all the clues and keys to develop the project were there, presented in a completely new and unprecedented way. Mazzariol adds:
‘The young Chilean architect who for ten years had been living like a moine in the atelier, realized in bewilderment that something quite unprecedented was taking place. …Was this the beginning of a new architecture? The drawings were made up of a few strikingly precise indications; the form was spatial and the space developed in a regular movement like the ripples sent out by a stone dropped into a pond. No previous design had ever evolved so easily and so quickly.’

After sharing his sketches with Jullian, Le Corbusier instructed his collaborators to observe and carefully interpret the idea of the city depicted by the paintings of Carpaccio and the Canaletto. According to Jullian, both artists served as referents to different aspects of the city:

‘The idea of Venice informed us of a certain kind of space: the space proposed by Canaletto, the ideas to organize the space and the ideas to operate within it. Canaletto was about the fabric of the city, presenting the island as a stage set …We were using the Ponte Vecchio, the Palazo Ducal and San Marco as referents, but not evident. Carpaccio, on the other hand was about the activation of this stage by means of depicting the particular way the island is inhabited by its citizens.’

In any event, the spaces of Canaletto and Carpaccio relate to something more than just the depiction of venetian urban life at certain period, but an idea of atmosphere, a field condition inherent to the city and its art. Other sources of information for the team were to be found in the *Pianta prospettica di Venezia del 1500* by the Italian engraver Jacopo de’ Barbari. Here the city is represented with extremely detail in a single, aerial view, depicting not only traces of civic life but most importantly the relation of the buildings with the canals and the overlaying network of patios and gardens, something that is not evident but is a key part of the island environment, water, stone and greenery interacting as parallel and complementary systems.
The proposed project, starting from the earlier sketches takes into account this relation of man and city. Le Corbusier presents a massive but light building supported by a colonnade of hundreds of pilotis. This expansive structure was at some points more than 2600 feet long, assuming a monumental scale analog to other memorable venetian spaces such as San Marco or the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore. Its only apparent limitation was determined by a regular and strict height set by Le Corbusier himself at just 13.66 meters or 44.81 feet, equating the neighboring skyline. This elevated borough was then organized by a series of ‘Calli,’ ‘Campielli’ and ‘Jardin Suspendu’ – Streets, Squares and Hanging Gardens – replicating the atmosphere Le Corbusier found in the city and tried to inculcate on his disciples. The plan read as a regular series of quadrangular areas, each area structured around a Campiello/Square and connected by axial Calle/Street corridors to the other units in the same level and to other floors by means of elongated ramps that run parallel to the ‘calle.’ Each area
was defined and distributed in plan according to the specific program or unit it housed, but the most significant distribution of activities was determined in section. Here, the strategy was to have all patient services and rooms crowning the third and top level and their corresponding services and offices in the levels immediately underneath. Between the third and second floor a circulation and service mezzanine served as a halfway stop for the central elevators servicing four different sections and levels at one stop, in this mezzanine were also located some storage and sterilization services. The second floor contained most of the medical technology services, operating rooms, pharmacy, morgue, laboratories and physical medicine as well as each doctors’ offices. The ground floor concentrated all those services not directly related to medicine, such as administration offices, kitchens, laundry, heating, as well as reception, security, specific accesses like emergency, ambulatory services and personnel. The ground level also housed other complementary facilities such as shops, cafeteria, restaurants, a hotel and finally the hospital church leaning into the lagoon, serving both as a landmark and a ceremonial link to the island-cemetery of San Michelle.

The attention on man that Le Corbusier refers on a letter to Ottolenghi, was concentrated on the design and detailing of the patient’s cell itself, the room for healing, and the whole structure and programming of the hospital departed from this element. Jullian remarks:

‘The cell rooms were the points of departure, and the quadrants were organized as a series of small hospitals. In simple words, Le Corbusier defined a precise Strategy: How to build a building in that context, and a Tactic: How to solve this or that corner.’

The patient cells, deliberately occupied the higher level of the building, reaching for the light and elevated from the life underneath, life represented by the different service levels that led to the ‘Fondamenta’—that unique space of Venice where the city touches ground and the ground touches the water. This explains the insistence on developing and detailing the section of the cell despite the lack of information shown or published
on the technical and programming aspects of the building. When asked about this disjunctive Jullian answers:

‘The program itself and deployment of services and installations came mostly from the arguments expressed in the Rapport Technique. The main ideas of the technical report were taken literally from a series of studies that a group of French specialist were producing at that time for the Health Institute of Paris, those were basically an exploration on new ways to design hospitals and from that information we reestablished a general strategy to design the hospital. After having access to that report, we grasped the most advanced concepts in hospital development, and in a certain way we were relieved, we didn’t worried that much about those issues, that was easily solved, what we were interested was in the architectural problems of the Hospital.’

This position towards programming is far from been a negation of it, instead it is through a clear definition of functional aspects from the very beginning that Le Corbusier an his team could liberate themselves from the burden of excessive functional requirements and managed to architecturalize the problem, a clear expression of this is indeed the Technical Report that accompanied the first
project. Nevertheless, the most significant evidence on the special care placed on programming and the establishment of clear functional relations could be found in a series of black sketchbooks that Jullian started preparing from the second project. It is important to remark that during the development of the first project most of the program was fine-tuned by means of collages and superposition of different drawings until the whole compound made sense. From that moment on, Jullian registered every change and its consequences in the rest of the building by means of annotating it in an abstract plan of the building he printed on a sketchbook. This sketchbook became the device he used to perfect the program of the hospital. Here one can easily follow the level of complexity and analysis applied on determining the exact location of each service and its relation to the other units of the hospital, considering not only the horizontal and vertical but also the diagonal interactions by means of the ramps, elevators and shafts. In those sketches, Jullian found a way to register and easily reduce the complexity of the hospital into one single drawing; the same template illustrates relations in plan, elevation, area, and even each doctor’s space. Along with these series of notational devises, Jullian also kept a strict record of each and every drawing made for the hospital, a binnacle of all decision and change, dated and authored.

After Le Corbusier’s death and the team’s decision to continue working on the hospital, they faced a tremendous pressure from the clients to show how advanced they were in the development of the project. The first project was defined just as a general strategy and concept plan, and the second as a refined version of its antecessor, both at a scale that didn’t allow for elaborated detailing. Thus, Jullian decides to blow up the drawings to accurately define the program and details, to the level of constructing mockups of the patient cells and enormous detachable models that permitted clients and designers to revise each section of the building. During this period the team started a fluent exchange of information with the heads of the hospital’s different departments, customizing each section to their specific requirements and necessities. In the last drawings before the political turmoil that ended with the project all aspects were decided and specified, and few days before the final decision to stop the building in the island was made, the first set of test-pilotis were successfully poured in the lagoon.
Even if the project endured substantial changes from its conception in 1963 to the final plans of the early seventies, what calls the attention is the continuity and consolidation of the first ideas or strategies defined with Le Corbusier. It is clear that Jullian didn’t do this just for devotion to his master, but as a manifestation of his conviction on the efficiency of the model and the potential of the hospital as an exploration into completely new architectural frontiers. Something totally different to what happened in the project for the French embassy in Brazil, where Jullian refused – after the client’s request – to modify Le Corbusier’s original tower-and-slab configuration from 1964 and to start an entirely new design in 1970, a project that in his own words ‘…was the result of an internal crisis produced within the atelier during the last years because of the Team 10.’

The attitude of reducing the functional complexities inherent on the building vis-à-vis its architectural complexity is emphasised by Jullian when he energetically replies to the labeling of the hospital as a Mat-building: ‘You keep calling Venice a Mat Building but we have never consider it that way…Mat Buildings were very simple, Woods projects were not complex enough…’

Here, Jullian is trying to change the attention, to avoid any comparison with the Mat-Building, in an effort to place Venice a step further than projects like the Berlin Free University. It is Perez de Arce the one that evidences these differences, when writing on the attic condition unique in the Venice project. He notes that in buildings such as the Berlin University, the mat ‘appears as a result of a postulate of superposition of planes, by strata, essentially undetermined in the number of floors to be aggregated or the specificity of each level, not existing appreciable differences between different levels. Even if the BFU presents some roof gardens, its higher levels manifest that undetermined quality of many modern buildings by not including any particular form of crowning’.

This systematic indifference on the rooftop condition proposed by the mat-buildings is probably one of the keys to understand the departure that Jullian is trying to achieve. And in a way, there are traces of obsession in the way the cells were studied toward exhaustion, by drawings at real scale, mock-up models, and real
projects. The attic, as Perez de Arce notes, becomes a constant piece in Jullian’s repertoire of work after he took responsibility of the project. Even if the origins of this element date back to the Cité Universitaire project (1925), and later will appear in the Olivetti sections (1964). It is Jullian, after the death of Le Corbusier the one that will try to test and calibrate this element in any possible occasion. This is how the Venice vault appears not only in the real scale model of the hospital unit built on top of the old hospital laundry terrace, but will appear again and again on built projects such as the 1967 BBC rooftop offices in Lyon, and the 1967 Feria de Valencia, a huge exhibition hall that repeatedly inverted the Venice vault.

The second aspect of the Venice project was the special caring for the city and its scales of insertion: the ‘osmosis’ to which Le Corbusier refers in his letter of acceptance. This special care on the city’s own and fragile tissue was accounted from the very beginning as a response, the project started to be defined by the height of the surrounding buildings and the horizon of the lagoon. This is evident in unpublished pictures of study models, where all the buildings facing the Cannareggio and encircling the Hospital were built with photographs of their facades attached to them. On words of Le Corbusier: ‘if one cannot copy its skin, one must respect its physiology’\textsuperscript{18}. That very same physiology of the city is the one at the origins of the building, paraphrasing Colquhoun, the city was the buildings and the hospital an extension of those buildings\textsuperscript{19}. This fact, for Jullian was critical to understand the difference between the Venice Hospital and the buildings that mainstream architects were trying to define. Jullian explains that what was important to Le Corbusier was

‘not only the fact of the Mat Building but also the City. …A lot of people look at the Hospital as a Machine, but there is a lot of poetry in the project…If you take small pieces of the Hospital, you can relate them to Venice…The entire project was organized like that. All the circulation corridors and halls – or as Le Corbusier said “calli e campielli” – in the Hospital were named after our own experience of the city: the death man, the knife, the cat, etc, that corresponded to their resembling places of Venetian life. Thus, this was not
a problem of Typology but Poetry. In this poetic architectural approach, the mere fact ‘Hospital’ is almost incidental: it is its integration to the life of the city what matters. And Le Corbusier discovered the essence of the city of Venice, its structure and its light – **not in the drawing board- but trough his eyes, his hands, and even his feet, this is, by observing and going throughout it for a long time.**

The urban ideas considered in the Venice hospital were tested by Jullian at a broader scale between 1969 and 1970 in a competition project for the renovation of the city of Cuomo’s waterfront. After visiting and analyzing the city, its old roman fabric and also the spatial relations of Terragni’s work, Jullian decides to deploy a new urban fabric that, following Venice’s palafitical idea includes major public programs and areas such as theaters, exhibition halls and parks. Here again, ‘the structure is permeable to the lake underneath. Without facades, this structure is in reality a Mat-building, conceived within the spirit of an open and flexible program.’

For Jullian, the Cuomo project is part of the same research they were doing for Venice, but in this case taking as a starting point the roman city. Here, the project is a reiteration of the Venice principles but influenced by the existing plan of the city and its texture. For Jullian projects like Cuomo or Valencia are part of that continuous search for the keys to operate at such scale, and all these experiments generated a process of cross-referencing always converging on Venice, as a point of departure and arrival.

One aspect that has been intriguing about the Venice project is the absence of any image depicting the conditions underneath the hospital structure; here we are not referring to plans but the spatial character of the space between the cell and the city. A question that is reinforced by the images and drawings published so far, all showing the model from above, or sections detailing the cells, and a few small elevations. Surprisingly again, this is where Jullian nests the core of their efforts and research at that time:

‘The whole drama of Venice is in the filling, above is the line of the horizon
that defines and limits all the rest, what is architecturally new is what begins
to happen in-between the above and the ground, the horizon and the water.
In Le Corbusier’s own words: ‘I projected a hospital complex that can spread
like an open hand: a building without facade in which one enters by the
underneath, it has to speak the within.’

Here again another characteristic aspect of the mat-building begins to take shape, the
idea of patio.
In the Venice hospital nevertheless, the patio’s are more than just the static result
of a solid that has been cut into and carved out to gain light and air. Here, following
the explorations started at the 1964 Carpenter Center in Cambridge, the interaction
of inside and outside space are consciously activated by means of layers of
transparencies and visual fluidity that dissolves the void and penetrates the mass. This
idea of visual field construct successfully solved the contextual difficulties faced in the
Harvard building, by dematerializing the facades and the limits of the envelope, and
projecting the surrounding buildings as the ultimate facade of the Center. In Venice,
this effect is intensified by the shimmering reflections of the sun in the water and its
projections on the slabs, walls, glassed surfaces and pilotis. Jullian and his team were
very conscious also of an aspect unique to the city, that is the way people moves
around constrained by water or walking. This condition fostered and reinforced these
perceptual ideas of the promenade and the field effects created by the water and light.

‘The architectural problem lies within those two things, the problem of
reflections of light from the sky into the water and then to the building, the
way the pilotis interact with these reflections and transparencies. In terms
of reflections, all the patios were to be glazed in their perimeters, creating
the same phenomena as in the Carpenter Center -where the reflections
and transparencies in the spaces enclosing the ramp create this situation
of dematerialization- this time with the inclusion of water and its glittering
movement...’
But here again, more complexity is achieved by decomposing in plan and on its vertical sequence the original idea of patio, by perforating and displacing its perimeter at different levels, to the total dissolution of its boundaries while reaching the hipostillus sequence of pilotis at the canal level.

‘It is very important to remark that the idea was not to create a block or wall towards the city… In Venice there is this special characteristic called the ‘transenna’, that is the way buildings, water and light merge into a completely different condition were there are not single buildings anymore but a whole architectural compound.’

This is for Jullian the core of the problem, the fact that the order defined by repetition and number, the systemic content of the project is understood as a given, a matter of strategy, and the real questions arise at the level of tactics, on how to operate the number, the structure, the module and the pattern to become architecture. This discipline was mastered by rigorous calculations and testing. At some times the precision of the building elements and their sequencing in extension were so well tuned-up that the building plans even turned into effective improvised musical notations. This ludicrous way of approaching the project underlie the serious intention of submitting the structure to every possible test, and Jullian confesses that even without any empirical evidence, they arrived to the point where the best plan was also the best tune. This incorporation of a dimension of play in constant dialogue with working rigorousness is much more serious than its apparent superficial reading, and it’s been a persistent characteristic of Jullian’s work until now. The confidence on the exactitude of their operations reached its peak in 1967 while teaching at Rice University when Jullian, after discussing with William Caudill and Paul Kennon issues of programming and the potential use of computers in the design of the hospital, almost arrogantly comments: ‘If programs are well established, …the computer can execute the designs. We can create all the architecture on perforated cards as in the case of the three-meter by three-meter module for the Venice Hospital’ The real intention is to be found on the warning that he inserts in the comment: ‘as long as the project
architecture is composed of multiple factors. Hence again, the focus is turned to all those other things that reside out of this controlled nature. That is the difference Jullian insists to place in front of any attempt to understand the building from its procedural or functional aspects alone. For him, that is far from being architecture, that is the simplification he found on Woods buildings, and the point he wants to depart from any preconceived interpretation of Venice as another mat-building.

For him, the quid of the question lies in the capacity of architecture to deal with the unpredictable, the immeasurable, what resides in the realm of chance. For him, the value of the Venice Hospital is that: ‘There is also an idea for controlling chance.’ By chance he means ‘that tellurian experience of Le Corbusier’s architecture – that is not evident – the one you cannot escape, it has to do with his and our own traditions and believes. A certain kind of architecture where you can tell yourself your own tales, one thing is form but I have always been interested in what is not form but something else. And then he concludes: The attempt is in accepting the chance, and accepting that you can control chance.’

This takes us back to the very beginning, to the passionate reaction against the systematic simplification of procedures he found on his colleagues at Royaumont, that negation of what he calls the poetic capacity of architecture. That dimension is what Jullian himself described at the end of his notes:

‘...A structure before being place is a ‘supposed’,
a place is precise and definite,
then,
to find the proper of each side
and every new step in this to articulate the transition
is a new ‘donnee’ [sic]’

‘...So,
To work the transition,
To accept the imprecise, to work with the undetermined’

‘and it is there where only the creative capacity can produce a poetic association I mean To produce the conjunction of all solicitations and variabilities [sic] That create structure and permanence.’ 26

Apart from Jullian’s manifesto in Carré Blue after the Royaumont meeting, he kept following Team 10 meetings, mostly as a close friend but never as a core member. During those years after Venice and once back in Paris, Jullian began to be interested in the debates of the intellectual avant-garde, but not necessarily on anthropology or human sciences such as the work of Levi-Strauss, by the contrary his interests focused more into geometry and mathematics, particularly Group Theory and early Computer Sciences. The latest as part of his encounters with Caudill and Kennon in Houston. In this fashion, he began to develop a Design Strategy, a methodology that could encompass both the aesthetics and the sensibility of Venice, analog to musical notation but with the structure and rigor of mathematics. A Design Method he presented to Team 10 in one of their last meetings in Berlin by 197327.

This meeting was organised to coincide with the tenth anniversary of the competition for the Berlin FU and the finishing of its first stage. The proposed Topic for that meeting was the grid or matrix. In that occasion Jullian presents the final Project for the Venice Hospital and a series of projects developed by his studio after Le Corbusier’s death such as the French Embassy and Chancellery in Brasilia.

For Jullian, this was his first formal Team 10 meeting since Royaumont in 1962.28 For that occasion he prepared a series of drawings elaborated between 1971 and 1973 and organised under the title of YPD: Yellow Peripheral Distinction, in which
he systematically explained his approach to the design process of his projects that followed the research line opened by the Venice Hospital. It could be said that such presentation constitutes a real effort to systematize the concerns around the grid as a mechanism for spatial composition and organization, the articulation that such form of organization requires and a definition of what a year latter will be defined by Allison Smithson as Mat-building.

The acronym YPD describes the geometric space of a variable width strip located along the edges of a grid, pre-established to organize any project. This idea of articulation by means of a space that is part of two zones at the same time – blurring the separation between interior and exterior- aims directly to the concept of ‘in between’ coined by Van Eyck after the Orphanage in Amsterdam (1957-60).

Jullian described the genesis of the Venice Hospital and his projects for Brasilia under the YPD concept, producing a series of analytical diagrams that rigorously relate dimensional, programmatic and compositional problems in each of his later works.

The interest of Jullian’s exploration has to do with its aspiration for universality, since it proposes a method that, starting from architecture, could manage the complexity and variability inherent to any urban structure. Applicable not only to horizontal or layered structures such as the Mat-building, but also to vertical configurations such as his housing block for the Brasilia Supercuadra.

The Method is summarized in one of Jullian’s 1972 schemes, and departs from three basic components:

1. SG: Spatial Grid, defining and measuring the territory in functional and programmatic terms.
2. BSCU: Basic Square Cube Unit, that defines an area in spatial terms.
3. CZ: or Connecting Zones, characterized by circulations and movement
4. YPD: The Yellow Peripheral Distinction, a blurred area of influence, an “aura”
that allows to connect the previous elements.

The scale of the Spatial Grid and the Basic Square Cube Unit were meant to be determined by nature of the program, then the reference to Venice’s early programmatic schemes and collages, but within the BSCU was a different scale, one that allowed for the particular and the random: patios, rooms and terraces were then freely deployed within this underlying structure.

The conjunction of these four components defined the ‘Basical Space’ and the ‘Basical Character’ of the project.

As intriguing as it sounds, the YPD was presented by Jullian to Van Eyck, as an attempt to call his attention to the subject of the ‘in between.’ Despite the unknown reception Jullian’s presentation had in Van Eyck and that there is no record of it in the Team 10 files. Jullian kept working on it as part of his teaching and design process once he moved to the United States in the mid seventies.

Despite the fact that most of Jullian’s built work was done in the nineteen seventies and early eighties, when he definitively establishes in the United States, his work continued evolving around the idea of the YPD and continuous forms of development. This approach to continuous grow, by means of an adaptive and unlimited grid and set of articulations is to be challenged again by Jullian and Ann Pendleton in their project for the 2000 Jubilee Church competition in Rome from 1994. The constrained location of the church and parish in a small urban lot surrounded by unknown structures forced Jullian to revise his Method, this time by incorporating a new element to his repertoire, the limit.

Inspired by early colonial Spanish missions in South America, where the first sign of occupation was to define a limit, a boundary that measured and scaled the immeasurable. A threshold between savage land and sacred space, that defined the space for buildings and structures to evolve. This strategy not only liberates the
building from the unknown forces of context, but also allows for the predetermination of patterns for growth and accommodation within an increasingly limited and scarce resource: space.

The origins of this shift are not only to be found in vernacular architecture, but also as a byproduct of Jullian’s dedication to painting in the late eighties and nineties. In his paintings, the design process is analogue to his architecture, but determined by the undeniable limits of the canvas. The result is remarkably architectonic, since the scale and growth are not determined by the limit, but by means of units deployed within a spatial grid, and the expression of space as thickness in the careful overlay of paint, -paraphrasing Stan Allen-, not a Mat, but a ‘Thick 2-D.’

The latest work by Jullian expected to begin construction next March follows this idea, in a beach resort near Santiago de Chile where a visionary developer has invited renowned local and international architects such as Mathias Klotz, Toyo Ito and Rick Joy to design luxury homes in a compound that could be seen as a high-end weisenhoffsiedlung revival. Since Jullian had no control over his neighboring mansions, his strategy again was to set up a limit to his Spatial Grid. Once determined such limit, the volumes, rooms and patios will evolve internally and vertically, following the same principles stated in the YPD.

Jullian’s work after Venice shows a clear departure and evolution of the Mat concept that deserves a closer look, must particularly now that the model has evolved and invaded more complex and limited structures, such as shopping malls, airports, Intermodal facilities, hospitals and the like; folded Mats that have to respond to the recurring calls for efficiency in land use, indeterminacy in size and shape, flexibility in building use, and mixture in program.

Again, the reading of Jullian’s work at the Venice Hospital and after gains significance. From the idea of ‘cuore’ to the ‘calli and campielli’, or the concept of YPD here is where we enter the realm of speculation, where the inclusion of the ‘+’ sign in the authorship
of the Hospital – ‘Le Corbusier + Jullian’ – begins to make sense, a clear departure from the figures of the master and disciple and a doorway for conjectures on cross fertilization is left open. A missing link, and the reason to recognize and read the Venice Hospital and Jullian’s work as something more than just another mat-building.

**Note**
This text is partially based on an essay included in the book, CASE: Le Corbusier’s Venice Hospital and the Mat-building Revival, and current research done by Francisco Chateau at the Jullian Archives at the PUC in Santiago. Despite the fact the book intended to establish certain links between le Corbusier’s last unfinished work, the debates developed by Team 10 around the idea of Mat-building and their influence in contemporary practice, today I would like to focus the development of certain events that occurred in the fringes of those debates, incarnated in the work of Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente during and after the Venice Hospital.
Notes

1 Alison Smithson, “How to recognize and read MAT-BUILDING: Mainstream architecture as it has developed towards the mat-building” in Architectural Design September 1974, pp. 573- 590. Reprinted and updated in this CASE edition.

2 The team at that time included Jullian himself as team director and Jose Oubrerie who worked before for Le Corbusier in the Firmini church project, the venetian students Gambarini, Pozzanna, the Pettrilli twins, a young Mario Botta and years later Rebutato, Taves Pozzana, Plantrou, Domeyko and Andreini. During 1968 a group of students from Rice University also joined the atelier for a short period: Anhorn, Corbin, Daubin, Pardue, Woo, Samuels and Santelices.

3 After been distributed to all participants with the condition to be sent back with notes and suggestions, the few existing copies of the meeting transcriptions done by Clarissa Woods, were mysteriously declared lost until Alison Smithson found Jullian’s own. In her words: “A compact text was edited for Team 10 by John Furse from the only whole copy located in September 1970, its original wrapper unbroken, in the possession of Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente, an observer of several Team 10 events: to his orderliness and dependability Team 10 owe their thanks”. Alison Smithson, Team 10 Meetings, 1953-1984, Rizzoli, New York, 1991. Page 37.


5 Ibid. page 37.

6 Ibid. page 79.


8 The core of this essay consist of a collection of thoughts, memories, ideas and discussions held during several meetings with Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente, between January and June 2001 in Cambridge and Charlestown, Massachusetts. To his generosity, endurance and friendship my most sincere and inspired gratitude.

9 This change of Le Corbusier’s attitude toward his collaborators involvement in the work can be related to the infamous conflict the master had with his former assistants Acevido, Maisonnier and Xenakis in 1957, who were abruptly fired after asking the master to raise their salaries and having their names in the drawings. A brief description of these events can be found in Kenneth Frampton: “Le Corbusier”, Thames & Hudson, London, 2001. Page 214.


13 Ibid., page 241.


15 Notes after a conversation with Jullian, Charlestown, 2001.


21 Perez de Arce, page 120.

Jullian uses the anecdote that one day while working on the drawings for a huge longitudinal section that covered the complete atelier space in Venice, he and his assistants decided to “play” the building. Each member of the team selected a different object of particular sound and Jullian assigned the to each “instrument” its respective building element –pilotis, ramps, vaults, partitions- as “notes” on a pentagram. Then, and acting as an orchestra conductor, Jullian followed the section by keeping a constant rhythm.

24 Architecture at Rice 23, The Venice Hospital Project of Le Corbusier, April 1968, page 5.

25 Ibid.


27 Organized by Woods and Schiedhelm
Participants: Jaap Bakema, Georges Candilis, Giancarlo De Carlo, Aldo van Eyck, Amancio Guedes, Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente, Brian Richards, Manfred Schiedhelm, Alison Smithson, Peter Smithson, Jerzy Soltan and Oswald Mathias Ungers

28 In 1970 Oswald Mathias Ungers organizes a meeting at Cornell University, among the participants were Candellis, Ungers and Jullian.
Internationaler Kongress in der TU Berlin
11. bis 15. Dezember 1967
In the preface to the fabulous Team 10 Catalogue of 2005, the authors speculate about the absence of the Germans in the post-war CIAM and their weak participation in the Team 10 meetings. The assumption that this was due to the emigration of most modern architects from Nazi Germany and the absence of modern architects from the German post-war debates about architecture can hardly be maintained when we consider the historical facts. Of the total number of German architects, only very few emigrated. They were forced to leave for racial and political reasons and not for architectural preferences. Modernists and traditionalists also had to emigrate. Those emigrants who returned after the war were in most cases too old to influence the architectural debates decisively. Nearly all post-war modernists had been active as architects during the Nazi years, mostly in industrial or military projects; this was the case with Eiermann, Scharoun, Hermkes, Lodders, Rimpl, Schwarz and O.E. Schweizer, to name only a few.

A major and well documented event at the end of the very animated reconstruction debate between 1945 and 1949, and at the beginning of the real reconstruction of the bombed cities of the Federal Republic, was the second ‘Darmstädter Gespräch’, a meeting and discussion of the most important representatives of German architecture lead by Otto Bartning. From this event we generally know little more than Heidegger’s famous keynote conference Bauen Wohnen Denken but not the other contributions and the discussion itself. The next larger international events signifying a German reappearance in the architectural world was the ‘Interbau’ Berlin 1957 and the German pavilion at the Brussels World Fair 1958. At both events, German post-war modernism was presented to an international audience. The progress was widely praised and compared with the retrograde development in East Germany. Architecture, which had been regarded as a highly political issue in German debates since the ‘20s, was once more judged in purely political terms as the triumph of western democratic
architecture over the dictated Stalinist architecture of the East. It took until the mid-'60s when the first Team 10 meeting was organised by Woods and Ungers in Berlin for the international discourse on avant-garde architecture to reach a broader audience. Probably as a direct result of this meeting, two years later in 1967 Ungers organised an international conference on architectural theory with the participation of leading critics ranging from Giedion to Banham, from Frampton to Rowe and from Achleitner to Posener. At this meeting, Ungers challenged the audience – the pragmatic functionalist architects as well as the revolutionary students of one year before 1968 – by demanding the existence of an architectural autonomy. (‘Gibt es so etwas wie eine immanente Erscheinung im Formalen?’) The conference ended in tumult when the students raised a banner proclaiming, ‘All houses are beautiful! Stop building!’ and Giedion left under protest.
Team 10 revisited

by Henk Engel

‘The tremendous historical need of our unsatisfied modern culture, the assembling around one of countless other cultures, the consuming desire for knowledge - what does all this point to, if not the loss of myth, the loss of the mythical home, the mythical maternal womb? Let us ask ourselves whether the feverish and uncanny excitement of this culture is anything but the greedy seizing and snatching at food of a hungry man – and who would care to contribute anything to a culture that cannot be satisfied no matter how much it devours, and at whose contact the most vigorous and wholesome nourishment is changed into “history and criticism”?'

Friedrich Nietzsche, Die Geburt der Tragödie, §23, 1872.'

At the end of 2005, an overview of the work of Team 10 was presented in an elaborate exhibition at the NAi, accompanied by an equally elaborate book. Since the publication of the special issue of OASE (nr. 51) on the work of Peter and Allison Smithson in 1999, Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel have spent most of their energies making this event possible. On closing the exhibition, they organised a conference under the title Keeping the language of modern architecture alive, which maybe gives a clue to the somewhat naïve intentions behind the whole enterprise. Here, the first question we have to ask ourselves is: which language are we dealing with – the language of Plan Pampus by Van den Broek and Bakema (1964), the language of the reconstruction-plan for the Nieuwmarkt by Van Eyck and Bosch (1970), or do we have to look in other directions, beyond Team 10, that is to say the post-modernist edge that can be noticed in this representation of Team 10.

In this regard, some of the interviews in the book with participants from Team 10, dating from the early ‘90s, are interesting. Most revealing is the interview with Giancarlo de Carlo. Even though in his opinion post-modernism had ‘already reached a dead end’, his evaluation is loaded with hard feelings. As he sees it, post-modernism
‘took various forms’ and had two extremes, one fascist in spirit, the other vaguely anarchistic:

‘The vaguely anarchic side of [postmodernism] existed in the United States (not in Italy) and had the merit of forcing architects to think about eclecticism, about the reasons of this urge to mix or combine non-homogeneous languages.’

For de Carlo, the debate on post-modernism was not something that started simply after the publication of Charles Jencks’ *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* in 1977. For de Carlo the whole issue dated back twenty years earlier, when the reacquisition of classical forms in the designs of some students prompted him to write a strong criticism. This he formulated in *A continual war against formalism*, which was not only written against the ‘revolt of the “columnists”’ as he called it, but against formalism in general in modern architecture - *the international style*. This was in the first place the main target of de Carlos’ participation in *Casabella Continuità* under the direction of Ernesto Rogers.

As I am more interested in architecture than in Team 10’s family business, this question about the language of modern architecture seems to me very relevant, as does the Dutch contribution to what Peter Smithson at Otterlo (1959) called: ‘The need for a genuine invention of a new formal vocabulary – a new architecture.’ At the time this claim seemed all the more pressing as two years earlier the English art-historian John Summerson had made clear that what was missing in modern architecture was in fact precisely an ‘architectural language’, or as Walter Gropius had called it ‘an optical “key” … as an objective common denominator of design’; something that would provide ‘the impersonal basis as a prerequisite for general understanding’, which could serve as ‘the controlling agent within the creative act.’ Rereading many writings of modern architecture, Summerson came to the conclusion that from a preoccupation with social factors only the *programme* was commonly accepted as the source of unity in design. When it came to the question of form, modern architectural theory failed to give a common answer and by the end of the ‘50s it was also not possible to distil a unified
picture from architectural practice, as Hitchcock and Johnson had done twenty-five years earlier in *The International Style.*

In the 1950s the functionalist doctrine of modern architecture had spread all over the world, but as a style it had lost its consistency. All kinds of *regionalism* developed. Within this growing ‘pluriformity’ however, James Stirling in *Regionalism and Modern Architecture* (1957) noticed a marked difference between the two sides of the Atlantic: ‘The Old world exploiting, and contorting, traditional ways and means, and the New World inventing techniques and developing the appropriate expression of the modern attitude.’ Even the older masters of modern architecture in Europe had lost their unconditional faith in technological progress. The rustic town hall in Saynätsolo of Alvar Aalto (1949-’52) and Maison Jaoul of Le Corbusier (1952-’56) were distinct manifestations of this change of mind.

Despite all the differences, both Plan Pampus (vd Broek and Bakema, 1964) and the Nieuwmarkt Project (van Eyck and Bosch, 1970) are part of the regionalist trend: firstly by integrating architecture into the landscape, the (completely artificial) characteristics of the Dutch water-land, and secondly by accepting the urban tissue with its traditional building typology as the starting point of design. Plan Pampus however points to the possible synthesis of regionalism and technological progress, just what Stirling hoped for, while such a synthesis is hard to find in the Nieuwmarkt Project. Within the scope of Dutch architecture and planning it is most significant that these plans were not designed simultaneously – simply as alternative visions of the same topic – but with a time lag of about five years. Plan Pampus and the Nieuwmarkt Project show in a most dramatic way how radically architectural thinking about the city changed during the second half of the ’60s.
After the period of reconstruction, in which attention was entirely focused on urban extensions, in the late ‘60s the historic Dutch town-centres were confronted with the massive effects of urban development. In Amsterdam, after intense debates about the establishment of the Bank of the Netherlands on the Frederiksplein and the new town hall on the Waterlooplein, the construction of the Metro caused a real insurrection among the people. The well-oiled planning-machine was brought to a stand and only Van Eyck en Bosch offered a way out by exchanging the futuristic enthusiasm of Plan Pampus for a nostalgic town-reconstruction. From that moment on, the slumbering ideological contradictions in the community of Team 10 stood out in broad daylight.

After 1970, the work of Van den Broek en Bakema did no longer play an important role in Dutch urban design. Aldo van Eyck, however, grew into the speech-making architect of another approach to architecture and town planning, but only after his work had gone through a remarkable change. After the first sign of change, with his design for the Town hall in Deventer (1966), the design for the Nieuwmarkt with the manifesto Stadskern als donor marked a definite shift. By 1970, Dutch modern architecture was in a confused situation. While traditionalist architects of the Delft School found the form-language of Modern Architecture more and more absorbing, van Eyck, one of the exponents of Modern Architecture, turned his preferences to the form-language of traditional Dutch towns. The ambiguities of this situation are reminiscent of the
discussion at the Otterlo congress in 1959, which dealt with the language of modern architecture and tradition, or maybe more to the point: utopia and social-realism.

**CIAM in the museum**

From the first studies of Pendrecht (1947-1951) to that of Alexanderpolder (1953-1956) and Kennemerland (1957-1959), Dutch contributions to CIAM after the Second World War had most consistently identified with the development of the *Charter of habitat* and had, according to Giedeon and Benevolo, most successfully integrated the inheritance of *Neoplasticism*, *New Objectivity* and *Corbusian Urbanism* in their methods. By the mid-'60s, however, Benevolo correctly thought that the co-operation between Dutch planning authorities and the ‘modern’ faction of Dutch architects was stagnant:

‘precisely because it was modernized so long ago, Dutch planning is no longer in the position easily to absorb the latest developments in architectural research. Dutch public bodies have always made eager use of the avant-garde architects, but (...) for at least fifteen years the most progressive proposals have been made by private studios and have only partially influenced the practice of public administrations.’

Benevolo pointed especially to the office of Van den Broek en Bakema. The difficult relationship between modern architecture and the Dutch planning authorities became very evident with the regional plan for Kennemerland. Here, in 1957, the office of Van den Broek en Bakema got the opportunity to develop their earlier studies on housing further, into practice and on a much bigger scale. As a contribution to the preparation of the regional plan for the north of Kennemerland by the provincial board, the twelve municipalities in this region invited Van den Broek en Bakema to make a study of the future development of their settlements in terms of building forms and architectonic appearance.

The proposals of Van den Broek en Bakema are very significant, especially with regard to the systematic study of housing typology in relation to new building technologies.
and the use of the dimension of the landscape in urban design. However, in the final presentation in spring 1959 the representative of the provincial planning board ridiculed the architects' study as a mere try-out. This was not only a direct blow to the architects; because they had acknowledged their role in making the regional plan and giving full support to their architects, the municipalities were also overruled and manoeuvred to the sideline. These circumstances give some clue to the missionary task Bakema set himself in the following years with the scheme for Tel Aviv (1962), Plan Pampus (1964) and even on Dutch television with the series Van Stoel tot Stad (winter 1962-'63).

Bakema's fighting spirit was also evident during the eleventh and last CIAM congress that he hosted at Otterlo in September 1959. This meeting not only led to the abolition of CIAM, but eventually also to a break with the Italian delegation, with the exception of Giancarlo de Carlo. As a reaction to CIAM’s discontinuation, Ernesto Rogers wrote an editorial for the October issue of Casabella continuità (no. 232, 1959):

‘I CIAM al Museo. The title should be explained immediately: Museums are architectonic organisms for the conservation of the documents of historic experience, not things which are dead forever, but things which, in spite of their having fallen out from the active cycle of life, are still worthwhile exhibiting and studying.’

During the presentation of the participants' work in the congress at the Otterlo museum, Peter Smithson and Jaap Bakema launched – In the name of modernity – a frontal attack on historical dialogue and feeling for regional traditions, both apparent in
the Italian submissions. There was no sympathy at all for the intentions fundamental to the Italian work. Rogers spoke of a complete breakdown in communication. In fact, the discussion was a prolongation of the polemic started by Reyner Banham about Neoliberty, which he saw as a reprehensible Italian revisionism of modern architecture. To Rogers, after what had happened in Otterlo, CIAM was history. CIAM, the modern architecture organisation, was defunct. But Rogers still holds that the history of CIAM remains valuable and therefore it deserved a place in a museum. As a museum piece, the work of CIAM is available to all, avoiding those who claim its inheritance.

Historical reflection in Rogers’ Casabella magazine had played a key role since 1953. In 1959, it formed an alliance with a study group of young architects digging up the historical roots of modern architecture. The young Italians were aware of the different interpretations of the history of modern architecture. Considering the history of modern architecture, extension of the usage of that notion was no longer the point. The Italian approach led to a dismantling of what used to be considered a homogenous movement. Showing the different tendencies within modern architecture, the young Italians inevitably faced a choice.

The gathering of young Italian architects around Rogers, which would in the 1970s become known as Tendenza, found its basic principles in the modernist current that may be considered a continuation of the classical tradition. Like Loos, they reject the idea that architecture should or even could design original forms. Forms have a life of their own (Henri Focillon, La vie des Formes, 1934) and are the sediment and formalisation of architectural experience. Giving a definite direction to Rogers’ programme of Utopia della realtà (Casabella no. 259, 1962), Tendenza put both the study of the city and the problems of architectural design into a new perspective. Meanwhile a remarkable parallel can be discerned between the discussions of Team 10, and the debate in Italy, during the early ’60s, which is recorded in the pages of Casabella.

THE SHIFT 1962: from Architect Urbanist to Urban Architect

To shed some light on the parallel development of Team 10 and Tendenza in the
early ‘60s, it is important to realise that at first Team 10 elaborated on the Charter of Habitat, the theme of CIAM 9 (Aix-en-Provence 1953). In most of the work of Team 10 members, the theme of habitat took the form of mega-structure by which they tried to overcome the limitations of regionalism. Golden Lane (1952) was a paradigmatic design for early mega-structure and the Smithsons’ entry for the competition Hauptstadt Berlin (1957) was even more so. By 1962, however, the Smithsons’ position had radically changed.

In the Team 10 meeting in 1962 at Royaumont, Aldo van Eyck presented Piet Blom’s Noah’s Ark Project (1962) and Bakema the design for the University of Bochum (1962). For the Dutch architects and van Eyck in particular, Royaumont was a traumatic event. The discussion on Blom’s design concentrated on the topic of the house as a small city and the city as a small house, a concept first put forward by van Eyck in his notes on the design of the Orphanage (Amsterdam 1955-1960). In the end, Peter Smithson came to a crushing judgment:

‘I think it’s the exact opposite of what we are looking for. We’re looking for systems which allow things to develop as they need to develop without compromising each other. Here you have a system which takes absolutely literally the concept that the city is a big house; but the city is not a big house; it is a completely false analogy, a false image.’

In his biography of van Eyck, Francis Strauven highlighted the criticism of Noah’s Ark. In fact, Peter Smithson criticised not only Piet Blom’s design but Bakema’s design for Bochum University as well, and on the same grounds. Both plans were dismissed because of their geometric megalomania:
I think there is a danger in this city – the one-big-building-thing – it’s taken too literally where it is in fact a metaphor and it doesn’t have to be everything-connected-to-everything, all geometries tied to all other geometries. This is system-building which results in a system which is one-big-thing. I have the strongest feeling that dislocation of the elements is a better technique on the whole for making a collective than sticking them together. We agree generally the business of systems of linkages but they needn’t be physical.  

Peter Smithson’s criticism of the Dutch contributions at Royaumont can only be fully understood against the background of the shift that had just taken place in the Smithsons’ work. They themselves presented at Royaumont Greenways and Landcastles, and brought Citizens’ Cambridge (1962) and had just finished the entry for the Mehringplatz competition (Berlin, 1962). At Otterlo they had brought in Hauptstadt Berlin (1957) and London Roads Studies (1959). The new urbanistic studies showed at Royaumont were the beginning of another conception of architecture in relation to urbanism. Mehringplatz is a definite break with the mega-structure conception of Hauptstadt Berlin. As the Smithsons stated in AD (Aug. 1964):

‘The Mehringplatz design can be read as a response to the fashion for Casbahism – the piling up of functions for financial reasons. (…) The feeling for increased ‘elbow room’ – for opening up so that buildings, roads and services can each develop freely according to their own laws and have the possibility of change without compromising the development as a whole – is central to our proposal.’

20

21
In the same year of 1962, Manfredo Tafuri and Carlo Aymonino organised a conference, *Città Territorio*\(^{22}\), at the Architectural Faculty of Rome. The competition for the Centro Direzionale in Torino also took place that year. Aldo Rossi’s radical entry to this competition, Locomotiva 2, shows in many ways the same conclusions as the Mehringplatz design. Against the wave of mega-structures, the Rossi team recommended the erection of a single huge building. Mega-structures not only soak in all urban functions but also absorb all possible future developments in advance. They exclude the individual project as a single act founded in the here-and-now.

‘[Locomotiva 2 is a response to a] culture of architecture and urban design, caught and almost obsessed by the general urban design, having lost its actual understanding of singular interventions (…): a project of this type is understood as an architectural project on a metropolitan scale, as an architecture radically referring to the city. The design for the business centre once again directed attention to the factors permanent to the city’s growth.’\(^{23}\)

The point of reference for the young Italian architects, however, was not so much *The charter of habitat* (CIAM 9, 1953) as *The heart of the city*, the theme of CIAM 8 (Hoddesdon 1951, with Rogers on the organising committee), and the debate on *A new monumentality* just after the war.\(^{24}\) When rereading *Nuovi problemi*, an article on

---

*Locomotiva 2, Aldo Rossi, 1962*

*Mehringplatz, the Smithsons, 1962*
these issues by Aldo Rossi in *Casabella* (1962), there is no doubt about this:

‘We are referring to the **new dimensions of the metropolitan area**, to the existence of the **city region** as an objective fact which must be taken into account if one is not to work abstractly on a city which is more or less traditional, more or less capable of redevelopment, but in any case no longer definable within traditional, geographic, economic and physical limits. The residential problem – which is more determined by the general solution adopted for the city – must be taken into consideration as it stands today: as a dynamic element doomed to a short life and a rapid consumption both from the economic and the technological and psychological points of view. The bond between man and his home, considered as a bond between man and his environment, is less and less true; but the awareness of the bond between man and the surrounding society must be continually strengthened. For this reason the commercial centres, universities, cultural centres, and public buildings, will once again assume a formal importance: they will be the monuments of a vaster metropolitan territory cut across by huge network of public transports capable of increasing and multiplying the shifts, contacts, and participation of all men in the spirit of the new city. The architect now humiliated by speculation, will once again try his mettle on the great civil themes, and with the boldness of more and more advanced technology trace the progress of civilization.’

**Investigations in collective form**

In spite of the lament of van Eyck on the *Royaumont debate*, it is clear that in confrontation with *Mehringplatz* and *Citizens’ Cambridge* the Dutch synthesis of modern architecture had in some way become too heavy a burden. Beginning with housing, which happened to be the solid ground of CIAM research from its inception, the study of the articulation of the district gradually led to the study of the town and to the surrounding countryside.

The Smithsons’ research had developed more or less along the same lines. By
1962, however, Louis Kahn’s study of Philadelphia (1951-’53) and Scharoun’s entry for Hauptstad Berlin (1957) had seriously changed their view on urbanism and led to a revaluation of architectural interventions in the city. Attending the *World Design Conference* in Tokyo, May 1960, might have provoked ‘reconsideration of time’ as the most serious factor in planning. At the conference, Metabolism was launched. Kenzo Tange presented his Tokyo Bay Plan and Fuhimiko Maki and Masato Othaka their design for the redevelopment of the Shinjuku Area in the same city. These two plans exemplified what Maki was to define as two types of *collective form*: *Mega Form* (or *Mega Structure*) and *Group Form*.27

Arriving in 1962 at the conclusion that the significance of architectonic intervention is in the well-defined limitations of time and location, the Smithsons’ urban studies came to an end. Their urban research is documented in *Urban Structuring* (1967), an extended version of *UPPERCASE 3* (1960). In the additions to the publication of 1960, we can precisely trace the shift in their work that had been played out at Royaumont.28 The 1991 interview with Peter Smithson published in the Team 10 compendium gives a
late confirmation of the conclusions he had arrived at in the first half of the ‘60s. In a commentary on the work of the Indian architect Balkishna Doshi, he states:

‘Just to repeat a short story: the urbanism of our century started with Tony Garnier, who made a plan and drew everything, every street, every house, every intersection, every factory. Then in the post-war period Le Corbusier did the same for his schemes, St Dié, etcetera, every house was drawn. At the end of the Team 10 period, urbanism did not mean to draw every house: it was to find the generating forces. In a way you hardly had to draw anything. I went to a lecture by Doshi recently, and Doshi is still making plans like Chandigarh, where every damned thing is drawn. I was appalled. Cities develop over years. Time is engaged in these things; time causes things to unfold like a real city.’

For architects at the periphery of the original Team 10, the 1962 meeting cleared the way for research in other directions. Among them, Oswald Mathias Ungers stands...
out. In the ‘60s, Ungers’ research was located somewhere in the middle between Team 10 and the young Italians. Aldo Rossi had already introduced his work in 1960 in *Casabella*. Just before that, Ungers and Reinhard Gieselmann had published a manifesto *Zu einer neuen Architektur* (Towards a New Architecture), in which they protested against the leveling tendency of functionalist architecture after the war: ‘Architecture loses its expressiveness by the utilization of technical functionalist methods. The final outcome is that residential blocks look like schools, schools like office buildings, and office buildings like factories.’ The destruction of the typology and the character of buildings had to be countered by an architecture whose ‘creative mission is to make the task it undertakes visually comprehensible, to adjust it to the preexisting elements, to accentuate and glorify the site.’ In short: architecture as ‘a continuous discovery of the genius loci from which it draws its impulses.’ Three years later, this mix of Alvar Aalto’s *The Decadence of Public Building* (1953) and regionalism had been developed into a more analytical approach.

In his notes of 1963 on the design of housing *Neue Stadt* (Cologne 1961-’64) in the Swiss magazine *Werk* (1963 no.7), Ungers meditated on the city as a work of art and the autonomy of the rules of composition. The same issue of *Werk* contained a German version of Fuhimiko Maki’s *Toward group form*. In the first pamphlet on *Metabolism* (1960), Maki and Othaka presented the concept of *group form* as one of the metabolist forms of planning. A year later, in a more extended version of the text from which the German translation was made, *group form* is presented not only in opposition to the concept of classical architectonic composition in urban master-planning, but also as a critique on the static mega form – the big frame – of *mega structure*. *Group Form* is defined as an urban syntax: ‘it is form, which evolves from a system of generative elements. It is not a collection of unrelated, separate buildings, but of buildings that have reason to be together.’ Some of the basic ideas of group form can be recognized in historical examples of town building such as traditional villages and oriental bazaars instead of palace complexes characterized as compositional form. In the last and most elaborated version of the text, published in 1964, Maki gave descriptions of a traditional Japanese linear village and Dutch canal-towns, which make clear that in the end the concept
of group form denotes what would later be labeled urban tissue. In an earlier stage, the concept of group form had a great impact on Aldo van Eyck and stimulated him to expand the concept of the configurative composition of the Orphanage to the urbanistic concept he presented in Steps Towards a Configurative Discipline (1962) and exemplified at Royaumont with Blom’s Noah’s Ark.

Ungers’ notes in Werk from 1963 open with: ‘The city is governed by the same formal laws as the individual houses that comprise it.’ The dictum that van Eyck had defended as metaphor in the debate on Blom’s design becomes in Ungers’ hands the starting point for a rigorous formal analysis:

‘Correspondences between house and city can be demonstrated – independent of place and historical epoch – not only within domestic architecture but also in relation to the structural composition of larger buildings such as castles, palace complexes, churches, schools, etc. It should suffice to say that the structure of the city is determined by the sum of individual buildings and that the dwelling plan and the city plan are related as they determine each other reciprocally.’

The turn brought about by Ungers is far-reaching. For him, the house-city topic was not only important as an analogy from which to develop new urban forms, as was the case for Maki and van Eyck. More important was his conclusion that in history, on the basis of the reciprocal determination of house and city, ‘different form structures have appeared and that in most of our cities, as they have developed in time, different form structures stand immediately next to each other.’ The townscape is no longer seen as a homogenous unity, but as a composition of parts:

‘Today we have to address the question of how the different form structures (...) can be brought together into a unified whole. This question cannot be answered by sociology, traffic planning or technology – these are just tools – but only with the insights that can be won from morphological research.’
The condition for unifying different entities is a common denominator. In Ungers’ approach the different form structures are seen as variations on a more basic theme:

‘The correlation of positive volumetric form and negative interstitial space. In the interplay between volumes and space is expressed the complex’s character, which arises from its ability to organize two realms – the inside and the outside – to a specific purpose.’

Although the similarity with the themes set out by the Dutch Forum is evident, Ungers’ reference to the aesthetic theory of Herman Sörgel was very significant for the next venture into the intricate question of urban form.

**The City of Parts**

Sörgel’s *Einführung in die Architektur-Ästhetik* (1918) is in line with the German Kunstwissenschaft (Science of Art; Riegl, Smarsow, Wölfflin, Brinckmann, Behrendt, Frankl) that also informed the theory of early Neoplasticism; that is *De Stijl* before the hocus-pocus of the fourth dimension came in, with ‘design from the inside outward’ and the ‘tesseract’ as the paradigm by which the envelope of the building came to be dissolved. In Sörgel’s definition of the basic principle of architecture, outdoor spaces – such as streets, squares, parks, courtyards and gardens - are just as important as indoor spaces. **Ungers specifically refers to what Sörgel called ‘the Janus face of architecture’: the envelope as interface, determined by the conceptions of inside and outside spaces as well.**

This basic principle by which architecture is differentiated from other plastic arts (painting and sculpture) is most clearly documented by the different structures of urban form, which have been developed by different cultures and at different periods. It is on the same grounds that the city can be seen as an architectonic collage. That is to say: not as a heap of old garbage, but, in the way Kurt Schwitters wanted his *Merzbilder* to be understood, as composition. In fact, in the early 1920s Schwitters had already come forward with the idea of transposing the technique of collage from painting to architecture of the city.

In the German architectural debate of the early 1920s, heavily charged with Utopias,
Schwitters’ view was of an unprecedented realism. In Bruno Taut’s magazine *Frühlicht*, he wrote:

‘Of all the arts, architecture is by nature the most geared to Merz thinking. As is well known, Merz means using the old that happens to be available as material for new works of art. For architecture, the recalcitrance of the materials used for building houses means nothing more than reusing old materials, over and over again, including them in new designs. In this way extraordinarily rich and beautiful building have been created, because for an architect it is not the style of the old component that is normative, but the idea of the new ‘Gesamtkunstwerk.’ This is the way our towns, to take an example, should be dealt with. By carefully demolishing the most disturbing parts, including houses both ugly and beautiful in a single comprehensive rhythm and distributing accents correctly it should be possible to transform the metropolis into an enormous work of Merz art.’

What matters here is that there are some crucial differences between the operations of the painter and those of the architect. Schwitters made clear that the unity and coherence of his Merz pictures are the result of a process of reduction. In his collages, references made by the fragments of reality are forced to the background: are suspended. Within the boundaries of the picture plane, the material is reduced to pure visual data and made into a pictorial composition. It is obvious that for architecture such a reduction would only make sense when it is realised in architectonic terms – that is to say, when the physical reality of the city is reduced to the envelopes of the volumes (the interfaces between inside and outside spaces), out of which the city is composed.

That brings us to a second difference between the painter and the architect. It is not the architect who makes a collage out of the city. Because of its development in time, the city as a collective work of art is a collage. The architect only adds one, or a few, fragments. Only by seeing the city as an architectonic collage can the architect understand the meaning of the additions he makes. This in no way implies that the
architectonic interventions in themselves should be fragmented. Although Ungers’ designs for the Student housing in Enschede (1962) and Grünzug Süd (1962-’65) might suggest this, the final projects of his students at the TU Berlin from 1963 onwards demonstrate the contrary. The main object of study was Grossformen in the city and the result a series of publications that give a unique documentation of Ungers’ educational activities during the second half of the 1960s. The underlying issue of these studies is the formal language that makes the urban context commensurable with new architectonic interventions. Ungers found this language in the aesthetic theory of Herman Sörgel.

At the end of the short introduction of Ungers’ work in Casabella October 1960, Rossi spoke with admiration of ‘the uncommon coherence and the continuous development, from one work to the other, of an original idea and concept of architecture.’ That was reason enough to follow with great interest ‘the future development of this idea and this quest.’ Most probably Rossi did so in the following years. Anyway, in the exhibition Architettura rationale, organized by Rossi for the 15th Triennale di Milano in 1973, among the students’ designs in the schools of architecture section was work of only two universities outside Italy: the ETH Zürich where Rossi himself was teaching at the time and the TU of Berlin. In the decade between 1963 and 1973 an approach to architecture and the city had been developed, for which Rossi’s book L’Architettura
*della cità*, published in 1966, counts as a true manifest. As Rossi later wrote, the book was ‘bang on target,’ but its reception was not free from misunderstandings. In fact the book was a result of three years work at Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia (UIVA).

In 1963, a year after he had organized the conference *Città Territorio* at the Architectural Faculty in Rome, Carlo Aymonino got a professorship in Venice. With Aldo Rossi and Constantino Dardi, he started to reform the discipline of *Caratteri distributive degli edifici* and set up a research on the city of Padua. The main issue of both was to link two kinds of study, which up till then were pursued only separately: urban morphology and building typology: ‘Each of these disciplines studies an order of homogenous facts. However building types which have been realized are the ones, which physically make up the city.’ The courses of the first academic years are documented in three booklets: *Aspects and issues in building typology* (1963-'64), *The formation of the concept of building typology* (1964-'65) and *Relationship between Urban Morphology and Building Typology* (1965-'66). The study *La città di Padova* was published only in 1970.

The theoretical explorations in Venice went from building typology to urban morphology. This meant firstly that not only was housing at the core of the research from the start, but public building too. Secondly it meant that a more general understanding of architecture in terms of the young discipline of the German *Kunstwissenschaft* was not the bottom line. The Venetian research could elaborate on the ‘typomorphological’ research that had been worked out by Saverio Muratori since the early ‘50s. When, in 1960, Fuhimiko Maki introduced the concept of group form as an alternative for compositional form and mega form, Muratori had already carried out detailed studies on the development of urban tissues in Venice and Rome. Rossi’s *The Architecture of the city* is mainly a reworking and elaboration of his contributions to the courses in Venice. Rossi saw the book as an outline of an urban theory: *a theory that comprehends the city as architecture*. For the time being, the implications for architectural design were postponed. So *The Architecture of the city* must be seen first and foremost as a theoretical preparation for the research on the city of Padova, with the intention of making that study a test case for the development of a
A view from the graveyard

*The Architecture of the city* shows clearly that in most urban studies, the form of the city is generally considered the result of social, economic and political forces. And in fact, cities can be analysed in many ways; each within its own language, the scope of the discourse of the respective disciplines. In Rossi’s view, however, only an architectural approach offers the possibility of penetrating into the unique phenomenon of cities as they are. Moreover, Rossi argues that housing – despite making up the bulk of the built-up area – is not the most important factor in understanding the individuality and development of a city. *The architecture of the city* assigns the topography and the monuments as primary (most permanent) elements. From historical research it is evident that the interaction between topography, monuments and residential areas is fundamental, not only for the first beginnings of the formation of a city but also for any further development. *The architecture of the city* does not intend to provide a generalising concept of the city. When Rossi speaks about the idea of ‘the city as a synthesis of all its qualities’, he is referring to concrete cities: ‘Athens, Rome, Constantinople and Paris are urban ideas.’ The idea of a city is as much a fact as its physical characteristics. However, there is an essential distinction between what might be called the *lived-in city* and the *city of stone*. If ‘the city’ stands for a ‘durable entity’, then the term applies in the first place to the physical qualities of the city, the city as artefact. The central question of *The architecture of the city* is how the connection of the *idea of a city* and the *city as an artefact* can be thought.

*The Architecture of the City* comprises four sections. The first part discusses ‘the problems of description and classification, that is to say, the questions of typology.’ The second is about the structure of the elements that compose a city. The third part discusses the architecture of the city with regard to the *locus*, and thus the history of the city. Finally, the fourth part touches briefly on the principal problems of the urban dynamic and the problem of politics as an element of choice. It is important to
note that in contrast to much of the later typo-morphological research, Rossi doesn’t disassociate himself from modern architecture. In his writings there is always great respect for the masters of modern architecture: Adolf Loos, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe. He criticises modernism only to the extent that it invokes a ‘naive functionalism’ as the method of analysis and design of the city. Rossi’s critique is epistemological in nature. From that approach he rejects not only ‘organic’ views in modern architecture, but also similar ideas in the urban investigations of geographers. Only urban studies with a ‘historiographical’ orientation know how to escape from the breathless conception of ‘form follows function.’ They show that the general rule is just the opposite and confirm the proposition that Friedrich Nietzsche saw as the most important for historiography of any kind:

‘The cause of the origin of a thing and its eventual utility, its actual employment and place in a system of purposes, lie worlds apart; whatever exists, having somehow come into being, is again and again reinterpreted to new ends, taken over, transformed, and redirected by some power superior to it (...) However well one has understood the utility of any physiological organ (or of a legal institution, a social custom, a political usage, a form in art or in a religious cult), this means nothing regarding its origin (...) the entire history of a ‘thing’, an organ, a custom can in this way be a continuous sign-chain of ever new interpretations an adaptations whose causes do not have to be related to one another but, on the contrary, in some cases succeed and alternate with one another in a purely chance fashion. The “evolution” of thing, a custom, an organ is thus by no means its progress towards a goal (...) The form is fluid, but the “meaning” is even more so.\textsuperscript{52}

Morphological urban research shows this complex relationship between architectural forms and history. Architectural forms outlive the original reason for their construction. This is precisely what makes them open to changing functions and meanings. Moreover, a townscape is not a formal unity; rather, a townscape displays breaks and contrasts, all of which have something to say about the town’s use and history.
In support of this view, Rossi refers to Frits Schumacher. In this connection it is important to reread what Schumacher himself has to say on the subject. In 1951 Schumacher wrote:

‘In essence, today’s “metropolis”, indeed even today’s large town, is no longer a construction, which can be reduced to a single basic principle. It is composed of individual districts, each with its own very different sociological characteristics. This differentiation can even be seen as a character trait. (…) It would be totally wrong to want to force them to conform to a single formal law. The dominant geometric spirit in the administrative district is utterly different from that in the business district, and is expressed differently again in the industrial district. Even in the different kinds of residential district we can easily recognise the characteristics, which determine the type, whether it be “medium-sized town”, “small town”, “garden city”, indeed even “village”.

By comparison with organic concepts of the city, Schumacher’s observation is truly refreshing. At the same time, it is clear that Rossi goes a step further. What Schumacher saw as characteristic of today’s cities, Rossi designated as an integral component of the concept of the city. In Rossi’s words:

‘The city is not by nature a creation that can be reduced to a single basic idea. This is true both for the modern metropolis and for the concept of the city as the sum of many parts, of quarters and districts that are highly diverse and differentiated in their sociological and formal characteristics. In fact, this differentiation constitutes one of the typical characteristics of the city. To reduce these diverse aspects to one kind of explanation, and thus to a formal law, is a mistake.’

In Rossi’s view, the identity of a city is an expression of collective imagination and memory:
‘One can say that the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the locus of the collective memory. The relation between the locus and the citizenry then becomes the city’s predominant image, both of architecture and of landscape, and as certain artefacts become part of its memory, new ones emerge. In this entirely positive sense great ideas flow through the history of the city and give shape to it. (…) Ultimately, the proof that the city has primarily itself as an end emerges in the artefacts themselves, in the slow unfolding of a certain idea of the city, intentionally.'

Rossi took this as the starting point for urban analysis and design. For the structure of memory, however, things forgotten and neglected are at least as important as things remembered.

In the broad scope of the theoretical exploration of *The Architecture of the city*, concepts such as *the city of parts* and *the locus* are viewed with deeper insight. Besides this, the most significant service to architecture of the book, and even more so of Giorgio Grassi’s *The logical construction of architecture* (1967), has been their reminder of the central position of German architecture and town planning in the formation of modern architecture. After the trauma of the Second World War, the radical and many-voiced legacy of German architecture had fallen into oblivion. The Siedlungen of Ernst May in Frankfurt am Main and of Bruno Taut in Berlin, the work of Frits Schumacher in Hamburg and the theorising of Ludwig Hilbersheimer – and even the work of borderline figures like Alexander Klein and Heinrich Tessenow – were all once more given their due attention.

This was done not out of historical curiosity, but because in these works Rossi and Grassi found a link with the great manuals of Reinhard Baumeister, Camillo Sitte, Joseph Stüben and Rudolf Eberstadt, and through these founding fathers of *Der Städtebau* with the tradition of the architectural discipline. After the Second World War, only two City Models were left: *the Garden City* and *la Ville Radieuse*. These big Models had completely overshadowed the profound German studies of European cities and the instruments for their transformation into the Modern Metropolis.
Only after this rediscovery of the disciplinary roots of modern architecture in Germany did Manfredo Tafuri, Marco de Michaelis, Francesco Dal Co and above all Massimo Cacciari – in short the Venetian school of historical criticism – begin digging up the cultural, political and philosophical roots of modernism in Germany. By recognising not only the broad influence but also the value of Friedrich Nietzsche’s anti-dialectic philosophy, Cacciari gave Marxist criticism a radical turn and opened the way for tackling the function of avant-garde discourse and actions in capitalistic development.58

The exhibition _Architettura rationale_ in 1973 ensured the international breakthrough of Aldo Rossi as well as Manfredo Tafuri. Mainly as a result of their participation in the American journal _Oppositions_ under the direction of Peter Eisenmann, Team 10’s dominant position was taken over by the two Italian projects – the project of Tendenza and the project of Historical Criticism. The relations between these two projects are, however, complex and still obscure. In the field of Marxist cultural theory, the position of Tendenza seems more related to the aesthetic theory of Georg Luckacs, which was turned over by Historical Criticism. An aphorism of Nietzsche’s – which is perhaps more enlightening about what was at the centre of both projects, but worked out in two different directions – goes:

‘If man had never built houses for gods, architecture would still be in its infancy. Tasks self-imposed on the strength of false assumptions (e.g., soul separable from body) have given rise to the highest forms of culture. “Truths” lack the power to motivate in this way.’59

The full consequences of this truly modern wisdom are probably very difficult for architects to take – and works that do are seldom successful. One such is Antonio Monestiroli’s entry to the competition for the location of Les Halles in Paris (1978). His proposal was to leave the place, after the destruction of the famous market halls, almost completely open, to give it back to nature and to make it into a precinct in which the city is buried: a green open centre with the church pushed aside and from which the surrounding work of Man – the city – can be contemplated. Speaking about the modern human condition in this way, in the way only architecture can do,
is very rare in modern architecture. Monestirolí’s design brings to mind a related aphorism of Nietzsche. His *philosophy with the hammer* stood at the beginning of many contradictory tendencies in modern architecture and it is no surprise that he was recently rediscovered as the philosopher of Post-Modernism. But almost no-one has tried to realise what he called an ‘Architecture for the perceptive.’ Writing on this subject in *The gay sciences* (1882) he said:

‘There is and probably will be a need to perceive what our great cities lack above all: still, wide extensive places with tall, spacious, lengthy colonnades for inclement or unduly sunny weather where no traffic noise or street cries can penetrate, and where a finer sensibility would forbid even a priest to pray aloud: buildings and locations that express as a whole the sublimity of stepping aside to take thought for oneself. The time is past when the Church possessed the monopoly of reflection; when the *vita contemplativa* primarily had to be a *vita religiosa*; and yet that is the idea expressed in everything the Church has built. I do not know how we could ever content ourselves with its buildings, even stripped of their ecclesiastical function; they speak far too emotive and too constrained a language, as houses of God and as showplaces of intercourse with another world, for us as godless people to think our thoughts in them. We want to have *ourselves* translated into stones and plants; we want to have ourselves to stroll in, when we take a turn in those porticoes and gardens.’

Conclusion
In contrast with the design of Monestirolí for the location of Les Halles, it is significant to note that at the beginning of the ’70s, the Smithsons reopened the debate on the themes discussed at Royaumont. They showed a keen interest in the design of the Free University (Berlin, 1963-1973) by Candilis-Josic-Woods and Manfred Schiedhelm (1963-’73). In 1962 they had rejected the Dutch concept of une ‘casbah’ organisée on the scale of town planning. At the beginning of the ’70s, however, with their design for Kuwait City (1968-’70) and Lucas Headquarters (1973-’74), the concept of exploring a
new type of building was accepted: Mat Building. Mega-Structures were out and Mini-Structures came in. As such, flexibility and multi-functionality were again discussed at the meetings in Berlin (1973), inside of the just realized Free University, and in Rotterdam (1974), with visits to the Terneuzen Townhall designed by Van den Broek and Bakema (1963-'72), the office building Centraal Beheer in Apeldoorn (image) designed by Herman Herzberger (1969-'72) and the Pastoor van Ars Church in The Hague designed by Aldo van Eyck (1964-'69). 64 In 1974, Alison Smithson published How to recognize Mat-Building and one year later Team 10 at Royaumont 1962. 65 From this background one can understand that in 1991 the Royaumont text was republished together with the text of the meeting in Rotterdam. We can perhaps conclude that for the Smithsons, both discussions comprised everything of interest for them in Team 10. 66 At the same time, one might ask how much wiser they had become in the second round.
Notes


2 Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel (ed.), TEAM 10, 1953-81, in search of a Utopia of the present, Rotterdam (NAi) 2005. The exhibition at the NAi in Rotterdam was from sept. 23 2005 till jan. 10 2006. The conference was held at the Faculty of Architecture in Delft, jan. 8-9 2006.


5 Giancarlo de Carlo, ‘Statement’, in: Casabella no. 214, 1957. This statement was the argumentation for his leaving the editorial board of Casabella. In his view in Casabella the war against formalism was fairly compromised by the dominant theme set Ernesto Rogers: continuity.


8 Hitchcock and Johnson, The International Style, 1932.


13 J.B. Bakema, Van Stool tot Stad, een verhaal over mensen en ruimte, Zeist (De Haan) 1964.


16 Illustrative in this respect is Giorgio Cuucci, ‘The Formative Years’, Casabella no. 619-620, January/February 1995 (special double issue dedicated to the memory of Manfredo Tafuri), pp. 13-25. Here, Cuucci refers to lectures given in Rome during the late fifties, in which Tafuri demonstrated by visual evidence the untenability of a unified concept of modern architecture.


18 Aldo van Eyck, ‘De milde raderen van de reciprociteit – The medicine of reciprocity tentatively
21 The concept of une ‘casbah’ organisée was introduced by the Dutch Team 10 architects in 1959: Forum nr.7, 1959.
26 For a most perceptive review of this approach in response to the Tel Aviv competition see: Manfredo Tafuri, ‘Razionalismo critico e nuovo utopismo’, in: Casabella continuità no.293 (nov. 1964), pp.20-42.
27 Joan Ockman, Architecture Culture. A Documentary Anthology, New York (Rizzoli) 2000³, pp.319-320
28 In Urban structuring only the last project for Street: Somerset, Engels (1964) was designed after Royaumont. This project was presented to Team 10 in Berlin 1965.
33 Joan Ockman, Architecture Culture. A Documentary Anthology, New York (Rizzoli) 2000³, pp.319-324.
attended the Team 10 meeting of 1960 in Bagnol-sur-Cèze, two months after the World Design Conference in Tokyo. At the time Maki was working at Washington University (St. Louis). In the winter of 1961-62 Bakema and Van Eyck were invited to Washington University. On that occasion they visited settlements of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico. An article on the Pueblos by Van Eyck was published with his ‘Steps Towards a Configurative Discipline’ in the same issue of Forum. In ‘Steps Towards a Configurative Discipline’ Van Eyck quotes at length from ‘an essay on Group Form’ by Maki and Othoka published at Washington University St. Louis in 1961. Probably this is the same text from which the German translation in Werk 1963 nr. 7 is made. Reyner Banham, in Megastructure, urban future of the recent past (Londen 1978, p. ??) gave credit to Maki for introducing the term mega-structure in his publication of 1964. In fact Maki did, only three years earlier in the publication from which Van Eyck took his citation.

38 Herman Sörgel, Einführung in die Architektur-Ästhetik, München (Piloty & Loehle) 1918, p.160. On the next page however is also introduced the topic of the House and the City (p.161). On the envelope of volume as interface, see: pp.85-86.


54 Fritz Schumacher; Vom Städtebau zur Landesplanung und Fragen der Städtebaulicher Gestaltung, (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1951)p.37


56 Idem, pp. 130-131.


61 In 1994 a symposium was held in Weimar: Abbau-Neubau-Überbau: Nietzsche and ‘An Architecture of our Minds.’ The results were published in: Alexandre Kostka and Irving Wohlfarth (ed.), *Nietzsche and ‘An Architecture of our Minds’*, Los Angeles (Getty Research Institute) 1999. For a most profound study of the theme of architecture in the philosophical work of Nietzsche, see: Markus Breitschmid, *Der Bauende Geist. Friedrich Nietzsche und die Architektur*, Luzern (Quart Verlag) 2001. Up till now the only Dutch study on the theme is: François Claessens, *Nietzsche en het Klassieke*, Doctoraalscriptie Faculteit der Wijsbegeerte UvA. (ongepubl.) 1996.

62 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*, 1882. English translation, see note 1, p.344.

63 See: note 21.

64 The most remarkable Dutch building in this line of exploration however, ‘t Karregat in Eindhoven designed by the outsider Frank van Klinger (1970–73), was given no attention at all.


66 See: note 19. For further research on these themes, see: Hashim Sarkis (ed.), *Case: Le Corbusier’s Venice Hospital and the Mat Building Revival*, Munich/London/New York (Prestel) 2001.
Team 10 and the School of Barcelona

by Xavier Costa

Team 10’s architectural and urban ideas found a special resonance in Barcelona, first through the figure of José Antonio Coderch, an architect who actively participated in some of the meetings and followed the debates of the group. A close friend of the Smithsons, Coderch participated in the 1959 meeting in Otterlo, as well as in later meetings in 1962, 1966, 1971, and 1976.

Coderch’s architecture includes some of the finest works built in Spain between the late 1950s and the early 1970s, and he played a crucial role in the renaissance of architectural activity which followed the postwar-period in Spain. Coderch pursued a personal trajectory based on opening and widening the perspectives of the Modern Movement’s heritage.

An important person for Barcelonese architects was Josep Lluis Sert, who lived as a political exile in New York since 1939, and who became a prominent figure within postwar CIAMs, acting as its president in the 1950s. Once in New York he was responsible for the edition of ‘Can Our Cities Survive?’, a book intended to summarize the CIAM trajectory and published in America in 1943. He was particularly decisive in defining the content of CIAM 8 in 1951, which under the title ‘The Heart of the City’ opened a series of new questions for Modern urbanism. It provoked an evident crisis in the urban ideas of CIAM, and it lead eventually to its demise and the simultaneous emergence of Team 10.

Besides Coderch there were more Barcelona architects who took short-lived participation in the Team 10 meetings. Joan Busquets, one of the main authors of the urban transformation of Barcelona in the 1980s, participated in the meeting at Bagnols-sur-Ceze (1960) and Federico Correa, a close collaborator of Coderch, was present in the meeting at (1966).
In later years, the Barcelona School of Architecture became a place with strong links to Team 10, as its students and faculty members participated actively in the ILAUD program in Urbino and Siena, starting in 1974. Through this program, younger architects like Enric Miralles and Carme Pinós came into contact with Giancarlo De Carlo, the Smithsons, and other members of the group. Miralles was at ILAUD in Urbino in 1977 as a student, then back in 1983 as a faculty member. Two years later, in his first course as permanent professor at ETSAB, Miralles invited Alison Smithson to co-teach in his studio. The ILAUD program, conceived as a training ground for future faculty, managed to pass on the Team 10 ideas to a large section of the Barcelona School, thus influencing several generations of Catalan architects.

At the urban scale, a vast program of urban reform was undertaken in Barcelona starting in 1980. This program constituted a significant episode in the reception of Team 10 ideas. It was directed by Oriol Bohigas, who was the Chief Architect and the author of the book ‘Reconstruction of Barcelona’ (1985). He started a continuous effort to redesign the city through its public spaces. Echoing the 1950s debate on the Heart of the City, the Barcelona project also reflects some of the debates forwarded by Team 10. Aldo van Eyck, especially known in Barcelona for his work on a vast number of public spaces in Amsterdam, had been an influential figure for Bohigas and for the generation of architects who became responsible for the ambitious urban renewal process in Barcelona.

Barcelona’s urbanism, as it developed during the last three decades, has been one of the main laboratories where the ideas on urbanism from the previous years have been tested. Even though there is not one single thread directly connecting Team 10 and the main decisions to be applied in Barcelona, we find a wide resonance primarily connected to the emergence of public space as the main element for the city in its social and political condition. Here we find the inseparable presence of architecture and urbanism as one single operation, to be effected from the same instruments and intentions. There was a true sense of ‘reconstructing’ the city as a means to recuperate and rebuild a social fabric, a cultural trajectory, and a political project that had been
truncated by the Civil War and the following years. In this context, architects and urban designers played a major role beyond the boundaries of their profession. Their links to the European debate became decisive for the city in many ways.
Traces of a Birth and a sudden Murder:  
Team 10’s Siena Exhibition & Meeting, Autumn 1982.  
by Marco Vidotto

The occasion of the seminar offered an opportunity, among other things, to think about the influence that Team 10 had - or did not have - on Italian architecture and the eventual legacy of Team 10 in Italy. A very important opportunity, in fact, to re-think, to re-organize, to put in order a series of thoughts and events that could help us to understand not only the recent past, but also the actual state of architecture in Italy today. Yet this short paper will not attest to such ambitions, this contribution to the proceedings seeks simply to tell a story, a crime story; and like all crime stories this one is told many years after the facts, only now, after acquiring nuanced shades of meaning. This is a story with few characters, some of them very well known, some having a role on the scene, some others being silent spectators, one barking.

The actors, in order of appearance:
  
Augusto Mazzini  
Fabrizio Mezzedimi  
Carlo Nepi  
Marco Vidotto  
(GThe above four appear all together at the beginning of these events; but later only two of them would remain on the scene)  

Giancarlo De Carlo  
Peter Smithson  
Alison Smithson  
Aldo van Eyck  
Ralph Erskine  
Josè Antonio Coderch  
Giulio Carlo Argan  
Joseph Rykwert  
Bruno Zevi  
Bruno Zevi’s dog.
The role each of these characters played and the tools they employed to pursue their aims articulated a medley of shrewdness, ingenuity and theatricality. The resulting mosaic worked like a handful of sand thrown onto the slow machinery and development of the contemporary Italian architecture. And this sand was cast through multiple domains - within the theory and history of architecture, within didactics and the teaching of design in schools of architecture, within the culture of numerous institutions, and so on, and so on.

I will extract evidences of those events buried in the memory of some of the actors who participated and in some proofs hidden in few office archive; sadly most of the protagonists have now almost all passed away. Yet, it is possible today to understand the 'what' and the 'why' of these events as they so happened, having now a distant perspective from which to collocate the happenings; these things which were so hidden then, when the perspective was still too close.

In ‘The Emergence of Team 10 out of C.I.A.M. – Documents’, compiled by Alison Smithson and published by The Architectural Association in 1982, p.98, a document not signed, with the title: ‘Team 10 Meeting (sic), Portugal, last week October/ 1st week November, 1981’ reports some notes about a Team 10 Exhibition in Siena, Autumn 1982:

‘To plan how we are going to respond to the proposal Team 10 exhibition, Siena, autumn, 1982.
What history we expose?
What documents we show?
How documents should relate to each other?
What publications there should be of old or new documents?’

In the lecture given on the occasion of the opening of the exhibition held in Rome at Palazzo Taverna, in January 1991, in the seat of INARCH (Istituto Nazionale di
‘In the autumn of 1978 I travelled to Siena to meet some young architects who were interested in making a Team 10 exhibition in the Palazzo Pubblico of that city. Alison and myself were both enthusiastic about this idea, yet wondering about the interest in Team 10 by architects of a different generation and so far away. Seen in hindsight Team 10 as a Family had already met for the last time in June of the previous year, June 1977, but in 1978 this was not at all apparent. I certainly had left that 1977 Team 10 meeting full of the spirit that Team 10 should try and make something together; to work with each other as we had shown we could work with buildings and places from the past. An exhibition in Siena seemed to present a trial run towards this end. At the time of the 1978 visit to Siena the bottom level cisterns at the Palazzo Pubblico had just been opened up as an exhibition spaces. The long well-like descent to this level – from the Campo to the long galleries under – provided dramatic spaces…one could imagine vertical narratives, horizontal narratives, the exhibition material being chosen to match the space available…the exhibition designer’s dream.’

Peter Smithson’s recall was slightly wrong on several accounts: on the timing of the events, which took place in 1981 instead of 1978, and on the mention of the ‘cisterns’ which were, if fact salt storages; but he was completely right about our dream.

Peter Smithson continues:
‘Manifestations of Team 10 ideas in Siena were discussed for some years after 1978, but nothing was realised: it was said due to the change in local government composition following an election.’
Actually, the idea of the Exhibition was born in the minds and hopes of four ‘young’ architects after a visit to the Venice Biennale of 1980: The ‘Strada Novissima’, that was, in Europe, the official celebration of Post Modernism. Organized by Paolo Portoghesi, a group of Italian ‘formalist’ architects were invited. Incredibly, Mario Ridolfi and Ignazio Gardella (the latter of which participated in the Urbino Team 10 Meeting of 1966) were also included, and both in some way took part in the celebration.

It was a very confusing and compromising event. The four architects just mentioned were myself, Augusto Mazzini, Fabrizio Mezzedimi and Carlo Nepi; needless to say, we had a very strong reaction to the Biennale exhibition. As a response we subsequently proposed to the Municipality of Siena (not a cultural institution, but a public institution) to organize a counter exhibition, an exhibition about an architecture based upon different principles than those evidenced in Venice.

**The town of Siena accepted**

We proposed a very ambitious program which had Team 10 both as a point of reference and of departure for advancing another attitude towards the built environment. The main point was not to make a retrospective or historical exhibition of Team 10 as we knew well that the members would not have accepted participation in anything that was somehow historicizing Team 10, declaring them as a past story. They were however interested to see in what way young architects had received the ideas of Team 10; so, eventually they agreed to participate in the questions that had arisen and were being put forward. A sort of ‘passive’, yet intensely attentive attitude was given to the possible interaction that a sort of generational confrontation could bring. Certainly this was made clear from the very beginning as Giancarlo De Carlo, the first to know about our project for this exhibition, put forward a condition, once which could not be renounced on either side. The condition was simply that we, the young architects organizing the meeting and exhibition, had to remain completely free to choose what we believed to be relevant and most important to demonstrate; and it was agreed that none of the Team 10 members could interfere with our decisions nor put forward an attitude of dissention towards our choices.
At the 1981 ILAUD (International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design) in Urbino, Peter Smithson agreed on this point; even Alison Smithson, who was chosen to be our point of contact, our ‘key’ to the Team 10 archives, although probably not completely convinced in the beginning, was nevertheless open and moved by our curiosity and esteem. Extending this attitude and agreement even further, Peter Smithson stated the same conditions would hold for the exhibition to be displayed in Rome. In the lecture cited above he stated:

‘...it was important that all decisions as to the work to be shown and its organisation and presentation should be completely in the hands of the exhibition designers without any interference of choice or interpretation…..no matter how arcane the choice might seem.’

Certainly, the centrality of this point was for Giancarlo De Carlo the only possible way to push forward his personal interest towards the capacity of the remaining members of Team 10 -after the death of Jaap Bakema in February 1981- to answer as a group, with the particularity of their individual positions and experiences, to the pressing interest of a younger generation who tries to fight a shared ‘enemy’ – Postmodernism’s rise in Europe.

Trust and confidence grew: Giancarlo De Carlo gave us the original of the following letter written by Alison on the 31st of August 1981:

Dear Giancarlo,
I zone of Team 10: Spazio e Società
re-Sienna: (supposing there still is to be an ‘exhibition’ autumn 82 … for me having heard nothing more).
We could offer: results of three AA post graduate seminars on Team 10 (accepted as considered useful preparatory exercise to Sienna)
Some handwritten notes (in French) by Shad + me
drawings and type-written text signed Woods.

a combined text on Shad’s Man in the Street (basically A+PS reviews)
a piece on Pancho prepared for opening his AA exhibition ’80.

I would like to suggest the following are approached:

Sia: to write down what Jaap got from Team 10, including the frustrations he
felt over end of CIAM and non-take-off of Postbox for ??

Manfred: to write about working with Shad and remembering whatever Shad
said/got from Team 10.

Erskine: what has he got from Team 10.

George: to remember any discussions the three had on Team 10 and what
they got out of us.

There is a biographer working on Aldo who came here to cover Aldo/Team 10
intervention. He had been to Bakema’s files (and they are comprehensive
…every possible paper and bit of communication)
his name is Francis Strauven, Gen Caprianmont Straat 1,
2600 Berchen, Antwerp, Belgium and he could give a most recent
researcher’s document.

( Aldo must trust him as he has access to all Aldo’s ork and many discussions
go on as to progress).

I’d like most of all to achieve ba’s involvement if there are to be any historical
documents and Bakema’s presence at Sienna. Nils would bring her…but I
don’t particularly want either the office or Nils to handle the whole affair. Sia
sat in on every meeting and – besides being good to see again – would know
the right notes to play.

regards

Alison M Smithson

So it was these many years ago; the exhibition was to be organized as to allow for an
interpretation of architecture whereby the visitors could understand the ideas behind
and participate in the architecture as spatial experience. We were imagining the layout
of the exhibition so that the qualities of space and materials could describe the very nature of the architecture. We were taking as a point of reference some fundamental ideas of Team 10 which could be understood through models and diagrams but also with built details at a one-to-one scale. At the same time we were thinking to put on stage all the architects that in 1981, even if not all of them participated within the close knit family of Team 10 members, were important to us with regards the lessons they could bring and for the buildings they had designed and were designing in those years.

Josè Antonio Coderch, Giancarlo De Carlo, Ralph Erskine, Alison and Peter Smithson, Aldo van Eyck were invited to participate, to design and eventually to realize a small scale intervention project: either as a renovation of carefully selected sites, or to design some provisional and dismountable structure that could be used in some specific public spaces. Josè Antonio Coderch answered positively, but, if I remember well, he was interested in sending some models more than in the design of a small intervention. I recall that Coderch’s letter was typed, yet it contained hand-written insertions; this letter has still to be found in my archive.

Peter and Alison came, separately, to Siena to visit the square where they had to design a provisional structure for an open cinema and other events.

The following letters testify that they already had started to work.

(Letters by Alison Smithson to Marco Vidotto and Augusto Mazzini)

March 21:82

Dear Marco + Augusto,

thank you

for looking after me in Siena…etc.

We are studying the photographs – mine came out OK – and trying to think of something: I think we will need to lean heavily on the official, municipal, riefing.

Photographs of Bath will be
taken in April; the huts are being demolished now.
The collective Design essays influenced by the Team 10 meetings in Holland were July 74 reappraisal in urbanism: Nov 74; Collective Quality; and the Mat-building concept. Sept 1974.
Erskine lectures in London next week.
Thank you again sincerely
Alison M Smithson
The postcards all arrived within 3 days!

And the next letter:

April 7th ’82

Dear Senese,
Ralph Erskine was in London to give a lecture this week: we managed to speak to him for a few minutes before he had to return to Sweden to go to China. He has received a letter from you which Ruth has been wanting him to answer. I suggested he invited you to visit him in Drottningholm. I hope he does. If not, write to say when you will visit him.
Best wishes for your ‘researches’.

For Giancarlo De Carlo, Aldo van Eyck, Ralph Erskine, the sites for the interventions were to be chosen from among small buildings that had to be renovated; for instance the wash-house underneath Piazza del Mercato, and some areas that still had to be agreed on.

In the meanwhile another set of meetings had to be organized.

The Municipality of Siena asked that our program be confronted by three critics,
which were chosen to form the Scientific Committee of the Exhibition: Giulio Carlo Argan, Bruno Zevi, and Joseph Rykwert. The choice of the critics was made by the Municipality, not only for their cultural knowledge and their capacity to refer to the various contents of the Exhibition, but also, in the case of Argan and Zevi, because they were close to the political parties that were then ruling the town.

The Communist Party chose Giulio Carlo Argan (1909 – 1992), who had been mayor of Rome from ’76 al ’79, and was going to become senator of the Republic for the Communist Party in 1982. Argan, was also a renowned art historian and Professor at the University of Rome, he was the first scholar to study and to write about the link between contemporary art and architecture. The Socialist Party chose Bruno Zevi (1918 – 2000), a Professor of Architecture History at the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Rome. Zevi was publicly well known for his political and cultural involvement and, among architects, for his books, his review ‘L'Architettura - Cronache e Storia’, his articles on the weekly ‘L'Espresso’ magazine and for his continuous fight against any form of academism in architecture. Joseph Rykwert was chosen because he was felt to be ‘over the parts’ but also because he had been close to Team 10, having participated in the Urbino meeting in 1966.

We met Rykwert first, in his house in north London, in the autumn 1981. He was bemused by the decision to invite him to participate to the Scientific Committee, but had a direct and positive ‘….no problem… just let me know about next steps…’ attitude.

In the spring of 1982 Argan was visited in his home in Rome, I remember clearly that he was helpful, curious and happy to participate.

At last we went to visit Bruno Zevi in his house in Rome. It was a quiet afternoon until then.

He met us in the garden, in front of the office door, holding a little dog in his arms, like a little baby.

The dog was barking as Zevi lead us into his office, all the while speaking to the dog:
'Don’t you like these people? Don’t you like their idea about a Team 10 Exhibition? I think you are right! Isn’t it more important an Exhibition on Raffaello on the occasion of 500 years of his birth?’

It was immediately and implicitly clear that he did not want to participate and that his refusal to do so could potentially sink the Exhibition. To understand this it was enough to look at the frightened faces of the Counsellor of Culture of the Municipality and of the Director of the museum in Siena. Yet what was made even clearer, explicitly so by Zevi, was that we should not dare to take our cigarettes out from our pockets because the dog liked to eat tobacco and it was bad for him. All the while Zevi continued to speak to the little dog, the dog that was endlessly barking.

Bruno Zevi was an energetic man, vigorous and powerful in his arguments; he was also very theatrical, no doubt he would have been a very good actor. Although it is impossible to summarize a rich and complex biography in only a few lines; but certainly now, 24 years on from the events, it is difficult not to underline one aspect that might have played an important role regarding the execution of the Team 10 Exhibition. Zevi, having come back to Italy from the United States, after obtaining a degree with Walter Gropius and after having met his most relevant Master, Frank Lloyd Wright, founded in 1945 the Association ‘A.P.A.O.’ (Associazione Per l’Architettura Organica) as a “meeting place for fights and controversies, for political and architectural hopes that had been poured in the Italian reconstruction”. And ardently, during the following years, in his teaching and in his writings, Zevi continued to support the organic architecture derived from the lessons of Frank Lloyd Wright.

Had this, his sense of ‘belonging’ to another set of concerns, the motivating power or the will to stop, to kill the exhibition, as in fact it so happened?

Was it possible that Zevi was thinking that he could not participate in any other celebration about architecture that did not include his personal position with regards organic architecture as a possible, or even stronger than Team 10, point of reference?
Was he feeling unrelated to Team 10 and was he thinking that it would have seemed very strange to offer his support of the Exhibition? Or was Zevi thinking that a completely new and different attitude had to be pushed forward in order to sufficiently contrast the increasing fashion of postmodernism? Or was he simply not interested… but in that case why would he have played that role, accepting our visit at all?

Who knows? Certainly I will never know for certain his motivations, his reasons; what I do know is that on that day a sudden murder was committed. The murder of the Team 10 meeting and Exhibition which was (not) to be held in Siena in Autumn 1982.

And yet, I will never forget Zevi’s dog escaping from his arms and nosing into my pocket. And our astonished gaze, down on our knees in front of Zevi’s table and seeing only his legs, after we all rushed onto the floor trying to stop the barking beast from running behind and nipping at the cigarettes that had somehow fallen out of my pocket.
Team 10 and the Dutch aftermath

*by Frits Palmboom*

This lecture on the Dutch reception of Team 10 is not a scientific overview, but rather an autobiographical story. I am not a historian, but a participant in the Dutch history after Team 10, the Delft ‘aftermath.’ In my observations of Team 10, I will focus particularly on the influence on Dutch urbanism, in which our studio is one of the main players of the moment.

**Bakema and van Eyck**

In the sixties, when I was still at high school, Bakema gave a popular course on architecture that was on television every week. Unfortunately I couldn’t see it, for we didn’t have television – you see: we are definitely speaking about history here – but I was lucky enough to get Bakema’s book *van stoel tot stad* for my fifteenth birthday. It was my first acquaintance to Team 10.

Bakema’s story was very accessible and enthusiastic, and appealing to the spirit of the time, with his plea for freedom of choice and democracy. But amidst his rhetorical argument, there was one image that stayed in my memory: the photomontage, in which a high-rise building was assembled in a landscape picture of the grand pastures of the Kennemerland region, with the misty contours of the Dutch dunes on the horizon. It promised the reconciliation of modern architecture and landscape: putting something new in a landscape so that it is brightened but not affected by it. In a sense, this was the Corbusian dream of modernism translated to the Dutch lowlands. Looking back, we can see that there was an optimistic, but rather naïve utopism in this image. It ignored the profound indirect effect of such interventions on the landscape, because of the massiveness and the enormous mobility they implied.

Compared with Bakema, van Eyck was a different story. He put something on the agenda that was previously unknown in the field of modernism. The circles in his projects had something enigmatic, and were completely new. They symbolized the self-
centeredness and the autonomy of place, enlightened by a circle that appears on the ceiling as a sun or moon: an intimate experience of time and place.

Besides his drawings and buildings, there was the power of his rhetorical gift. His words struck me like sledgehammer blows: his plea for the positive appreciation of ambiguity; for reciprocity between the house and the city; and for the meaning of the threshold in mediating realities that we were used to seeing as opposites. He suggested that a city could originate out of an informal, voluntary gathering of inspired individual houses, like in the Dogon area.

But what struck me the most was his analytical eye: how he could draw and speak about his own buildings, about the construction of their architecture. The analysis of his own Orphanage was so inspiring that you couldn’t wait doing it yourself too. He explained the inspired composition of architectural elements that was at its base: the chain of places, the axes, diagonals, circles, the play with scales and the relation between the part and the whole. His orphanage is in my opinion his undoubted masterpiece. It is a paradigmatic building: here van Eyck’s rhetorics were translated into a new architectonic order.
It was very revealing to me to see the playground close to the elementary school where he was educated during his childhood, shown by Francis Strauven in the biography of van Eyck. Here you see a small amphitheatre between the trees. This beautiful place seems to predict not only the elements but also the feeling of van Eyck’s work.

In a way, van Eyck gave melancholy a place, which had never happened before in modernism. His work is not in the service of progress, but is longing to bring time to a standstill: an enigmatic tranquility and timelessness.

**The Smithsons**

To tell the truth, when I started my studies in Delft in 1970, Team 10 was not so very present. What we saw of Team 10 came from Bakema and van Eyck, and they were mainly telling their own story. The perception of the other Team 10 members – particularly the Smithsons – came from the pupils of van Eyck and Bakema. They became assistants and later on teachers at the school. They stimulated us to read, especially the Smithsons, who had published so abundantly. The Smithsons created books that were intriguing just to *look at*. They offered, after van Eyck’s analysis, a second series of sledgehammer blows.

Firstly, the Smithsons showed another appreciation of space, in which they underlined the meaning of the *ground*. It started with the way they looked at the street, with the children’s white chalk drawings scratched over asphalt surfaces. It continued with the
role of the yard and the fence in their drawings and photographs: elements that were absent in orthodox modernism. They showed the physical relief, the moulding of the ground as an architectural construction.

Secondly, they connected this architectural conception of the ground with the main themes of the debate on urbanism. In the book Urban Structuring they wrote:

‘Traditionally, some unchanging large-scale feature – the Acropolis, the River, the Canal, or some unique configuration of the ground – was the thing that made the whole community structure comprehensible and assured the identity of the parts within the whole. Our most obvious failure today is the lack of comprehensibility and identity in big cities, and the answer is surely a clear large-scale road-system – the ‘urban motorway’ lifted from an ameliorative function to a unifying one.’

Infrastructure was no longer considered a necessary evil, but as an element of ‘architecture’ on an urban scale; just as large scaled bridges, harbours, stadiums or high-rise buildings. Their approach contrasted with the Dutch education in town planning at that time. Town planning was restricted to the subject of housing, the request for new housing districts and neighbourhoods, leaving other issues – like infrastructure – to engineers.

Thirdly, there was their vision on the problem of repetition, a main feature in the discussions in CIAM as well as in Team 10. The architects of Forum for example, started from the individual element (the dwelling, a column) and tried to build a collective structure out of it by different ways of addition and assembling. The Smithson’s, on the other hand, plead for the rediscovery and reinterpretation of “the old secrets of repetition”: the concept of something harnessing repetition, like a giant order, or huge ground geometry. They inspired to start from the conception of the whole, from the interpretation of the site, of its landscape architecture – and to differentiate its conditions to the parts.
The fourth aspect that was inspiring of the Smithson’s work was what I would call their unbounded eye: the eye with which they made their beautiful books, and the eye with which they described their walks through Bath and Cambridge. For them, architecture was everywhere: in a cornerstone, in the pavement, a balustrade, and so forth. In their broad approach of architecture, they recognised within cities the meaning of grey zones and architecturally non-descriptive areas.

All these eye-openers created a new perspective on the city, its architecture and its landscape; a vision in which there was place for the materiality of its underground, for the traces of its history, and for the grandeur of contemporary interventions.

The Delft Aftermath
A third series of eye-openers came from within the Delft Faculty of Architecture. It started with people like Pjotr Gonggrijp, Michiel Polak, Max Risselada and many others, young teachers that were partially educated by van Eyck and served as his assistants later on. They opened new perspectives that were influenced by the
discussions within Team 10, but transformed them into new themes.

The ‘jump’ they made beyond van Eyck, can be symbolized by the drawing by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, a drawing that Polak and Gonggrijp repeatedly used to explain their statement. They took, so to say, the semi-circular amphitheatre which we knew from van Eyck, out of its site and situated it like a UFO in the landscape. They stretched the experience of space: from the fine intimacy between the bench and the tree, to the widest scale of a panoramic landscape, in which there is after each horizon a new one. In their lectures, the tactile experience of an architectural detail was brought in direct contact with the oceanic experience of the landscape on its largest scale. They applied this way of looking on the very divergent work of Emperor Hadrianus, Palladio, Ledoux and Boullee, Schinkel, Loos, Maybeck, van Doesburg, Duiker, Prouvé and many others (including Albert Speer). They analyzed those works in a way comparable with the way van Eyck analyzed his Orphanage: radical, precise and inspiring.

Landscape played an important role in this very new Delft tradition. Polak and Gonggrijp showed us Bath, Frankfurt Niddatal, the Russian De-urbanists, all sites and projects in which the city and the landscape were related in a way very different from the Kennemerland montage by Bakema. May be, this had some of its offspring in the Smithson’s interest for the ground. It was mixed with a particular eye for the situation in the Dutch lowlands. In a way they used the exotic studies from Haan and van Eyck about the Dogon, and translated them to the everyday reality in Holland. Gonggrijp made large and detailed maps of Holland in which almost every house could be recognized. He didn’t fear or avoid the question of the ‘greatest number,’ and started just mapping it. It resulted in beautiful drawings of the way houses gathered and nested in our delta landscape; a landscape where there is hardly any solid ground, leave alone any mountainous relief. They showed a kind of galactic nebula of houses and places to live, on a background of very subtle gradients in the soil, the dynamics of the water system, and much more: a ‘swarm analysis’ avant la lettre.
Even more fascinating was that in those maps layers of different historical episodes were loosely combined and superimposed; including the large scale infrastructure network of those days. They mapped the simultaneity of different layers in the landscape: the geological structure, the medieval structure of cities and countryside, the modern systems of harbors, railroads and highways.

All these eye openers – by van Eyck, the Smithsons and their Delft offspring - stimulated me as a student to choose a specialization in urbanism instead of architecture. What was the state of the art of those days, and what was the influence of Team 10 on it?

Dutch urbanism

In Holland urbanism has a specific tradition, connected to the conditions of its landscape, as a discipline relatively independent of the discipline of architecture. Because of its soil conditions, sites have to be thoroughly prepared before any building can occur. The water system of canals and ditches has to be modified; the peat soil has to be levelled up with sand to raise its loadbearing capacity, requiring a long time to bed down. Streets have to be constructed artificially, a sewage system realised, pumping-stations built and started; and existing patterns of property rearranged or expropriated.

This demands for planning before architecture, for technical and financial pre-investments, for a step by step process of decision making, and for a long term consensus in politics and society.

Berlage and van Eesteren build on this tradition – and connected it with the mass housing program that dominated the professional debate in the 20th century. A strict system of decision making occurred, in which the sites and the programs of each separate building were defined very precisely before any architect started to design. It resulted in famous projects like Amsterdam Zuid and the AUP (Amsterdam Extension Plan), but also in a bureaucratic routine, especially in the post war CIAM period.

Besides the request for mass housing, urban planning got itself committed to the
social coherence in the post war society. The leading principle was expressed in the *wijkgedachte*: the idea to organize new housing districts in a hierarchal series of nuclei with a representational variety of housing types and social services. This resulted in a rather repetitive – and again routine – pattern of separate residential districts (*wijken*).

The Forum architects experienced this as very restrictive, smothering creativity, because it excluded items like the threshold, or the space in-between, from the process of architectural design. Both Bakema and van Eyck revolted against this practise of urbanism, but in a very different way.

Bakema tried to open up the *wijkgedachte* and to connect it with the largest scale of the landscape, turning the future city into a huge mega structure – like in his Pampus scheme. The *wijkgedachte* exploded into the cosmic order of what he called the ‘Totale Ruimte’ (total space). He guzzled the discipline of urbanism, and overplayed his hand. His late projects for Eindhoven and Delft (Tanthof) foundered by their monolithical approach. Image.
Van Eyck, on the other hand, tried to intensify the aspiration for social coherence and interaction as aimed for in the wijkgedachte. With van Eyck, the wijkgedachte imploded into the microcosm of the snowflake: the introvert embroidery of Blom's Pestalozzi (image) project. Image. Instead of guzzling it, he disgusted urbanism and threw it up. Only where the city already existed, he succeeded in relating his architecture to an urban context – the Nieuwmarkt project is the best example, and has provided the urban renewal movement with inspiration.

This double revolt broke the criticized system of urbanistic routine and bureaucracy, but left an awkward void behind. The urban plans of the seventies lapsed into very rough and noncommittal zoning schemes. Infrastructure got banned to the edges of the territory, left to the traffic engineers, creating formless traffic spaces behind noise barriers. Inside the barriers, the area was left over to architects, creating an overgrowth of domestication, deprived of outward orientation and breath.

So, in my opinion, the Team 10 and Forum episode, threw the Dutch urbanist tradition in a crisis, that left deep traces in the new urbanised areas of the seventies. Nevertheless, as a paradox, the eye-openers of Team 10 and its Delft aftermath that I described before, also offered the seeds – at least for me personally – for a recovery. They stimulated my generation to continue the search for the landscape, for the urban impact and architectural dimension of infrastructure; for the materiality and historicity of the underground, for the layering of the city; for the appreciation of urban detail and urban panorama, for the impact of time.
We (re)discovered urbanism as a discipline with an architectural dimension of its own, relatively independent from the act of raising buildings. Preparing the site is designing the site.

In the eighties this coincided with the stream of publications and projects on urbanism from southern Europe, by Rossi, Secchi, the Barcelona School and many others, who had broken away from orthodox modernism in their own way. This process of crisis and recovery in Southern Europe has been spotlighted abundantly.

In this lecture I have tried to indicate how this process of crisis and recovery in Northern Europe, or at least in the Netherlands, followed its own course, and how the perception of Team 10 and its offspring functioned as a paradoxical turning point. It is a plea for historians to throw themselves on this hidden line of history.

This book urgently needs to be written.
Team 10, Keeping the Language of Modern Architecture Alive