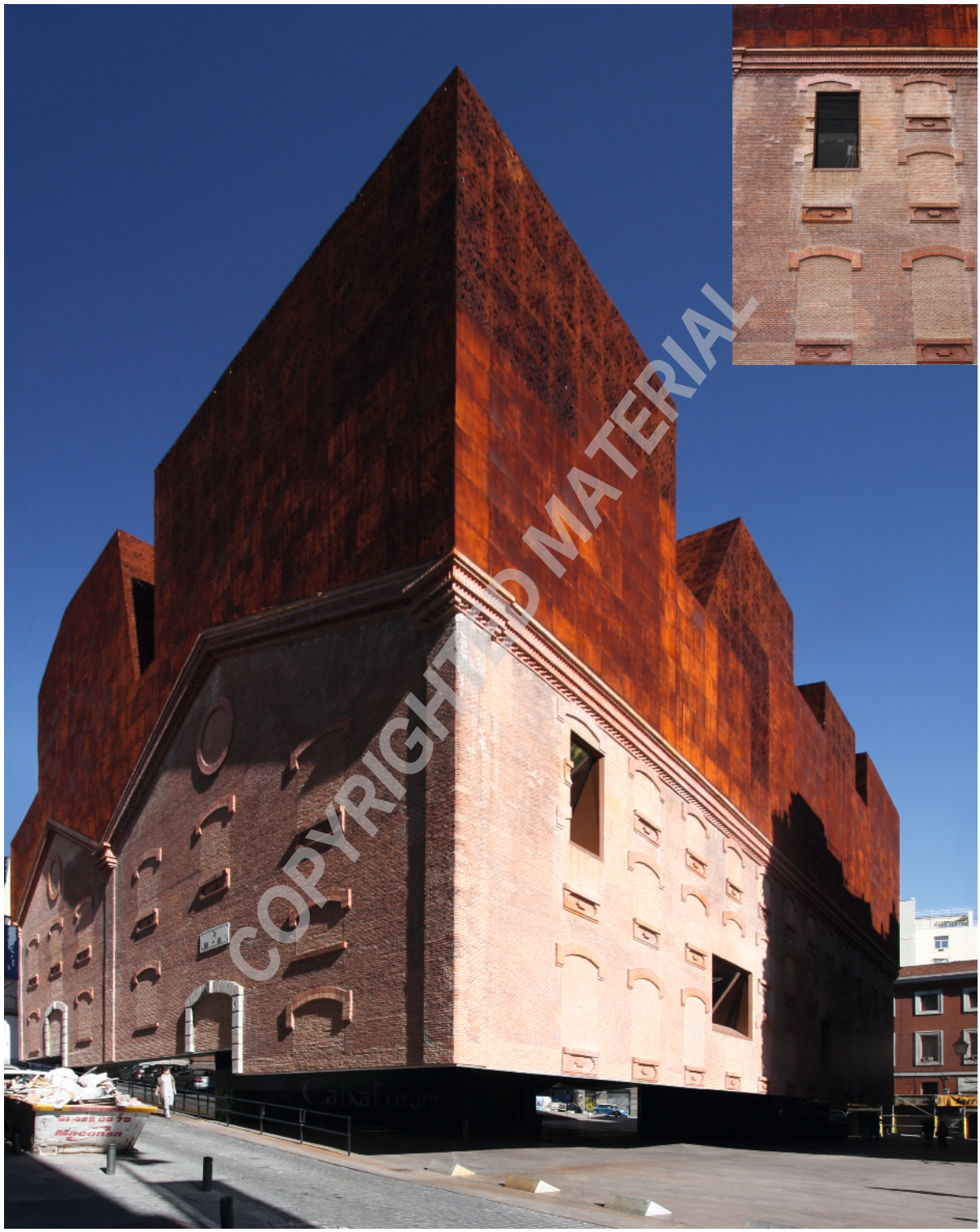


The Perfect Storm of Post-Modernism

On 30 October 1991 at 7am US Eastern Standard Time, a gathering storm reached maximum force. Thirty-nine-foot waves crashed over sea walls, boats sank, a fisherman was blown from a bridge in New York, and mansions along the Upper East Coast were drowned in horizontal rain. Popularly this was the 'Halloween Storm', because it played havoc over this period of obligatory play. But, the five-day event was officially termed the 'perfect storm' by the US National Weather Service, and it was this phrase that captured the public's imagination leading to the bestseller of Sebastian Junger and the film that followed it.

'Perfect' meant a rare combination of things that came into focus at the same time, a confluence of various events. A very cold, high pressure front came in from Canada and cut the legs off a very low, hot front – Hurricane Grace – moving up from the south. Grace zigzagged towards the land but was finally pulled into the rotating cyclone located east of Cape Cod. These two spirals combined energies as they were fed by the summer heat stored off Florida. The ocean waves were whipped up to ever larger size by winds that lasted over five days. And then the full moon gave an extra twist of gravity to this vicious cocktail, as the two storms became one big perfection. Thus the largest flood banks of the Eastern seaboard were broken, as indeed the largest flood records.

Happily, this ill wind blew somebody good. It gave journalists an apt metaphor for economic collapse that has served the world well since 2007, and its storm clouds provide me with the silver lining of an explanation. That is, how in the mid-1970s, the most forceful streams of architecture suddenly coalesced into a river flood that burst its banks to become a spreading delta with a common force. The Perfect Delta? It does not sound as effective as Storm, but it conveys a better idea – the shared pluralism gathering around the confluence of powerful trends.

This mutual focus was soon called Post-Modernism, and it became a movement in the arts, sciences, philosophy and one of the strongest developments in recent architecture, outlasting all the other 'isms'. Indeed, it became one of the few global cultural movements to be initiated and led by architecture, for a very good reason. Architecture, as we will see, faces the problems of Modernism more directly than the other arts: the dilemmas of bigness, mass production, anonymous living and neutral agnosticism. 'The Dumb Box', that famous blank character dominating every downtown since the 1960s, was to be lampooned and vilified many times. And, as we will see, there are many post-modern alternatives, from the ad hoc collage of difference to the computerised synthesis of complexity, from contextual counterpoint to iconic buildings. These are just four rejoinders to modern alienation, four themes of this book. But, it is important to acknowledge that, like many of the other attendant problems of Modernism, looked at with adjusted spectacles they were, paradoxically, a mark of success. After all, the neutral architecture of the business world was not just what Norman Mailer called it – 'empty landscapes of psychosis' – but an actual *goal* for many Modernists.[1]

Herzog & de Meuron, *CaixaForum*, Madrid, 2001–8
This building summarises several post-modern themes with its contextual counterpoint and recycling of the older building, its stitching together of the urban fabric and expressing the green imperative, its appeal to history and the future, with its ironic signs dramatising the old and new.

Le Corbusier, *Villa Savoye*, Poissy, 1929–31
Modernism, during its Heroic Period of the 1920s, was an expressive and creative movement that adopted the metaphor of the machine. Le Corbusier's epigram 'the house is a machine for living in' was here translated into a white cube elevated above the landscape with the ground floor determined by the turning circle of the owner's automobile. The cosmic roofscape and *promenade architecturale* were themes taken up later by Post-Modernists.

So, in telling the story of Post-Modern architecture (or PM, or PoMo, among its aliases) one must keep in mind an important truth of pluralism: the acknowledgement of difference in all its wonderful and horrible richness. With this complex truth comes a necessary mental set: irony. *Positive*, enjoyable irony, not its negative and exploitive first cousin, cynicism. One must remember that Post-Modernism is the direct son or daughter of Modernism and like all offspring owes a lot to its parent – above all the duty to criticise the family mess. It is the loyal and sometimes disagreeable opposition. As Oscar Wilde observed of the past, the one duty we owe to history is to rewrite it, and with pleasure one might add. So, let us survey the growth of the Perfect River Delta with affection but irony, aware of the fact that all rivers carry mud and that the slippery tributaries of PoMo can be as dirty as their parent, Modernism. I believe the former is often an improvement on the latter – and this book will so argue – but sometimes it is just as bad. PM irony is not an optional extra, but a friendly companion to keep in mind as we examine the forces that coalesced into a global movement in the arts.

The Moral Failures of Modernism

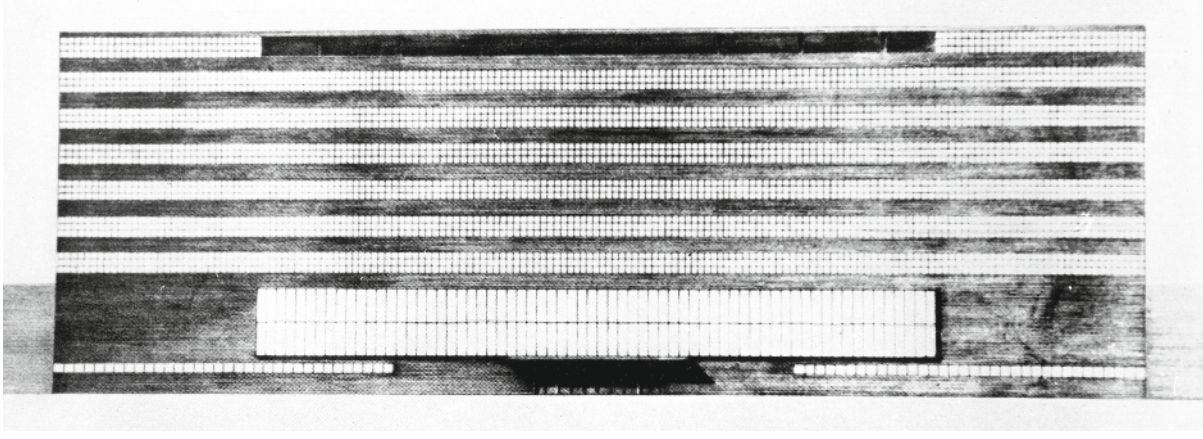
The Pioneers of the Modern Movement (capitalised like religious prophets) were idealistic, left-leaning and good healthy men. In the 1920s they built a few masterpieces of the new white architecture – Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona Pavilion, the social housing of Ernst May, Walter Gropius' Bauhaus, a hospital of Alvar Aalto, some private houses of Le Corbusier. Their forging of a new tradition, the International Style, and their forum for debate, CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne), were positive moves creating a public realm. When started on their 'Crusade', as Le Corbusier himself was to style The Faith of The New, they had good intentions. But, by the 1930s, as the Reactionary Modernism of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and Stalin gained strength, something began to go wrong and part of the problem was philosophical.

Within Modernism there was a strong belief in the zeitgeist, the spirit of the age, the idea that history had an inevitable, impersonal force that must triumph over individuals and morality. Hitler believed in this force of destiny, and so did his henchman Goebbels who often appealed to the zeitgeist: 'It is the most essential principle of our victoriously conquering movement that the individual has been dethroned.'[2] Mies had emphasised a related impersonal force of technology – 'the individual is losing significance; his destiny is no longer what interests us'. And Le Corbusier constantly expressed a similar form of determinism in his calls to action. A typical one declares: 'industry, overwhelming us like a flood which rolls on towards its destined ends, has furnished us with new tools …'

Nikolaus Pevsner, a leading historian of the movement, celebrated the new abstract architecture for its cold impersonality. He ends his history, *The Pioneers of the Modern Movement* (1936), with the most telling slip of the pen: 'However, the great creative brain will find its own way even in times of overpowering collective energy, even with the medium of this new style of the twentieth century, which, because it is a genuine style as opposed to a passing fashion, is totalitarian.' Later he toned down the title

Antonio Gaudí, *Casa Batlló*, Barcelona 1904–5
Known as 'the House of Bones', it represented Catalan victims who lived and died under Castilian rule. Such metaphorical architecture, organised as a narrative throughout the building, influenced the Post-Modern iconic building.

Mies van der Rohe, *Reichsbank Project*, 1934
The dark abstract curtain wall and remorseless repetition are harbingers of a darker International Style built in the USA, where Mies emigrated in 1937. Even in a 1930 speech in Vienna, Mies made explicit overtures to the zeitgeist: 'Let us accept changed economic and social conditions as a fact. All these take their blind and fateful course.'



of his book to *Pioneers of Modern Design*, changed his praiseworthy 'totalitarian' to 'universal', and, ironically, was forced by what he called 'passing fashion' to exhume his footnotes and resurrect Gaudí and Sant'Elia into the main text.[3] He even graced the cover of the book with images of his dreaded enemy Art Nouveau – the very style he had condemned as passing fashion!

'Passing Fascism?' The connection between fashion and totalitarian attitudes is no joke, and it was another refugee from Hitler who exposed these connections in a full-bodied attack on the idea of the zeitgeist, and its victims. Karl Popper wrote two epochal assaults on this mindset. The more philosophical showed how it was epitomised by Plato, and was called *The Open Society and Its Enemies, The Spell of Plato*. The earlier critique of the zeitgeist was a short paper first delivered at the time Pevsner was writing, in 1936, called 'The Poverty of Historicism'. Published as a book in 1957, it has had a great effect on post-modern theory, and was dedicated: 'In memory of the countless men and women of all creeds or nations or races who fell victims to the fascist or communist belief in Inexorable Laws of Historical Destiny.'[4]

Both Pevsner and Popper, Jews who had assimilated into Christian society, were themselves semi-victims of this belief in 'the spirit of the age', as was Ernst Gombrich, the famous art historian. Because of anti-semitic restrictions on teaching, Gombrich emigrated to England in 1937 and, like Popper, he ceaselessly attacked the notion of the zeitgeist.

The irony, today more apparent than in the 1930s, was that this malign concept was largely shared by all sides, as my quotes above suggest. Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin – the totalitarians – believed in the spirit of the age, as did Le Corbusier, Gropius, Mies van der Rohe and Nikolaus Pevsner. Thus when the spirit marched on the wrong side of the street, what is called today by historians Reactionary Modernism, it is not at all surprising that the 'Pioneers of the Modern Movement' marched to its tune.[5] Le Corbusier, following the lead of several Modernists in Italy, wrote letters to Mussolini advocating his own type of authority. A few years later after the invasion of France, he spent the year of 1941 at Vichy, wooing that puppet regime of the Nazis, trying to persuade it to adopt his version of the zeitgeist.

Hitler was appointed Chancellor in January 1933 and consolidated his dictatorship by March of that year. Thus it was a little late, in June 1934, that Walter Gropius wrote ingratiating letters to Goebbels defending the 'German-ness' of the new architecture. He called it a 'valid union of the two great spiritual heritages of the classical and Gothic traditions. Schinkel sought this union, but in vain.'[6] Gropius had designed his version of this union for Hitler's Reichsbank Competition in 1933, a rather pompous combination with a touch of Modernism. But the most telling attempt at political compromise was by Mies van der Rohe, whose entry for the Reichsbank produced his first mordant version of his later repetitive style, the anonymous Modernism that was to triumph in every downtown. Mies also went further in compromising with the zeitgeist, designing a German Pavilion for the World's Fair of 1935 with swastikas in plan, flags and details.

Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, formerly married to the eminent Bauhaus designer László Moholy-Nagy, summarised how such compromises looked:

The Ghost Building and writing on the wall during the destruction of old Amsterdam, April 1975; the police were called in to fight off the architectural preservation of this district.

> When he [Mies] accepted in July 1933, after the coming to power of Hitler, the Commission for the Reichsbank he was a traitor to all of us and a traitor to everything we had fought for. He signed at that time a patriotic [and anti-semitic] appeal which Schultze-Naumburg had made as Commissar to the artists, writers, and architects of Germany to put their forces behind National Socialism. I would say that, of the leading group of the Bauhaus people, Mies was the only one who signed. And he accepted this commission. That was a terrible stab in the back for us.[7]

Actually many Modernists compromised with the Nazis – Wassili Luckhardt, Herbert Bayer, Hugo Häring – to name three of very different disposition, and the whole question of such complicity has to be seen against the wider collaboration of artists and conductors, such as Wilhelm Furtwängler, or philosophers, such as Martin Heidegger. It is a tragic and complex question, needing the analysis of particular cases.

In 1992 there was a large conference at the very heart of Old Modernism, the Weimar Bauhaus, to which I was invited. The subject, *Architecture and Power*, was what they called the first open debate on such a topic in Eastern Germany for 70 years. The mood was electric partly because of the high unemployment and the presence of black-shirted youths prowling the streets, intimidating the citizens. My talk was titled ironically 'The Nazis, the Modernists and Prince Charles'. It showed the way architectural power is used and abused by these different groups, and a student of mine presented more of the evidence of political compromise during the 1930s, particularly of Mies and Gropius. The audience of architects and students, which had been kept in the dark about such matters under the Nazis and then the Communists, was incredulous. They were angry at the revelations, outraged that their heroes had compromised; but very interested. After furious debate an old survivor of

the time pulled me aside and said: 'You may well be right about the Modernists, but what you have not stressed was the big motive: terror, not ideas or principles or morality.'

He was right, of course, we had overrated the ever-nagging voice of morality, and underrated the engines that often drive the zeitgeist: fear and fashion.

Twenty years after the Nazi intimidation, in the 1950s, these forces came together in an entirely different way creating a form of Bureaucratic Modernism – which added to the developing PM storm. During this period the exiles from the Nazis, the philosopher Karl Popper and his ally Ernst Gombrich, wrote many critiques of the zeitgeist and argued that although there is no such thing as historical inevitability, there most certainly is a 'logic of the situation and climate of opinion', and morality consists in resisting those pressures when they are socially negative. In architecture this syndrome became the alliance of mass production with mass urban renewal, cheap housing and overcrowding.

Several local communities led by individuals successfully resisted such development. From 1962 to 1968 when New York's Greenwich Village was under threat by an expressway, Jane Jacobs and local activists managed to defeat the municipal power led by Robert Moses. At London's Covent Garden during the early 1970s, preservationists and the community led by John Toomey successfully fought against the massive redevelopment proposed by Westminster and Camden Councils. In the mid-1970s in Amsterdam, a new metro was one excuse for the wanton destruction of a community and its architectural coherence. Here a wall painting, the first 'Ghost Building of post-modernism', advertised the fact that 'eight hundred dwellings had been lost in twenty-five years of renewal and only six new ones built'. Pitched battles between the local neighbourhood and the forces of massive renewal were fought in many historic cities thus creating the mentality of a resisting post-modernism. At the same time ever larger ghettoes of the poor were being created on the edge of many cities by a confluence of mass transit, social engineering and mass migration from the countryside.

In the 1920s Modern architects had embraced massification and allied themselves with the power structure. Le Corbusier even opined that one reason he favoured the Bolshevik Party was that it meant 'the biggest'. After the Second World War, Modernists said their duty lay towards housing 'The Greatest Number', and the solution was seen to be the Welfare State where public health, education and housing would be offered en masse. The good intentions of the Modern architects were unimpeachable, as Colin Rowe wrote in a book trenchantly titled *The Architecture of Good Intentions*, 1994. But, given the logic of the situation, what this commitment to bigness amounted to in reality, and still means today where the zeitgeist reigns supreme, is complicity with a negative power syndrome.

My talk on *Architecture and Power* at the Weimar Bauhaus, mentioned above, put the argument that Prince Charles and Lord Rogers, however much they might disagree over style, are beholden to developers, or whoever wields the most money and influence. Contending architects, because they have little power, are not in any better position to command what is built. Moreover, the philosophers Isaiah Berlin and John Gray have a point when they insist on: 'the crooked timber of humanity', and stress the way noble ideals often fall prey to *realpolitik*. A recurrent theme of this book is that architects, fairly low in the chain of command and needing jobs, are prone to compromise with the state and the establishment. Very rarely do they resist the zeitgeist. On a political level such compromise leads to the folly of invading Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan, follies of modern complicity too obvious to need comment. On an architectural level they lead to tearing down historic districts, building leviathans for multinationals or, for instance, constructing with cheap building systems that soon collapse.

The Recurrent Deaths of Modernism

One infamous British incident resulted at a tower block called Ronan Point, when someone turned on a gas oven and the mass housing suffered 'cumulative collapse'. In 1969 this was an *inadvertent* post-modern explosion. Such catastrophes are rebroadcast to a mass audience, so like the failures in Iraq it is pointless to labour the point. Like the TV exposé of modern housing and social services, *Cathy Come Home*, 1966, watched by one-quarter of the British population, they contain some hard truths simultaneously known by everybody and instantly forgotten.[8] One failure of architectural bigness, however, caught the public's imagination and stayed there becoming the icon of change. That is the moment when the St Louis authorities blew up the housing estate called Pruitt-Igoe, and the filmic shots were repeated around the world. In 1977 I labelled this, in *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, 'The Death of Modernism'. Such precise framing of the time and place turned the explosion into a factoid, that is, an untruth repeated so often (even in British and French encyclopedias) that it becomes a social fact. I wrote:

> Modern Architecture died in St Louis, Missouri on July 15, 1972 at 3.32 pm (or thereabouts) when the infamous Pruitt-Igoe scheme, or rather several of its slab blocks, were given the final *coup de grace* by dynamite. Previously it had been vandalised, mutilated and defaced by its black inhabitants, and although millions of dollars were

Minoru Yamasaki, *Social Housing*, *Pruitt-Igoe*, St Louis, Missouri, 1952–5 This award-winning version of Le Corbusier's planning theories was blown up by the authorities in 1972.

> pumped back, trying to keep it alive (fixing the broken elevators, repairing smashed windows, repainting), it was finally put out of its misery. Boom, boom, boom.[9]

Of course I didn't know exactly when the 11 slab blocks were blown up – the time was invented to give it a Modernist precision – but there is no doubt it was an *advertent* PM explosion. During the 1970s it was repeated many times on failed housing estates around the world, and on a monthly basis. There were many 'Deaths of Modernism' I noted in writings on Post-Modernism, and the former Modernist, John Summerson, said that perhaps this was the best idea of the new movement.[10] He, like others, always thought that 'the Modern is the eternal' and could not be outflanked or overtaken. So he warmed to what he called 'the liberating idea of death', and the attendant creative transcendence. Perhaps Ernst Gombrich was right: the PM label had a zeitgeistian sting in its tail because it implied Modernism was obsolete. 'Post-Present', that impossible condition of Post-Modernism, had beaten its father at being ahead of fashion, at least as a paranoiac joke.

On a serious level, the moral failure of Modernism had evolved from complicity with totalitarian regimes into complicity with reigning power structures. Abstractly put, this meant producers rather than consumers, bureaucrats rather than inhabitants, the state not the people and the corporation not the neighbourhood. Jane Jacobs, who had been fighting to save Greenwich Village against the power-broking of Robert Moses, wrote the first great attack on modern planning and Le Corbusier's notion of the city. Her polemic of 1961,

Frank Gehry, *Loyola Law School*, Los Angeles, 1981–4
Heterogeneous types, materials and because it's a law school, Classical signs, break up this campus into four different languages related to the local vernacular. The LA School of architects led by Gehry, Morphosis and Eric Owen Moss employ exaggerated materials and formal contrasts to signify difference.

The Death and Life of Great American Cities, soon became a long-time bestseller. It is still a basic text of post-modernism and the first one to adumbrate complexity theory, more of which anon. Note the concept of 'death' in her title, a framing that Rachel Carson was to take up in 1962 in her great ecological polemic against modernism. This was called *Silent Spring*; that is, a silence when the birds stop singing because nature has been killed by DDT (and its many 'progressive' offspring).

In the 1960s and 1970s, books were just as important as buildings in creating the new paradigm of Post-Modernism. It is worth recalling a few key texts to show the growing mood. In architecture there was Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction* of 1966 attacking 'orthodox modernism' and putting in its place formal methods for representing the complexities of urban life. At the same time 'advocacy planners' emerged to empower local groups. They advocated the idea that city planners should represent the interests of the local urbanites, 'just like a lawyer would support the concerns of a client'. Not the interests of the corporation, not the people in general, but particular subcultures under threat. Robert Goodman summarised the movement in his bestselling *After the Planners*, 1971, which like Jane Jacobs' work was directed against the power of expressway planners. Local communities and subcultures were to be defended by a pressure group Goodman set up in Boston, Urban Planning Aid, of which he became the president.

This trend was in effect an early version of multiculturalism, a movement that would culminate in the philosophy of post-modern liberalism, the global heteropolis and the writings of the philosopher Charles Taylor.[11] Because of his mixed Canadian culture, Taylor understood how the rights of the Anglo majority had to be balanced by constitutional rights of the minority culture, the French. The counterclaims of each side became *the* challenge for our post-modern times: how to interweave incommensurable liberties of two or more cultures without losing support of the majority. Pluralism as a philosophy and urban approach continued to find adherents with the writings of Herbert Gans and his concept of different 'taste cultures' and how they formed 'urban villagers'. The issues are, once again according to the PM mantra, complex and contradictory but not unsolvable. By the mid-1970s, the decade of pluralism in the arts, there was also evidence that the failures of architectural universalism were widely digested. Books and articles indicate that the Modernists themselves understood. Among their retractions, and shifts in viewpoint, were Malcolm MacEwen's *Crisis in Architecture*, 1974; Brent C Brolin's *The Failure of Modern Architecture*, 1976; and Peter Blake's *Form Follows Fiasco: Why Modern Architecture Hasn't Worked*, 1974.

These books marked the systematic failures of modern architecture; but they have to be seen against the much larger post-modern picture where the countless 'deaths' created a recognisable pattern. It is worth listing a few crises to see how they fit together, and are usually brought on by an abnormal growth in size. A modernism grown too big in any field – economics, social organisation, architecture – can suddenly reach a tipping point.[12] Among the social calamities were the revolts against the mega-university, the student uprisings, and the May Events in France of 1968; or the civil rights protests and those against the Vietnam War. Each of these protests was inspired to counteract a national trend that had recently bloomed in scale. From a technical point of view the same could be said of the many oil spills from the 1970s, and these have continued right up to today with BP in the Gulf of Mexico. Oil tankers that are too large to navigate or drilling that is too deep to manage bring on predictable failures. Or, there are the ecological catastrophes caused by modernisation, for instance Chernobyl in 1986. Or the destruction of the great lakes in America and in Russia by pollution. The collapse of communism in the 1990s was one of the grandest failures of modernity while, even greater in its economic impact, was the capitalist meltdown of 2007. The trigger of the last mentioned crisis was Hank Paulson's failure to support Lehman Brothers, and that detonated a worldwide implosion. Dates of these catastrophes and failures become symbolically etched in our minds: Pruitt-Igoe blowing up in 1972. The World Trade Center being destroyed by terrorists framed as 9/11. 9/15 now means the day when the Late-Capitalist system expired and had to be resuscitated by State intervention, and kept alive on Life Support By Taxpayer. 'Too big to fail' became the mantra for all those nations pouring in trillions to prop up the banks.

This is a pattern of crises that are not incidental to modernity, but systemic. Or, to revert to the original metaphor, they create a perfect storm with much positive feedback. And one more force whipped up architectural anger, if boredom can inspire.

The Triumph of Nothingness

Since the triumph of the International Style in the late 1950s, especially in the capitalist city centre, a reaction had set in. Repetitive, Miesian towers – Businessman's Vernacular – was castigated for its pin-striped rectitude. What looked like wonderful good taste to Nikolaus Pevsner, and battalions of designers working for Corporate America, also looked like *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, that popular character of drone conformity. One of the first effective attacks on this reigning taste was by Lewis Mumford, who wrote 'The Case against Modern Architecture' for the leading journal, *Architectural Record*, in April 1962. This short tirade ties together some of the moral failings I have mentioned, and adds the ecological, functional and stylistic drawbacks. Being comprehensive, it is the first shot of Post-Modernism in the style wars, and coming from the venerable Lewis Mumford (*The New Yorker* critic and guru of Modernism) it ruffled a few significant feathers. Mumford goes straight to the problem of brain-dead formalism and how it is inadequate for city thinking. 'Mies van der Rohe,' he charges, 'used the facilities offered by steel and glass to create elegant monuments to nothingness.' An interesting paradox – how can nothing be potent? Well these zero-buildings:

> had the dry style of machine forms without the contents. [Mies'] own chaste taste gave these hollow glass shells a crystalline purity of form, but they existed alone in the Platonic world of his imagination and had no relation to site, climate, insulation, function, or internal activity … This was the apotheosis of the compulsive, bureaucratic spirit. Its emptiness and hollowness were more expressive than van der Rohe's admirers realized.[13]

The taunts will be heard countless times. The rigid and empty Platonism, which Karl Popper had shown was a recurrent pattern of fascism; the ecological and contextual shortcomings of an approach that falsely claimed to be functional; the safe conformity of a designer who has nothing to say. But all of this rational (and admittedly contentious) argument assumed Modernism ruled in the city through *reason*.

A psychoanalyst might disagree. S/he could say Modernism dominated in 1950 not because reason had anything to do with it, but because it carried a momentary charge. If it was not Modern Art's Shock of the New, then at least it was the related Virility of the Unusual. The expressive rarity of the style, at this conservative point in the Eisenhower years, explains why Phyllis Lambert persuaded her father and the Seagram Corporation to commission Mies' dark manly bronze tower for 53rd Street. Also why they asked Philip Johnson (latterly of the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA)), to design its Four Seasons Restaurant. They were built on the ground zero of New York culture-broking, Park Avenue around 48th Street. These prestige jobs demanded the style of the new zeitgeist.

Savour the irony. A whisky multinational with the boutique restaurant, where the elite meets to eat. Was this why the *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* had fought the revolution? Was this 'an architecture for everyone?' Instead of carrying through Pevsner's socialist

Iconic buildings go commercial. (left) Gordon Bunshaft and SOM, *Lever House*, New York, 1950–3, starts the Minimalist tradition on Park Avenue contrasting a horizontal and low slab with a tower. (below left) Mies van der Rohe, *Seagram Building*, Park Avenue, 1954–8, perfects the Minimalist model and gains aesthetic control of its inhabitants in, among other ways, the pre-set window blinds. (below right) Walter Gropius, *Pan Am Building*, Park Avenue, 1958, blocks the view down Park Avenue. In the most congested area of the city this commercial pastiche of a Le Corbusier project advertises Pan Am – the gravestone of social responsibility.

agenda, 'From William Morris to Walter Gropius', it had become swank Minimalism for the rich. By this route Modernism moved from Europe upscale to the most fashionable area of the most powerful country, and just across from the exclusive Racquet Club. Let us take the Mumfordian-eye-view of this progress as Nothingness wandered around Park Avenue. First stop was the Lever House of Gordon Bunshaft, 1950–3, two minimal glass boxes set perpendicular to each other, their aesthetic interest arising from the great innovation of a right angular layout (sic). Then, many *almost* blank boxes followed either side while, down Park Avenue at its culminating view – the most congested part of Midtown – arose the monument by Pevsner's number one Modernist of social responsibility. In 1958, Walter Gropius stripped down a Le Corbusier skyscraper and proffered a kind of chunky version of nothingness, the Pan Am Building. At 59 storeys and with its false columns showing on certain floors, and the PAN AM logo blaring out at the top, it would not go away.

By now the three most visible icons of Modernism in America symbolised three of the most powerful monopolies – for Soap, Whisky and Flying. Forget about social responsibility, but what about functionalism and cost, the other underpinnings of the Modern Movement? These concerns were sacrificed to formal consistency, the image of the overall box and its supposedly invisible curtain wall ('transparency' was the aesthetic goal). During this time Sigfried Giedion, the doyen of modern historians, attacked the 'Playboy Architecture' of American formalists trained under Gropius. But, the zeitgeist played her old tricks. This critique occurred just before his paragon Gropius designed the actual Playboy Club in London, which opened later in 1966.

Thus the various credibility gaps grew into a veritable Grand Canyon of hypocrisies, just at the moment when Lewis Mumford's spectre of Nothingness was spreading over American downtowns, dominating such power concentrations as Sixth Avenue in New York and its Time-Life Building. From then until today, Minimalism has become the default style for corporations and Calvin Klein, for the Museum of Modern Art in New York and the Armani Emporium everywhere. Thus by an ironic twist of fate the monastic style, which was meant to symbolise humility and spirituality, has turned into the expensive mode of Mammon. What Modernists had lampooned formerly as The Ruling Taste had become Boutique Cistercianism.

Of course, Mies' style of 'almost nothing' carried its sell-by date, as Ernst Gombrich was to explain at one of our several meetings during the 1970s. This critic of the zeitgeist emphasised the importance that boredom plays in historical change, and he suggested that the theories of 'aesthetic fatigue', developed by Adolf Göller in the 19th century, might be helpful in understanding fashion cycles. We exhaust styles and nowhere faster than in a consumer society with its voracious appetite for the new. From 1960 to 1970 multinational corporations had embraced Minimalism as they had previously adopted reactionary classicism and then through overuse – excessive Minimalism – they had killed its meaning. Aesthetic fatigue helped explain why the most dynamic movement of the 1920s had become dull *and* compromised. By 1980, Modernism which was first born in Europe as a social-'ism' in the 1830s, and then born-again many times like a Christian convert, had become *the* Late-Capitalist Style of Late-Modernism.

It is important to emphasise this point since the influential Marxist critic Fredric Jameson has famously described post-modernism as 'the cultural logic of late capitalism'.[14] The truth is that both these 'after-modern' trends epitomise the global economic formation, and depend on it. This is one more reason for irony, and the sudden shifts in style during the 1960s certainly have their unintended humour, as we will see next.

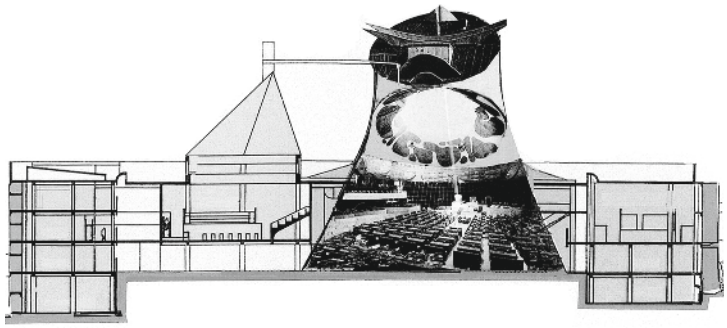
Revisionists and Le Corbusier Lead the Revolt

They say revolutions occur when the establishment loses conviction, the stomach for power, and turns against itself. This is true of the collapse of communism in 1989, and it was true of the old Modern Movement, the ruling class of the 1920s. By the 1960s Modernists controlled the academies but their chief organ of power, CIAM, had been in slow-motion break-up for 10 years. Arising out of the 10th congress of CIAM, dedicated to the subject of 'Habitat' and held in Dubrovnik, 1956, was a group of young radicals led by Bakema and Van Eyck from Holland, Candilis and Woods from France and the Smithsons from England.

Called Team X because they were given charge of organisation, it was really a polemical name, like the cross-out sign Le Corbusier had scrawled over the architecture of the previous ruling class, the École des Beaux-Arts. Team X proposed antidotes to the dull abstractions of Modernism. In place of dividing cities into the four purified functions, it emphasised particular and local urban solutions; 'the responsibility for the creation of order through form … the responsibility for each act of creation, however small'. 'Whatever space and time mean,' Aldo van Eyck said, attacking the spacetime theories of abstraction, 'place and occasion mean more. For space in the image of man is place, and time in the image of man is occasion … Provide that place …'[15] Place-making, a notion Van Eyck adapted from anthropology, became a primary goal not only of Team X but of all the revisionist young from America to Europe and Japan. Kenzo Tange led the nascent 'Japan Style' (just at the moment he denied 'regionalism'). Milanese designers produced modern versions of medieval towers, and were nearly ostracised by Team X for so doing. Eero Saarinen and Charles Moore in the US created neo-vernacular, contextual buildings that responded to 'place and occasion'. Even Walter Gropius moved into this halfway house when he designed the American Embassy in Athens in a Graeco-International Style of white marble. Revisionism, as Mikhail Gorbachev found when he introduced perestroika into communism, is an unstable position, and so it proved with CIAM. After 30 years of international activity it broke up in acrimony in Otterlo, 1959, and Team X was accused of bad faith by its founder members, Giedion, Sert, Gropius and Le Corbusier.

Actually Le Corbusier had sided with Team X during the 1956 debate, and his words emphasise how the old Modernists had become sclerotic, lost their revolutionary fervour unlike – the implication is – himself. He writes that the young are: 'the only ones capable of feeling actual problems, personally, profoundly … They are in the know. Their predecessors no longer are, they are out, they are no longer subject to the direct impact of the situation.'[16]

The regional and national styles of revisionism. (from top, left to right) The Japan Style of Kenzo Tange, *Olympic Stadium*, Tokyo, 1963–4. The Neo-Medieval reference in BBPR, *Torre Velasca*, Milan, 1956–8 and Eero Saarinen, *Yale Dormitories*, New Haven, 1958–62. The vernacular/Pop in Charles Moore, *Sea Ranch*, California, 1965 and the Neo-Classical in Walter Gropius with TAC, *US Embassy*, Athens, 1960–1.



Le Corbusier, *General Assembly*, Chandigarh, 1952–8. *Enamelled door, cross-section, and Open Hand, 1961–5*

Signs and symbols relating to the local climate of rainfall and strong sunlight, the flora and fauna of the area. The Open Hand was another symbol of dialectical government, giving and receiving, and placed over the outdoor *res publica*. The assembly was designed so that the sun entered the debating chamber on propitious days, such as 21 June, and shined on the democratic process.

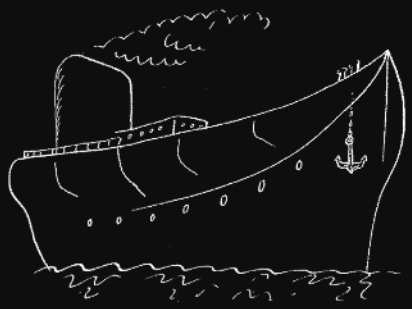
In 1961, he made one of the first post-modern attacks on 'superficial modernism', the formalist gigantism occurring in New York and Paris.[17] The truth was that the old warhorse at 70 was more creative than those 30 years younger and, like Michelangelo breaking into Mannerist and Baroque architecture at the end of his life, Le Corbusier fired the first shots of Post-Modern architecture with his highly symbolic buildings in Chandigarh, India and Ronchamp, France. Iconic, even explicitly based on an iconography worked out through his painting and sculpture, they remain the touchstone for an architecture committed to communication and local culture. They are also exemplary studies in a rich and complex geometry that opens up the discourse of post-modern spatial planning. The section shows the compaction composition, the collage of regular elements such as pyramid and hyperboloid. The whole government precinct is organised as vast landscape and 'architectural promenade'.

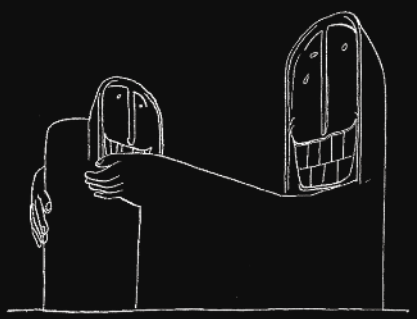
As for the iconography, the General Assembly Building at Chandigarh is designed around a cosmic and nature symbolism focused on the sun. The enamelled doors depict the local flora and fauna – the river, birds, snake and cows of the area – set against the paths of the summer and winter sun. The rooftop was designed to open during propitious moments such as 21 June to cast its benign ray on the speaker at the platform 'reminding man once every year that he is son of the sun'.[18] The sculptural awning over the public entrance is a giant basin for collecting rainwater, and the *brises-soleil*, usual to his late-period work, are also sign, function and icon of a local ecological grounding.

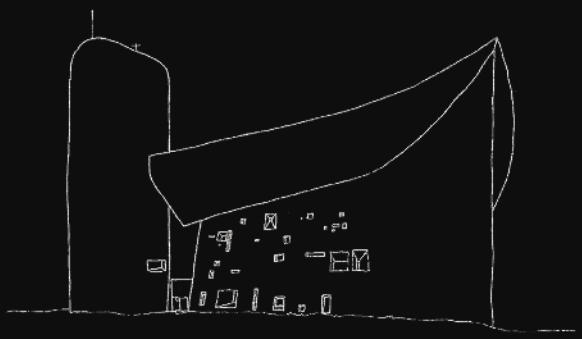
The building that blew apart the Modernist settlement was Le Corbusier's tiny church at Ronchamp, designed in 1950 and opened in 1955. This first Post-Modern iconic building drew an iconoclastic fit of gunfire from every side, especially fastidious Modernists and Rationalists such as Nikolaus Pevsner. They looked on every deviance from the right-angle as a sin. The fact that the architect was writing his *Poem of the Right Angle* in 1950, where this iconology was being worked out, escaped those who looked through orthogonal glasses.

'Ronchamp', Pevsner pronounced in his influential *Outline of European Architecture*, 'is the most discussed monument of a new irrationalism. Here once again (after the Brazilian curves of Niemeyer) is the roof moulded as if it were the cap of a mushroom, and here in addition is lighting by innumerable very small and completely arbitrarily shaped and placed windows …' Mushroom? Actually, Le Corbusier designed the windows from the inside out and on a square grid orchestrating his poem of the right angle. But this escaped Pevsner, and he concludes the fearful lesson of history: '… woe to him who succumbs to the temptation of reproducing the same effect in another building' and, in the footnote, groans about the new trend, 'The unavoidable is already happening everywhere, including Britain.'[19] 'Unavoidable?' Thus the zeitgeist claimed one more of its exponents.

Le Corbusier, *Chapel of Nôtre Dame du Haut*, Ronchamp, 1950–5
(overleaf) The view from the south-west shows the dark, upturned roof based on the 'shell of a crab', in counterpoint with the tall light scoops, 'acoustic ears' facing the four horizons. Other metaphors found by the public and priests were praying hands, a ship, a duck, a nun's cowl, and a mother holding her children who turn to the morning and evening sun. The enamel door and painted windows fill out the iconography of this 'temple to nature'.







This paranoiac reaction fuelled the gathering storm. It only became 'perfect' when fanned by the flames of Modernists who were furious with the suffix of *Post*-Modernism, a psychological truth EH Gombrich explained to me very well.[20] For Pevsner the 'unavoidable' 'mushroom' (sic) of 'a new irrationalism' had become a historical inevitability, and this rendered Square Modernism finished, over the hill. Runaway mushrooms conquer architecture! Techno-Fungi swallow cities – screams the subconscious. Technical progress and the annual style change of fashion create bundles of fear that typify those who come to believe in a force of history, or inevitable progress. Pevsner's paranoia soon had a thousand amplifications in the media, and even James Stirling (whom Pevsner attacked as another 'irrationalist') described Ronchamp as setting off the 'Crisis of Rationalism'.[21] It was also the first multivalent icon of a post-modern tradition that was to expand by the year 2000 as 'the Bilbao Effect', the influence of Frank Gehry and the iconic building as a major mode of public communication.

Complexity and Double-Coding – the First Post-Modern Synthesis

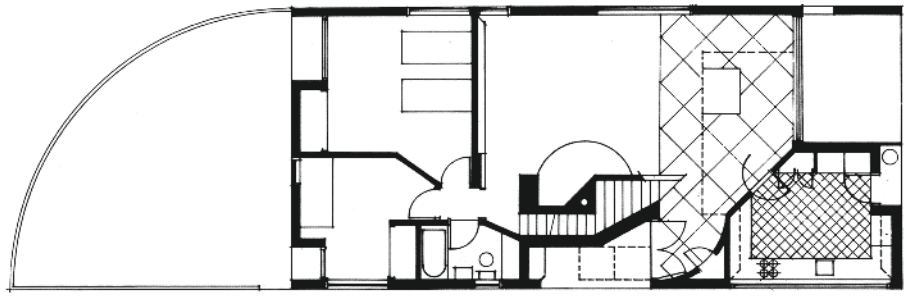
After Ronchamp, Chandigarh, Team X and the opening of Modernism to many different avenues, there was no going back to a single International Style or any global ideology. Pluralism, market-driven as it often is, has remained dominant around the world and when not superficially understood one of the few contributions of the post-modern agenda. This philosophy, and in architecture the practice of including difference into a scheme, slowly grew in the 1960s.

One other architect of Le Corbusier's stature helped open this door, Louis Kahn, whose late work in this decade had a comparable effect, and then two younger architects pushed further through it, Aldo Rossi and Robert Venturi. Taken together they forged the hybrid style that has been current ever since, the double-coding of Modernism with other formal systems whether Classicism, as in Kahn and Rossi's case, or roadside vernacular, as in Venturi's. The story of Post-Modernism is driven by successive attempts to communicate beyond elite tastes and yet keep honest to architects' architecture, and the profession. This split motive is expressed many different ways – in Pop Art as 'high/low' or 'operating in the gap between art and life'. But with Louis Kahn it results in a style that is primitive and, like Le Corbusier's late work, highly sculptural and based on a cosmic metaphysics.

A few works of Kahn produced at the end of his life summarise this new monumentality – the Kimbell Art Museum in Texas, the government centre in Dacca – but a more modest commission at Yale University shows that it can be delicate and human-scaled. Designed for displaying art of a conventional era, the Center for British Art is one of the most subtle and beautiful mixtures of history, light and complex space. Here Kahn's gravitas lifts much of the small painting and graphic work above its station, and responds to its daintiness with refined contrasts of white oak floors, Belgian linen and dark oak panels. All of this is set against tough, reinforced concrete. Exposed as the structural frame, as Alberti would do to

Louis Kahn, *Yale Center for British Art*, New Haven, Connecticut, 1969–74

Museum space, supporting the content of British domestic art, is layered three ways. The frontality of the concrete grid marked on the floor is set against diagonal and en-suite views; the material and formal contrasts set up a dialogue between modernity and the domestic past.



Robert Venturi, *Mother's House*, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1961–4
Complex and contradictory spaces are made explicit especially around the doorway, which is a multi-functioning element. Note too the ghosted Classical forms, arch and stringcourse.

appeal to the logic of the conceptual grid, and repeated overhead as a truncated pyramid letting in natural light, it is almost Brutalist concrete. But not quite, its blue-grey surface is smoother, giving just the right understated contrast that saves the good taste from becoming 'refeenment'. Just when the repetition of architectural frames and subtle lighting is about to become too exquisite, he sticks in a thundering contrast – the circle, an emphatic vertical concrete cylinder of a stairway shoots up through the interior court to reach for the light. Blank Modernism, just where it should be, breaks the politesse. In Robert Venturi's terms it is 'both-and' space combining Renaissance closure and modern openness.

Venturi's 'gentle manifesto' *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, 1966, makes the argument supporting contrast and the importance of mixing tastes, which was soon called 'inclusivism' in architecture. In the early Venturi houses, Post-Modern spatial complexity is developed from Kahn to emerge as a full-blown style, and it is as recognisable as the Baroque space on which it depends. Three rhetorical figures underlie this new convention, 'layering, elision and surprise', a line that develops from Venturi to Frank Gehry, from 1966 to 1980.[22] After that the spatial complexity gets even more riotous with the dazzling complexities of Daniel Libeskind and Coop Himmelb(l)au. Venturi's tiny house for his mother is the fountainhead of this giant stream. Its zigzag entrance combines the shifted axis that Edwin Lutyens employed with two other functions, a stairway zigzag and a chimney zigzag. These reversals also merge what Venturi calls the 'doubly-functioning element', except that they really combine four functions – door, kitchen, stairway and chimney. As a consequence, they are also what I call 'multivalence', working simultaneously on many levels of both symbolism and use. Keywords become important to the story.

Because Venturi's book coined and borrowed from literature so many tropes – 'ambiguity', 'contradictory levels', 'contradiction juxtaposed', 'the obligation towards the difficult whole' – it became the first textbook of Post-Modernism. Its canonic status increased after its launch by MoMA in 1966, and its designation by the historian Vincent Scully as 'probably the most important writing on the making of architecture since Le Corbusier's *Vers une Architecture*, of 1923'. Such a prediction was meant to become true as a self-fulfilling prophecy, and so it did. In the eye of the perfect storm there arrived just on time a perfect little white book, a manifesto that the revolutionary architectural student could wave at his betters, like Mao's little red book. It emphasised, as American Post-Modernists would, the formal and taste elements of the new style rather than the European social or urban arguments. In a *tour de force* of historical examples, the reader was offered a quick lecture in art history (its possible origin?). Mannerist, Baroque and Lutyensesque architecture were back; historical precedent banished from the Bauhaus returned with a vengeance.

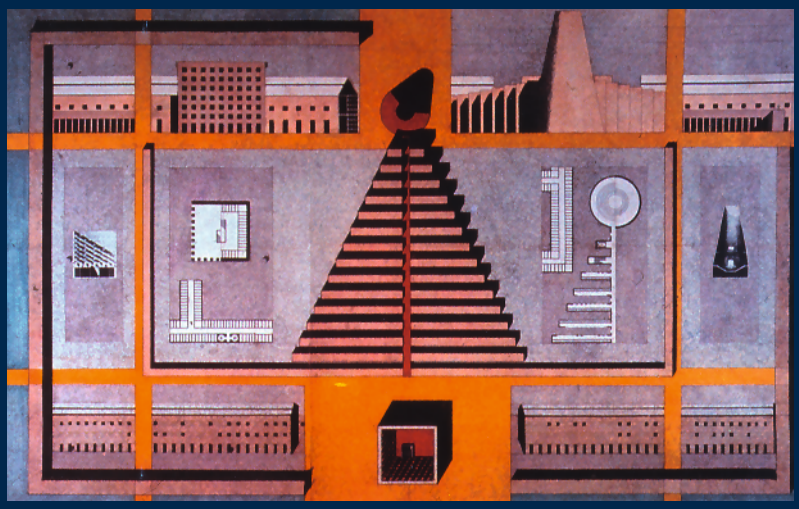
These keywords and concepts became part of the post-modern lexicon, especially the title itself, 'complexity and contradiction'. As the reader will find, a full-blown complexity theory was formulated later in the 1980s by scientists. It underpins the key ideas of the nonlinear 'post-modern sciences of complexity' and hence the core idea of the movement: self-organising systems, emergence, chaos, fractals, etc. Jane Jacobs adumbrates these ideas for the 'life of the city' (she calls the city 'a problem in organized complexity') just as Venturi does in architecture. He alludes to August Heckscher's notion of how one grows in

maturity from a simple view of life to an ironic and complex one. In his 'gentle manifesto' there are references to the complexity and ambiguity in poetry, critical ideas developed by Cleanth Brooks and William Empson. These underpin the developing power of a growing mind. But Venturi's complexity is concerned with formal issues. We will have to wait until the mid-1990s before designers start using computers in a creative way, and 'Complexity II' arrives in Post-Modernism. Nonetheless, 'Complexity I' is reached with Jacobs and Venturi, and it adds depth to the self-organising movement.

With Charles Moore developing his own exuberant style of eclecticism and then Robert Stern quickly following, America suddenly bloomed as an architectural passion flower of historical quotation. Funny, semantic, ornamented, ironic, rich and colourful – not self-important and sober – in most ways it was the antithesis of the black and white International Style. For a short time on the East Coast the opposition was framed as The Battle of the Greys versus the Whites, soon to be joined by the Silvers on the West Coast. By contrast, in Europe during the same period of the early 1970s, the situation was developing fast towards a city-centred post-modernism. This was generic, but motivated by a return to urban archetypes and any form of organisation that could resist the destruction of the historic city. A few buildings of note were constructed by Paolo Portoghesi and Hans Hollein. But just as significant were the unbuilt schemes of Léon Krier and his brother Robert. Above all the European movement was led by the writings and poetic drawings of Aldo Rossi, the Milanese who framed his architecture around the concept of his book *L'architettura della città*, 1966. These projects fought the battle for the contextual city, a continuation of Team X's ideas but at a more radical level, as we will see in the next chapter. With the May Events of 1968, and the student movements around the world, the ideas of participation in architecture and self-building resurfaced. These radical and ameliorative methods were developed in America by Charles Moore and in Europe by Ralph Erskine and Lucien Kroll. Thus, by the late 1970s such ideas had taken over in many schools of architecture and were beginning to dominate the journals, but they still needed a collective framing and an umbrella term to set against the hegemony of Modernism.

The PM word arrived on the scene in 1975, and with it the storm reached a pitch of creative-destruction. I named the confluence of different trends with the disclaimer that 'post-modernism is a temporizing label, like defining women as non-men'.[23] Little did I realise it would catch on. But the logic of the situation mentioned above and the paranoiac charge made it explosive, and soon I was talking on the rise of post-modern architecture around the world, at many universities and public meetings from San Francisco to

Colour and the city as the subject return to architecture. (from top, left to right) Charles Moore, *supergraphics and the personal collection*, MLTW, *Moore, Turnbull, Murray House*, interior, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972; Aldo Rossi, *Modena Cemetery as archetypal city*, 1971; Rem Koolhaas and Madelon Vriesendorp, *The City of the Captive Globe*, 1975, a comment on New York City pluralism swallowing the world in each city block; Aldo van Eyck, *Social Housing*, Zwolle, the Netherlands, 1975–7; and Ralph Erskine, *Social Housing*, Byker Wall, Newcastle, 1973–6; participatory architecture leads to adhocism and a defensive architecture.

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Japan to Europe. Several evolutionary charts were drawn to show the variety of streams, and pluralism as the goal (see below). Later I published books on the subject, the first of which, in 1977, sold well and was translated into 11 languages. It has gone through seven ever-extending editions as the movement developed: *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*. Influenced by Umberto Eco and semiotics, this tract focused on why modern architects were constantly misinterpreted, and how their successors might improve the situation. Communication was my focus in the growing debate, but also the question of stereotype and repetition in mass housing, the problems of massification. That may explain why it became an underground *samizdat* in many communist countries.[24]

According to one ironic reading of this situation, Pevsner's zeitgeist was now devouring its parent and, I hoped, would soon eat itself up. Real political pluralism might arise. But in the cultural sphere what happened? By 1981, Norman Rosenthal organised an influential show at London's Royal Academy on post-modern art – Polke, Richter and Kiefer and the Italian Transavanguardia and Julian Schnabel – that would go on to West Berlin. It was called the *Zeitgeist*! Karl Popper's term of odium was now used positively, without thinking of the consequences. Ernst Gombrich was right, I reflected ruefully, PM had become a Modernist fashion. An inner voice answered, 'but at least the fashion is a rainbow coalition and one cannot easily impose a totalitarian pluralism'; while another quickly replied, 'except in the fashion industry'. And such ironic conversation reveals the global condition today. Pluralism is only a market version, it is skin deep not political; but at least it is better than none at all.

The Shape of History – Big, Medium and Small Waves

This synopsis of origins brings out a few points. Post-Modernism was a confluence of streams that became much bigger in the 1960s with the counterculture and its protest movements. The arguments were against bigness, the loss of local identity and stereotyped architecture. These combined in the 1970s, as a fractious mixture of trends organised loosely around the common goal of pluralism, when it took on several constructive directions. Finally it coalesced when the PM label was used positively.

From the outset Post-Modern architecture was a hybrid movement that never rejected the suffix of its mixed definition. Rather it was a loyal opposition, as the novelist John Barth was to write about the corresponding literary movement in 1980, one that accepted the reality of the modern world. As he insisted Ford, Freud, Marx, Nietzsche and Mondrian were recognised by post-modernists, 'under their belt but not on their back'.[25] Thus understood, PM was Modernism and its transcendence, a Critical Modernism more powerful than the reactionary modernisms which had their counterparts in the 1930s.

For the story of Post-Modernism one has to understand this basic point, as indeed the much larger one: that Modernism and modernity arose during the Renaissance. What historians of the state and society call 'the modern world' starts in the 1450s with three basic aspects. In Italy it begins with the global banking system, the city state, and the emergence of positive, cognate words for moderna, for being up-to-date. Architects and historians such as Filarete and Vasari used these terms to signify a hoped-for improvement on the Ancients, and so much else besides.

The nation state and global economy develop in the next hundred years, and the concept 'modern' is used to signify a progressive classicism. Then its fourth support creates the structure that survives today, modernisation or industrialisation. These basic truths paint a picture that is unfamiliar in the art and architectural worlds where Modernism, the cultural expression of the modern world, is variously located much later: in 1750, 1830 or 1920, depending on which movements are emphasised. Perhaps disagreements necessarily reign in the cultural sphere, but seen against this larger picture Modernism has a 400-year span.

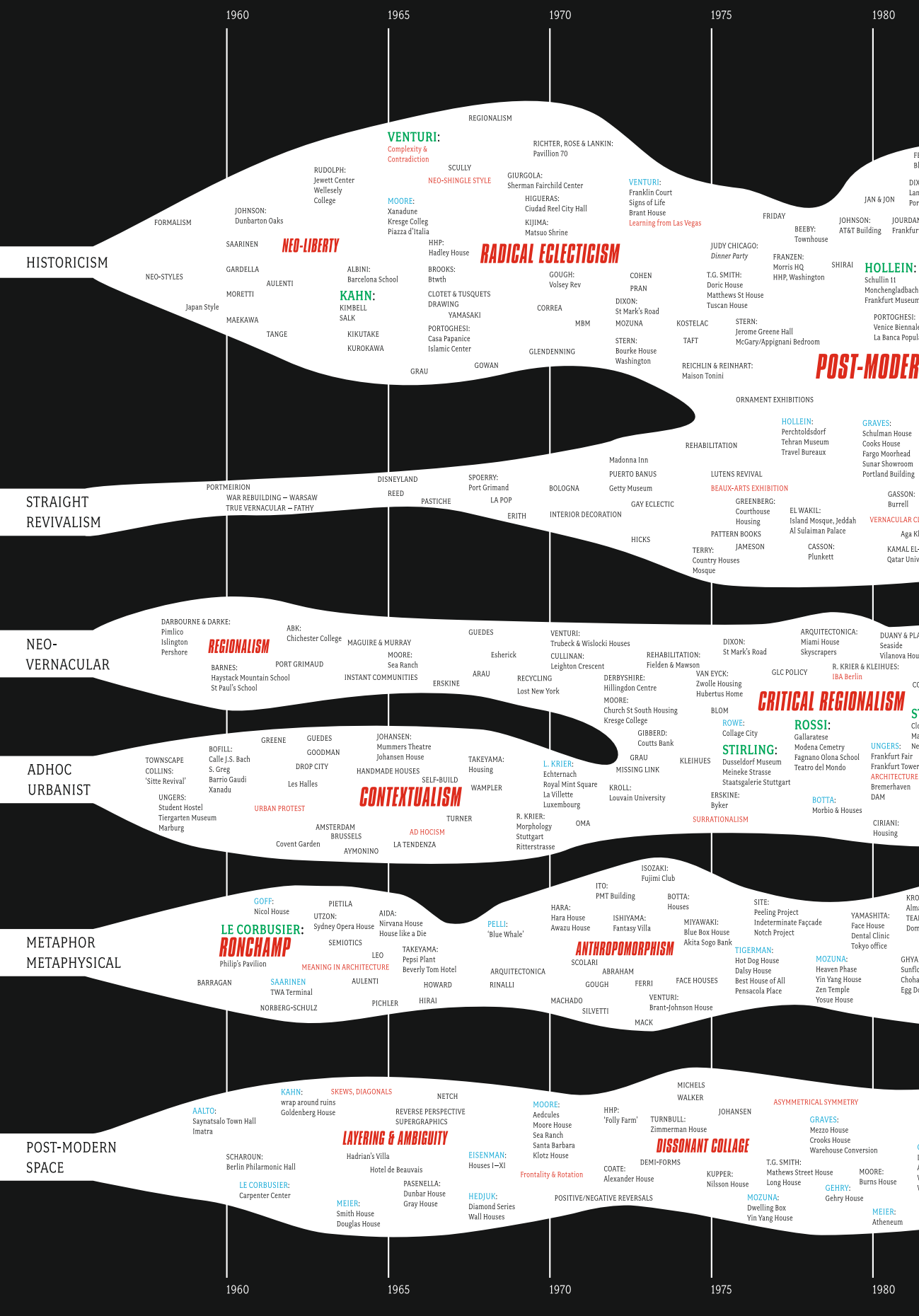
If one accepts that popular and professional usage defines labels then one might call the period from 1970 to 1990 a post-modern era. Yet that would be a kind of modernist mistake. Like the zeitgeist this would be reductive, oversimplifying the many different voices in a totalising discourse. It would erase the important continuities, as well as a greater global truth. Much of the world *is still embedded in traditional culture* and perhaps more of it is *still industrialising* under the nation state, into a modern condition. Instead of the totalising zeitgeist, it makes more sense to conceive of history as interacting streams, or multiple waves, or parallel bands, or rivers that compete and go underground or perhaps re-emerge for short periods. In this metaphor these traditions can be considered like an evolutionary tree of Darwin, but a fallen one where the branches grow sideways. Or, even better, seen as a sea of many streams. The advantage of such an evolutionary diagram is that it allows the obvious pluralism to exist at the same time as a dominant species.[26]

According to this model there are always many short-wave 'isms' in the arts, the five-year fashions that keep the surface of history bubbling with life. Beneath this agitated plane are deeper streams, the medium-wave continuities that are often hidden to the participants, and then below them the more powerful, epochal movements that go deepest. In effect, these larger and deeper streams can be seen as *conglomerate* bands uniting the themes of fashion and short-lived movements. Thus Post-Modernism, like its counterpart Late-Modernism, is a medium-wave trend that has pulsated in vigour since the 1960s and enjoyed a most surprising burst of strength since the year 2000.

I will be referring to this evolutionary diagram throughout this book, and it reveals another important reality. There are many more architects and mini-movements within the streams of Post-Modernism than I could possibly discuss, over 500. And to get a real feeling for the period 1960 to 2010 in architecture, the diagram would have to be more than doubled in size to include the Late-Modern, the Modern *and* traditional strands. This is to say history has a complex and contradictory shape, but a shape nonetheless, and to understand its meanings one must decode the several oppositions. For a short time the Pompidou Centre, 1971–7, designed by Richard Rogers and Renzo Piano, was considered a monument of Post-Modernism by critics and historians, whereas now it is understood as a key work of Late-Modern movements.[27] Such implicit distinctions should be kept in mind, and also the fact that these labels and terms are critical ones, only occasionally used by the architects themselves.

We now turn to that agitated stream at the top of the evolutionary diagram, and the currents of Radical Eclecticism and Contextual Counterpoint. These flowed together into the synthesis of Post-Modern Classicism, a style that lasted longer than most of the last century.

Post-Modern Evolutionary Tree (overleaf) The six underlying traditions are classified far left; the 16 major architects are in green; 24 major movements in red, 74 significant architects in blue, and 500 architects and keywords in black. Needless to say this is my assessment.


1960
1965
1970
1975
1980
HISTORICISM
STRAIGHT REVIVALISM
NEO-VERNACULAR
ADHOC URBANIST
METAPHOR METAPHYSICAL
POST-MODERN SPACE
REGIONALISM
VENTURI:
Complexity & Contradiction
RICHTER, ROSE & LANKIN:
Pavillion 70
SCULLY
NEO-SHINGLE STYLE
GIURGOLA:
Sherman Fairchild Center
RUDOLPH:
Jewett Center
Wellesely College
VENTURI:
Franklin Court
Signs of Life
Brant House
Learning from Las Vegas
FERRI:
Blum res.
DIXON:
Lanark Road
Portzamparc — Conservatoire
JAN & JON
FRIDAY
JOHNSON:
AT&T Building
JOURDAN/PAS:
Frankfurt Bank
BEEBY:
Townhouse
MOORE:
Xanadune
Kresge Colleg
Piazza d'Italia
HIGUERAS:
Ciudad Reel City Hall
KIJIMA:
Matsuo Shrine
JOHNSON:
Dunbarton Oaks
FORMALISM
SAARINEN
NEO-LIBERTY
HHP:
Hadley House
RADICAL ECLECTICISM
JUDY CHICAGO:
Dinner Party
FRANZEN:
Morris HQ
HHP, Washington
SHIRAI
HOLLEIN:
Schullin 11
Monchengladbach
Frankfurt Museum
GARDELLA
AULENTI
ALBINI:
Barcelona School
BROOKS:
Btwth
GOUGH:
Volsey Rev
COHEN
PRAN
T.G. SMITH:
Doric House
Matthews St House
Tuscan House
NEO-STYLES
MORETTI
KAHN:
KIMBELL
SALK
CLOTET & TUSQUETS
DRAWING
YAMASAKI
CORREA
DIXON:
St Mark's Road
MOZUNA
KOSTELAC
STERN:
Jerome Greene Hall
McGary/Appignani Bedroom
PORTOGHESI:
Venice Biennale
La Banca Populaire
Japan Style
MAEKAWA
TANGE
KIKUTAKE
KUROKAWA
PORTOGHESI:
Casa Papanice
Islamic Center
MBM
TAFT
STERN:
Bourke House
Washington
GLENDENNING
GRAU
GOWAN
REICHLIN & REINHART:
Maison Tonini
POST-MODERN
ORNAMENT EXHIBITIONS
HOLLEIN:
Perchtoldsdorf
Tehran Museum
Travel Bureaux
GRAVES:
Schulman House
Cooks House
Fargo Moorhead
Sunar Showroom
Portland Building
REHABILITATION
Madonna Inn
PUERTO BANUS
LUTENS REVIVAL
STERN:
Cohn Pool
UVA
PORTMEIRION
WAR REBUILDING — WARSAW
TRUE VERNACULAR — FATHY
DISNEYLAND
REED
SPOERRY:
Port Grimand
BOLOGNA
Getty Museum
BEAUX-ARTS EXHIBITION
GASSON:
Burrell
PASTICHE
LA POP
ERITH
INTERIOR DECORATION
GAY ECLECTIC
GREENBERG:
Courthouse
Housing
EL WAKIL:
Island Mosque, Jeddah
Al Sulaiman Palace
VERNACULAR CLASSICISM
PATTERN BOOKS
Aga Khan Awards
HICKS
JAMESON
CASSON:
Plunkett
TERRY:
Country Houses
Mosque
KAMAL EL-KAFRAWI:
Qatar University
DARBOURNE & DARKE:
Pimlico
Islington
Pershore
REGIONALISM
ABK:
Chichester College
MAGUIRE & MURRAY
GUEDES
VENTURI:
Trubeck & Wislocki Houses
ARQUITECTONICA:
Miami House
Skyscrapers
DUANY & PLATER-ZYBERG:
Seaside
Vilanova House
GRASSI
Esherick
CULLINAN:
Leighton Crescent
REHABILITATION:
Fielden & Mawson
DIXON:
St Mark's Road
BARNES:
Haystack Mountain School
St Paul's School
PORT GRIMAUD
MOORE:
Sea Ranch
INSTANT COMMUNITIES
ARAU
ERSKINE
RECYCLING
Lost New York
DERBYSHIRE:
Hillingdon Centre
VAN EYCK:
Zwolle Housing
Hubertus Home
GLC POLICY
R. KRIER & KLEIHUES:
IBA Berlin
COSENTINO
TZONIS
MOORE:
Church St South Housing
Kresge College
BLOM
CRITICAL REGIONALISM
STIRLING:
Clore
Mansion House
Neue Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart
ROWE:
Collage City
ROSSI:
Gallaratese
Modena Cemetry
Fagnano Olona School
Teatro del Mondo
UNGERS:
Frankfurt Fair
Frankfurt Tower
ARCHITECTURE AS THEME
Bremerhaven
DAM
GIBBERD:
Coutts Bank
GRAU
MISSING LINK
KLEIHUES
STIRLING:
Dusseldorf Museum
Meineke Strasse
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart
TOWNSCAPE
COLLINS:
'Sitte Revival'
BOFILL:
Calle J.S. Bach
S. Greg
Barrio Gaudi
Xanadu
GREENE
GUEDES
GOODMAN
DROP CITY
Les Halles
JOHANSEN:
Mummers Theatre
Johansen House
HANDMADE HOUSES
SELF-BUILD
CONTEXTUALISM
TAKEYAMA:
Housing
WAMPLER
L. KRIER:
Echternach
Royal Mint Square
La Villette
Luxembourg
KROLL:
Louvain University
ERSKINE:
Byker
SURREALISM
BOTTA:
Morbio & Houses
CIRIANI:
Housing
MONTES:
Cergy-Pontoise
UNGERS:
Student Hostel
Tiergarten Museum
Marburg
URBAN PROTEST
AMSTERDAM
BRUSSELS
Covent Garden
AYMONINO
AD HOCISM
LA TENDENZA
TURNER
R. KRIER:
Morphology
Stuttgart
Ritterstrasse
OMA
ISOZAKI:
Fujimi Club
ITO:
PMT Building
BOTTA:
Houses
SITE:
Peeling Project
Indeterminate Façcade
Notch Project
KROLL:
Alma Metro Street
TEAM ZOO
Domo con Kula
YAMASHITA:
Face House
Dental Clinic
Tokyo office
GOFF:
Nicol House
PIETILA
UTZON:
Sydney Opera House
AIDA:
Nirvana House
House like a Die
LE CORBUSIER:
RONCHAMP
Philip's Pavilion
SEMIOTICS
LEO
MEANING IN ARCHITECTURE
TAKEYAMA:
Pepsi Plant
Beverly Tom Hotel
PELLI:
'Blue Whale'
HARA:
Hara House
Awazu House
ISHIYAMA:
Fantasy Villa
MIYAWAKI:
Blue Box House
Akita Sogo Bank
ANTHROPOMORPHISM
SCOLARI
ABRAHAM
ARQUITECTONICA
RINALLI
GOUGH
FERRI
FACE HOUSES
TIGERMAN:
Hot Dog House
Dalsy House
Best House of All
Pensacola Place
MOZUNA:
Heaven Phase
Yin Yang House
Zen Temple
Yosue House
GHYAMA & SUZUKI:
Sunflower
Chohachi Art Museum
Egg Dome
BARRAGAN
SAARINEN
TWA Terminal
AULENTI
HOWARD
NORBERG-SCHULZ
PICHLER
HIRAI
MACHADO
SILVETTI
VENTURI:
Brant-Johnson House
MACK
MICHELS
WALKER
ASYMMETRICAL SYMMETRY
SHIFTED AXES
KAHN:
wrap around ruins
Goldenberg House
SKEWS, DIAGONALS
NETCH
REVERSE PERSPECTIVE
SUPERGRAPHICS
MOORE:
Aedcules
Moore House
Sea Ranch
Santa Barbara
Klotz House
HHP:
'Folly Farm'
TURNBULL:
Zimmerman House
JOHANSEN
GRAVES:
Mezzo House
Crooks House
Warehouse Conversion
LIEBSKIND:
End Space
AALTO:
Saynatsalo Town Hall
Imatra
LAYERING & AMBIGUITY
DISSONANT COLLAGE
GEHRY:
Loyola
Aerospace
Wosk
Winton
SCHAROUN:
Berlin Philarmonic Hall
Hadrian's Villa
Hotel de Beauvais
EISENMAN:
Houses I–XI
Frontality & Rotation
COATE:
Alexander House
DEMI-FORMS
KUPPER:
Nilsson House
T.G. SMITH:
Mathews Street House
Long House
MOORE:
Burns House
GEHRY:
Gehry House
MORPHOSIS:
Houses
LE CORBUSIER:
Carpenter Center
PASENELLA:
Dunbar House
Gray House
MEIER:
Smith House
Douglas House
HEDJUK:
Diamond Series
Wall Houses
POSITIVE/NEGATIVE REVERSALS
MOZUNA:
Dwelling Box
Yin Yang House
MEIER:
Atheneum


1985
1990
1995
2000
2005
2010
SYMBOLIC ARCHITECTURE
CLASSICISM
COSMIC SYMBOLISM
POST-MODERN ECLECTICISM
ICONIC BUILDING
PATTERNS OF ORNAMENT
ECOLOGICAL EXPRESSION
ADHOCIST MEMORY
HETEROPOLIS
DATASCAPES
CRITICAL MODERNISM
OMA & KOOLHAAS:
ROMANTIC REVIVAL
FRACTAL ARCHITECTURE
BIOMORPHIC
NEW COMPLEXITY PARADIGM
DECONSTRUCTION
CYBERNETIC FOLDING
EISENMAN:
LIBESKIND:
HERZOG & DE MEURON:
KOOLHAAS:
GEHRY:
ZUMTHOR:
FOA:
VENTURI:
KOHN & PEDERSON FOX:
333 Wacker
Hercules
FARRELL:
Clifton
TV AM
Charing Cross
GOUGH
VENTURI:
Gordon Wu
Long Island House
CORREA:
Goa Hotel
PELLI:
Petronas Towers
AMBASZ:
"Fables"
Banque Lambert
ISHII:
Gable Building
SITE:
Haas House
Allsteel
JENCKS:
LPMA
Thematic House
PEI:
Peking Hotel
LARSEN
COBB:
Portland Museum
BEEBY:
Glencoe Synagogue
Harold Washington Library Center
American Academy of Pediatrics
VANDENHOVE:
Delforge House
Blanche House
Hors-Chateau
JOHNSON & BURGEE
KAHN:
Dacca Associates
HOLL
Purini & Thermes
TIGERMAN
Anti-Cruelty Boccara
MOORE, RUBLE & YUDELL:
St Matthew's Hoover
Berg Desmond
Douglas County Admin
Navarro
Congress Hall
PELLI
World Finance Center
Rice Jones School
MONTES:
Cergy Lion
Garay Linazasoro
JONES:
Mississauga City Hall
L. KRIER:
Berlin-Tegal
Completion of Washington
TERRY:
Riverside
MIMAR
MYERS:
Phoenix Group
INIGUEZ & USTARROZ
CONSTRUCTIVIST CLASSICISM
Porphyrios:
'Classicism is not a style'
BOFINGER
NATALINI:
Computer Center Bank
SHINTOKI:
Tsukuba Municipal Gym
FRAMPTON
TAKEYAMA:
Nakamura Hospital
COMMUNITY ARCHITECTURE
Prince Charles' speech
Rod Hackney
BATEY & MACK
CAMPI:
Casa Pollini
Casa Maggi
CULOT:
Exhibitions
URBAN CLASSICISTS
ROBERTSON:
Houses
Washington Office
MONEO:
Merida Museum
ARQUITECTONICA
MacCORMAC:
Ruskin Library
KLOTZ:
Dam Gund
OUTRAM:
Isle of Dogs
Rausing House
Judge Institute
Rice
CONSTRUCTIONAL SYMBOLISM
MOZUNA:
Kushiro Museum
URBAN ARTICULATION
DOSHI:
Sangarth
Low Cost Housing
Husain-Doshi-Gufa
KUROKAWA:
Sanho Centre Building
PREDOCK:
Nelson Fine Arts
Las Vegas Library
Hotel Santa Fe
American Heritage
FOSTER:
Reichstag
Swiss Re
ISOZAKI:
Mito Center
NARA Convention Hall
Team Disney
CORREA:
Bhopal State Assembly
IUCAA, Pune
Jawahar Kala Kendra
VENTURI:
National Gallery Extension
Sainsbury
UCLA
Dartmouth
Toulouse
TAFT:
Rivercrest CC
KUROKAWA:
Fukui Museum
K.L. Airport
Amber Hall
Osaka Convention Center
Eco-Media City
REGIONALIST ROMANTICISM
TALLER BOFILL:
Arcades
Abraxas
Montpelier
Cergy-Pontoise
Holocaust Museums
BADRAN:
Riyadh Palace
SUSTAINABLE
ROCHE DINKELOO:
Union Cartridge
SOM:
Rowes Wharf
200 Ross
VANDENHOVE:
Maastricht Housing
Poort van Breda
Courts
MONEO:
Merida Museum
Seville Airport
Copenhagen Museum
Los Angeles Cathedral
BENSON FORSYTH:
National Museum of Scotland
Dublin Museum
HOPKINS:
Glynbourne
Dynamic Earth
Portcullis House
ENIGMATIC SIGNIFIER
HOLLEIN:
Volcano Museum
General/Media
Interbank Peru
OPERA HOUSES MUSEUMS OLYMPICS
CREDIT BUBBLE
PIANO
ROGERS:
Cardiff
Madrid
ONE-LINERS
CALATRAVA:
Santa Cruz
Valencia
NOUVEL:
Agbar
Tower
Branly
R. Sophia
ANDREU:
Beijing
LAS VEGAS
MOSCOW
VIÑOLY
EGERAAT-BUDAPEST
CREDIT CRUNCH
SHAWCROSS
Telling Tales
CULLINAN
GORMLEY
COATES
ELIASSON
HEATHERWICK
ARTICONS
ARAD
KAPOOR
CERN
SNØHETTA:
Oslo Opera House
MILLENNIUM ARCHITECTS
METAPHORICAL
EISENMAN:
Berlin Museum
Santiago
GCS
ZOOMORPHIC
Eden Centre
FRACTAL ARCHITECTS
HERZOG &
DE MEURON:
Prada
Walker
Bird's Nest Stadium
GEHRY:
Disney Hall
Bilbao Effect
Millennium Icons
Wales Millennium Centre
MIRALLES:
Scottish Parliament
MAKOVECZ
BILBAO EFFECT
KOOLHAAS:
Seattle CCTV – Porto
FOSTER:
Sage
Millau
Kazakhstan
COOP HIMMELBLAU:
BMW
Lyon Museum
UN Studio
Mercedes
COSMIC & NATURAL CODES
ZAHA HADID :
Rosenthal, MAXXI
Wolfsburg
Zaragoza
MGM LAS VEGAS
SPECTACULAR FAILURES
BURJ KHALIFA
FOA:
Spanish Pavillion
John Lewis
Ravensbourne
MUF
FAT:
Manchester Housing
Sky-scraper
Sint-Lucas
RICE
FRACTAL ORNAMENT
The Function of Ornament
BOTTA
EMBT:
Barcelona Tower
LYNN:
Blob Walls
HERZOG & DE MEURON:
Eberswalde
Cottbus
Bird's Nest
SEMANTIC ORNAMENT
ITO:
Tod
FRANÇOIS:
Green Archite
Hotel Fouque
SNØHETTA:
Alexandria Library
BALMOND
PTW:
WaterCube
La Peau
CRITICAL ORNAMENT
CARUSO ST JOHN
GARCIA:
Patterns of Architecture
NOX:
Lille
DIGITAL SKYSCRAPERS
PLATONIC NATURE
SKIN
ROGER HIORNS:
Seizure
SAUERBRUCH & HUTTON
Brandhorst Museum
ALL-OVER ORNAMENT
MATERIALITY
WILFORD:
British Embassy, Berlin
HOPKINS:
Norwich Refectory
READY MADES
ARCHITECTURAL COLLAGE AND PROMENADE
HERZOG & DE MEURON:
La CaixaForum
FRANÇOIS
TIME CITY
CONTEXTUAL COUNTERPOINT
BAN:
Travelling Museum
I.M. PEI:
Suzhou Museum
ZUMTHOR:
Feldkirchen
Cologne Renewel
CHIPPERFIELD:
Neues Museum, Be
Eco-transformation
SHORT:
Lanchester
Poole
Lichfield
UCL
MORPHOSIS:
CAL Trans
YEANG
Eden Project Fibonacci
GREEN CONTEXTUALISM
CULLINAN:
Gridshell
PIANO:
California Academy
PIANO:
Tjibaou Cultural Centre
POUNDBURY
Barcelona Mayors
ROGERS:
Urban Task Force
P.M. GREEN
DUNSTER:
Bedzed
GREEN SKINS
BLANC
ARM:
NMA
SITE
GEHRY:
Times Square
Chiat
MIT Stata Center
FRANÇOIS:
Gites Ruraux
Montpelier, Paris, Louvier
CHETWOOD:
Oasis
KEW
ROGERS:
Cardiff
NOUVEL:
Branly
Cartier
KUMA
VERTICAL GARDENS
Utrecht Wonderwall
Law of Diminishing Architecture
ELEMENTAL GEOMETRY
UNGERS:
Haus Ungers
Ambassadors Residence
Cologne Museum
KARMI:
Supreme Court
WILFORD:
Lowry Center
STIRLING:
No.1 Poultry
Stuttgart Music School
Irvine Science Library
ROSSI:
Genoa Theatre
Bonnefanten Museum
Disney office
Verona Urbanism
New York Hotel
VAN BERKEL
DIAGRAMMING DIFFERENCE
AIDA:
Toy Block Houses
Gianola
ITO:
Watanabe
Houses
VACCHINI:
Casa Maria
HERSHMAN:
Gilch Quarter Housing
DIRTY REALISM
ADHOC SYMBOLISM
PORTOGHESI:
Vallo di Diano
Enel Housing
ALEXANDER:
Pattern Language
New Elshin Campus
ETOPIA
AGREST & GANDELSONAS:
Urban Fragments
MENDINI:
Groningen Museum
MVRDV:
WoZoCo
VPRO
Hannover Pavilion
SMLXL
KOOLHAAS:
Calcutta Minimalism
ZKM
Shopping Jerde
Pearl River
Jussieu
Congrexpo
WEST 8:
Borneo Sporenburg
Rotterdam Square
Interpolis Gardens
Carrascoplein, Amsterdam
LIBESKIND:
Jewish Museum
RADICAL PRAGMATISM
SUPER DUTCH
FOA:
Yokohama
GRIMSHAW:
Waterloo
REGIONAL SKYSCRAPERS
SOM:
Jin Mao
PELLI:
Petronas
URBAN LANDSCAPES/
LANDSCAPE URBANISM
EISENMAN:
Holocaust Memorial
MORPHOLOGICAL AND DIGITAL ARTICULATIONS
C.Y. LEE:
Taipei Financial Center
YEANG:
Vertical Green City
CREDIT CRUNCH
THE ROUTE BUILDING
PALIMPSEST LAYERED BUILDINGS
TAMING BIGNESS
ALLEN/CORNER:
Field Operations
BERLIN URBANISM/ART
HIGH LINE
DILLER & SCOFIDIO
LANDFORMS
JENCKS:
Strange attractors
EISENMAN:
City of Culture
FOSTER:
Beijing Airport
HERZOG & DE MEURON:
Barcelona Forum
Tenerife
Mies Campus
Seattle Library
Berlin Embassy
Casa M. Porto
Almere Variegated
HALL:
MIT Sponge
Linked Hybrid
ISHII:
54 Windows
Naoshima
TREMAGLIO:
Arena House
PELLI:
Four Leaf Tower
ROKKAKU:
Kouko Ch.
HUMOUR
TAKAMATSU
TIGERMAN:
Pompadour
RANKO RADOVIC
HIROSHI HARA:
Yamato Int. Bank
OMA:
Delirious New York
Hotel Sphinx
ALBERTS:
NMB Bank
YEANG:
Bioclamatic Skyscraper
PRINCE:
Prince House
ARM:
Storey Hall
Domenig:
Volkemarkt
FOA
PIETILA:
Mantyniemi
NEO-ORGANIC
MACOVECZ:
Mortuary Hall
Sarospatak Cultural Centre
Ski Lodge
MANDELBROT &
FRACTAL THEORY
BLOBITECTURE
FUKSAS:
Niaux caves
GRIMSHAW:
Waterloo Station
LYNN:
animation
Hydroden House
blobs
ZVI HECKER
CACHE
GEHRY:
Vitra
Bilbao
Disney Hall
DG Bank
EMP
BILBAO EFFECT
FLUID FRACTALS
FINDLEY
Computer Software:
Form Z
CATIA
3D Studio
ALSOP:
Hotel Marseille
Peckham Library
Ontario College
Rotterdam Centraal
OOSTERHUIS
HYBRID SPACE
CRITICAL ARCHITECTURE
ARCHILAB
HYPERSPACE
ASYMPTOTE
DENARI
NOVAK
INTERACTIVE/BODY
MOSS:
Gary Group
Lawson-Weston
The Box
IRS Records
Stealth
The Umbrella
Deformation
JACOB & MACFARLANE
HADID:
Cincinati
Rome
Diagrams/Maps
E. MOSS:
708 House
Culver City
Deleuze
Le Pli
CALATRAVA:
bridges
Bilbao airport
Lyon Station
Valencia Science Centre
Milwaukee Art Museum
NOUVEL:
Torre Agbar
STARCK:
Ashai
COOP HIMMELBLAU:
Groninger Museum
Dresden Cinema
Vienna Housing
Lyon Museum
Mexican Shopping
MIRALLES:
Berlin School
Palmach
LIBESKIND:
Jewish Museum
Spiral
IWMN
Denver
Bern
ARM:
National Museum Australia
LAB Federation Square
ITO/BALMOND:
Serpentine
WILKINSON EYRE:
Ballet Bridge
SZYSZKOWITZ & KOWALSKI
CAD
HASEGAWA
ALGORITHMIC
EISENMAN:
Diagrams
UN STUDIO:
Karbouw Building
Erasmus Bridge
Mobius House
Nijmegen Museum
ZVI HECKER
ERIC MOSS:
Culver City
TOYO ITO:
Sendai
Tods
RON ARAD
FOSTER:
SAGE
AA Design Research Lab
Weaving
SPUYBROEK-NOX:
Fresh Water Pavillion
Toilet Block
V2 Lab
Surrealist Exhibition
GREG LYNN & FOLDING THEORY II
PLIANT ARCHITECTURE
NOX:
Lille Arts Centre
D-Tower
The Architecture of Continuity
COOK FOURNIER:
Kunsthaus
MORPHOSIS:
Crawford
Blades
Hypo Ripe Adria Center
SHR
Diamond Rance
HENEGEN PENG:
Grand Museum Egypt
Kildare Office
ENSAMBLE ESTUDIO
JACOB & MACFARLANE
ANGULAR FRACTALS
HELMUT JAHN
GEHRY:
IAC
Serpentine Pavilion
NEO EXPRESSIONISM
MORPHOLOGICAL SHIFTS
HOK
LIBESKIND:
ROM Museum
SGAE:
Santiago
DIGITAL ARCHITECTURE
HITOSHI ABE
MORPHOSIS:
CAL Trans
GSA
SMART GEOMETRY
NEIL SPILLER
SCHUMACHER
PARAMETRIC ARCHITECTURE
ERODED COLUMNS/SPONGE
AUTODESK 3D MODELLING
GARCIA:
Patterns of Architecture
HADID:
Rosenthal Center
Phaeno, Wolfsburg
Zaragoza Bridge
ITO/BRANZI:
Minimal surface urbanism
Taiwan Opera House
CURVED FRACTAL
'GRATUITOUS SHAPE MAKING'
GEHRY:
Marques de Riscal
Millennium Park
KAPOOR:
'Bean'
RAHIM/JAMELLE:
Elegance
CYBERPLASM
HUT:
Wood Studio
DIAZ ALONSO
UN STUDIO:
Mercedes Museum
COOP HIMMELBLAU:
BMW Museum
FUSKAS:
Milan Fair
Nardini Research Centre
RON ARAD
BLOBS ON PODS
ASPLUND REVIVAL:
Villa Snellman
JAN & JON:
Oslo University Press
Skogsbrand
NOUVEL:
Belfort Theatre
MOORE, RUBLE & YUDELL:
Kwee House
HOLBAUER:
House for Art Collector
DERRIDA
TSCHUMI:
Event Structure
EISENMAN:
Rebstock
Aronoff
Staten Island
Santiago
LYNN & KIPNIS