

A "HISTORICAL PROJECT": DOUBLING INDL EXHIBITION CATALOGUE (1)

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1. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Prof. Dr. Ayşen Savaş; this paper would never be accomplished without her thorough criticism and generous effort.

2. Tafuri and Sopriani (1962). First cited Ciucci (1995, 17). The translation quoted is in its slightly altered version by Vidler (2008, 162).

3. See the coming publication of Mark Wasiuta, Peter Lang and Luca Molinari.

There exist, in the history of architecture and art, in general, particular moments or singular "cases" that assume a critical determining value for the comprehension of the entire cultural cycles.

Manfredo Tafuri (2).

In 1962, while still a passionate student, Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994), who would become one of the most preeminent architectural historians and critics of the post-1970s period, underlined the "critical determining value" of certain moments in the history of architecture. This historical interpretation, which would later become the "watchword", as Anthony Vidler (2008, 162) calls it, of Tafuri's analytical approach, was the starting point of his later discovery that led to a new epoch in architectural historiography. As also suggested by Giorgio Cuicci (1995, 17), Tafuri discovered that a historical inquiry is nothing more than a critical analysis of certain moments or singular cases in history. It was Tafuri's claim that in critical analysis it is essential to explore the differentiating values of cases rather than establishing their affinities. Should the investigation of certain moments and specific cases in recent history be defined under an analogous inquiry, then the exhibition organized by the Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation (GSAPP), at Columbia University, in collaboration with the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in 2009 certainly falls within this category (3). Curated by Mark Wasiuta, Peter Lang and Luca Molinari, the exhibition was titled "Environments and Counter Environments: Experimental Media in Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, MoMA 1972." The exhibition was introduced to the public simultaneously with a two-part symposium. As can be understood from the title of the symposium, "Revisiting the New Domestic Landscape," the exhibition was, in fact, designed as a reiteration of the enigmatic 1972 Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) exhibition "Italy: The New Domestic Landscape" (INDL), curated by Emilio Ambasz (1943-), renowned Argentinean architect and designer. In 1969, when MoMA hired the young and prosperous Princeton-

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4. Along with several graduate studies on the subject, Scott (2004) “analyzed” Ambasz to trace back the political context of the events to reconstruct the said exhibition in 2004, and later expanded her analysis in her seminal book *Architecture or TechnoUtopia* in 2007 (Scott, 2007). Aureli (2008) defined the exhibition as an almost autonomous project.

5. As stated by Martin (2002), “[t]he 1972 exhibition was the first encounter of Manfredo Tafuri with the American architectural milieu through the critical text he had contributed to its catalogue.”

6. It is also important to note that there was not just a crisis in American architecture culture, but Italian as well.

7. “Transplantation” is a term consciously derived from Ambasz.

graduate architect Ambasz as the “Curator of Design”, he was in his late twenties and the INDL show — which introduced Italian design and the highly Marxist Italian architectural discourse to American elite — was the first project he organized under the Museum’s roof. The 1972 exhibition was a phenomenal success both for the Museum and for Ambasz; thus, as its aftermath signified, the “transplantation” — the term Ambasz used to describe the aim of his show — of this unfamiliar mainstream triggered a transformation not only in the conventional Modernist mind-set of MoMA, but also in the intellectual context of American architectural world in the early 1970’s that oscillated between the late-Miesian notions of modern architecture and Venturis’ Americanized Mannerism.

The 2009 events of Wasiuta, Lang and Molinari — travelling exhibition, symposia, publications — traced the legacy of the 1972 exhibition. Regardless of the content of these events, it is clear that the 2009 Columbia reinterpretation reiterated the “critical determining value” of Ambasz’s event, thus verified its Tafurian particularity and singularity as a critical case in history (Swiss Architecture Museum, 2010). Although the 1972 INDL exhibition attracted phenomenal attention from both the architectural and design world of the day, it should be admitted that its level of significance has been a considerable subject of study only during the last half of this decade (4)

The goal here is neither to reiterate the 1972 MoMA exhibition nor its 2009 Columbia reinterpretation. The goal here is to reinforce the said significance of Ambasz’s show for the comprehension of a broader cultural cycle by following a Tafurian methodology. In other words, the goal is to generate a Tafurian “historical criticism” of a sequence in history. This sequence under examination, however, does not refer to a particular period in the linear flow of time; rather, the 1972 MoMA exhibition has been conceived as a definite “point of passage”. It was the first event to fill the gap in knowledge of Italian design and design history in American discourse; it was the first real-time event to introduce the highly political Italian design context of the early seventies to the American public; and moreover, its catalogue was the first comprehensive document to publicize the radical positions held by specific Italian designers, historians, critics, and especially by Manfredo Tafuri, to the English speaking world (Martin, 2002) (5). Above all, it can be said that the exhibition instigated a “crisis in culture” in a Tafurian sense: The culture being American architectural culture (6); and the crisis being a particular shift in architectural discourse to a more provocative stance, motivated and shaped by the “transplantation” of the leftist and Marxist Italian critical discourse, and especially the “historical criticism” of Manfredo Tafuri (7).

Hence, as a “point of passage,” a critical analysis of the 1972 MoMA exhibition in Tafurian sense facilitates an in-depth research on both *a priori* and *a posteriori* “moments” in the said sequence. This in-depth research is not to reassess the already-recognized impact of the leftist and Marxist Italian critical discourses, especially that of Manfredo Tafuri, on the transition in American architectural discourse. On the contrary, it aims to discriminate whether the “transplantation”, as Ambasz coined, of this unfamiliar body of thought by the 1972 MoMA exhibition stimulated the recognition of Italian discourse in the United States or its contamination for more stylistic purposes. The assumption of this study seizes mostly on the latter option due to the ignorance of Anglophone society regarding the

8. The English translation of this text was first published in *Oppositions* volume 3 in 1974 and then was published as a section, entitled "L'architecture dans le boudoir," in his seminal book *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*, published in 1987.

9. This text was first published in *Oppositions* volume 17 in 1979, and then was published as the introduction of *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*, 1987.

10. The exhibition catalogue was an "extensively illustrated publication," approximately about 230 pages, which was planned to cover the visual material of each artwork. Ambasz edited the catalogue and designed the cover. The publishing house, Centro Di, designed the layout.

Italian case. This was not only because of a language gap, but also due to a resistance to Marxist terminology during and after the Cold War.

Manfredo Tafuri not only is a research object, but also a methodological reference for this study. The term "historical criticism" is derived from the complex list of terms Tafuri contributed to the expended vocabulary of architectural theory. For Tafuri, an act of criticism starts simultaneously with its "doubling" of the object:

At the origin of a critical act, there lies a process of destroying, of dissolving, of disintegrating a given structure. Without such a disintegration of the object under analysis, no further rewriting of the object is possible. And it is self evident that no criticism exists that does not retrace the process that has given birth to the work and that does not redistribute the elements of the work into a different order... But here, criticism begins what might be called its "doubling" of the object under analysis (Tafuri, 1974a; 1987b, 272) (8).

The almost de-constructivist terminology Tafuri used for the doubling process, such as dissolution, destruction and disintegration, have direct links with the criticisms of specific avant-gardes and the technique of "montage" that he theorized in the essay "Historical Project" (9). Montage was identified by Tafuri as a particular technique of critical analysis that was founded on what Eisenstein called an "explosion". (Figure 1) In Tafuri's opinion, Eisenstein's technique first forced the fragments of the work to lose their natural autonomy and to become transfigured entities detached from their contexts; thus enabling the recomposition of those autonomous fragments in a critical configuration that made the final work that went beyond its original existence (Tafuri, 1987, 56). Tafuri, describing this technique, claims that "the criticism on work became an operation on work." This process, therefore, is regarded as a method of criticism to be implemented on any work of art and/or architecture. A critical reading that includes a historical analysis, however, should aim for more:

History is viewed as a "production," in all senses of the term: the production of meanings, beginning with the "signifying traces" of events; ... an instrument of deconstruction of ascertainable realities (Tafuri, 1987, 2-3).

The Tafurian object of this study is the 1972 exhibition catalogue (10). By exploding the catalogue into two fragments, one covering visual and textual materials in regard to the exhibited designs, other covering the historical and critical texts, which was supposed to "provide a cultural

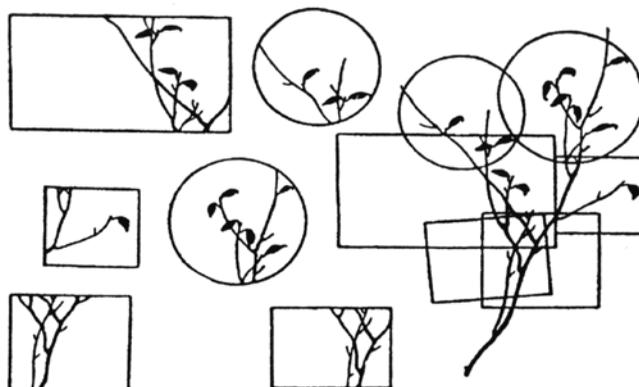


Figure 1. Sergei Eisenstein's imagery of the cinematographic method "which is used in teaching drawing in Japanese schools." (Eisenstein, 1949, 40-41)

context" for the former, our historical criticism deconstructs, in its own way, the "ascertainable realities" of Ambasz's project and discloses its "signifying traces" autonomously.

OBJECTS AND ENVIRONMENTS

The first two sections of the catalogue were related to the objects and environments that were displayed in the show. (Figure 2) According to Ambasz, the "Objects" section demonstrated three dominating, yet opposing, design attitudes in Italian design: "conformist, reformist, and one of contestation, attempting both inquiry and action" (Ambasz, 1972a, 4). The conformists underestimated the socio-cultural context to which the design objects belonged, and amplified the aesthetic quality of "already established forms and functions" in a refined manner (Ambasz, 1972b, 19). The reformists had severe concerns about the act of design, and the role of a designer in society as a provider for consumption. They believed that "there can be no renovation of design until structural changes have occurred in society" (Ambasz, 1972a, 4). Their motivation was political; their action, however, was found to be rather "rhetorical", ceasing to exceed the "redesigning [of] conventional objects with new, ironic, and sometimes self-deprecatory socio-cultural and aesthetic references" (Ambasz, 1972a, 5). The third approach, on the other hand, was deeply concerned with this paradoxical condition. According to Ambasz, such an approach could be grasped in two main trends in Italy that had very different foundations. The first rejected any constraint of socio-industrial culture, declaring a so-called "moratorium." The term "anti-object" was a characteristic proclamation of their position, but the literal meaning of this term for Ambasz had nothing to do with an absolute refusal to produce, but instead symbolized an absolute confinement to politics and philosophical notions (Ambasz, 1972a, 4). The second trend, on the other hand, shared the disbelief of the reformist attitude, with its proponents also having doubts about designing solitary objects that were detached from the immediate physical and socio-cultural context (11). Although the above-mentioned three trends were the prevalent attitudes towards design in Italy in the early 1970s, Ambasz was particularly interested in the last trend, which underscored the cohesive relationship between the object and its environment. The objects illustrated in the catalogue and organized under the qualities of formal and technical means, socio-cultural implications and flexible patterns of use, were perceived as providing a cultural context for the environments that followed.

11. The objects displayed in the third section which were "selected for their implications of more flexible patterns of use and arrangement" might be considered as unique indications of such an environmental conception, such as: Internotredici's all-in-one single block unit bed (1971), Alberto Seassaro's Central Block containing bed table wardrobe, toilet and shelves (1969), Bruno Munari's "Cockpit" habitable structure (1971), Giancarlo and Luigi Bionchi and Roberto Mansani's component wall and ceiling system with kitchen, convertible bed, cupboard bookshelves, ceiling unit with lighting and loud speaker (1971), Luigi Massoni's (Studio BMP) A1 component wall system, wardrobe (1970), and so on.

12. Gae Aulenti, Ettore Sottsass Jr., Joe Colombo, Alberto Roselli, Marco Januso, and Ugo La Pietra were among those who were invited at the preliminary stage of the exhibition's conception. The initial responses of the designers to Ambasz's invitation were so satisfactory that he rhapsodized about his satisfaction in the catalogue. Later, Mario Bellini, Gaetano Pesce, Archizoom, Superstudio, Gruppo Strum, and Enzo Mari were added to the list. Here, it is important to state that Ambasz supervised the design and production phases of the environments by visiting Italy regularly. See his itinerary for the production and installation of environments in Table 1.

The second section of the catalogue was devoted to the "Environments". They were "specially researched, designed and produced for this exhibition" by renowned designers and architects from Italy (Ambasz, 1972b, 21)(12). The task was to propose environmental concepts and translate them into physical designs. The proposals were categorized in the catalogue under three main subtitles: "design as postulation", "design as commentary" and "counterdesign as postulation." Regardless of its being a postulation or commentary, this categorization revealed two opposing understandings of social phenomena: "design" and "counterdesign". The advocators of the first group perceived "design" as a "problem solving activity, capable of formulating, in physical terms, solutions to problems encountered in the natural and sociocultural milieu" (Ambasz, 1972b, 137). Aulenti's red environment, a reproduction of the dialectical relation of "man's objects" with the city; Sottsass's "dreary" containers, a rejection

EXHIBITION STRUCTURE

CONTENTS

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

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

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

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

5. Exhibition of Environments: (two categories)

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

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

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

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

Figure 2. Exhibition structure, copied by hand. Format is accurate but not original. (Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.)

of aesthetics' triumph over function in the design of commodities in capitalist societies, Colombo's "total furnishing unit", a flexible installation permitting altering patterns of use in daily life, Roselli's "mobile house", a critical alternative to Modern's solid block, Zanuso and Sapper's container houses, a proposal for mobility at the "urban level" for colonies and communities, Bellini's ecological automobile, Kar-a-Sutra, a totem criticizing the *status quo* of the automobile in consumer culture were the so-called design proposals addressing the environmental problems, yet

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

Table 1. The chart of the tentative schedule for publication. (Department of Architecture and Design Exhibition Files, Exh. #1004. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.)

invoking political positions. The advocates of the second group, on the other hand, refused the realization of any physical resolution, rather emphasizing "the need for a renewal of philosophical discourse for social and political involvement as a way of bringing about structural changes" in society (Ambasz, 1972b, 137). Pietra's "Domicile Cell", a political text, provoking the liberty of a society, Archizoom's "hollow space", a cubic installation representing the subjective escape from "make-belief" unity in the capitalist system, Superstudio's solid cube, the audio-visual projection of a life with the symbolic images of objects which eliminated their physical existence, Gruppo Strum's "photo-stories," three comic books, *The Struggle for Housing, Utopia* and *The Mediatory City*, and Mari's essay, a literal refusal to design an environment, either paper-based or built, were critical postulations used as a tool for anarchism, aimed at strict structural changes in capitalist society. Although the groups both asked for a re-evaluation of the prototypical resolutions of High Modernism and the contemporary condition of design in line with capitalist developments, they were to transform, in Ambasz's words, "an imperfect today, to a harmonious tomorrow" (Ambasz, 1972b, 137-138).

SIGNIFYING TRACE 1: EMILIO AMBASZ & MoMA

First as a student, then as an instructor, Princeton graduate Emilio Ambasz was an heir to the school's most productive years. Inspiring names of the period were on the staff of Princeton; the tutors of the second year studio, namely Peter Eisenman and Michael Graves, had the highest reputations due to the innovative soul they brought to the studio work. The liberated climate they created in the studio for study and debate culminated in the constant production of experimental projects, with the active participation of the students in the process, one of those students was Ambasz himself (Martin, 2002, 550). Graves' architectural guidance was influential, but the core of the team was obviously Eisenman. He had just transferred from Cambridge University in England, where he had found the opportunity to share an academic platform with his mentor Colin Rowe. Eisenman continued his research in Princeton in order to provide a coherent intellectual context which, with Graves, he believed was lacking in the United States (Martin, 2002, 550). With this in mind, they decided to organize a series of meetings together with Emilio Ambasz under the title *Conference of Architects for the Study of the Environment* (CASE) in the summer of 1964. Gathering the "brilliant" figures of the architectural world, from both the academy and practice, to study the "environment", the triumvirate aimed to share their "experimental" approach in Princeton with the scholars and practitioners of the time, and to open their own avant-garde work up to debate. Although the first CASE meeting was a total failure due to the very well-known orthodox opposition between the proponents of Functionalism and its counterblast, it provided the inclusion of two complementary terms, "environment" and "experiment" to the architectural terminology. The debate around these two terms not only shifted the mainstream of architectural discourse in the late 60s and early 70s to nearly the "denouement of the modernist paradigm," but also shaped any forthcoming operations of those significant figures, including the leading architectural institutions of the period such as MoMA.

As Felicity Scott (2007, 91) mentioned, although MoMA at first seemed an "unlikely platform" for such a denouement due to its rigid modernist mind-set, it also acted as a forerunner for change. Its aim of "recasting the

museum's institutional role" was verified by two significant initiatives it sponsored during that period. The first initiative was the foundation of Eisenman's "quasi-academic organization", the *Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies* (IAUS), which was a collaborative project of Eisenman and his close companion Arthur Drexler, the current director of MoMA. The Institute, founded in 1967, gathered many of the well-known figures of the period from architectural world, such as Kenneth Frampton, Mario Gandelsonas, Diane Agrest, Emilio Ambasz and Colin Rowe, all of whom were neither American nor European, and their research conveyed the broad impact of cultural values on the formation of immediate environments, and promoted experimental approaches for architectural practice, shaped by the larger context of different cultures, thus facilitating the institutionalization of American architectural theory and criticism as imported paradigms. MoMA's second initiative was, as Scott (2007, 91) stated, establishing an "Environmental Design Program" to be directed by Ambasz. The prevailing attitude to search for "new disciplinary identities for architecture and design within the discourse of environment," therefore, not only motivated MoMA's future institutional vision, but also directed Ambasz's future project to operate in between the above-mentioned influences.

Emilio Ambasz had no hesitation in quitting Princeton when he received an invitation from Drexler to become the "Curator of Design" at MoMA in 1969, a post that he held for six years. Referring to Scott (2007, 91), it can be confirmed that Ambasz started his task in the Museum with an aim to expand "MoMA's agenda from being a repository for modernist artifacts and the site of their display," to a "critical retrospective function" which in Ambasz's words, "aimed at understanding the meanings and relationships of our present environment by analyzing it in the context of past and contemporary history."

During his task, Ambasz organized three important exhibitions on architecture and urban design: "Italy: The Domestic Landscape," (INDL) 1972; "The Architecture of Louis Barragan," 1974; and "The Taxi Project," 1976. Each show was highly successful, however "Italy: The Domestic Landscape" in particular has been hailed as an eminent success for the period. The goal of the exhibition was stated in the catalogue as being "to investigate in depth the Italian architecture". The hidden intention, however, seems to be to uncover the possibilities of a forthcoming "style," blurred under the thick cloud of self-criticism and anti-aesthetical proclamations of the curator. As Ambasz later admitted, he initially started this project as "a very simple-minded idea, completely ignorant of the subject matter," but later discovered "the great amount of controversy" in Italian design practice and saw how complicated it was for it to be represented under typical labels (OH Project: Ambasz, 19-20). Therefore, he invited twelve designers on behalf of MoMA, namely Gae Aulenti, Ettore Sottsass, Joe Colombo, Alberto Roselli, Marco Zanuso and Richard Sarpier, Mario Bellini, Gaetano Pesce, Ugo La Pietra, Archizoom, Superstudio, Gruppo Strum, and Enzo Mari, each one of them has a great reputation today. He asked them to make their own environmental statement "with an institutional cover of protection," first for the American audience (OH Project: Ambasz, 19-20). The organizers of the show hailed it as a success, and found it to be well received by the media (13). The architectural milieu, on the other hand, expressed mixed feelings, as reflected in the remarks of I.M. Pei and Philip Johnson. While Pei appreciated the "overwhelming amount of effort" that was put into the organization, he said that he had

13. In *New York Times*, the exhibition was announced as a "big, beautiful, costly, didactic, and disturbingly ambiguous" project. *The Times* introduced the exhibition as a "Super Show" which "combine[d] form and content, object and ideology, using the outstanding Italian example." It was indicated as "the most important design show in 20 years" which could only be a result of a "serious analysis." In *Our Town*, Lynn Lee classified the two counter groups of designers as: the Counterdesign group who believed that "no more clutter should be added, that political changes are needed before we can change the physical aspect of society." The Pro-design group believed that "you can change the quality of life by improving your physical environment." In the *Guardian*, the huge amount of money spent for a single exhibition was criticized: "Nothing wrong with all this... except that it makes the whole thing sound more like a trade fair than a museum exhibition." In *New York* magazine, Rita Reif, on the contrary, stated: "The provocative ideas presented in the Italian show at the MoMA may well make this the most exciting and controversial design and architecture exhibition seen here in many decades." (PI.II.A.548. MoMA Archives, NY).

not been inspired, and questioned whether the show had been worth all the effort. Philip Johnson on the other hand, appeared to be very excited:

My feeling is that this is the first modern movement since the Bauhaus. ... It is the first major movement, in fact, that makes Mies's Barcelona chair look not exactly dated, but like what it is — a classic (Lee, 1972, 7).

In organizing the exhibition, Ambasz clearly took a critical stance against the conventions of Modernist tradition. As the diverging approaches may have revealed the complex list of natural and socio-cultural motives behind design processes, the INDL exhibition was clearly envisaged as a mediator, presenting those cases in order to draw the attention of the American elite. The exhibition can be seen as an ambitious project, and the catalogue of the exhibition, as one of the rare remaining records of the event today, contains all the merged levels of information required for its unveiling in a critical rereading.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ARTICLES

Besides the visual material and texts on Objects and Environments, the third and fourth section covers historical and critical articles that provided the necessary context for the displayed designs. In the "Historical Articles", the traces of design production were followed, starting from the beginning of the twentieth century. According to archival material at MoMA, these articles were conceived to expose the "History of Design in Italy". The essays in this perspective proposed a historical framework for contemporary design by evaluating "the Italian Version of Art Nouveau (Paolo Porthoghesi), the Futurists' concepts of design (Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco); the period between the two World Wars (Leonardo Benevolo) and the post-war years, during which Italy emerged as a major international force in design (Vittorio Gregotti)" (AD #1004, MoMA Archives, NY). These essays not only formed a historical basis for the objects on display, but also established a relevant context for the subsequent critical articles.

The "Critical Articles," on the other hand, examined analytically the role of formal and ideological attitudes in the structuralization of contemporary architectural theory and practice in Italy. In this context, Italo Insolera focused on "the relation of urban planning and housing—or of its absence—to the production and consumption of household furnishings". In his essay "Housing Policy and the Goals of Design in Italy", Ruggero Cominotti assessed "the role played by design in the country's economic development" in "Italian Design in Relation to Social and Economic Planning." Giulio Carlo Argan analyzed "the external and internal influences on modes of thought that have affected the transformations of modern Italian design". In "Ideological Development in the Thought and Imagery of Italian Design", Alessandro Mendini studied "the manipulation of design in the service of consumption and the resulting dilemma of designers" and in his essay, "The Land of Good Design." Germano Celant interpreted "the significance of counterculture positions adopted by groups of radical designers" in "Radical Architecture." Filiberto Menna elucidated "the aesthetic and political premises of the emerging counterdesign groups" in "A design for new behaviours." Manfredo Tafuri focused on "the metamorphoses in the ideology of Italian design that have resulted from aesthetic and socioeconomic pressures" in his essay, "Design and Technological Utopia" (Ambasz, 1972b, 343). The critical proposals represented the manifestation of the ideological endeavour lying beneath

the eccentric improvement of Italian design. In fact, it was the last article that caused the “critique of ideology” to be discerned by the American elite.

SIGNIFYING TRACE 2: BENEVOLO, ZEVI, TAFURI & THE SAPIENZA UNIVERSITY OF ROME

In Italy, particularly in architectural education, history as a research field had always played an active role. Even in the times of so-called orthodox modernism, when history had been banned from the practice in all other European countries, the curriculum in Italian architectural schools continued to include and emphasize courses on history. History as a constant value had always remained an integral part of nearly every modern didactic approach, and thus continued to be an indispensable motivator for practice. The major source of this way of thinking was the power gained exercised by the leading academic institutions in Italy. Established as the first architectural school in Italy, The Scuola Superiore d'Architettura, later renamed the Sapienza University of Rome, was one of those significant academic institutions which hosted the three principal architectural historians of the century: Leonardo Benevolo, Bruno Zevi, and Manfredo Tafuri.

The school earned reputation as the famous Roman school of architectural history because of Vincenzo Fasolo's (1885-1969) leanings towards historicism in courses. After his resignation in 1956, and after the responsibility for the courses “Storia dell'architettura” were assigned to his assistant, Leonardo Benevolo, the faculty developed a new identity. Until that time, it had been highly conservative and developments in Modern Architecture were restricted, but the leftist Benevolo changed this traditional state of mind. Although highly influenced by his predecessor, he implemented different teaching methods that could be seen as innovative for the period. For him, there had always been changes in the general approaches to the field in line with the transformations of thought in terms of cultural, economic, and sociological issues. The changes that occurred at the start of the twentieth century, however, were exceptional, almost a revolution from the perspective of a historian. According to Benevolo, as the strict link between the practice of architecture and history, a tradition since the fifteenth century, had been demolished, the conception of architectural history should be altered and Modern architecture could not be excluded from the syllabus (Hoekstra, 2005, 90). As a reference book, there was Bruno Zevi's seminal work published in 1950, entitled *Storia dell'architettura moderna*, but Benevolo's 1960 book, which was titled identically, yet differed in terms of its chronological and systematic method was meticulously designed to re-establish the disciplinary limits of architectural history (Hoekstra, 2005, 89). The extensive and contemporary enclosure of courses, his new historiographical approach influenced by the ideological changes in the society and his cooperative teaching methods at school were seen as revolutionary, subverting the fascist and didactic teachings of the faculty (Hoekstra, 2005, 84).

The debate outside the academy, however, was much more provocative and pregnant with social transformations (Negri, 2005). In 1963, two years after Benevolo left Sapienza University to become *professore ordinario* in Palermo, a 40-day “occupation of students” protest took place, with the students demanding reform in the faculty in line with the transformations outside (Gregotti, 1968, 91). The faculty prepared a new curriculum, and appointed new professors to satisfy the students, these included Zevi as

the instructor of history classes. Zevi had earned prominence in academic circles on the strength of his books (Gregotti, 1968, 94)(14). His arrival in the faculty, however, did not please the students who considered him to be part of the current system. His highly innovative and revolutionary ideas up until that period had made him a role model, but for the beginnings of the 1950s, not for the 1960s.

As suggested by Tomas Llorenz (1981,84), Zevi and his followers perceived the meagre changes in International Style after Second World War as an indispensable part of a natural process, which proved that the Modern Movement was still alive and well. Promoting the role of culture in its transformation, Zevi adopted an interdisciplinary approach that could contribute to the infrastructures of modern culture — such as modern painting, modern literature, modern sculpture — and encompassed other related disciplines within architectural design (Gregotti, 1968, 95). In the 1960s, however, a new generation, the *Casabella* generation, (Vittorio Gregotti, Aldo Rossi, Guido Canella were among them) grew. They defended the irreversible rupture with the classical avant-garde and proposed a research aimed “at re-establishing the basic principles which history had validated in the past” (Llorenz, 1981, 84). For them, theory, history and criticism were the tools of a “dialogue” from which separating practice was not possible. They were opposed to the nationalistic approach; to the “peasant epic” sincerely represented by Italian neo-rationalists in the 1950s (Gregotti, 1968, 56). They, rather, interpreted architecture as a political commitment, and consulted history in this regard in order to establish a relationship that might be conceived of as “determinist and deductive, somewhere between ideology and architectural language” (Gregotti, 1968, 56)(15).

14. Zevi published three eminent books, “Towards an Organic Architecture” (*Verso un'architettura organica*) in 1945, “How to Look at Architecture” (*Saper vedere l'architettura*) in 1948 and “History of Modern Architecture” (*Storia dell'Architettura Moderna*) in 1950. His work for Gregotti (1968, 43) made “a fundamental contribution to the criticism and historiography of Modern Italian architecture” and, to a certain extent, facilitated the growth in the reputation of Italian architecture internationally, while his “call for a more humane architecture,” as Colquhoun (2002,186) calls it, triggered a substantial response in related fields.

15. Gregotti enlisted the key references, which influenced the young members writing in *Casabella* on an ideological level as follows: Giulio Carlo Argan's Marxist rereading of Bauhaus, in his 1951 dated book *Walter Gropius e la Bauhaus*, Theodor Adorno's critical study of consumer society *Minima Moralia*, and “the reinterpretation of Marx by phenomenological school led by Enzo Paci.”

16. Cuicci later talked of his apprenticeship days and how he contributed to the lectures of Tafuri on the Modern Movement held each evening at six after the classes were over. (Cuicci, 1995, 21; Leach, 2007, 3-31).

17. Besides Benevolo, a number of “left-wing Catholic communists”, as Tafuri called them, such as, Carlo Melograni, Arnaldo Bruschi, and Mario Manieri-Elia were the members of SAU.

Manfredo Tafuri, who was a student of both Benevolo and Zevi in Sapienza University, became part of the *Casabella* generation after the mid-1960s. While still a student, Tafuri was a leading figure among the resistance groups. He was a member of the Associazione Studenti e Architetti (ASEA), founded by leftist students in 1959. Their common problem was the inadequacy of the curriculum, and their demand was to include the post-second world war polemics as well in the syllabus, especially that of the Milanese polemicist Ernesto Nathan Rogers and his journal *Casabella-Continuità* (Leach, 2007, 7). Claiming authority to teach courses, Tafuri and his friends gained a certain reputation among their peers, and the group grew in number. Naming themselves as the Gruppo Assistenza Matricole, they established a “student training centre,” perhaps better seen as a “counterschool,” through which they offered guidance to junior students on subjects neglected in the academy (16). After graduation, they continued their intellectual endeavours under an official name: Associazione Urbanisti ed Architetti, (AUA, Architects and Urbanists, Partners, founded in 1961) (Passerini, 1993, 25). Their stated aim was to “battle for political reform in town and regional planning”. They, to some extent, received local recognition; their actions, however, mostly remained in the shadow of the larger associations from the “progressive political left,” such as the Società di Architettura e Urbanistica (SAU, the Society of Architecture and Urban Design) (Passerini, 1993, 25)(17).

When the members of AUA realized that their efforts would remain futile, unless they held a party affiliation, most of them chose the Partito Socialista d'Italia (PSI), rather than the “oppositional” Communist Party that they were close to, this was because of their major conviction in the possibility

18. Quaroni was inspired by an essay of Tafuri, and asked him to edit an anthology of his own writings. Tafuri preferred to write a book on Quaroni, the studies of this book, the dialogues and interviews caused them to become closer as colleagues.

of resolving the larger problems regarding city planning, a compromise in which the antagonistic Communist Party was not even interested (Passerini, 1993, 25). Tafuri remembered the deadlock that architectural practice had reached in those days as “truly a struggle.” The New Leftist movement that was represented by personalities such as Leilio Basso and Reniero Panzieri, and with its new political journals, such as *Quaderni Rossi*, however, opened an intellectual horizon for Tafuri. He stated: “I remember the slogan we used, that is to return to Marx means to do what he has done, that is to start all over again; that was Marxism —not to read Marx in a servile way” (Passerini, 1993, 25). The re-reading of Marx, the return to his militant character was so exaggerated that it resulted in “a certain distortion”. In Luisa Passerini’s interview, dated 1993, Tafuri addressed those days as the beginnings of his departure from architecture. Admitting that architecture had never been at the centre of his interests, Tafuri related his decision on history to two events: the first one was the offers of Ernesto Nathan Rogers, professor at Milan, and of Ludivico Quaroni, professor at Rome, for a post to teach art and architectural history courses (Passerini, 1993, 28-30)(18). The second one is an architectural event that Tafuri harshly criticized: the 1964 Michelangelo exhibition, curated by Bruno Zevi and Paolo Portoghesi. He interpreted the event as a politicized misreading, distorting the historical facts, and stated that: “I understood it as an example of how **not** to do history” (Passerini, 1993, 30). The night of his visit to the exhibition, he understood that he had to decide between practice and history:

I remember I was sweating, walking around, felt ill, had a fever. At the end, in the morning, I had decided, and that was it! I gave up all the tools of architecture and determined to dedicate myself entirely to history. What kind of history I didn’t know, but I knew that at that moment that should be history (Passerini, 1993, 30-31).

Two points raised by Panzieri, however, remained important for Tafuri’s later historical inquiries. The first was returning to Marx, which meant for Tafuri, negating Marx himself, that is, in his words, “to understand today’s world and try to understand that which seems to be its nemesis: the capitalist system, in its ultimate development.” The second point was “the central importance of the factory, and therefore of the working man, and also of the worker as subject” (Passerini, 1993, 32). In addition to Panzieri’s judgments, the reflections of Mario Tronti, Alberto Asor Rosa, and Massimo Cacciari, —the ones who started *Quaderni Rossi*, and published the first issues of *Contropiano*— also shaped Tafuri’s assertion that “the critique of ideology was mainly the critique of the Left” (Passerini, 1993, 32). To suggest an intellectual shift, however, he knew that he “needed at a certain point to aim at a critique of ideological thought, which has embedded itself in the history of architecture” (Passerini, 1993, 32). First published as an article in *Contropiano* in 1969 and later extended as a pamphlet, *Progetto e Utopia* was an outcome of this intention, and had enormous impact on the architectural world of that day, a “lot of success,” in his words, “though I never fully understand why” (Passerini, 1993, 33).

DOUBLING: RECOMPOSITION OF THE “ASCERTAINABLE REALITIES”

Tafuri’s two highly esteemed books, *Teorie e Storia* and *Progetto e Utopia* were accepted by architectural scholars as the starting point for the seminal inquiries that were to follow. However, it is here argued that the

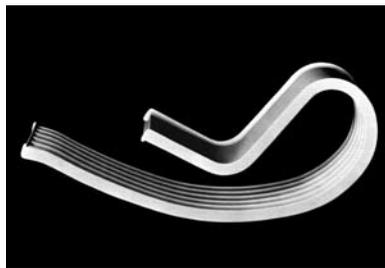


Figure 3. Cesare Leonardi and Franca Stagi, Dondolo rocking chair. 1969 (1969) Ribbed fiber glass, 30 3/4 x 68 7/8 x 15 3/4 inches (78 x 175 x 40 cm), Elco. (Ambasz, 1972, 28).

19. The shadow of a desire for a new style was hidden in the catalogue and naively reevaluated as a new "trend" by an economist participant, Ruggero Comminotti, in the catalog. Tafuri was asked to reevaluate "the metamorphoses in the ideology of Italian design that have resulted from aesthetic and socioeconomic pressures" which turned into a manifesto against those stylistic approaches.

Figure 4. The environment designed by Gae Aulenti for the "Design as Postulation" section (Ambasz, 1972, 156)

Figure 5. Enzo Mari, reversible vase, model 3087. 1969 (1969), ABS plastic, 11 3/4 x 7 7/8 inches (30 x 20 cm), Danese. (Ambasz, 1972, 90)

origin of his influence is Tafuri's first article "Design and Technological Utopia," published in English in the 1972 INDL catalogue. With that article, academic circles in the United States had their first opportunity to read Tafuri and his critique of "architecture as ideology" that subverted Ambasz's initial scope, and later redefined it as a political emulation. Although Ambasz had foreseen the aptness of the critical and political essence in the "designs" and "counterdesigns" to unveil a new architectural movement, cultivated by a Marxist vocabulary, Tafuri (1972) challenged, if not despised, all of the creative endeavours of the designers selected by the curator (19). Defining the overall post-war Italian tendency as "surreal," he strongly emphasized the role of an ideology that was cleverly denounced from the design activity and regarded the thematic approach to the exhibition as "a sadistic evocation of emblematic forms." (Figure 3) Criticizing the objects on display as indications of "the subjective eruption of deeply rooted Oedipus complexes regarding the tradition of modern movement," Tafuri cited them as evidences of the turmoil that they were currently experiencing. Distinguishing the works of significant figures such as Gae Aulenti, Guido Canella, Roberto Gabetti and Aldo Rossi, he observed a rupture within the realities of the design practice. (Figure 4) For him, rather than offering productive proposals for a design's development, the objects and environments in the exhibition were subjective satisfactions. Moreover, the individual works of the young generation were retrogressive departures from the canons of the Modern Movement; and in fact, the whole endeavour was referred to by Tafuri as a "scandal" (Tafuri, 1972, 392). Rather than concentrating on the "major methodological problems" in the building trade and its industrialization, there was an accelerating meditation on product design or interior decoration. Tafuri (1972, 393) believed that this shift, also highlighted by Argan, was the major reason for the crisis that had forced design activity to detach itself from a wider context of social situation. According to Tafuri, while object design as a practice was so restricted, environmental planning as a new field of design offered a more liberating medium to the so called neo-avant-gardes to create a more peaceful relationship between man and his objects. "Liberation" was a binding keyword for



Tafuri's correlation of contemporary design with Surrealism or Pop; and the majority of exhibited objects and environments were illustrations of this rather abstract standpoint. The counter approaches, such as those of Enzo Mari and Archizoom, for Tafuri, sought dissociation from this industrial system. (Figure 5) The "reconciliation" of technology and aesthetics was the main objective of such activities, which Tafuri referred to as "neo-objective." For Tafuri (1972, 393), Enzo Mari was a perfect example of this, in his own words stating the "urgent necessity of wiping out every *mémoire involontaire*, every semantic residue." For him, the same theme could be found also in the ethics of all stylistic approaches after the 1940s, which naturally certified the direction of design practice towards the surreal. Nevertheless, he felt they were foreign experiments, and unique indications of imported models of production. All led, on the one hand, to the reformation of the production system; and on the other, to the integration with the economic cycle. These were desired outcomes, for Tafuri, but created "cloudy ideologies." Neither solitary design approaches, nor revolutionary postulations of counterdesign were developing an appropriate solution for the big picture in regard to the capitalistic restructuring of institutions related to design. Thus, liberation from the terrain of ideology had not yet been attained. Having painted such a pessimistic picture, Tafuri concluded with some remarks that at first seemed to be positive, but were in fact spiked with harsh criticisms of his contemporaries:

This does not mean that there will still not be a wide margin for the production of objects and environments that will allow designers bent on 'saving their souls' to carry out their solitary rites of exorcism undisturbed. The nostalgic longing for magic, for the golden age of bourgeois mystique, still continues to be cherished, even at the most highly developed levels of capitalist integration, as a typical method of compensation. And this will be the case, as long as the magicians transformed into acrobats (as Le Corbusier himself finally realized), agree to the ultimate transformation of themselves into clowns, completely absorbed in their 'artful game' of tightrope-walking (Tafuri, 1972, 400).

The cynical conclusion of Tafuri's article was stimulating and highly challenging for the time. Critical of the mainstream to be emulated, Tafuri's ideological rereading was what remained in the American intellectuals' mind, and it invoked identical reflections and a similar polarization in the United States. Divided into two counter groups after the first CASE meeting, on the one side Eisenman and his friends propagating neo-Modernist inclinations towards form, and on the other side, Venturi and Denise Scott Brown recovering Mannerist tendencies towards Americanization, the architectural production in the United States had much in common with the Italian situation portrayed by Tafuri. Totally critical of Venturi's Mannerism, the former group first discovered the politically and culturally critical perspective in Tafuri's catalogue article, and distinguished his eccentric conception of "architecture as ideology" as a watchword for their antagonism. Indeed, Eisenman was conversant with the Italian design practice of that day, from his frequent visits to Italy during his PhD studies with Colin Rowe, and with the emerging critical discourse from his collection of the latest *Casabella(s)*, contending the recent critical and theoretical articles of Gregotti, Tafuri, and Rossi. He observed that autonomous associations, such as Tafuri's Associazione Urbanisti ed Architetti (AUA) and Benevolo's Società di Architettura e Urbanistica (SAU), were the official fields of the architects' political action (Hoekstra, 2005, 66). Eisenman's launch of CASE in the summer of 1964, four years

20. Victor Caliendo, an MIT graduated Italian architect at that time, made the translations.

2. Covering the contributions of IAUS's inner circle and a completely unfamiliar body, the periodical had achieved a respectable prominence from its very beginning until its end, with the intense theoretical currents of contemporary European discourse it represented to the American architectural scene. Not surprisingly, the focus of these Italian critics' works was the American city. For example, Tafuri's critical text on "American Graffiti: Five x Five = Twenty-five," published in *Oppositions* number five, addressed especially American issues (Ockman, 1988, 192; 1995, 59).

22. The same year with the 1972 MoMA exhibition, *Casabella* published an issue on the Institute and several fellows of the Institute contributed texts to *Casabella* for its special edition; a year later, in 1973, Rossi invited IAUS to Milan Triennial; in 1976, IAUS exhibited Scolari and Rossi's work at the Institute; the same year, Gregotti invited the fellows to the Venice Biennale, thematized around the relations of "Europe and America."

after his return from Italy, was a clear result of his Italian inspirations. Indeed, due to its solicitation of a mainstream patronage in New York, his IAUS of 1974, an institution "for" not only architecture, but also urban studies, had invoked an analogous, yet different political impasse. IAUS, until its cessation in 1984, acted as the first-hand distributor of a largely unfamiliar body of theory and ideology in the United States and its instrumental role for the development of *an* American architectural theory was indisputable.

Criticism

While the first discovery of Tafuri was due to the 1972 exhibition catalogue, architectural critics, such as Joan Ockman, addressed *Oppositions*, the main publishing body of IAUS, as the main source for the dissemination of the ideas of Tafuri and Venice School, in the United States (Ockman, 1988, 192-193; 1995; Hays, 1998). Actually, the first public encounter between Tafuri, Eisenman and the Institute members was during the 1974 lecture series organized by Diane Agrest at Princeton University. Fascinated by his provocative stance, they invited Tafuri to publish his Princeton lecture in *Oppositions*, and the seminal "L'architecture dans le Boudoir," published in the third issue of the magazine, was the English translation of the said lecture (20). The three editors, Eisenman, Frampton and Gandelonas, introduced Tafuri to the American public as a unique philosophical figure within the "dialectic materialist approach," influenced by the structuralist theories of French and Italian philosophers, and highlighted Tafuri's "productive criticism" as his personal position, grounded in Marxist history. Following Tafuri's seminal article, Italian authors became regular contributors to nearly every subsequent issue of the magazine. Indeed, in the editorial of the ninth issue, which was a call to reevaluate the initial goals and format of the magazine, the editors emphasized its huge contribution through the establishment of "a dialogue between critics and architects on both sides of the Atlantic" (Eisenman et al., 1977, 1). The Institute's promotion of the Italian discourse in its voicing bodies, which at the same time took the form of "self-promotion," (21) as claimed by Ockman, provided not only Tafuri's appreciation by a wider American architectural audience but also his re-appreciation in Italy. As one of the most popular architectural journals in Italy, *Casabella* set its future endeavour as "to strengthen and sharpen the focus of this European American debate" (Eisenman et al., 1977, 1). This focus not only appeared in the pages of *Oppositions* and *Casabella*, but also featured in various real-time events, such as symposiums, discussions and exhibitions (22). Among them, Gregotti's Venice Biennale of 1976, "Europe and America," was of great significance due to the dispute between Aldo van Eyck and Tafuri: the borders of the divisions in the architectural world that "was no longer across the Atlantic, but rather between the generation of Team X, and heirs of CIAM, and a new generation in Italy and America, in as much as the later shared a 'posthumanist' conception of architecture" (Ockman, 1995, 61).

History

The new generation in Italy and America was comprised of the students of two inspiring teachers: Tafuri and Rowe. For Hays, through journals, these theorists showed that "the true social potential of architecture lay not in the prospect of its popular or technological relevance, but in the possibility of converting its autonomy from a historical imposition into a counterideological resistance" (Hays, 1996, 7). This was an

23. The rapid development of critical theory in the United States was certainly supported by Manfredo Tafuri. Thus, as also highlighted by Martin, the intellectual contributions of K. Michael Hays and Mark Wigley, two conscious, yet opposing purveyors of critical architectural theory, thus Joan Ockman and her working group's final symposium and publication, "Architecture Criticism Ideology" clearly reflected Tafuri's constructive impact (Ockman, 1985).

24. One reason for this mystification, for Cuicci, was the variations in the period and order between the original Italian text and the English translations. Tafuri wrote his seminal books *Teorie e Storia dell'Architettura* (Theories and History of Architecture) in 1968 and *Progetto e Utopia* (Architecture and Utopia) in 1973, while the English translations in the United States would not go into publication until 1980 and 1976, respectively. The reasons for these delays and the chronological disorder in their translation from Italian are still to be ascertained. The other reason was most people's acceptance of the above-mentioned books as the beginning of Tafuri's work, neglecting to trace back his former studies. To quote Cuicci (1995, 13), "this prevented many from being able to fully grasp the developments, the changes, abandonment and renewals of focus that characterize Tafuri's incessant research," evaluating this simply as a defect of the English-speaking world. The main criticism of Tafuri's impact, however, came from Tafuri himself in a letter he wrote to Ockman regarding the book. There, he said that he read the book, but the Tafuri whom Ockman and others fabricated was totally different from the Tafuri he knew: "I realize that I am not easy to schematize, but if American culture wants to understand me, why not make an effort to abandon facile typologies (Marxism, negative thought, etc.)? Another thing that strikes me is that those who write about me in the U.S.A. never put things into their historical context: 1973 is not 1980, is not 1985..." (Ockman, 1995, 67).

25. Full quotation is as follows: "If, at the beginning of research for the exhibition, Italian design seemed so dazzling that it was momentarily possible to assume that transplanting its most outstanding examples would be sufficient to recall the luminosity of their original breeding ground, deeper examination made it increasingly evident that the problem was far from simple" (Ambasz, 1972, 12).

ideological domain, and its effect on nearly every work written after the "L'Architecture dans le Boudoir" essay validated that this discourse had activated a shift in American architectural theory— a shift from linguistic and semiological concerns to cultural criticism (23). On the other side of the Atlantic, however, Tafuri and his colleagues, such as Cuicci, Dal Co, and Gregotti, were extremely critical of the "Americanized Tafuri," by claiming that the interpretation of American architectural society was a mystified version of the Marxist and anarchist Tafuri. As pointed out by those theoreticians, besides other reasons, the main problem of the American world was that it had learnt Tafuri from the disordered translations of his published work and deprived it of all the political and philosophical precepts which lay behind the subtle formation of an idea (24). The critical endeavours, in this sense, were belated, hence founded on an empty base that lacked any political perspective, which neither pushed the reader to form any opinion on the legacies of Marxist negative thought, nor enabled that reader to correctly map the historical background and context. Therefore, when viewed from the other side of the Atlantic, the models they proposed seemed to be only creative efforts at a theoretical achievement, lacking any *Zeitgeist*.

Environment

Ambasz most probably had not anticipated that his Italy show would be the first and concrete mediator of all the forthcoming transformations of architecture to a more ideological, critical vein. He had not even thought that this event underlay "a crisis" that would lead to a "contamination" of ideology as the critique of architecture. Ambasz (1972, 12), on the contrary, when denoting his initial fallacy in assuming the sufficiency of "transplanting" the "dazzling" designs of the Italians to the United States, in a way expressed his fear of being unable to transplant the core of the highly political, thus intricate design tradition (25). His inclusion of historical and critical articles was based on such pragmatic needs as to supplement the lack of information and to portray the complicated nature behind a developing design movement. The result, however, was beyond any anticipation and surpassed the reputation of the Objects and Environments.

The concept "environment," as unique as it is today, was an intelligent pick for that day to alter the conformist vision of a settled institution, from the minor scale of an object, to a major scale, extending to the point of urbanism. This prolific scheme is now being reconsidered by the three curators of the recent Columbia exhibition, which, it is here argued, establishes the appropriate means for a truly contemporary dialogue. Introduced as "an exhibition on an exhibition" by Molinari, the recent show, which is on a tour in Europe this year, is a critical reflection on or a critical overview of the seminal 1972 exhibition. Different perspectives brought by the curators not only duplicated the intensity of the Ambasz's 1972 narrative— Wasiuta's point of the whole environmental probe and its subsystems, Lang's use of multimedia, and on Molinari's focus on Ambasz's selection of Italian designers and architects in the first hand— but also disclosed the "sophisticated and ambiguous contradictions" behind the initial idea. Highlighting the history of the discussions on the concept "environment" in the American architectural discourse before 1972, Wasiuta puts emphasis on the exhibition's experimental character and its converting role in restructuring the conventional mind-set of the Museum of Modern Art. Molinari, underscoring the conscious mind of 27

year-old Ambasz, regards the environmental designs of Italians as partly constructed narratives, created in real dialogue with the curator from the very beginning. Lang, calling attention to the "real culture" behind the show, suggests that the "total environment" developed in Italians' experimental projects were multi-medial covering all senses, such as tactile, visual, audile environments, and the taste, or the "gusto" to use Peter Lang's terminology not to say "style." A style institutionalized therefore legitimized under the "innocent" term: Environment.

Object

The environmental prospect that Lang refines directs the reconsideration of the 1972 exhibition towards the comprehension of the entire cultural cycle in the Tafurian sense. Their reconsideration, however, leaves out a determining "object," which is to say the catalogue itself. The delay in the publication of the Columbia exhibition catalogue indicates not only the perfectionism of the curators, but also their inevitable distance from Ambasz's catalogue, exhibited in a display case.

The catalogue, however, deserves to be examined as a product in its own right. "Doubling" the catalogue, in this perspective, not only provides the appropriate means to implement Tafuri's historiographic strategy for the historiography of the near past, but also yields the historical criticism of a "contamination" in the Tafurian sense and maps its concrete traces that led to an instantaneous historical distortion and suppression of the facts. The attempts to deconstruct and then to reconstruct its "signifying traces" reveal the "knowledge" of the sequence scientifically in a Marxist sense. Thus, its method of analysis demonstrates that the INDL catalogue is the architectural object of a "historical criticism" with Tafurian critical activity. With the use of this method, any building, any architectural text, book or project can become the object of a historical criticism. The criticism starts with the doubling of the object and the explosive method grants its autonomy to be transfigured into a systematic criticism of any concept that is under examination. The originality of undertaking "doubling" as a method of analysis comes from its endless probability to diversify multiple experimental and critical studies on parallel research lines. The scientific and pedagogical contributions of similar attempts would enlarge the limits of "historical project" as Tafuri defined and of architectural historiography in its broadest sense. In brief, "doubling", despite the risk of being labeled as a pragmatic attempt, helps the study to attach itself to the defined "historical project," and to develop a dialogue with the practices, theories and histories of the near past. If this paper's critical process of dissolving and disintegrating the given structure of the MoMA catalogue has fulfilled its initial goals, then it is the "rewriting of the object under analysis" in Tafurian terms; if not then the further rewriting of the object is hardly possible.

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Anahtar sözcükler: metinsel kopya üretme, Manfredo Tafuri, tarihsel eleştiri, çevre ve mimari sergi.

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

"İTALYA: YENİ BİR YEREL PEYZAJ": 1972 SERGİ KATALOĞUNUN METİNSEL KOPYASININ ÜRETİLMESİ (26)

İtalyan mimarlık tarihçisi ve eleştirmeni Manfredo Tafuri, 1968 yılında yayınlanan *Mimarlık Teorileri ve Tarihi* adlı kitabı ile dönemin mimarlık söyleminde yeni bir çığır açmıştır. Mimarlık disiplini ideolojinin eleştirisi olarak yorumladığı kuramı ile mimarlık eleştirisini politik ve Marksist bir zemine oturtan devrimci anlayışla Amerikan eleştirel söyleminin 1968 sonrası kurumsallaşmasında mutlak etkisi olmuştur. Bu bağlamda çalışma, bahsedilen düşünsel etkileşimi ve mimarlık söyleminde meydana gelen ilişkili kuramsal dönüşümleri derinlemesine inceleyen tarihsel bir eleştiridir. Bu incelemede, New York'taki Modern Sanat Müzesi'nde 1972 yılında düzenlenen *İtalya: Yerel bir Peyzaj* adındaki sergi önemli bir eşiktir, çünkü Amerikan entelektüelleri ile Tafuri'nin Marksist dışavurumlarını tanıştıran ilk İngilizce metin bu serginin katalogunda yayınlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda sergi, Tafurici bir bakış açısıyla çözümlenmiş, 1972 sonrası dönemde oluşan kavramsal ve eleştirel dönüşümlerde etken bir değer, Tafuri'nin deyimi ile bir "kriz anı" tayin edilmiştir. Tafurici bir yöntem ile sergi katalogu çözümlenerek, "İtalya: Yerel bir Peyzaj" sergisinin Amerikan mimarlık söyleminin gelişim sürecindeki etkisi açığa çıkarılmıştır. Çalışma bütününde, özgün bir zaman dilimin tarihsel eleştirisi. Ancak, bu özgün zaman dilimi doğrusal bir zaman akışına işaret etmez. Aslında üretilen, başlangıcı ve bitişi açık olmayan sarmal bir zaman çizgisinde çok boyutlu yansımaları ile mimari paradigmayı değiştiren "Tafurici" krizlerin eleştirel bir taslağıdır, Tafuri'nin kuramsallaştırdığı eleştirel yöntemin özgün uygulamasıdır. Bu uygulama, sergi katalogunun metinsel kopya üretimi ile eşzamanlı başlar. Katalogun metinsel kopyası üretilirken, süreç özerk anlatılara parçalanarak dikine bağımsız okumalar yapılmakta ve o anlatılar ile Ambasz'ın katalogu arasında çözümleyici bağlar kurularak 1972 sonrası Amerikan Mimarlık Söylemini de dönüştüren etkileşimin haritası Tafurici bir yöntemle yeniden düzenlenmektedir.

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