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Los Angeles

The State of Architecture

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Architecture

by

Sebastiano Fabbrini

2018

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2018

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The State of Architecture

by

Sebastiano Fabbrini

Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Sylvia Lavin, Chair

Although architecture was historically considered the most public of the arts and the interdependence between building and the public realm was a key feature of the post-war discourse, the process of postmodernization undermined the traditional structures of power through which architecture operated. At the center of this shakeup was the modern structure *par excellence*: the State. This dissertation analyzes the dissolution of the bond between architecture and the State through a double lens. First, this study is framed by the workings of an architect, Aldo Rossi, whose practice mirrored this transformation in a unique way, going from Mussolini's Italy to Reagan's America, from the Communist Party to Disneyland. The second lens is provided by a set of technological apparatuses

that, in this pre-digital world, impacted the reach of the State and the boundaries of architecture. Drawing on the multifaceted root of the term "State," this dissertation sets out to explore a series of case studies that addressed the need to *re-state* architecture – both in the sense of relocating architecture within new landscapes of power and in the sense of finding ways to keep reproducing it in those uncharted territories.

The dissertation of Sebastiano Fabbrini is approved.

Michael Osman

Dana Cuff

Maristella Casciato

Sylvia Lavin, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2018

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The Department of Architecture and Urban Design of the University of California Los Angeles provided a vibrant and inspiring *milieu* for this research. In this framework, Dana Cuff and Michael Osman had a particularly important influence on my work. I am deeply grateful to Dana and Michael for serving in my doctoral committee and for giving me precious advice since my first week in the doctoral program. This dissertation would not have been possible without their guidance and generosity.

In that vein, I would also like to acknowledge all the faculty and staff of the Department of Architecture and Urban Design, my fellow doctoral students, and the numerous individuals I had the opportunity to meet at the University of California Los Angeles: I learned so much from so many people. I am particularly grateful to Diane Favro, who advised me and gave me unexpected opportunities at the very beginning of my doctoral journey.

This research was also fueled by multiple interactions and collaborations outside the University of California Los Angeles. In the network of people and ideas that took shape around this dissertation,

no one had a greater impact than Maristella Casciato, who was kind enough to serve as the external member of my doctoral committee. She arrived at the Getty Research Institute precisely as I was laying the foundations of my research prospectus and, from our first meeting onward, she played a crucial role in shaping this dissertation and my work at large. I do not know how to say thank you enough to Maristella for her eye-opening advice and unwavering encouragement.

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As this dissertation is heavily based on archival materials, this project would not have been possible without the assistance and kindness of the staff at the archives of the Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles), the Canadian Centre for Architecture (Montreal), the Museo Nazionale delle Arti del XXI Secolo (Rome) and the Fondazione Aldo Rossi (Milan). I also presented sections of this dissertation at various academic conferences, such as *The Tools of the Architect* (University of Delft) and *Aldo Rossi: Perspectives from the World* (University of Milan): I am grateful to all the individuals who engaged with my work and gave me valuable feedback during those events.

Last but not least, I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my family. My mother Manuela, my father Sergio and my brother Federico helped me and supported me in more ways that can be expressed. Thank you.

Vita

Prior to enrolling at the University of California, Los Angeles in the Fall of 2013, Sebastiano Fabbrini obtained a Magisterial Degree in Architecture from the University of Ferrara. During that time, he was also a visiting student at the University of California Berkeley and the University of Delft. While being a doctoral student at the University of California, Los Angeles, Sebastiano Fabbrini had the opportunity to work as a Teaching Fellow and received multiple awards for his research, including a Dissertation Year Fellowship, the Edgardo Contini Fellowship and the Anne Greenwald Prize. His work was published in several journals, such as *Thresholds* and *Pidgin*, and presented at numerous international conferences, such as the 2017 conference of the European Architectural History Network. He is also a licensed architect and worked in the office of Adamstein & Demetriou in 2010.

Introduction

Each chapter of this study revolves around a general problematic associated with the process of *re-stating* and focuses on specific dynamics set in motion to address it. The problematics are independent of Aldo Rossi, while the dynamics are unique to Aldo Rossi. The focus is on the final part of Aldo Rossi's career, which was largely spent in the United States – the part which is usually overlooked by historians. A series of technologies of reproduction and dissemination, organized as *streams*, provide the framework of the dissertation: the fax machine, the credit card, the mold and the notebook.

In the chapter "Faded Fax," the overarching problematic is the globalization of practice – understood not only in terms of working in different countries, but rather in terms of producing architecture within a multinational framework. Before the digital revolution, for roughly twenty years, the fax machine was the technology that made this interaction possible. In addition to creating a new spatio-temporal condition for practice, faxing, by its very nature, represented a fundamental challenge to all pre-existing boundaries and borders. The two decades that saw the rise and fall of the fax machine coincided with the internationalization of Aldo Rossi's organization, which was propelled by the establishment of a satellite office in New York, in 1986. As most projects were elaborated by sending ephemeral (fading) documents back and forth via fax from diverse locations, this chapter examines how this technology influenced Aldo Rossi's design process and intersected with some of his key theoretical statements – especially the concept of *analogy*.

Building on this analysis, the chapter "Black Card" shifts the attention to how the governing bodies of the profession negotiated the gradual dissolution of national authorities and the emergence of multi-

layered markets for architecture. The key device is a black credit card that the American Institute of Architects gave to Aldo Rossi in the late 1980s, officializing his transition from traveling to working in the United States. While all the members of the AIA were given this piece of plastic, Aldo Rossi's card is significant because, on the one hand, it reflects an effort to blur the national limits of the profession and, on the other hand, it interacts with a series of other cards—such as the *tessera* of the Communist Party—that the architect had accumulate over time in order to be able to work in different and partly overlapping arenas. The credit card format also shines a light on the power to accredit architecture, authorizing its production and reproduction in specific *milieus*, and the multiplication of the forces behind it.

The following chapter, titled "Blue Book," starts by engaging with the literature on the new market for architectural drawings that emerged in the 1970s, especially in the United States. It then intersects this phenomenon with a study of how drawing was taught in public schools leading up to that period, emphasizing the push towards modernization and industrialization of most State-run pedagogies. Aldo Rossi occupied a unique position at this intersection, as his bodily, childish drawings—which rapidly became one of the most sough-after commodities in the American art galleries—were the offspring of a religious education, with a strong artisanal undertone, in the Italian countryside. Moving away from its usual disciplinary role, the notebook (the *quaderno azzurro*) was the medium through which this type of non-linear drawing could be sheltered and then reproduced in unexpected *milieus*.

Following a parallel path, the chapter "Silver Mold" addresses architecture's engagement with industrial design at a time, in the post-war period, when manufacturers were starting to question the logic of industrial production and to embrace the culture of the prototype, the limited edition, the one-off. The focus is on Aldo Rossi's prolonged collaboration with Alessi during the 1980s, which was the architect's major (and most remunerative) private client in Italy. The title alludes to its special

collections made of silver. While Alessi absorbed many architectural ideas from its various collaborators, the case of Aldo Rossi speaks to the opposite exchange: the project for the Theater of the World, which is here reinterpreted as an architectural mold, opens a window into the impact of Alessi's *modus operandi* on several aspects of Aldo Rossi's work—from typification to scalability, from reproduction to dissemination—especially as it started to approach a global market.

The final chapter, titled "Black Cape," is structured in a slightly different way, as it aims to tie together the problematics discussed in the other sections of the dissertation. The case study is Aldo Rossi's prolific collaboration with Disney, which defined the last decade of his career. The title refers to the expression "black-cape architect" – a term that was commonly used in corporate environments and often became synonymous with blue-chip architecture. The underlying theme is architecture's struggle to negotiate with and adjust to the new landscape of power fostered by multinational corporations like Disney in the post-war period. Aldo Rossi's work for one of the biggest "non-State actors" makes it possible to address directly the rescaling of the State and the emergence of alternative seats of political, economic and cultural power. Throughout this collaboration, the technological *streams* of the previous chapters keep converging and overlapping.

One of the key themes running through the entire dissertation is the theme of reproduction. The challenge to *re-state* architecture in different environments is always accompanied by the challenge to materially reproduce it. All the technological apparatuses that frame this study deal, in different ways, with the production of copies, questioning the concept of originality and pointing to what Bruno Latour called "the migration of the aura." In addition to being a migrant himself, Aldo Rossi magnifies this process by means of a theory of architecture that, for all its ambiguities, relies on the continuous reproduction of specific objects and ideas. On the other hand, looking at his work from the

perspective of a globalizing economy may shine a new light on a design method that, as noted by Peter Eisenman, involved the dislocation of place and the dissolution of scale.

Throughout this dissertation, particular attention is also devoted to the diverse spaces in which the process of *re-stating* unfolded. This analysis addresses the *liaison* between Aldo Rossi's studio in Milan and satellite office in New York, Alessi's understanding of the term "factory" and its transition to the concept of "officina," followed by the development of a company museum, the galleries of Max Protetch and Leo Castelli, where architectural drawings were sold, the Gilman corporate collection and the school where Aldo Rossi learned to draw, as well as the places produced by Disney's place-making.

The archive is the *locus* on which this dissertation is built. The material discussed in this study comes from a multitude of archival institutions, including the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal, the Museo Nazionale delle Arti del XXI Secolo in Rome, and the Fondazione Aldo Rossi in Milan. Given the nature of the project, however, the archive is not simply a means to an end. As highlighted by Mike Featherstone, the archive is also one of the main products of the modern State: it is the institution designed to keep track of the bureaucratic machinery of the State, documenting its authority over diverse peoples and territories. Therefore, in addition to the data it contains, the archive constitutes an object of study *per se*, reflecting the transformations that impact the organization of the State and, more specifically, its disciplinary reach over architecture. The fragmented and supranational nature of the archival network behind this dissertation is the first index of the changing structures of power through which architecture operated.

Chapter 1: Faded Fax

Introduction and Literature Review

The literature on globalization often uses spatial or architectural metaphors. For example, Thomas Friedman described globalization as a flattening of the world, while Thomas Larsson interpreted it as a process of world shrinkage.[1] In the architectural discourse, globalization has been analyzed through a number of different lenses. Frederic Jameson described it as an intrinsic component in a new multinational stage of capitalism, which he equated with postmodernity: "postmodernity and globalization are identical."[2] As it pertains to practice, several studies focused on the figure of the global architect, the star system around it and its iconic products, engaging with sociological analyses. Donald McNeill's *The Global Architect: Firms, Fame and Urban Form* and Leslie Sklair's *The Icon Project: Architecture, Cities and Capitalist Globalization* speak to that approach.[3] Some of these studies delved more specifically into the formal output of the major globalized practices, as in the case of Hans Ibelings's *Supermodernism: Architecture in the Age of Globalization*, which theorized the emergence of an increasingly neutral architecture at the turn of the millennium.[4]

Others, like Paul Knox and Peter Taylor, addressed the globalization of practice from a business perspective, measuring architectural offices against the model of other advanced business services (such as accountancy, advertising, banking and law) and posing questions about outsourcing and the structuring of office networks.[5] In *The Globalisation of Modern Architecture*, Robert Adam attempted to put forward a more comprehensive analysis, considering not only economic dynamics, but also broader political and social transformation throughout the twentieth century.[6] In addition to these

lenses, another important line of research deals with the impact of digital technologies on the process of globalization. An example is *Archilab: Radical Experiments in Global Architecture*, a volume edited by Frederic Migarou and Marie-Ange Brayer, devoted to the interrelation between globalization and computerization.[7]

Among these different approaches, the technological one is the closest to the approach of this chapter. However, while most studies take as their starting point the late 1990s and early 2000s, considering (explicitly or implicitly) the advent of digital technologies as the *conditio sine qua non* for the globalization of practice, this chapter addresses what may be described as the pre-history of this phenomenon, when the first attempts at creating multinational office networks were set in motion, but paper was still the indispensable medium. In this tight window between the fall of the analog and the rise of the digital, one technology played a key role in allowing the first globalized practices to take form: the fax machine.

This compound problematic is addressed through the lens of the workings of Aldo Rossi, who, after establishing a satellite office in New York City in 1986, ran a multinational organization for more than a decade with little to no use of digital communications. Most of the projects of this period were done by constantly sending materials back and forth between Europe and the United States using only fax machines. Escaping the myth of the architect as the "author of the office's process," this chapter sets out to examine how the design process and the output of Aldo Rossi's practice were impacted—consciously or unconsciously—by the constant use of faxing.[8] In doing so, it also points to a number of instances in which the methods enforced by faxing converged with or diverged from some of the key precepts of Aldo Rossi's theory and the discourse on postmodernism at large, without anyone seemingly noticing. In fact, faxing brought to the table a number of concepts that tacitly engaged with contemporaneous hot topics within the architectural discourse, such as replicability and originality,

literacy and orality, paper architecture, scalability, the archive, the locus, ageographia, collaging, façadism, to name a few.

The literature on faxing is quite heterogenous. Several manuals and handbooks were published in the 1980s, providing a great deal of information on the most prosaic aspects of this technology and its applications.[9] In 2015, Jonathan Coopersmith published the first comprehensive history of faxing, *Faxed: The Rise and Fall of the Fax Machine*.[10] This chapters shares Jonathan Coopersmith's interest in the political dynamics behind the development of this technology: in addition to being a challenge to all national borders, the emergence of the fax machine was in itself an exercise in international relations. On the other hand, there is a literature that addresses instances in which faxing was hijacked and turned into an artistic device: particularly interesting is a volume curated by Liz Farrelly, titled *Urgent Images: The Graphic Language of Fax*, which explores the creative opportunities offered by office technologies in the early 1990s.[11] The impact of these researches on the architectural discourse was quite limited. The 1994 issue of *ANY* devoted to "Electrotecture" was one of the rare publications that mentioned the use of faxing in architectural design, albeit within the larger picture of the digital turn.[12]

Before getting into the role of the fax machine in Aldo Rossi's work, this chapter also examines the spaces in which his fax-based multinational practice operated. Two terms are given particular attention: studio and office. The exploration of the *liaison* between the Milanese studio and the satellite office in New York opens a window into a vast literature on the spaces of architectural production, including Daniel Buren's "The Function of the Studio," Caroline Jones's *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist*, Giorgio Agamben's *Autoritratto nello Studio*, Reinhold Martin's "The Physiognomy of the Office," John Harwood's "The White Room: Eliot Noyes and the Logic of the Information Age Interior" and Juriaan van Meel's *The European Office: Office Design and National*

Context, among other studies.[13] While engaging with these sources, this chapter tries to avoid all clear-cut distinctions—for example, between the European type and the American type, between corporate space and creative space, between technological metaphors and humanist metaphors—and, conversely, focuses on the convergences, the ambiguities and the overlaps between different *loci* of production. This grey area is warranted by the fact that faxing, while introducing a machine in the workplace, predated the advent of the information age interior and, as a result, allowed for less schematic interfaces between humans and machines.

Studio and Office

The opening of a satellite office in New York City in 1986 was a key moment in Aldo Rossi's transatlantic crossing. It marked a transition from traveling to establishing a permanent presence in the United States. And, more importantly, it turned Aldo Rossi's practice into a multinational organization. Furthermore, in the same period, two smaller shops were set up in The Hague and Tokyo to oversee local projects.[14] But, unlike these shops, the New York office rapidly came to play a central role in Aldo Rossi's practice. It is fair to say that most of his subsequent projects were developed on the Milan – New York axis. Therefore, this relationship is key to understanding the last decade of Aldo Rossi's career.

On the one hand, the "satellite office concept"—to borrow a phrase primarily used by economists—is in itself an interesting object of study, deserving of being addressed from an architectural perspective.[15] On the other hand, the connection between the studio and the satellite office raises a number of questions regarding the decentralization of creativity and the channels of communication that made it possible. Before the process of digitalization reached full blossom, one technology played a particularly important role in this transformation: the fax machine.

In the case of Aldo Rossi, the New York office set in motion a truly transatlantic design process, one in which the projects were completed by sending drawings back and forth with fax machines. The turning point was not operating and building all over world, but rather developing the projects in a multinational framework. Clearly, Aldo Rossi was not the first European architect to branch out in the United States. In fact, one could analyze the genealogy of this phenomenon throughout the twentieth century, culminating in the opening of OMA's office in New York in the year 2000.[16] But Aldo Rossi's move shines a light on a particular juncture in this historical trajectory – just before the advent of the digital age, as the United States were approaching the end of the Reagan era and Europe had just launched the project of a new single market.[17]

Two sets of photographs, taken between 1988 and 1989, offer a good introduction into the relation between Aldo Rossi's workspaces in Milan and New York. The first is a series titled "Studio di Aldo Rossi," made by Luigi Ghirri, renowned photographer and friend of the architect. Widely published and exhibited, Luigi Ghirri's photographs played a pivotal role in constructing the particular imagery of Aldo Rossi's Milanese studio.[18] The second is a set of pictures of the New York office taken by Aldo Rossi himself, with a basic compact camera. They were meant for private use and recorded the situation in the satellite office shortly after its inauguration. Overall, these photographs highlight the different ways in which the two spaces were conceived, calling into question the terms *studio* and *office* – a dichotomy that speaks to a back and forth between different approaches to the production of architecture.[19]

In Luigi Ghirri's photographs, the studio is presented as Aldo Rossi's *wunderkammer* – a highly aestheticized environment, full of objects of affection and devoid of both laborers and machines. As noted by Morris Adjmi, the director of the New York office, the Milanese space was indeed very low-tech: all the drawings were done by hand, Aldo Rossi and his collaborators did not use computers and,

apparently, there was only one telephone in the entire studio.[20] According to one of Aldo Rossi's Italian employees, the first computer was installed in the Milanese studio around 1989—a bulky Macintosh—and was used only for writing, not drawing.[21] In this context, the architect—whose figure was never in front of Luigi Ghirri's camera—operated as the curator of his own studio, which in turn began to resemble a theatrical stage.

A particularly interesting aspect of this curated environment is the underlying sense of domesticity that it conveys. The studio in Aldo Rossi's hometown is portrayed as a space that constantly blurs the line between the professional realm and the domestic realm. In this respect, it's worth noting that the location was an apartment in a residential building, set in the historic center of Milan. And the interior design—from the furnishing to the wall decoration—was that of a domestic space. More specifically, it matched the organization and décor of Aldo Rossi's private residences, as evidenced by contemporaneous photographs of his house in Milan, as well as his villa on the Lake Maggiore.

In a short piece written on the occasion of the 1990 Pritzker Prize ceremony, Kurt Forster mentioned visiting Aldo Rossi's apartment and studio, both located in a nineteenth-century enclave of Milan, and alluded to the "haunted familiarity" of the architect's workspace.[22] He went as far as to compare it to the residence of a latter-day John Soane. But Luigi Ghirri's photographs evoke a different sense of familiarity, with a more intimate and sensuous undertone. Particularly interesting is the image of Aldo Rossi's bed. Both the presence of a small bedroom and the fact that a photographer like Luigi Ghirri would shine a light on it speak to a very specific understanding of the environment of the studio. Bringing to mind Leo Steinberg's reflections on the flatbed picture plane, Luigi Ghirri's image seems to suggest a continuity between the bed and the desk – the surfaces associated with *making*.[23] Not only the bed is surrounded by drawings, hung on the blue walls, but multiple rolled-up drawings are placed on its horizontal surface, above the white sheets.

Notably, some of these drawings appear to be faxes. In fact, while this technology is commonly associated with corporate *milieus*, the development of faxing went hand in hand with a trend towards the domestication of labor.[24] For example, roughly a third of all new businesses registered in Europe and the United States in 1989, the year of Luigi Ghirri's photoshoot, operated out of a home. And the fax machine, whose sales grew by 2000% over the course of the 1980s, was a key factor in this reconsideration of the home as a place of business, at the dawn of the digital revolution.[25]

The interplay between the bed and the drawings also speaks to a broader iconographic *horror vacui*, which characterized the entire representation of the Milanese studio. In Luigi Ghirri's photographs, even the bookshelves are wrapped in drawings, some of which (again) show the typical marks of faxing. What is not visible, however, is the process behind such overload of drawings. Only the footprint is on display, not how it was made or who made it. While the studio appears to be full of heterogenous objects—souvenirs, marionettes, porcelains and several other things describable as *toys*—there are no computers, and most of the manual drawing tools are confined to a secondary room. In this space, which Luigi Ghirri does not photograph but appears in other pictures of the same period, the tools are hung on the wall, next to a variety of other objects. There is no solution of continuity, or differentiation in treatment, between a pencil sharpener and a wooden statuette, or between a compass and an exotic shell. Even in the equipment room, it is impossible to draw a line between tools and toys. Tools can be used as toys, and vice versa.[26]

Overall, this idea goes back to an understanding of the studio as a space which, following the tradition of the Italian *bottega*, integrates working with an array of domestic activities, from lying in bed to playing.[27] And the fax machine responded to this logic in a very direct way, as evidenced by several experimentations of the early 1990s on the creative opportunities offered by this technology. For example, in 1994, Liz Farrelly put together a group of artists to produce a book aimed precisely at

demonstrating how this piece of office equipment could be hijacked and put to work as a creative device: "The fax machine combines the functionality of a work-horse with the potential of a playtime toy."[28] Although Luigi Ghirri did not photograph Aldo Rossi's fax machines, he seemed to have a particular interest for another tool/toy, that was closely associated with faxing: the telephone. As already noted, Aldo Rossi's collaborators highlighted the fact that there was only one telephone in the entire studio. However, oddly enough, it is hard to find a Ghirrian photograph without a telephone in it. So, did someone bring in a set of telephones just for the photoshoot?

The impression that this particular tool was being used as a prop is reinforced by another widely-circulated photoshoot, made in the same period, in which Aldo Rossi poses with a phone in his hand, leaning on a shelf in the equipment room of his studio. In these highly choreographed images, the telephone is not presented as an autonomous piece of technology, but rather as a component of Aldo Rossi's elaborate *mise-en-scène* – not unlike the diverse set of objects with which it shares the surfaces of desks or bookshelves. Behind this theatricality, there seems to be an effort to assimilate the "machine-in-the-studio" into the architect's microcosm of toys and evocative objects.[29]And, notably, while the telephone was being somewhat fetishized in the Milanese studio, the telephone system was already operating as the primary channel of communication with the American office, allowing faxes to go back and forth.

In New York, things were presented in a substantially different way. First, it's easy to see that the photographs taken by Aldo Rossi in 1988 were less choreographed than Luigi Ghirri's pictures. They were not meant to be published and, in fact, no images of the satellite office were ever made public.[30] The opening picture, the one showing the entrance, is particularly interesting. Notably, the initial contact with the office is through a room framed by machines, including a computer, a printer and a fax machine. And this space is populated by laborers, photographed while being busy in front of a

computer screen. Unlike Luigi Ghirri's photos, this image documents work being done, showing both the people and the machines involved in the process. Moreover, the whole scene takes place behind a reception desk, mostly empty except for a call bell. This heavy piece of furniture, placed near the entry door, immediately denotes this environment as a place of business – a place suited for a specific type of service, as well as a certain type of clientele.

Nevertheless, the apparatus of Rossian objects that occupied the Milanese studio had not been refused, but rather confined to a specific room of the New York office, the so-called *sala di rappresentanza*, devoted to client meetings and similar activities. Here, a series of colorful models of previous projects were placed in glass display cases, set on tall pedestals. A selection of watercolors and drawings were neatly framed and hung on the blue walls. And the furniture was carefully curated, using mostly pieces designed by the "maestro." It was very much a showroom of Aldo Rossi's work.

Douglas Moreland, an architect who worked as a project manager for Disney and collaborated with Aldo Rossi in the early 1990s, used the terms "creative" and "corporate" to explain the structure of the New York office.[31] Hypothesizing an ideal spectrum of environments from creative to corporate, he placed Aldo Rossi's office near the creative end of the spectrum, on the opposite side of his own office at Disney. Looking at it from a different perspective, Morris Adjmi described the New York office as being informed by "an American approach," pointing to the application of advanced technologies, as well as the overall organization of the workspace, and contrasting it with the Milanese state of affairs.[32]

However, analyzing Aldo Rossi's photographs, this office can hardly be associated with the organizational logic and the physiognomy of American corporate architecture (or, at least, with its stereotypical imagery) and, even though the work was mostly computerized, no one would interpret it as an "information age interior."[33] Besides, as noted by New York architect Richard Hayes, Aldo

Rossi's office was located in a historical building near the Flatiron District, in Midtown Manhattan – an area described as having a distinctly "European flair."[34]

Clearly, assigning labels is not the point. What is interesting is the fact that the same space was perceived and described in different ways by a number of individuals who came in contact with Aldo Rossi, depending on their professional background and, sometimes, their nationality. An Italian assistant working in Milan could not have the same understanding of the difference between creative and corporate architecture, or between studio and office, as a consultant coming from Disney. And this reflects not only a conceptual rift, but also a linguistic rift. For example, the Italian term for office (*ufficio*) would never be used to indicate an architectural practice in Milan, while the term *studio* has a different connotation in the English-speaking world. In Milan, a studio could also be the workspace of a lawyer, an accountant or a doctor.[35]

Therefore, in an attempt to understand the interaction between Milan and New York in Aldo Rossi's practice, it may be more productive to focus on what the two spaces produced. As it turns out, this interaction was based on a specific division of labor, which involved both the modes of production and the content being produced. Not only the work was done by hand on one side of the Atlantic and by computers on the other side. As pointed out by Morris Adjmi, there was also a distinction in the type of work that was assigned to Milan and New York.[36] For example, Milan focused primarily on preliminary sketches and final presentation drawings, while New York produced most of the technical drawings. Milan dealt with façade design, while New York took care of massing and logistics, and so on. From this perspective, different expertise and working methodologies came to be organized in a framework where each center was set up to produce specific things with specific technologies. The *trait d'union* was the fax machine, which allowed to quickly bridge this gap, at any given time.

The Politics of Faxing

What was the state of the discourse on faxing when this process was set in motion? To give some context, few months before the opening of Aldo Rossi's office in New York, Andy Warhol collaborated with Joseph Beuys and Kaii Higashiyama in a project titled *Global Art Fusion*. Presented as "fax art," this project involved sending a fax with drawings of all three artists within 32 minutes around the world – from Dusseldorf via New York to Tokyo, and finally Vienna, where the fax was exhibited at the Palais Liechtenstein Museum of Modern Art.[37] This fax was declaredly intended as a symbol of peace, against the backdrop of the global tensions caused by the Cold War during the 1980s. In the same period, experimental architectural practices like ARX started to talk about a "fax design process."[38] And the idea was given a good amount of publicity by an issue of *ANY* devoted to "electrotecture" in 1993.

At the same time, this technology was starting to be recognized for its political potential, especially in Europe. For example, in November 1989 (the same month of the fall of the Berlin wall), the Council of Europe launched a program called *Fax!*[39] The objective was to produce a multi-lingual newspaper, created by students from all over Europe, using only fax machines. The idea was to utilize what was described as "new media" in order to teach young people how to operate in a multinational framework and, concurrently, promote an integrated European identity. At the core of this project was the conviction that this new communication technology was more than a means towards an integrated Europe: by its very nature, faxing was viewed as an embodiment of that process of integration.

And this was not an isolated case. It was followed by similar publications, such as *Le Petit Faxeur* in France and *Lingua Fax* in Spain, just to name a few examples. On a larger scale, faxing was also at the center of a project promoted by several cultural institutions throughout Europe, on the theme "What does being European mean to you?"[40] In all of these instances, faxing did not just provide the

infrastructure through which this debate could unfold: it was approached from a political point of view, as a technology that in itself conveyed a specific message regarding the dissolution of national borders and the idea of "building Europe together."[41]

This idea was taken one step further by American artist Lillian Bell. On the occasion of the 1992 Earth Summit in Brazil, she designed an installation for the display of faxes sent by artists from around the world. And this led to the creation of a network called F'AXis, which included 220 artists from 29 countries. The goal was to actively encourage an alternative method of making and displaying art outside the system of gallery ownership. Lillian Bell imagined her fax machine as a gallery without walls: "Fax is a new technology for duty-free and boundary-free art."[42]

By that time, the fax had already come to play a central role in multinational practices like that of Aldo Rossi. However, the importance of faxing in the early debate on the art and architecture of the electronic age was quickly overshadowed by the advent of the computer, and everything else that came with it. In fact, a key aspect of faxing was that, while participating in the mechanization of design, it did not quite belong to the digital world. The fax machines used by Aldo Rossi's generation were mostly based on analog technologies. So, while the computer was related to a new digital age, the fax embodied the swan song of an analog world that still had paper as its indispensable medium. And, notably, when fax machines started to employ digital technologies, the email had already begun to take over.

In one of the most comprehensive study on this subject, published in 2015, Jonathan Coopersmith presents the history of faxing as a trajectory with a clear beginning and end.[43] His survey begins in 1843 with a patent written by Scottish watchmaker Alexander Bain, and ends in 2000, when a standards committee for facsimile merged into a committee on data transmission standards. The first

year represents legal recognition of facsimile as a concept. The latter, its bureaucratic absorption into computer-based communications.

However, most historians of technology agree that the fax machine truly became a commodity only in the 1980s, as a result of the formation of a system of international standards, that guaranteed compatibility and allowed faxing to function properly on a global scale. Hence, the rise and fall of the fax machine—to borrow Jonathan Coopersmith's phrase—is generally inscribed in a period of less than two decades, a period corresponding more or less to the lifespan of Aldo Rossi's transatlantic practice. In fact, by the time of the architect's death in 1997, faxing had just started to lose its primacy and independent existence to digital communications in the form of the internet, the world wide web, PDF, cell-phones and other technologies.

Thermal Printing

In 1994, Liz Farrelly described faxing as "the last form of hardcopy messaging in an increasingly computerized world."[44] Since faxing operated in a paper-based dimension and was still dealing with *hardcopies*, a key aspect of this mode of communication was its printing technology. What made faxing possible was the advent of thermal printing – a technology that relied on a particular type of paper, coated with a chemical that changed color when exposed to heat. As noted by Kenneth McConnell, the inspiration for the first work on facsimile was the discovery that paper saturated with electrolytic solutions discolored when electric current was passed through it.[45]

The particularity of this so-called "thermal paper" is its extreme lack of durability. For example, upon opening a beginner's guide to fax machines published in 1988, one of the first paragraphs reads: "A faxed document left on the dashboard of a car on a hot summer day will turn completely black."[46] Regardless of where the document was left, however, not long after the printing, the image-forming

coating tended to detach from the medium, slowly destroying the document. In other words, the drawing self-destructed after a few years. Which is why faxed documents are not accepted by most archives. Faxing architecture, therefore, meant operating in an ephemeral and non-archivable dimension. From this perspective, it's interesting to note that the *cult of the drawing*—one of the key themes of postmodernist architecture and one of the premises of Aldo Rossi's transatlantic crossing—was accompanied by the development of a mode of communication that literally disintegrated the drawing itself.

Just like with fiscal receipts, the only way to preserve a faxed document is to make a photocopy. In the early 2000s, after acquiring a significant portion of Aldo Rossi's collection, the Canadian Center for Architecture started to address this issue. And this led to a peculiar condition within the Aldo Rossi archive. In fact, many documents have now multiple versions: the fax, which is usually in a state of decay, and—attached to it with a paper clip—a photocopy, which often constitutes the only legible record. On the occasions when the so-called *original*—the piece of paper that was faxed in the first place—is also available, then the same object can be seen on three different mediums. The whole operation is always announced by a clear sign on the photocopy: "Photocopie faite à partir d'un fax dans le fonds Aldo Rossi au CCA."[47]

So, given the ephemeral nature of the fax, the process of conservation is essentially based on juxtaposing these disappearing facsimiles with more permanent copies – an act of photographic performativity that inevitably leads to a form of appropriation. As noted by Jacques Derrida, recording an image is inseparable from producing an image.[48] Hence, the archival institution is not only the guardian and the curator of this material: it becomes its producer as well. And since the original material has frequently followed a different trajectory, the archival research often relies on this sequence of copies. In many cases, the object of study is a photocopy of a facsimile. From this

perspective, faxing requires to think about copying both as a form of cancellation and a form of conservation.

Working through Fax Machines

As a whole, this archival material—both the surviving faxes and their photocopies—is key to understanding how this technology impacted the design process within Aldo Rossi's practice. The most evident effect involves the format of the work.[49] In fact, while faxing imposed a limited width to all documents, their length was virtually unlimited, inducing what can be described as a *scroll effect*. The drawings had to be done on long and narrow scrolls, that were sometimes taped together in order to create wider documents. And, clearly, these format limitations had a significant impact on the types of drawings that were produced. Anyone who has ever laid out an architectural drawing knows that a long and narrow sheet of paper is better suited for an elevation or a section, rather than a plan. In fact, due to the restrictions of the format, faxing a plan was the most complicated operation, and usually required a good deal of cutting and pasting. That is why plans were sometimes set aside in favor of other drawings—especially axonometric drawings—that could communicate most of the essential information, while being squeezed into a narrower sheet. But, overall, the undisputed protagonist of this scroll-like format was the façade – shining a new light on the "façadism" that is commonly associated with postmodernist architecture.[50]

Notably, many faxes included notes and signs, indicating how separate drawings were to be juxtaposed and taped together after the printing. In this respect, the process of cutting and pasting that followed some of these fax transmissions brings to mind Aldo Rossi's renowned collages, such as the collage *The Analogous City*. While most of the literature has focused on those widely-publicized works, the logic of the collage operated also on a very prosaic level, in the everyday innerworkings of Aldo Rossi's

multinational practice.[51] Among other examples, this process can be related to David Hockney's contemporaneous exploration of new methods of image reproduction, which included making composite photographs with a polaroid camera and investigating the integrity of "surface" with a color copier. In the late 1980s, he faxed entire exhibitions to galleries in San Paolo, Bradford and Tokyo. Huge images made from up to 288 A4 sheets were fed into a fax machine at his studio in Los Angeles, to rematerialize half way around the world and be assembled in front of an audience.[52]

Even though it was never completed, Aldo Rossi's project for a large hotel at Euro Disney, in Paris, represents an interesting case study. Started in 1988, the project was entirely developed on the Milan – New York axis, sending faxes back and forth. In this case, the surviving documents clearly show that the logic of the collage was applied to both the pre-fax and the post-fax stages of this transatlantic interaction.[53] On the one hand, several preliminary sketches were done by cutting, pasting and taping multiple hand-made drawings – a stratification of pieces of paper with irregular shapes and varying sizes. On the other hand, as already noted, the received faxes often needed to be taped together in order to recompose larger drawings.

In both cases, the marks of this operation are quite noticeable, usually in the form of small pieces of yellow adhesive tape or masking tape. And, in both cases, the process of collaging and faxing was related to another technology: the photocopier. Not only the post-fax documents needed to be photocopied in order not to disappear after a few years, but also the pre-fax documents often needed to be photocopied in order to be processed by the fax machine. In fact, some of these collages were too thick and clumsy to correctly go through the thin input slot of the machine. So, on both ends of the fax transmission, whether the task was to send it or to archive it, the collage had to be photocopied and, therefore, turned into a flat, uniform (and more durable) document.[54]

The construction of a faxable document also relied on a few devices designed to spell out the terms of the transmission process. The simplest of these devices was the so-called fax memo note, a small piece a paper that provided space for basic information like dates, locations, names of the sender and the receiver, number of pages, as well as short messages. Since these notes were attached to the top of the transmitted documents, they also operated as one of the layers of Aldo Rossi's collages.

The fax memo notes were made popular by the same company that created the famous Post-Its, the 3M Company.[55] Branded as *Post-It Fax*, these notes shine a light on the struggle to integrate, in the pre-digital era, a traditional stationery culture with a technology that challenged the integrity of the paper document, turning it into a dynamic and dematerializable object. Moreover, in Aldo Rossi's time, the fax memo notes were usually sold in little pads which, in terms of both size and graphic layout, could easily be mistaken for checkbooks. In fact, the headers of many faxed documents seemed to speak the language of the check. Except, here the purpose was not to notify a transfer of money, but rather a transfer of images. An interesting convergence, considering Aldo Rossi's involvement in a market where drawings were often associated with financial transactions.

Overall, the faxing process required drawings to be labelled as transactional objects, existing between multiple *milieus*. For example, in the Euro Disney project, the drawings are preceded by a note indicating that the material had been exchanged between "I Discepoli" (the disciples) and "Il Maestro" (the master). The message reads: "We hope we are being good pupils."[56] But, in addition to illustrating the type of relationship that existed between Aldo Rossi and his collaborators, the memo notes are also key to establishing the geography of the drawing. In fact, there are always two entries marked as "Location." And this does not simply indicate that the document went from New York to Milan, as in a traditional shipment. It should be read as an indication that the document existed both in New

York and Milan: an object with multiple locations. Or, using a Rossian term, an object that existed in more than one *locus*.[57]

This has to do, on the one hand, with the intangible nature of the transmission process: a document that goes through a fax machine does not physically leaves its location, while at the same time appearing (in the form of a facsimile) somewhere else. And, on the other hand, it has to do with a condition of nonstop interaction, where the same object is sent back and forth so many times—adding comments and making adjustments—that no one can really tell the recipient from the sender. Reflecting on these dynamics in the early 1990s, British designer Paul Elliman went as far as to define faxing as a four-dimensional art: "It is like being in two places at once."[58] The issue of *ANY* devoted to the "electronic future," published in 1993, took it even further: "Electrotecture calls for the refiguring of the very terms that define architectural theory and practice. The very conditions of spatio-temporal experience are radically transformed. At this point, does architecture finally become immaterial?"[59]

Faxing developed in a particular technological hiatus: unlike emails, it was still marked with specific locations but, unlike previous mailing systems, it partially operated in an immaterial dimension. From this perspective, it reflected the geographical transformations of Aldo Rossi's practice. On the one hand, the development of an increasingly multinational organization. On the other hand, the struggle to deal with the need to belong to a specific place. Even before the opening of the New York office, this tension came to the fore in Aldo Rossi's *quaderni azzurri*, as evidenced by a recount of a work trip in the United States of the late 1970s: "My annotations are slowly becoming those of a geographer."[60]

It's also worth noting that these remarks on the effects of faxing on the concept of location were sparked by a set of drawings for Euro Disney, one of the environments that, more than any other, challenged all conventional approaches to geography. In fact, the gradual detachment from the notion

that the work (and the process behind it) must be associated with a single physical *locus*—a studio or a State—went hand in hand with an increasingly intense collaboration with a company built around the concept of “ageographia.”[61] Disney became Aldo Rossi’s primary client in the last phase of his career, especially after he had established a permanent presence in the United States.

Original Facsimile

In addition to memo notes, faxes were often accompanied by a more articulated piece of communication infrastructure: the cover sheet. In this case, an entire page was devoted to defining the details of the fax transmission and describing its content. Notably, different cover sheets were used in Milan and New York, as evidenced by a number of faxes sent in the late 1980s.[62] The thing they had in common was the header, which in both cases said: “Aldo Rossi: Studio di Architettura.” This undifferentiated use of the term *studio* is in itself quite interesting, and goes back to the complicated issue of defining Aldo Rossi’s workspaces. It may be explained as an attempt to uniform the two businesses, or as a strategy to exploit the fascination with foreign words of a certain American clientele, or perhaps as a result of the fact that Italian architects rarely used the term *office*.

Except for this overarching common denomination, however, the two cover sheets were constructed in substantially different ways. In Milan, more than half of the cover sheet was left blank, providing plenty of space to write a detailed note. On the contrary, the cover sheet used in Now York was structured like a form to fill out, with preset options and checkboxes. Particularly significant was the section devoted to identifying the type of documents that were being sent. Notably, many of the options were items like estimates, invoices and receipts – typically bureaucratic items that referred to the financial and logistical side of Aldo Rossi’s organization. A side that had mostly been outsourced to the American office.

Next to these administrative options, however, there was a particularly problematic checkbox: it said "Original Drawings." In fact, when drawings were included in a fax transmission, the sender would check this preset box, but would usually cross out the word "Original."[63] This detail is significant because it reveals an understanding of the complicated position occupied by the fax vis-à-vis the concepts of the copy and the original. A drawing sent via fax, by definition, cannot be an original drawing: it's a facsimile, a copy of something else. But, given the complexity of the transmission process, faxing required to think about this dichotomy in a different way, reflecting on the oxymoronic possibility of an original facsimile – a contradiction that would later be exploded by the digital revolution. Building on Walter Benjamin's work, Bruno Latour has addressed this conundrum by suggesting that the *aura* of originality is not immobile, but can actually "travel" and "migrate to the newest and latest copy."[64] In the case of Aldo Rossi, it's worth noting that, while constantly addressing the issue of reproduction in his writings and design works, he operated through a technological apparatus that fundamentally challenged the notion of originality.[65]

And this leads back to the question of the archive and the difficulty of determining what actually constitutes original material. What is the archival status of a facsimile? Again, from an archivist's perspective, the problem is that faxes constitute copies of other documents and, in addition to that, need to be photocopied in order to survive more than a few years. But, at the same time, some structural aspects of faxing seem to intersect the logic of the archive. For example, the cover sheets and the memo notes that precede most faxes bear a striking resemblance to what archivists call file-level descriptions – the brief documents that provide the fundamental information about a discrete group of items.

Firstly, this built-in indexing tool was certainly taken into great consideration by institutions like the CCA, when it came to organizing Aldo Rossi's collection. In fact, many materials already came with

their own one-page description, including most of the essential data: title of the project, dates and locations, number of pages, type of drawings, comments and so forth. And, secondly, it must have impacted the record keeping process within Aldo Rossi's practice as well. Looking at this issue from the perspective of Aldo Rossi's in-house archive, the paradox becomes even clearer. Unlike most other documents, faxes were structured like archival items from the get-go – items immediately amenable to be orderly stored within the studio or the office. But, unlike most other documents, they also had a very short life-span, because of the perishable nature of thermal paper. In other words, faxing produced drawings that were at once archival and extremely ephemeral.

Overall, the various texts associated with faxing—the memo notes, the cover sheets, the comments written by Aldo Rossi and his collaborators on the drawings, as well as the ones added by the archival institutions that came to manage these documents—have one thing in common. They were all conceived and executed by the people who, at different stages, had the opportunity to handle this material. However, there is also another (perhaps less noticeable) narrative unfolding onto these faxes: the one written by the machines involved in this process.

First of all, the initial line of text in every fax, at the very beginning of the document, was always something along these lines: "OCT 8–91 TUE 12:02 SDA USA 212 633–1728 P 01/03." This script was generated by the fax machine, independently of the laborers operating it. They had no control over this sequence of letters and numbers: they could not delete it nor modify it. And, notably, these figures automatically provided a significant portion of the data written on the memo notes or the cover sheets: date and time of the transmission, location and identification number of the sender, and number of pages. Now, one may see it as a simple case of redundancy. But, in fact, the hand-written notes and the text generated by the machine belonged to two separate registers. They essentially described the same process, but from different points of view: the point of view of the operator versus

that of the machine. And, as a result, they used different languages. For example, while a person would describe the sender as "I Discepoli" from "New York," the machine would use a number instead. And this overlap reflected not only the struggle to decipher what machines write, but also the difficulty of seeing these sequences of numbers and letters as something to be read. They existed on the page, and actually occupied a prominent position, but they were not perceived as something pertaining to the people who handled these documents. In fact, a prerequisite for reading a text written by a machine is accepting the possibility of such an interaction. From this perspective, the fax machine was among the first technologies that undermined the effort to make everything legible—or, borrowing James Scott's phrase, to enforce legibility—that had been at the core the project of modernity, generating a new state of blindness towards the text.[66]

Furthermore, some of the faxes in Aldo Rossi's archive include another form of mechanical writing, which responds to a similar logic. Since most of the work in the New York office was computerized, the drawings usually bear the marks of the plotting process. And, in this instance, it's more than a single line of text. The machine generated several paragraphs, with a significant amount of information, and printed it at the bottom of each document: plot identifications, plot time, plot dimensions, vector counts, disk statistics, data reception statistics and so forth. And, as in the case of the fax machine, this data was automatically written by the plotter, using its own language. The result was yet another description of the object at hand – a description from the point of view of the plotter. Any given project was identified with a "Job Name and Number," the dimensions were expressed in terms of X and Y coordinates, and the work was measured by the number of "Tracks Written" or "Vectors Rasterized."[67]

As previously noted, the CAD drawings produced in New York were often cut into smaller pieces and sent via fax to Milan. Therefore, fragments of the data written by these plotters appear on several

faxed documents, usually next to the script generated by the fax machine. The outcome was a substantial amount of text, produced by multiple machines with different idioms, which occupied a prominent position on many drawings. But what information did this text actually provide?

The concern with complementing a drawing with an apparatus of textual descriptions and notes goes way back in the history of architecture. Incidentally, Aldo Rossi had a particular interest in this topic. This fascination, for example, was one of the motivations behind a trip to London in the mid-1980s to see the collection of Palladian drawings held in the RIBA archive.[68] The superimposition of texts (letters, numbers, symbols, etcetera) onto Palladio's drawings was meant to make the *disegno* as legible as possible. The particularity of the drawings that came out of Aldo Rossi's practice at the end of his career was not simply the fact that some of their writing had been generated by machines. What is also significant is the fact that this text did not describe the drawing *per se*: for the most part, it described the process of materializing and disseminating the drawing.

The Aesthetics of International Standards

From the perspective of this process of materialization and dissemination, faxing also provides a different way to approach another concept that played a key role in Aldo Rossi's theory of architecture: the concept of scalability. In fact, a constant concern during this transatlantic exchange was the scaling of the faxed materials, as evidence by a multitude of handwritten specifications on the drawings. In a very literal sense, the challenge was to keep control over the scale of objects that were repeatedly dematerialized and recreated in different locations. It's safe to assume that this is not what Kurt Forster had in mind when writing about "Aldo Rossi's uncanny shifts of scale."[69]

For example, a note written by Morris Adjmi on the cover sheet of a fax sent to Milan in 1988—introducing a series of drawings for a housing project in Pennsylvania—reads: "La scala di tutto è lo

stesso."[70] It should be noted that, given Aldo Rossi's notorious struggle with English, his American collaborators would often attempt to write the most important messages in Italian, resulting in awkward multilingual correspondences. This message written in all caps and poor grammar, indicating that all the drawings within that fax transmission had the same scale, is emblematic of an underlying struggle to overcame a multitude of communication obstacles.

First of all, even though faxing required specific formats, the fax machines used in America did not operate with the same type of paper as the machines used in Europe. The documents fed into a fax machine in New York had the width of a US Legal page (8.5 inches), but came out in Milan with the width of an A4 page (21 centimeters), and vice versa.[71] Not only there was a dimensional gap between these page sizes. On a deeper level, the two machines responded to different units of measure – inches versus centimeters. And, looking at this issue from a political perspective, this divergence highlighted a tension between state-level rules and international rules: while the Legal format was defined by the American National Standards Institute, the A4 format came out of the International Organization for Standardization. The former responded to the logic of the State and its juridical apparatus (the name Legal is *apropos*), while the latter spoke to the post-war urge to disentangle standardization and regulation from traditional statecraft.[72]

When discussing the development of faxing, these technicalities are of paramount importance. Most historians of technology point to two intertwined phenomena to explain the (short-lived) success of the fax machine: the deregulation of telecommunications that took place in several Western countries throughout the 1970s and, even more importantly, the adoption and implementation of international standards in the 1980s, which enforced compatibility on a global scale. As noted by Jonathan Coopersmith, developing this technology was essentially a "game of standards."[73]

The driving force behind this process was the CCITT (International Consultative Committee on Telegraphy and Telephony) – a specialized agency of the United Nations responsible for regulating international communications. Nothing had a greater impact on the trajectory of fax communications than the regulatory work done by this international institution over the years, which resulted in a series of standards known as "Blue Books." Ironically, they had the same name as Aldo Rossi's famous *quaderni*, but that is just a coincidence.

A key component of the regulatory effort of the CCITT was the production of a series of documents called "fax test charts."[74] Hundreds of thousands of these charts, always updated to the latest standards, were distributed to fax users around the world for years. The idea was to provide a reliable and rapid means of testing the equipment and evaluating the quality of the transmission, in light of the new international standards. They included texts in different languages, various shapes and patterns, photographs, dimensional specifications both in inches and centimeters, along with other graphic devices designed to help users spot distortions and calibrate the performance of their machine. In this context, the first interaction that most users had with a fax machine consisted in testing its ability to recreate a picture designed by an international committee – a highly curated composition of texts, drawings and photographs on an A4 page. Obviously, it was a visual test.

These charts were more than simple utilitarian devices. It's easy to see that they responded to the graphic idioms and, one may dare say, the aesthetics of their time.[75] For example, even though there is absolutely no relation between the two, there are striking analogies between the fax test chart *167A* distributed by the CCITT in 1986 (as Aldo Rossi was opening his American office) and a drawing of the Modena Cemetery titled *Composition with Saint Apollonia*, made in 1977. Both are defined by a play on pure geometries such as pyramids and cubes, a subdivision of the page into precisely framed sections, a repetition of regular patterns, a general representational flatness, and systematic shifts of

scale. But the most evident correspondence is the one between the photograph of the famous Eastman Kodak secretary, whose picture appeared on a number of test charts, and the painting of Saint Apollonia – the two exceptions in these otherwise abstract compositions, both placed to the left of the axis of symmetry.

Evidently, this is not a formal comparison for its own sake: the point is to show that the process of standardization that allowed the fax machine to become a widespread commodity went hand in hand with the promotion of a specific aesthetic which, through devices like the test charts, entered the houses and workspaces of millions of people worldwide. And, as evidenced by the photograph of the Eastman Kodak secretary, this message came with certain highly-charged subtexts regarding broader social phenomena.

The case of Aldo Rossi highlights a constant tension between these forces of globalization—with their international systems of rules and regulations—and the limitations typical of any local *milieu*. For example, the CCITT could not do anything about a fundamental difference: the simple fact that Europeans use pages that are 21 centimeters wide, while for Americans it's 8.5 inches. Because of this divergence in format, it was essential that all fax machines were set up to maintain the scale of the incoming drawing, rather than adjust it according to their own paper size.[76] As is still the case in most contemporary printing machines, this option was called "Actual Size," as opposed to the other primary printing mode, "Fit to Page." So, not only the transmission of a fax from one place to another implied a form of dematerialization, but also the printing process called for a reflection on the relation between content (drawing) and medium (paper). In order to preserve the all-important dimensional integrity of the fax, the drawing needed to be dissociated from the paper of the receiving machine. In other words, the drawing could not *fit to page*.

Abstracting the drawing from the page required to think about scale in a different way. Both the term "Actual Size" associated with fax machines and the expression "Stessa Scala" used by Morris Adjmi seem to respond to the same logic. Neither of them provided any information regarding the specific dimensions of the object: what mattered was maintaining dimensional consistency throughout the faxing process. As noted by one of Aldo Rossi's collaborators in a postscript to a fax sent in 1992, "Beware of the measurements!"[77]

The Analogy–Machine

From a broader perspective, the rift between the drawing and the page also speaks to how faxing related to the architectural discourse of its time. It's important to underline that this technology operated by scanning and transmitting images through the telephone system, in the form of audio-frequency tones. At the end of the process, the receiving machine interpreted the tones and reconstructed the image, printing a paper copy. So, in a period in which architects were involved in the semiosphere up to their necks and linguistic theory was king, practices like that of Aldo Rossi were using a machine that turned drawings into a sound-based language and then back into drawings on the other side of the world. Architecture was literally being sent through the telephone line.

Notably, this was the period in which Marshall McLuhan and Walter Ong addressed the impact of electronic media on the rift between orality and literacy, identifying the emergence of forms of interaction and communication that put forward a "new orality."[78] As noted by Liz Farrelly, faxing was, in effect, an extension of the oral traditional of telephone conversation: "It's never as static as a piece of typed, proofed, published writing or codified computerized data."[79] Even the technical terminology seems to respond to that tradition. For example, in the fax jargon, the initial contact between two machines is known as the *handshake* – a moment perceived as singing tones, in which the

machines check compatibility and set the mode of transmission.[80] And this is just the most noticeable part of a process that is entirely based on turning the signs on a page into continuous analog signals. From this point of view, the analog technology of the fax machine may also be associated with Aldo Rossi's notion of *analogy* – the core of his theory of architecture. In the introduction to the American version of *The Architecture of the City*, Peter Eisenman argued that "the subversive analogues" produced by Aldo Rossi relied on two types of transformations: "the dislocation of place and the dissolution of scale."[81] Canaletto's *veduta* of Venice with three Palladian monuments, none of which is actually in Venice, was often referenced in Aldo Rossi's writings to explain the mechanism of this analogical design method.[82] In this framework, the geographical transposition of multiple objects was meant to produce an ensemble that could be immediately recognized, even though it was a place of purely architectural references. If early projects like the collage *The Analogous City*, presented at the Biennale of 1976, were done by copying, cutting and pasting drawings on top of each other, this method took on a new meaning in the last phase of Aldo Rossi's career, as drawings started to be faxed back and forth between Milan and New York. The fax was the ultimate analogy–machine.

Chapeter 1: Faded Fax – References

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[7] Frederic Migarou and Marie-Ange Brayer, eds. *Archilab: Radical Experiments in Global Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003).

[8] Daniel Zalewski, "Intelligent Design: Can Rem Koolhaas Kill the Skyscraper?" *The New Yorker*, 14 March 2005.

[9] Daniel Fishman and Elliot King, *The Book of Fax: An Impartial Guide to Buying and Using Facsimile Machines* (Chapel Hill: Ventana Press, 1988); Gerald Quinn, *The Fax Handbook* (Blue Ridge Summit: Tab Books, 1989); Kenneth McConnell et al, *Fax: Digital Facsimile Technology and Applications* (Norwood: Artech House, 1989).

[10] Jonathan Coopersmith, *Faxed: The Rise and Fall of the Fax Machine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015). This book is widely recognized as the first comprehensive history of faxing. While most histories of technologies usually focus on success, this study openly emphasizes failure as a constant theme running through fax's history. Failure of ideas, projects, inventors, investors and companies. At the end of book, Jonathan Coopersmith writes: "Ultimately, Nicholas Negroponte was right. Digitalization devastated (but did not destroy) analog communications. Faxing, however, lost not to an abstract concept but to a constantly expanding and improving variety of ways to create, communicate and collaborate.

Just like faxing expanded the options of communicating while reducing barriers of cost and expertise as compared with telex, so too did the Internet, world wide web, email, PDFs, cellphones, PDAs, Blackberries, laptops, notebooks, social media, iPods, iPads, iPhones and countless other innovations make faxing seem rather simplistic, old-fashioned and increasingly limited."

[11] Liz Farrelly, ed. *Urgent Images: The Graphic Language of The Fax* (London: Booth-Clibborn Editions, 1994).

[12] Cynthia Davidson, ed. *ANY: Architecture New York*, No. 3 (November/December 1993): "Electrotecture: Architecture and the Electronic Future."

[13] See Daniel Buren, "The Function of the Studio," *October*, Volume 10 (Autumn 1979); Caroline Jones, *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Giorgio Agamben, *Autoritratto nello Studio* (Milan: Nottetempo, 2017); Reinhold Martin, "The Physiognomy of the Office," in *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media and Corporate Space* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003); John Harwood, "The White Room: Eliot Noyes and the Logic of the Information Age Interior," *Grey Room*, No. 12 (2003); Juriaan van Meel, *The European Office: Office Design and National Context* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2000).

[14] Fondazione Aldo Rossi: Biografia, www.fondazionealdorossi.org/biografia. In addition to his office at 45W 17th Street in Manhattan, Aldo Rossi opened an office in The Hague with Umberto Barbieri in 1987 and an office in Tokyo with Toyota Horiguchi in 1989.

[15] The "satellite office concept" was addressed in multiple disciplinary *milieus*, especially in the 1990s. An example from the field of economics is Mahlon Apgar, "The Alternative Workplace: Changing Where and How People Work," *Harvard Business Review* (May/June 1998). Contrary to Aldo Rossi's case, most of the literature addresses the "satellite office concept" from an Americanocentric perspective, where the headquarter is in a major American city (usually New York) and the satellites are located in smaller, more peripheric cities. Mahlon Apgar writes: "Satellite offices are another form of alternative workplace. Such offices break up large, centralized facilities into a network of smaller workplaces that can be located close to customers or to employees' homes. Satellites can save a company up to 50% in real estate costs, diversify the risk of overconcentration in a single location, and broaden the pool of potential employees. Some are shells—sparsely furnished and equipped with only basic technology; others are fully equipped and serviced. Satellites are generally located in comparatively inexpensive cities and suburban areas. Most often, they have simpler and less costly furnishings and

fixtures than their downtown counterparts." See also Srinivasan Rao, "The Implementation of Satellite Offices," Proceedings of the 28th Annual International Conference on System Sciences (1995).

[16] Rem Koolhaas opened the New York affiliate of the Office of Metropolitan Architecture in the year 2000, twenty-five years after the foundation of his first European office and twenty-two years after the publication of *Delirious New York*. OMA's office is located at 180 Varick Street, in Manhattan's SoHo neighborhood. There is a broad literature on European architects working in the United States, including Mardges Bacon, *Le Corbusier in America: Travels in the Land of the Timid* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003); Phyllis Lambert, *Mies van der Rohe in America* (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2001); Margret Kentgens-Craig, *The Bauhaus and America: First Contacts, 1919-1936* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999); Gaia Caramellino, *Europe Meets America: William Lescaze, Architect of Modern Housing* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016); Paolo Scrivano, *Building Transatlantic Italy: Architectural Dialogues with Postwar America* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Co, 2013).

[17] In 1986, while Aldo Rossi was opening his office in New York, the United States were midway through Ronald Reagan's second term – a period defined by deregulation, tax cuts and reductions in public spending. In the same year, the members of the European Community signed the "Single European Act," formalizing the objective of establishing a single market. For a survey of the political and economic transformations in the transatlantic framework during the 1980s, see Kiran Klaus Patel and Kenneth Weisbrode, eds. *European Integration and the Atlantic Community in the 1980s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[18] In 1996, the Canadian Centre for Architecture organized an exhibition on the relation between Luigi Ghirri and Aldo Rossi, titled *Luigi Ghirri/Aldo Rossi: Things Which Are Only Themselves*. Curator Paolo Costantini brought together a selection of photographs by Luigi Ghirri (including those of the architect's studio), as well as a montage of Polaroids made by Aldo Rossi: "The exhibition presents a visual dialogue between two leading figures in contemporary Italian art and culture. Their discussion is based on a sympathy between photographer and architect that is grounded in a shared fascination for a region—the Padana of northern Italy—and a common belief both in the autonomous eye of the photographer and in the potential of that eye to reveal something new to the architect." Luigi Ghirri photographed a number of Rossian buildings, including the Cemetery of Modena and the School of Fagnano Olona. He described this experience in a essay titled "Per Aldo Rossi," published in *Niente di Antico Sotto il Sole: Scritti e Immagini per un'Autobiografia* (Turin: Società Editrice

Internazionale, 1997). On this *liaison*, see Massimo Mussini, "Luigi Ghirri: Attraverso la Fotografia," in *Luigi Ghirri* (Milan: Motta Editore, 2001). Massimo Mussini claimed that a strong similarity existed between Luigi Ghirri and Aldo Rossi, pointing to the way in which both artists visually organized their work according to geometrical grids, in continuity with architectonic shapes and the surrounding world.

[19] Daniel Buren, "The Function of the Studio," *October*, Volume 10 (Autumn 1979). Daniel Buren defines the studio as "the first frame, the first limit, upon which all subsequent frames and limits will depend." From his perspective, the studio has three functions: "1) It is the place where the work originates; 2) It is generally a private place, an ivory tower perhaps; 3) It is a stationary place where portable objects are produced." Addressing the physical, architectural features of the studio, Daniel Buren puts forward a distinction between the European type and the American type: "1) The European type, modelled upon the Parisian studio of the turn of the century. This type is usually rather large and is characterized primarily by its high ceilings (a minimum of 4 meters). Sometimes there is a balcony, to increase the distance between viewer and work. The door allows large works to enter and to exit. Sculptor's studios are on the ground floor, painters' on the top floor. In the latter, the lighting is natural, usually diffused by windows oriented toward the north so as to receive the most even and subdued illumination. 2) The American type, of more recent origin. This type is rarely built according to specification, but, located as it is in reclaimed lofts, is generally much larger than its European counterpart, not necessarily higher, but longer and wider. Wall and floor space are abundant. Natural illumination plays a negligible role, since the studio is lit by electricity both night and day if necessary. There is thus equivalence between the products of these lofts and their placement on the walls and floors of modern museums, which are also illuminated day and night by electricity." Peter Galison and Caroline Jones propose a different reading, focusing on the convergence between the studio and the laboratory in the post-war period: "Since inception during the late Renaissance, the laboratory and studio have been singled out as privileged spaces. If we ignore the claims of the two-culture debates—which polarizes the *products* of such spaces—we can reveal the links that still bind science and art together as *practices*." Peter Galison and Caroline Jones discuss these links vis-à-vis the process of post-modernization: "At the very apogee of the pax Americana, the charmed spaces of industry and centralized production began to dissolve. In both science and art, the factory began to give way to other modes of production characterized by decentralization and dispersion." They point to the work of artists like Donald Judd and Robert Smithson, as well as the decentralized laboratory created by nuclear physicist Luis Alvarez in the 1970s. See

Peter Galison and Caroline Jones, "Centripetal and Centrifugal Architectures: Laboratory and Studio," in *Anyplace*, ed. Cynthia Davidson (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995).

[20] Morris Adjmi, phone interview by author, 10 April 2016. Morris Adjmi helped create and then directed Aldo Rossi's office in New York. His comments have been invaluable in comprehending how Aldo Rossi's practice operated between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s. On the topic of the *office*, see Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media and Corporate Space* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003) and Juriaan van Meel, *The European Office: Office Design and National Context* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2000). Reinhold Martin focuses on the corporate architecture that took form in the United States during the post-war period: "In-depth case studies of architect Eero Saarinen's work for General Motors, IBM and Bell Laboratories and analyses of office buildings designed by Skidmore, Owings & Merrill trace the emergence of a systems-based model of organization in architecture, in which the modular curtain wall acts as both an organizational device and a carrier of the corporate image. Such an image—of the corporation as a flexible, integrated system—is seen to correspond with a humanization of corporate life, as corporations decentralize both spatially and administratively." Juriaan van Meel, on the other hand, focuses on Europe, presenting different approaches to office design. In the chapter devoted to the Italian office, he writes: "Large-scale projects and high-rises are rare in Italy. Most activity has concerned the re-use and reconstruction of existing buildings and industrial areas. Floorplans and workplace layouts are hardly standardized. Also, experiments with new workplace concepts such as teleworking or combi-offices are rare." Juriaan van Meel argues that, in Italy, most of the energy was devoted to the development of innovative office furniture, rather than developing an architectural pattern for corporate environments.

[21] Conversation with Saverio Fera at the conference *Aldo Rossi: Perspectives from the World*, held at the Politecnico di Milano, 12 June 2018. Saverio Fera worked in Aldo Rossi's Milanese studio from 1987 to 1991. He confirmed that the fax machine played a key role in Aldo Rossi's international practice during that time.

[22] Kurt Forster, "Aldo Rossi's Architecture of Recollection: The Silence of Things Repeated or Stated for Eternity," *Pritzker Architecture Prize* (1990). This passage is particularly interesting: "Rossi's apartment and studio, located in nineteenth-century enclaves of the city of Milan, appear, at first sight, unlikely laboratories for his far-flung projects; but their somewhat haunted familiarity, studded as they are with neatly framed drawings, models and objects of the architect's invention, evokes a visit to the residence of a latter-day John Soane." Paola Marzoli, one of Aldo Rossi's first collaborators, writes:

"Ricordo che quando sono entrata nello studio di Rossi in Via Maddalena sono rimasta colpita dalle pareti azzurro intenso, profilate da cornici bianche neoclassiche. Allora per gli architetti c'era solo il bianco." In *Robe da Chiodi*, https://robedachiodi.wordpress.com/tag/aldo-rossi/.

[23] Leo Steinberg, "The Flatbed Picture Plane," *Artforum* (March 1972). Discussing the orientation of the picture plane, and its impact on the creative process, Leo Steinberg points to Robert Rauschenberg's *Bed*: "There, in the vertical posture of art, the bed continues to work in the imagination as the eternal companion of our other resource, our horizontality, the flat bedding in which we do our begetting, conceiving and dreaming. The horizontality of the bed relates to *making* as the vertical of the Renaissance picture plane related to *seeing*." As noted by Tom Moody, Leo Steinberg interpreted the work of Robert Rauschenberg in terms of a perceptual reorientation, away from a "worldspace" (a view corresponding to a window on the world or the upright posture of the human form) and toward a "receptor surface," such as a tabletop, the studio floor, or the flatbed printing press: "According to Leo Steinberg, the picture plane's right-angle shift reflected a fundamental change in the subject matter of art – from nature to culture." See Tom Moody, "The Vertical Flatbed Picture Plane," *Artforum* (February 1992).

[24] For an overview of this process of domestication at the turn of the twentieth century, see Alan Felstead and Nick Jewson, *In Work, At Home*: *Towards an Understanding of Homeworking* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000). Alan Felstead and Nick Jewson note: "All over the world, they [home-workers] are found in a huge range of occupations and industries, undertaking a multiplicity of tasks. They include lace makers in rural India, freelance architects in downtown Manhattan, and lockstitchers in the backstreets of Manchester. Indeed, they are almost as diverse as those who carry out their work in offices and factories. This broad category of employment we have called *home-located production*." On the impact of new communication technologies on this process, see Nicole Ellison, *Telework and Social Change: How Technology is Reshaping the Boundaries between Home and Work* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2004).

[25] General data on the diffusion of fax machines in the 1980s, and their impact on home-based businesses, is provided in Gerald Quinn, *The Fax Handbook* (Blue Ridge Summit: Tab Books, 1989).

[26] The relationship between living, working and playing is addressed in Pat Kirkham, "Objects and Functioning Decoration," in *Charles and Ray Eames: Designers of the 20th Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). Pat Kirkham notes that, in Charles and Ray Eames's view, "toys were vehicles for creative and expansive play that not only recalled memories of

childhood, but also offered adults opportunities to recreate their childhood and/or behave as children." As noted in "Blue Book," the chapter of this dissertation that addresses Aldo Rossi's early education and training, childhood memories played a key role in the Italian architect's work. In this respect, it's also worth noting that Aldo Rossi designed several toys. For Kurt Forster, this was a key aspect of Aldo Rossi's practice: "Even more startling is the fact that he should advance ideas on the colossal scale of some of his most recent projects while retaining a deep affinity for a world of toylike size and silence. […] Like toys and childhood memories, Rossi's buildings survive traumatic experiences wholly intact and resist change or resolution in adult thoughts." Kurt Forster, "Aldo Rossi's Architecture of Recollection: The Silence of Things Repeated or Stated for Eternity," in *The Pritzker Architecture Prize, 1990: Presented to Aldo Rossi* (Los Angeles: Jensen and Walker, 1990). See also Amy Ogata, "Creative Playthings: Educational Toys and Postwar American Culture," *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 39, No. 2/3 (2004). This essay discusses the use of "educational toys" for children in postwar America. Amy Ogata examines the attempt by major American toymakers, as well as architects, designers and even art museums, to "develop a child's creativity and imagination through the manipulation of specially designed objects."

[27] Michael Herzfeld examined the integration of *casa* (house) and *bottega* (workshop) in Italy during the first half of the twentieth century. See Michael Herzfeld, "The Performance of Secrecy: Domesticity and Privacy in Public Spaces," *Semiotica* (2009). The domestication of the workshop, however, goes back to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. For a study of the term *bottega* vis-à-vis the term *studio*, see Linda Bauer, "From Bottega to Studio," *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 5 (2008). Linda Bauer writes: "The changing conception of the artist that occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been recognized in various ways. This article seeks to argue that it may be seen in the language used to describe artists' working spaces. Typically lacking any precise differentiation in the inventories of painters' estates that enumerate the contents of their dwellings room by room, the language for these spaces undergoes a change in the more rhetorically shaped literature on art. First sporadically, then strikingly, the word *bottega* with its unwanted commercial connotations is abandoned and, before *studio* comes to take its place, the word *stanza*—simply space or room—is used as a more neutral, less problematic word, even for multiple spaces. Entailed in this usage is both the concern for the status of the artist and the introduction of new social practices into a definition of the artist's workplace that had been largely economic."

[28] Liz Farrelly, ed. *Urgent Images: The Graphic Language of The Fax* (London: Booth-Clibborn Editions, 1994). Liz Farrelly writes: "Among the tools/implements/machines which especially lend themselves to subversive appropriation—because they are widely available, easy to use and have a potentially large catchment area—is the now omnipresent fax machine." This book consists of a collection of fax-produced documents, produced in response to a call for entries faxed to around four hundred numbers worldwide.

[29] Caroline Jones, *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). Caroline Jones identifies in the 1960s a shift from an understanding of the studio as a site of solitary, Abstract Expressionist rituals to an understanding of the studio as a space increasingly defined by technological and antihumanist metaphors. The first paradigm is exemplified by Jackson Pollock's Easthampton studio – an isolated place where the artist could perform his dance. On the other hand, Caroline Jones points to Frank Stella, Andy Warhol and Robert Smithson. As noted by David Grubbs, "Through these three individuals we see the studio in various incarnations: as a business overseen by executive artist Stella; as Factory managed by Warhol; and as the space of modernism from which Smithson emerges—escapes!—into the mature phase of his career." The rhetoric of the technological sublime is the *fil rouge* that ties these examples together, as opposed to the natural sublime invoked by the Abstract Expressionists in the 1950s. The concept of technological sublime comes from Leo Marx and was later developed by one of his students, David Nye. See Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964) and David Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994).

[30] This set of photographs is held in the archive of the MAXXI, in Rome.

[31] Douglas Moreland, phone interview by author, 28 March 2016. Aldo Rossi had a fruitful collaboration with Disney towards the end of his career. Since Disney had its own team of architects, people from Disney often travelled to New York in order to meet Aldo Rossi and talk about the ongoing projects. Douglas Moreland was in charge of overseeing a project for a resort on the Newport Coast, which Aldo Rossi never completed. However, the accounts of his visits to the New York office—generously shared during a phone interview in 2016—have provided important information regarding the organization of Aldo Rossi's practice.

[32] Morris Adjmi, phone interview by author, 10 April 2016.

[33] Reinhold Martin, "The Physiognomy of the Office," in *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media and Corporate Space* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003). The starting point is Gyorgy Kepes's thesis that "every feature of the man created environment has an inherent physiognomy and thus is an object of communication." Reinhold Martin argues that the primary objective of corporate architecture is to communicate a sense of organization. The curtain wall is understood as a key device in this process – it's the medium that reflects the physiognomy of the office from both the outside and the inside. The other fundamental factor is the advent of information technologies: "Image and system converge in the organizational complex, while top-down power dissolves into networked, pattern-based control. Architecture, as one among many media technologies, supplies the patterns – images of organic integration designed to regulate new and unstable human-machine assemblages." On the logic of the information age interior, see John Harwood, "The White Room: Eliot Noyes and the Logic of the Information Age Interior," *Grey Room*, No. 12 (2003). John Harwood examines the work of Eliot Noyes for IBM and his early attempts to provide spatial solutions to the problems raised by constantly shifting communication technologies and organizational structures: "In 1964 the architect, industrial designer, and 'curator of corporate character' Eliot Noyes was the first to confront the problem of designing a building for corporate activity that was 'on line' in 'real time.' The result was a near-opaque exterior of tinted glass walls accentuated by laminated white quartz panels, enveloping a maximally open interior of partition walls organized around a central, glass-walled room filled with computers and their bustling attendants. It is in investigating this enclosed central space, the site of the dynamic interface between humans and machines engaged in the synchronic real-time management of spaces or fields outside, that the architectural logic linking and organizing the corporate body, computers and design unfolds. It is this logic—that of a counter-environment generated from the demands of machines upon human bodies and vice versa—that pushes architecture toward an increasing closure and blankness, toward architecture's limit case." For a broader analysis, see John Harwood, *The Interface: IBM and the Transformation of Corporate Design, 1945–1976* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

[34] Conversation with Richard Hayes at the conference *The Tools of the Architect*, held at the University of Delft, 23 November 2017.

[35] A recent contribution on this theme is Giorgio Agamben's book *Autoritratto nello Studio* (Milan: Nottetempo, 2017). As noted in the introduction to this book, the title *Self-portrait in the Studio*—a familiar iconographic subject in the history of

painting—should be understood literally: "The book is a self-portrait that can only be deciphered by the reader through a patient scrutiny of the images, photographs, objects, and paintings that belong to the studios in which the author has worked and is still working." Giorgio Agamben's challenge is to talk about himself by talking only about the spaces in which he worked and the things they contained.

[36] Morris Adjmi, phone interview by author, 10 April 2016. Reed Stevens provides an overview of the theoretical background of the concept of *division of labor*: "The division of labor is, of course, one the most venerable concepts in the social sciences. Economists like Adam Smith and Karl Marx both recognized that divisions of labor made work processes more efficient but held very different views about the effects of these divisions on the well-being of society and the individual. Emile Durkheim addressed the topic in *The Division of Labor in Society* (published in France in 1893) asking questions about the origins and functions of the division of labor in modem society. For Durkheim, there were two basic types of solidarity to be found across societies. In some societies, solidarity is based on societally enforced similarities between persons, which Durkheim called organic solidarity. In other, more highly evolved societies, mechanical solidarity is achieved not by enforced similarities but by complementary differences between people within and across various social units (e.g. professions). […] In recent years, Ed Hutchins and Bruno Latour have characterized modern work processes as complex networks of people and technologies acting together and apart. These analyses have reopened questions about the distribution and redistribution of competencies between people and technologies with new concepts that blur the analytic (and often ontological) line between human and nonhuman actors in sociotechnical networks of activity." See Reed Stevens, "Divisions of Labor in School and in the Workplace: Comparing Computer and Paper-Supported Activities across Settings," *The Journal of the Learning Sciences*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2000). Reed Stevens also uses the concept of division of labor to investigate the comparative uses of media in two organizational settings: a middle school classroom and a professional architecture firm. In both settings, participants use both computer and paper-based media in architectural project work. The conclusion is that, in both settings, collaborative labor is divided between designers who worked on paper and draftspersons who worked with computers. Computer versus paper is the main criterion of division.

[37] Andy Warhol, Joseph Beuys and Kaii Higashiyama, *Global Art Fusion* (Bern: Art Fusion Edition, 1986). On telematics and art, see Heidi Grundman, ed. *Art Telecommuniation* (Vancouver: Western Front, 1984); Roy Ascott, "On Networking," *Leonardo*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (1988); Karen O'Rourke, "Notes on Fax-Art," *New Observations*: special issue titled "Navigating in

the Telematic Sea," No. 76 (1990); Roy Ascott and Carl Leoffler, "Connectivity: Art and Interactive Communications," *Leonardo*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (1991); Eduardo Kac, "Aspects of the Aesthetics of Telecommunications," in *Zero - The Art of Being Everywhere* (Graz: Steirische Kulturinitiative, 1993).

[38] *ANY: Architecture New York*, No. 3 (November/December 1993). Titled "Electrotecture: Architecture and the Electronic Future," this issue of *ANY* devotes significant attention to faxing and its impact on architecture. In the introduction, Cynthia Davidson defines the portmanteau term *electrotecture* as follows: "Clearly, electrotecture is a linguistic construct, but it is also a concept, a term that reconceptualizes architecture in the electronic age. Electro seems to move the place of architecture off its traditionally stable ground and into undecidable territory, where new questions, questions that architecture would and could not pose alone, can be asked. Within what we casually call our electronic environment, it is important to begin to question what that environment means to architecture. How is it different from the built environment? Does the electronic environment preclude physical built space?" One of the main examples presented in this issue of *ANY* is the work of ARX, a group of architects and theorists located in different cities (New York, Berlin, Kobe, Osaka and Lisbon) that developed their projects via fax. They write: "ARX proposes that the telematic embodiment of different cultures, languages, and places leads to productive misreadings and fragmented perceptions that interrogate the potential of informational space to directly affect the physical world in which we live. In their telematic exchanges ARX insists that cultural differences are revealed rather than erased; differences become productive in uncontrolled and unexpected ways. It is their contention, then, that the involvement of a multiplicity of spaces and actors in design processes affects and is affected by social possibilities, even in the production of a specific place." *ANY* also includes a selection of the faxes sent by the members of ARX for the Spreebogen Urban Competition, in Berlin (1992).

[39] Council of Europe, *The Fax! Program* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Press, 1989). Founded in 1949, the Council of Europe is the oldest European political institution. It came directly out of Winston Churchill's vision of the "United States of Europe." On the impact of technological innovations on the process of European integration, see Thomas Misa and Johan Schot, "Inventing Europe: Technology and the Hidden Integration of Europe," *History and Technology*, Vol. 21 (2005). Using the lens of technology, Thomas Misa and Johan Schot situate European integration (typically viewed as a purely political process) as an emergent outcome of a process of linking and delinking of infrastructures, as well as the circulation and appropriation of artefacts, systems and knowledge: "These processes carried, shaped, flagged and helped to maintain

a sense of Europeanness, bringing out tensions in Europe and tensions about Europe. We call this hidden integration. Yet the story of integration does not point to a seamless and inevitable process, a grand project with a set agenda. Instead it was a contested process throughout the twentieth century leading to fragmentation as well as to integration."

[40] In 1990, TéléCOOPicem, an education network based in France, organized a project in which French and Spanish students were asked to send to each other faxes explaining what it meant to be Europeans.

[41] Council of Europe, *The Fax! Program* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Press, 1989). The introduction reads: "Fax! is a programme which encourages European schoolgoers to participate in media production at European level by enabling them to produce a multi-lingual newspaper by fax. […] From its inception, Fax! defined itself as a European newspaper and rallied teams around the theme of Europe. Indeed, Fax! is an educational platform for increasing cultural awareness of Europe. It provides scope for communication between young Europeans and positive action. It is also an educational tool promoting European citizenship. These are the underlying principles of the experiment, which is based on a shared desire to build a new Europe."

[42] Lillian Bell, "F'AXis," in *Urgent Images: The Graphic Language of The Fax*, ed. Liz Farrelly (London: Booth-Clibborn Editions, 1994).

[43] Jonathan Coopersmith, *Faxed: The Rise and Fall of the Fax Machine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015).

[44] Liz Farrelly, "Glitch in a Digital World," in *Urgent Images: The Graphic Language of The Fax* (London: Booth-Clibborn Editions, 1994).

[45] A detailed analysis of the printing technologies associated with faxing is provided in Kenneth McConnell et al, *Fax: Digital Facsimile Technology and Applications* (Norwood: Artech House, 1989). On this topic, Liz Farrelly writes: "Crucial to the fax-aesthetic is the heat sensitive thermal paper containing droplets of ink activated by 1,728 tightly-packed heater elements arranged across the width of the paper feeder. The waxy, greyish paper, output from a roll, makes 'urgent' faxes easily distinguishable and is vital for experimental work, as it breaks the boundaries of DIN standards and is not simply 'blank.' Tearing, pulling, scrunching and exposure to sunlight, heat or fire all 'activate' marks." See Liz Farrelly, "Glitch in a Digital World," in *Urgent Images: The Graphic Language of The Fax* (London: Booth-Clibborn Editions, 1994).

[46] Daniel Fishman and Elliot King, *The Book of Fax: An Impartial Guide to Buying and Using Facsimile Machines* (Chapel Hill: Ventana Press, 1988). This 1980s manual also lists the main advantages and disadvantages of thermal paper: "Thermal

paper generally costs more than regular paper. Because it's usually sold in rolls instead of sheets, the recipient must cut the message after receiving it or have a fax machine with an optional cutter feature. Thermal paper looks and feels less professional than normal paper. Finally, thermal paper tends to degrade under high heat. On the other hand, the thermal printing process required no toner or drum (as does the photocopy process). Further, because a thermal printer has almost no moving parts, maintenance costs are significantly lower. Because the paper comes in rolls, thermal paper can record documents up to 39 inches long, a handy feature for faxing spreadsheets, large drawings, architectural plans or other non-standard documents."

[47] Aldo Rossi's project for a house in Mount Pocono, Pennsylvania is a good example. The archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture holds both the faxed documents (which are still readable, but have started to fade) and their photocopies (which were made when this material was acquired in 2004). These two media live side by side in the archive. The former will eventually become completely illegible, while the latter will gradually gain in importance as time goes by.

[48] The issue of reproduction in the context of the archive is addressed in a conversation between Jacques Derrida, Hubertus von Amelunxen and Michael Wetzel, published under the title *Copy, Archive, Signature: A Conversation on Photography* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010). Jacques Derrida poses a key question: "Every original imprint is divided as an archive and preserves its reference, as with the original manuscript of a letter, or a signature, for example. What happens, in those cases, when photography reproduces this original without *giving to be seen* a singular moment of the world, when for example a photocopy is made of this original signature?" Hubertus von Amelunxen points to the impact of digital technologies on this process: "What will be the future status of the referent in a production of images that points toward a repeated obliteration?" Jacques Derrida notes: "If one can erase images, since the imprint is no longer supported by a 'support,' at least not the support of a stable paper substance, this means that we no longer have to do, one might say, with the recording of an image, even though one is recording something: *recording* an image would become inseparable from *producing* an image and would therefore lose the reference to an external and unique referent. As was perhaps always the case without our realizing it, we would be dealing with a photographic performativity, a notion that some might find scandalous and that singularly complicates—without dissolving it—the problem of reference and truth: the problem of a truth to be made, as Saint Augustine would have said, no less than revealed, unveiled, explicated, clarified, exposed, developed."

[49] While there are no studies on the impact of faxing on the formatting of architectural drawings, there is a vast literature on the impact of digital technologies. A recent example is Laura Allen and Luke Caspar Pearson, eds. *Drawing Futures: Speculations in Contemporary Drawing for Art and Architecture* (London: University College London Press, 2016). In the chapter titled *Augmentations*, the editors note: "Drawing has always had an implicit relationship to technology. While drawing is often framed as an instinctive and intuitive act, we should not forget that many of the principles we take for granted today were developed through technologies as much as through the hand. Alberti's devices for perspectival drawing helped the artist manage the complexities of perspective and in turn assisted its proliferation as a representational mode. Piranesi's *Carceri* were distributed as one might buy a contemporary mass-produced art print, the etching plate and the printing press working in combination. We might also think of tools like the pantograph as the precursor to systems of reproduction and replication used today. Nowadays, it seems there is a tendency to frame drawing and computational technology as difficult bedfellows – representation pitted against simulation." In the introduction to this study, Frédéric Migayrou writes: "Less than 30 years ago, the appearance of new software, first in engineering companies and then in architectural practices, triggered a debate about the changing nature of architectural drawing and about how what was previously drawn was becoming standardised and normalised through a singular language, a common identity and, perhaps most controversially, a normative creativity. Today, all architects work with programmes such as AutoCAD, Autodesk and Catia, and their projects conform to recognized standards of digital modelling and Building Information Modelling (BIM). However, we believe that this has not homogenized creativity – on the contrary, we believe that it has expanded it in unforeseen and inspired directions – and *Drawing Futures* stands as a testament to this."

[50] Among other sources, this association has been addresses by Thomas Schumacher in "Façadism Returns, or the Advent of the Duck-orated Shed," *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (March 2010). He writes: "Embedded in the culture of modern architecture is the directive that a façade ought to fit tightly around its building, like a well-fitting suit. False façades, façadism, and the screen façade have been derisive terms used by architects and critics to describe buildings whose façades appear either too big or too small for their buildings. Postmodernism changed this, so that façades relatively independent of their interiors were encouraged. […] For many architects of the 1970s and 1980s, the term *meaning* replaced the modern movement term *function*, and the idea that a building might talk about this or that aspect of culture, class structure, the Zeitgeist or the genius loci is still one of the most predictable constants of contemporary theory." Perhaps

no case study exemplifies the postmodern interest in the façade more than the *Strada Novissima* exhibition at the Venice Biennale of 1980.

[51] *The Analogous City* is certainly one of Aldo Rossi's most studied collages. Among other sources, see Lea-Catherine Szacka, "Radical Pedagogies: ETH Zurich – Aldo Rossi, Bruno Reichlin, Fabio Reinhart and Eraldo Consolascio," http://radical-pedagogies.com/search-cases/e08-eth-zurich/. Lea-Catherine Szacka wrote: "The definitive piece—an assemblage of photocopies—was assembled at night in the studio spaces of the Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture (GTA) in Zurich. It was a composition that seemed to grow from its center, playing with an ambiguity between representations of plan and elevation. Most of its images were extracted from Bernhard Hoesli's book collection, while others came from examples of historical and contemporary architecture used in the teachings of Rossi and his acolytes." And she also associated this *modus operandi* with Aldo Rossi's theory of architecture: "The collage embodied, in its collaborative mode of production, an idea of collective memory, moving beyond the authorial approach to image production of traditional pedagogies. Thus, its very mode of production mirrored the key aspects of Rossi's theory of the city—summarized with the dictum 'l'architettura sono le architetture'—that is, all architecture is made of the aggregation of other architectures, which are in turn located within a historical lineage, using typology as a structuring or technical base. As reported by Rossi's former students at the ETH, he proposed that architectural images should be located outside the dominant references used at the school, and more generally, outside the international context of architectural production at the time." These considerations may take on a different meaning when redirected towards the collages produced with and by Aldo Rossi's fax machines.

[52] For an overview of David Hockney's work, see Paul Mela, ed. *David Hockney* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995). In 1999, *The Guardian* ran an article on the value of David Hockney's faxes: "In 1989 David Hockney was experimenting at the boundaries of modern art by faxing his pictures around the world. Felicity Lawrence was the lucky recipient of a series of her own. Now similar faxes have just been sold for £11,000. As hers hang framed at home, she wonders if a value can really be put on something so ephemeral." See Felicity Lawrence, "My Worthless Hockneys," *The Guardian*, 14 October 1999.

[53] This documentation is held in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal.

[54] The effort to *flatten* documents would be taken to a whole new level by the advent of digital technologies such as the PFD. On this topic, see Ana María León, "The Portable Document Format," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (December 2011). Ana María León writes: "The shift to digital text is beginning to separate content from format. The text no longer relies on the materiality of the book, instead turning into a file accessible through multiple digital devices. Material information that used to frame our reading experience is slowly fading to the background: creases and marginalia, the traces left by use, disappear in the digital world. In the age of digital reproduction, there is no more aura: only content. Or is there? In a world of embedded metadata, weightless information, and searchable text, can we talk about unlimited reproduction? And what are the consequences?" And she also reflects on the difference between a PDF and a photocopy: "While similar to the old photocopy with highlights and notes on the margins in some respects, the composite file is both more anonymous—it lacks the trace of personal handwriting—and infinitely reproducible—no longer limited by the degradation of successive photo-copying. The file with added comments becomes a new original—a response to the initial document and a new file to be reproduced."

[55] Gerald Quinn, *The Fax Handbook* (Blue Ridge Summit: Tab Books, 1989). This handbook describes fax memo notes as follows: "The 3M Company, famous for Post-Its (those handy memo sheets used for everything from grocery lists to phone messages), has created Post-It Fax, which are transmittal memo notes that attach to a corner of transmitted documents. These 1.5-by-4-inch notes provide space for information usually included on transmittal cover sheets and are printed with black ink on white paper for enhanced facsimile reproduction."

[56] Fax sent to Aldo Rossi by his collaborators in the New York office, 8 October 1991. The original message reads: "Speriamo di essere dei buoni allievi." This document is held in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal.

[57] In *The Architecture of the City*, Aldo Rossi defines the *locus* as "a relationship between a certain specific location and the buildings that are in it; it is at once singular and universal." In this context, he also points to the work of geographer Max Sorre and his concept of "singular points," which he interprets as singular architectures in an urban continuum: "the *locus*, so conceived, emphasizes the conditions and qualities within undifferentiated space which are necessary for understanding an urban artifact." On Aldo Rossi's reflections on the concept of *locus*, see Victoria Watson, "The Locus Inside," *AA Files*,

No. 63 (2011) and Robin Monotti Graziadei, "Aldo Rossi: Reinventing the Locus," *Nullus Locus Sine Genio*, 14 October 2016.

[58] Graphic designer Paul Elliman was an early experimenter with fax machines. In the late 1980s, he launched a project for a fax magazine called *Box Space*. Paul Elliman and his collaborators collected visual evidence of their travels around the world, in various media, and then faxed it to their readers. The goal was to create a mobile workshop that would bypass the constrained outlets of conventional magazine publishing. Readers of the four completed issues—"Technology and Calligraphy: Abstract Alphabets," "Greymail: Sinister Bureaucratic Murmur," "Political Graffiti" and "The Language of War"—signed up to receive gigantic spools of writing and imagery, which then had to be sliced into manageable lengths and assembled. The idea was that images could be manipulated and collaged by the process of *sending*. See Rick Poynor, "Profile: Paul Elliman," *Eye*, No. 25, Vol. 7 (1997).

[59] Cynthia Davidson, ed. *ANY: Architecture New York*, No. 3 (November/December 1993): "Electrotecture: Architecture and the Electronic Future."

[60] Aldo Rossi, *Quaderno Azzurro*, No. 19 (1976). The Italian text reads: "Ithaca / Los Angeles / New York: Lentamente le mie annotazione diventano quelle di un geografo, ma la concitazione del vissuto rende impossibile segnare nel quaderno quello che definisce il volgere del tempo." Notably, geography is a recurrent concern in Aldo Rossi's writings: "I have put forward the hypothesis of the city as a man-made object and a work of art; we can observe and describe this man-made object and seek to understand its structural values. The history of the city is always inseparable from its geography; without both we cannot understand the architecture that is the physical sign of this human thing." Aldo Rossi, "Geography and History: The Human Creation," in *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge: MIT Press – Oppositions Books, 1982).

[61] Michael Sorkin, ed. *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992). In the introduction to this influential volume, Michael Sorkin writes: "Computers, credit cards, phones, faxes and other instruments of instant artificial adjacency are rapidly eviscerating historic politics of propinquity, the very cement of the city. Indeed, recent years have seen the emergence of a wholly new kind of city, a city without a place attached to it. This ageographical city is particularly advanced in the United States." Disney's theme parks are discussed as one of the primary examples of this phenomenon: their main characteristic is "the dissipation of all stable relations to local physical and cultural geography, and the loosening of ties to any specific space."

[62] This documentation is held in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal.

[63] An example of this crossing out of the word "Original" can be found in a 1988 fax exchange between Aldo Rossi and Morris Adjmi, with relation to a residential project in Mount Pocono, Pennsylvania. This document is held in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal. As already noted, the relationship between the original and the copy is one of the main overarching themes of this dissertation. In most studies on this topic, the starting point is Walter Benjamin's essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1936). According to Benjamin, the "here and now of the original," in other words its *aura*, is lost in the process of "mechanical reproduction." The dialectic flip side of this loss, however, is the mass reproduction of the original, which enables the reproduction to "meet the beholder or listener in his own particular situation" and to "reactivate the object reproduced." More recent theoretical approaches that engage with "practices of the secondary" (Fehrmann, Linz, Schumacher and Weingart) include studies on transcriptivity (Jäger), emergence (Iser), genetic code and its readability (Schrödinger and Blumenberg), organicism (Van Eck), adaptation (Hutcheon), intermediality (Elleström, Rajewsky, Schröter, Wolf), substitution (Nagel and Wood), remediation (Bolter and Grusin) and transmediality (Jenkins, Meyer, Simanowski and Zeller). A particularly interesting debate on this topic has come out of the interdisciplinary workshop "Original – Copy: Techniques and Aesthetics of Reproduction," held at the University of Bern in 2016.

[64] Bruno Latour, "The Migration of the Aura or How to Explore the Original through its Facsimiles," in *Switching Codes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010). This essay focuses on the digital facsimile of Veronese's painting *Le Nozze di Cana*: "In spite of the knee-jerk reaction—'But this is just a facsimile'—we should refuse to decide too quickly when considering the value of either the original or its reproduction. Thus, the real phenomenon to be accounted for is not the punctual delineation of one version divorced from the rest of its copies, but the whole assemblage made up of one—or several—original(s) together with the retinue of its continually re-written biography." But Bruno Latour also provides some examples that predate the digital revolution: "Inside the scriptorium of a monastery, all exemplars were themselves copies, and no copyist would have said that *this one* is the original while *this one* is only a copy—they were all facsimiles—even though great care was of course put into distinguishing a better, earlier, more illuminated version from an inferior one. Here again, the aura was able to travel and might very well have migrated to the newest and latest copy excellently done on one of the best parchments and double checked against the best earlier sources." Another illuminating source in

the field of art history is Rosalind Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant-garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985).

[65] Among other reflections on originality and repetition in Aldo Rossi's writings, this sentence annotated on a loose piece of paper in 1980 is particularly fitting: "The original—real or presumed—will be an obscure object that will identify with the copy." This document is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles.

[66] James Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). The concept of "legibility" plays a key role in James Scott's work: from his point of view, one of the primary efforts of statecraft in the modern era was to make things legible: "High modernist ideologies embody a doctrinal preference for certain social arrangements. Most of the preferences can be deduced from the criteria of legibility, appropriation and centralization of control." On the issue of reading what machines write, see Stephen Ramsay, *Reading Machines: Toward and Algorithmic Criticism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2011) and Harold Abelson and Gerald Jay Sussman, *Structure and Interpretation of Computer Programs* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985).

[67] This information is visible on several of the CAD drawings produced in the New York office and then sent back-and-forth via fax. Most of these drawing belong to Aldo Rossi's project for the Euro Disney Resort, elaborated in the late 1980s. This documentation is now held in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal.

[68] Aldo Rossi talked about this visit to the Royal Institute of British Architects during a lecture titled *A Palladian Education*, held in Vicenza on 8 October 1996, on the stage of Palladio's Olympic Theater. According to the transcript curated by Chiara Occhipinti, Aldo Rossi said: "Mi ricordo che circa dieci anni fa a Londra Howard Burns fu così gentile da invitarmi a vedere i disegni palladiani conservati al Royal Institute of British Architects. Il professor Burns sfogliava questi disegni e direi cha a un certo punto non era quasi annoiato, ma era un po' colpito da questa ripetizione un po' ingegneresca, un po' professionale, fino a che, in mezzo agli altri, comparve un disegno di una bellezza eccezionale, di una bellezza irraggiungibile, e infatti egli mi disse che era un disegno di Raffaello, donato non so da chi a Palladio e conservato tra i suoi fogli. Tanto brillava l'irripetibilità di Raffaello che sminuiva quasi l'importanza del Palladio, ma se nel contempo proprio quel disegno di Raffaello rappresentava la perdita, nel Palladio si affermava un tipo di possibilità di costruzione, di ripetitività che sarebbe stata caratteristica peculiare di molta architettura successiva." The dichotomy between the almost boring repetitiveness of Palladio's drawings and the exceptional, unrepeatable beauty of Raphael's drawing had a profound

impact on Aldo Rossi's thinking. On his relation with Palladio, see also Chiara Visentin, *Aldo Rossi a Borgoricco* (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2009). The relationship between drawing and text in Palladio's work has been addressed in the exhibition *Palladio Virtuel*, organized by Peter Eisenman and Matt Roman at the Yale School of Architecture in 2012. See Daniel Sherer, "Critical and Palladian: On Peter Eisenman's Yale Exhibition Palladio Virtuel," *Log*, No. 26 (2012).

[69] Kurt Forster, "Aldo Rossi's Architecture of Recollection: The Silence of Things Repeated or Stated for Eternity," in *The Pritzker Architecture Prize, 1990: Presented to Aldo Rossi* (Los Angeles: Jensen and Walker, 1990). The issue of scalability is at the core of Kurt Forster's analysis: "Rossi's buildings affirm themselves in the power of forgotten events. Time has escaped, but the objects remain like childhood memories, at once tiny and gigantic, or rather measured by an unchanging scale of their own. […] As his uncanny shifts of scale suddenly magnify a corner column or a schoolhouse clock, so the unexpected appearance of his urban insertions falls into a historic zone that belongs as much to recollection as it does to reality." As noted in the chapter "Silver Mold," Aldo Rossi's work for Alessi is key to understanding his approach to scale. Analyzing this work, Penelope Dean used the term "blow-up," alluding to Michelangelo Antonioni's 1966 film. For Penelope Dean, Aldo Rossi's coffee pots were essentially "demonstrations of enlargement and reduction." Penelope Dean's "Blow-Up," *Hunch* 11: Rethinking Representation (2007).

[70] Fax sent by Morris Adjmi to Aldo Rossi, 24 March 1988. This document is held in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal. It includes a series of a drawings for a residential project in Mount Pocono, Pennsylvania. "La scala di tutto è lo stesso" meant that all the drawings in this fax transmission had the same scale.

[71] On the mathematics of the ISO (metric) paper sizes, see Albert Bartlett, "Algebra, the Golden Rectangle, and Paper Sizes," *Journal of College Science Teaching*, Vol. 13, No. 6 (1984). Albert Bartlett notes that the metric paper sizes are based on this simple mathematical problem: "A rectangular piece of paper has an area of 1.00 m^2. Its length and width are such that if one cuts the paper in half by bisecting its longer dimension, the half sheets have the same ratio of long to short dimensions as the original piece. Find the dimensions of the original piece of paper." The solution leads to a series of rectangles that all have a ratio of length/width of $\sqrt{2}$ – a ratio that, notably, approximates that of the so-called golden rectangle. The main advantage of this system is its scaling: rectangular paper with an aspect ratio of $\sqrt{2}$ has the unique property that, when cut or folded in half midway between its shorter sides, each half has the same $\sqrt{2}$ aspect ratio and half

the area of the whole sheet before it was divided. Because of this property, Albert Bartlett calls them "replicating rectangles."

[72] Robin Kinross, *A4 and Before: Towards a Long History of Paper Sizes* (Wassenaar: Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, 2009). The advantages of basing a paper size upon an aspect ratio of √2 were first noted in 1786 by the German scientist and philosopher Georg Christoph Lichtenberg. The formats that became A2, A3, B3, B4 and B5 were developed in France on proposition of the mathematician Lazare Carnot and published for judiciary purpose in 1798 during the French Revolution. In the early twentieth century, Walter Porstmann turned Georg Christoph Lichtenberg's idea into a proper system of different paper sizes, centered on the A4 format. Walter Porstmann's system was introduced as a national standard in Germany in 1922, replacing a vast variety of other paper formats, and spread quickly to other countries. By 1975, so many countries were using the German system that it was established as an ISO standard, as well as the official United Nations document format. By 1977, A4 was the standard letter format in 88 of 148 countries. Today the standard has been adopted by all countries in the world except the United States and Canada. As noted by Albert Bartlett, the paper sizes used in America had a different history: the two most popular formats, the standard-size paper and Legal-size paper, "may have had their origins as the finished page sizes of *medium quarto* and *crown folio* [two British formats] after the edges had been trimmed and allowance had been made for binding." The presence of two major paper sizes (with different aspect ratios) in the United States led to a number of problems: "the manufacture and distribution of two sizes of paper, file folders, notebooks and file cabinets is an enormously expensive waste; the extra cost of manufacturing mimeograph, ditto, and photocopy machines to handle two sizes of paper is exceedingly wasteful." According to Albert Bartlett, the American government considered adopting the ISO formats in the 1970s, but then decided against: it was an issue of national pride and identity. See Albert Bartlett, "Algebra, the Golden Rectangle, and Paper Sizes," *Journal of College Science Teaching*, Vol. 13, No. 6 (1984). In the early 1980s, the American Association of Records Managers and Administrators (ARMA) went as far as to launch a project called Project ELF (Eliminate Legal-Size Files). They noted: "Copying machines manufacturers spend millions of dollars designing units that can handle two sizes of documents, and the design of microfilm systems are needlessly complicated when even a few Legal-size media show up in a file sequence." See A.G. Negus, "Waging the Battle Against Use of Legal-Size Paper," *The Office* (January 1981).

[73] Jonathan Coopersmith, *Faxed: The Rise and Fall of the Fax Machine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015). The development of faxing had a strong geopolitical connotation: "Because competitors' fax machines had to be compatible in order to communicate, creating standards was essential to faxing's diffusion. Forging—and forcing—such agreements was one of the most contentious challenges in fax's evolution, a wonderful example of 'nature red in tooth and claw' as firms and countries used standards as a strategic competitive tool. Achieving that compatibility proved to be extremely difficult politically as well as technically and hindered the diffusion of faxing. Only after the adoption and successful implementation of the G3 standard in 1980 could faxing truly become a commodity." The "Group 3" standard was defined by the CCITT, the International Consultative Committee for Telegraph and Telephone. Japanese and American lobbies played a key role in this process. The result was a generation of fax machines that scanned and compressed images digitally, converted them to voiceband analog signals for transmission over regular telephone circuits, and then reconverted the signals into digital data for recording. See also Federico Nienstadt, *The Role of CCITT Standards in Telecommunications Innovation* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1991).

[74] Kenneth McConnell et al, "Fax Test Charts," in *Fax: Digital Facsimile Technology and Applications* (Norwood: Artech House, 1989). The first test chart was issued by the CCITT in 1960. The goal was to provide "a reliable and rapid means of checking the quality of test transmission according to uniform principles." Several other charts were issued in the following years, usually along with new standards or recommendations by the CCITT. They were designed to "evaluate distortion and readability." See Blue Book – CCITT 9th Plenary Assembly, 1988.

[75] For a recent examination of the aesthetic strategies deployed in various fields of technology, see Matthew Lopez, Garet Ammerman and Pierce Myers, "Aesthetics of Technology," *Offramp*, No. 13 (2017). Discussing complex architectural objects such as the ULA launch site at Vandenberg Air Force Base and the VLA Radio Astronomy Observatory, Garet Ammerman writes: "Data, information and electricity are abstract, but become a source of aesthesis when mediated by an adequate instrument that enables human perception. The complexity of the mediator allows partial access to an intangible commodity as part of the overall aesthetics of technology. We cannot fully access the technology itself, it can only be understood through quantitative means and the physical materiality of the apparatus. The aesthetics of technology requires specific reasoning. To the visitor, it must be highly technological because it appears that way, or for users and especially the designers of the space, it must look highly technological first and therefore it will be." On the shifting

relations between technology, art and culture from the beginnings of modernity to the end of the twentieth century, see R. L. Rutsky, *High Techne*: *Art and Technology from the Machine Aesthetic to the Posthuman* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999). Drawing on the Greek root of technology (*techne*, generally translated as art, skill or craft), R. L. Rutsky challenges both the modernist notion of technology as an instrument or tool and the conventional idea of a non-instrumental aesthetics.

[76] On the issue of scaling within the history of printing, see Mario Carpo, *Architecture in the Age of Printing* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001) and *The Alphabet and the Algorithm* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011). Mario Carpo raises a number of interesting points on this topic. For example, he notes that the development of modular systems—known as *rules*—throughout the sixteenth century made scale irrelevant for architects like Serlio and Vignola. Instead of using measurements that may vary from place to place (like *piedi* or *braccia*), they expressed all dimensions as multiples or fractions of a module: "Scale ceases to be important. Vignola's models have no specific dimensions. Whether one centimeter or forty meters tall, the drawing does not change. It is always the same column." One of the first-known projects in which all the drawings were made in the same scale is Bramante's design for the cupola of Saint Peter's, published by Serlio in 1540. Mario Carpo goes further back and addressed the issue of scalability in relation to Alberti's *modus operandi*. As is well known, rather than being present during construction, Alberti would send a set of drawings that completely described the building: the workers then had to copy these at a larger scale. Mario Carpo describes the inventions in geometry and notation that made this possible and the limitations that would lead to its undoing, namely the "notational bottleneck" whereby only buildings that could be described in precisely-measurable drawings could be built.

[77] Fax sent by Architect Vanni Rizzo to Aldo Rossi's Milanese studio, 9 June 1992. This document is held in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal. The full postscript in Italian reads: "Molti disegni allegati sono stati ridotti per motivi di formato fax, quindi stai attento alle misure!"

[78] Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Methuen, 1982). Walter Ong introduced the distinction between "first degree orality" and "second degree orality" in order to distinguish between the exclusively oral communication that took place before the introduction of writing and the revival of orality induced by electronic technologies in the modern age. He wrote: "Telephone, radio, television and the various kind of sound tape, electronic technology has brought us into the age of secondary orality. This new orality has striking resemblance to the old in its

participatory mystique, its fostering of a communal sense, its concentration on the present moment, and even its use of formulas. But it is essentially a more deliberate and self-conscious orality, based permanently on the use of writing and print, which are essential for the manufacture and operation of the equipment and for its use as well." Notably, Walter Ong was mentored in this research by Marshall McLuhan, who had a profound interest in this form of techno-orality as well. In fact, Walter Ong's argument drew explicitly on Marshall McLuhan's theory of "global village." See Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: Signet Books, 1964). On the impact of "new media" on the way people interact, he notes: "A tribal and feudal hierarchy of traditional kind collapses quickly when it meets any hot medium of the mechanical, uniform, and repetitive kind. The medium of money or wheel or writing, or any other form of specialist speed up of exchange and information, will serve to fragment a tribal structure. Similarly, a very much greater speed-up, such as occurs with electricity, may serve to restore a tribal pattern of intense involvement such as took place with the introduction of radio in Europe, and is now tending to happen as a result of TV in America. Specialist technologies detribalize. The non-specialist electric technology retribalize." On the concept of orality in the work of Marshall McLuhan and Walter Ong, see Elena Lamberti, *Marshall McLuhan's Mosaic: Probing the Literary Origins of Media Studies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Howard Rheingold, *The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier* (Boston: Addison-Wesley, 1993); Stevan Harnard, "Post-Gutenberg Galaxy: The Fourth Revolution in the Means of Production of Knowledge," *Public-Access Computer Systems Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1991).

[79] Liz Farrelly, "Glitch in a Digital World," in *Urgent Images: The Graphic Language of The Fax* (London: Booth-Clibborn Editions, 1994). In one of the many fax handbooks published in the 1980s, Gerald Quinn repeatedly discussed faxing as an extension of talking. One of the chapters of his book is titled "How does my fax machine talk to other fax machines?" The text is accompanied by a cartoon showing two anthropomorphic fax machines, with big eyes and mouths, talking to each other over the phone.

[80] Gerald Quinn, *The Fax Handbook* (Blue Ridge Summit: Tab Books, 1989). The fax *handshake* is described as follows: "Transmitting to a remote fax machine requires that both sending and receiving units operate together. Whenever a fax machine answers a call, you will hear a distinctive sound. This sound enables the machines to establish a connection (handshake). The first part of the connection is the *phasing*. Phasing positions the scan and recording or printing mechanisms so that they coincide with respect to their relative positions. The second part of fax communication is

synchronizing, or keeping the phase (start/stop) synchronized (in step with each other) so one machine doesn't get ahead of the other." Ironically, in the 1980s Southwest Airlines launched an ad campaign that said: "You can't fax a handshake."

[81] Peter Eisenman, "Editor's Introduction: The Houses of Memory – The Texts of Analogy," in *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge: MIT Press – Oppositions Books, 1982). Reflecting on the concept of *analogy* in Aldo Rossi's work, Peter Eisenman wrote: "The subversive analogues proposed in Rossi's work involve two kinds of transformation. One is the dislocation of place, the other the dissolution of scale. In the former, the logical geography of the skeleton is displaced through typological invention. Rossi uses the example of Canaletto's painting of three Palladian projects; here, the different places of the project are collapsed into one place. In the latter kind of transformation, the dissolution of scale allows the individual building to refer analogically to the city as a whole."

[82] The terms *analog*, *analogous* and *analogical* appear time and again in most writings by Aldo Rossi and on Aldo Rossi, but are always addressed indirectly, like mysterious concepts. For example, in *L'Architettura della Città*, Aldo Rossi introduced his "hypothesis of the analogous city" by setting up an analogy with another image – a *veduta* of Venice by Canaletto. He noted: "To illustrate this concept I gave the example of Canaletto's fantasy view of Venice, a *capriccio* in which Palladio's projects for the Ponte di Rialto, the Basilica of Vicenza, and the Palazzo Chiericati are set next to each other and described as if the painter were rendering an urban scene he had actually observed. These three Palladian monuments, none of which are actually in Venice (one is a project; the other two are in Vicenza), nevertheless constitute an *analogous* Venice formed of specific elements associated with the history of both architecture and the city. The geographical transposition of the monuments within the painting constitutes a city that we recognize, even though it is a place of purely architectural references. This example enabled me to demonstrate how a logical-formal operation could be translated into a design method and then into a hypothesis for a theory of architectural design in which the elements were preestablished and formally defined, but where the significance that sprung forth at the end of the operation was the authentic, unforeseen and original meaning of the work." Aldo Rossi, Preface to the second Italian edition of *L'Architettura della Città* (Padua: Marsilio, 1970). Among other studies on this subject, the concept of analogy in Aldo Rossi's work has recently been addressed in the exhibition *Aldo Rossi: The Architecture and Art of the Analogous City*, organized by Daniel Sherer at the Princeton University School of Architecture, in the Winter of 2018. See also Adam Caruso, "Whatever Happened to Analogue Architecture," *AA Files*, No. 59 (2009); Pier Vittorio Aureli, "The Difficult Whole," *Log*, No. 9 (Winter/Spring

2007); Mary Louise Lobsinger, "That Obscure Object of Desire: Autobiography and Repetition in the Work of Aldo Rossi," *Grey Room*, No. 8 (Summer 2002).

Chapter 2: Black Card

Introduction and Literature Review

This chapter sets out to explore the transformations that led from heralding a new transatlantic debate at the 1976 Biennale (titled *Europe / America*) to Aldo Rossi's induction into the American Institute of Architects in 1989. The AIA black credit card that came at the end of this trajectory is used as a lens to observe the impact of complex multinational dynamics on the organization of the profession and the identity politics of architecture. At the beginning of this analysis is an effort to problematize two related forms of transatlantic interaction that, in most canonical readings, are addressed as monodirectional flows. The first one is exemplified by Fulvio Irace's interpretation of the transatlantic debates of the post-war period as a process whereby the American intelligentsia leaned on European *meitres à penser* and borrowed their theoretical foundations.[1] This chapter, conversely, shares the approach of Louis Martin and especially Lea-Catherine Szacka, who pointed to the 1976 Biennale as an example of a more multifaceted interaction, characterized by American architects producing theories and bringing them to Europe.[2]

The second reflection deals with an even more structural issue: traveling. While there is a vast literature on architectural tourism—relatively recent examples include Martino Stierli's study of Robert Venturi's Italian *sojourn* and the 41st volume of *Perspecta*, titled "Grand Tour"—this phenomenon is usually addressed from a partial perspective: the focus is on traveling from America to Europe, interpreting this process as a formative experience.[3] The case of Aldo Rossi shines a light on the opposite itinerary, raising the question of the American tour. This type of transatlantic crossing was

neither the result of wars or dictatorships (as had been the case in the first half of the twentieth century) nor a learning device *per se*. At the apex of the Pax Americana, this crossing intersected a number of professional dynamics, pointing to a complex intertwine between traveling and working.

This analysis engages with a broad literature on the professionalization of architecture. From Spiro Kostof's *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession* and Mary Woods's *From Craft to Profession* to Bryan Norwood's "Inventing Professional Architecture," most studies tended to position modern professionalism within national frameworks.[4] In a book that was published a few months ago, in early 2018, Graeme Bristol went as far as to describe the profession as "an extension of State authority."[5] In the same volume, Hossein Sadri wrote: "The profession of architecture is a legal body which grants architects an exclusive right in shaping spaces and is nationally controlled along with the monopolistic guild structures protected by modern governments."[6] The argument was that globalization and the rescaling of national authorities resulted in a gradual dissolution of the profession itself. A similar concern was voiced as early as 1997 by Stewart Brand, who posed this question during his keynote speech at an AIA Convention: "Has the last architect been born?"[7]

In "The Ac(credit)ation card," Neil Leach looked at this issue from a different perspective and, while arguing that architecture had become "a truly global profession," devoted his attention to the minute conflicts between the local authorities that had historically controlled the profession and the dynamics of an emergent global market.[8] Likewise, this chapter delves into the complexities and contradictions generated by operating in diverse markets. But rather than addressing this process in terms of dissolution or globalization, it focuses on the overlap of multiple professional accreditations, each one representing a different and often competing structure of power, as a result of the transition from traveling to working in a multinational framework.

Aldo Rossi's black card is addressed from a double perspective. First, particular attention is paid to the fact that a professional membership came in the form of a credit card. To examine this issue, this chapter engages with a quite heterogenous literature on the culture of the credit card, including George Ritzer's *Expressing America*, David Evans's *Paying with Plastic* and Vinca Kruk and Daniel van der Velden's "White Night Before a Manifesto," among other sources.[9] This literature sheds light on the convergence between Americanization and globalization, the symbiosis between credit culture and consumer culture, the tension between public authorities and corporate forces, the emergence of new ideas in value exchange, the definition of *surfaces* of virtual assets, the reconceptualization of paper in a cashless economy, and other themes that relate closely to the transformations of the architectural profession in the 1980s. In the studies of Mike Featherstone and Roland Robertson on globalization, the use of credit cards is associated with the emergence of "third cultures" – cultures that derive from transnational economic processes and gradually occupy a space that is above the level of any State.[10] The second perspective is specific to Aldo Rossi and addresses the AIA membership as a component in a broader collection of *cards* that the architect accumulated throughout his career. None of them replaced the others or represented a universal *passepartout*, but together they allowed Aldo Rossi to operate in a variety of markets, from the building industry to the academy. The Italian case is particularly interesting because, long before professionalism started to transcend national boundaries, the authority behind the production of architecture was contested by multiple forces. While the Italian professional system had been set up and disciplined by the Fascist regime, using the Statist formula of the *Ordine Professionale*, other organizations exerted a great deal of power over architecture. For example, in Aldo Rossi's *milieu,* it was difficult to work without a card of the Communist Party. The literature on this phenomenon includes Peter Lange's *Italy in Transition: Conflict and Consensus* and Gloria Bianchino and Arturo Carlo Quintavalle's *Il Rosso e il Nero: Figure e Ideologie in Italia, 1945-1980*.[11] In the

case of Aldo Rossi, working in diverse arenas meant collecting a series of suffixes—Architect, Professor, Communist, AIA—and constantly swapping or combining different identity kits.

Europe / America

Looking at a set of photos of the Theater of the World, John Hejduk commented: "Inside is Europe, but outside, the shell is America." This enigmatic critique was very much appreciated by Aldo Rossi, who annotated it both in his blue notebooks and *A Scientific Autobiography*.[12] From his point of view, this comment evoked an association between the Venetian theater and his American objects of affection, from the highrises of New York to the lighthouses of New England. While what John Hejduk meant and what Aldo Rossi understood through their cryptic dialog may not have been the same thing, this exchange raises two important issues. First, the emergence of an architectural dialectic operating on a transatlantic level. And, second, the theme of which the Theater of the World is the very embodiment: traveling. Both of these topics are associated with a long history and a broad literature, but they seem to take an interesting turn in the 1970s. In the case of Aldo Rossi, 1976 serves as a point of reference.[13] In the Spring, Aldo Rossi took his first trip to the United States and exhibited his work (his drawings) at the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies.[14] Shortly after, in the Summer, he participated to the exhibition *Europe / America* at the first architectural Biennale in Venice, an event that brought together the most relevant thinkers from both sides of the Atlantic.[15] His *quaderni azzurri* constitute an important resource in this regard: the more Aldo Rossi started to operate internationally, the more his notebooks took on the characteristics of travel journals or travelogues.

Almost all of the Americans involved in this Biennale had engaged, in one form or another, with architectural tourism in Europe. Martino Stierli argued that, "by marrying architectural connoisseurship once again to architectural tourism," the generation of Robert Venturi resumed the

tradition of the grand tour in the post-war period.[16] This tradition envisioned traveling as a formative experience: learning from Europe. The Biennale, however, started to reveal a more complex dialectic. In the introduction to the American side of the show, Peter Eisenman made a significant point: "Theory, ideology and models for our urban development usually come from Europe. In this international exhibition, on the contrary, we will propose ideas that originated in America."[17] From this point of view, the relationship with Europe was no longer one of learning or appropriating ideas that could be brought back home. It was about presenting a theoretical alternative. And a fundamental aspect of this "American alternative" was the explicit objective to address a "European public." In a recent interview, Robert Stern put it this way: "The cross-cultural exchange of the 1976 Biennale was a great opportunity to kind of not feel like we were the dumb Americans receiving wisdom from the Old World, but to show the Old World that we also had ideas, different but equally valid and interesting ideas."[18]

The question of the public is particularly important. While seemingly representing a centrifugal force, the grand tour had historically responded to national dynamics. The public of Le Roy's tour was French, the public of Stuart and Revett's tour was English, the public of Goethe's tour was German, and so on. The grand tour was essentially a national institution, whose public resided in the country of origin, not in that of destination. This national framework faded away in the post-war period, giving way to a different kind of architectural tourism. And this phenomenon was accompanied by a drastic rescaling of statehood in Europe due to the formation of the European Union. It was no coincidence that at the Biennale no mention was made of the national origin of the European architects, who were simply presented as "Europeans."

The American Tour

Much has been written about touring from America to Europe.[19] The inverse itinerary, however, has generally been overlooked. Architectural tourism in the United States operates in different ways and calls for different readings. In Italy, for the generation of Aldo Rossi, one book played a particularly important role in shaping the imaginary of the American travel: *Americana*, by Elio Vittorini. Often referenced by Aldo Rossi in his notebooks, Elio Vittorini's anthology of American literature painted a mythical America that had a strong impact on the Italian intelligentsia of the post-war period: "Everyone who goes to America is in some way running from something."[20] For many European architects in the first half of the century, the United States actually represented a way out of wars and totalitarian regimes. By the time of the exhibition *Europe / America* at the Biennale, however, this view had become completely obsolete.[21] The cover of the exhibition catalogue was emblematic of this shift: showing a highway above the sea with cars traveling in both directions, the cover suggested a reciprocal flow of ideas in the context of a transnational discourse.

Aldo Rossi was among the most active architects in this transatlantic bridge.[22] The photos of Aldo Rossi driving through the "great American void" in a convertible, white Mercedes Benz spoke directly to this imagery.[23] And this was perhaps the imagery to which John Hejduk alluded when he invited Aldo Rossi to participate in a lecture series titled *Solitary Travelers*, held at Cooper Union in 1977.[24] Beneath the surface, however, there was a highly complex relation with the United States. While the idea of learning from America was certainly part of the equation, the American tour did not operate as a formative experience *per se*. By the mid-1970s, Aldo Rossi was already formed as an intellect, had written his most important book and completed numerous key projects. Perhaps here lies the main difference with the tradition of the European grand tour. Traveling to the United States was not about learning as much as it was about finding new markets for architecture.[25] At first an art market, then an

academic market and eventually a construction market. For Aldo Rossi, traveling was associated with exhibiting, teaching and eventually building.

In light of these considerations, the photos of Aldo Rossi driving across America like a regular tourist should be placed within a larger picture. Two images, both heavily staged, are particularly relevant. The first is a photo of Aldo Rossi posing at the wheel of his (rented) Mercedes Benz, in front of a view of what seems to be the Grand Canyon. The components of this image and the relation between them are quite easy to read: the traveling architect, the car and the natural landscape. The second image further expresses the concept of the architect-tourist: the car is gone and Aldo Rossi poses with a camera in his hands, looking straight down the lens of the photographer. Both of these pictures were taken by an unspecified friend, who accompanied Aldo Rossi throughout this trip. And they were never intended to be published: there is no reason to believe they were part of an effort to create a visual narrative for the public to "buy."

These pictures reveal both an understanding of the tourist as some kind of researcher—someone who takes the time to document what he sees (in this case through photography)—and an effort to document this act of documentation, by photographing the photographer. Other photos in this set bring to mind Robert Venturi & Denise Scott Brown and some of the iconic images of *Learning from Las Vegas*.[26] For example, there is a "windshield perspective," made by Aldo Rossi himself while driving, showing his left hand on the wheel, the hood of his car and a generic rural landscape cut by a straight highway. As in the work of Robert Venturi & Denise Scott Brown, the car and the camera operate as one. Furthermore, there are several photos of buildings encountered along the way, most of which look like either ducks or decorated sheds.

In the mid-1980s, Aldo Rossi wrote on his *quaderni azzurri* that traveling had become such a prominent aspect of his life that he had given up trying to annotate every single trip: "The only notes are the

stamps on my passport and my U.S. visas."[27] He even started putting Alitalia's stickers (the ones that airline passengers used to put on their bags, with their name and contact information) on the cover of his notebooks. However, next to this material, there is also a vast amount of documentation that points to a mode of travelling that has very little to do with tourism. Next to the airline tickets, there are also tickets of events in which Aldo Rossi *performed* throughout the United States.

For example, in April of 1984, he was at a summer festival in Houston, Texas giving a presentation titled "Aldo Rossi on Architecture." A ticket costed five dollars.[28] By that time, Aldo Rossi had been on "an American tour" for several years, presenting his work at countless events both in academic and non-academic contexts. The preparatory documents for these performances show that, in most cases, he gave the exact same talk – consisting in a description of his key projects. This (serial) presentation was usually titled *Some of my Projects*.[29] Notably, the logic of the xerox seemed to inform his *modus operandi* even when he was "on tour." To be more specific, as noted in a review of one of his public lectures at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, most of the performance actually consisted of Aldo Rossi drawing sketches on a blackboard. The reviewer noted that, even though Aldo Rossi's English was barely understandable, "every inch of available space in the auditorium was occupied" when he started talking and drawing.[30]

That being said, touring the American academia was not the ultimate goal. In a lecture at Yale in the mid-1980s, Aldo Rossi explained what was the actual ambition: "After many years I have worked as a teacher in your country, I hope to realize something that expresses in some way the spirit and the tradition of America and my relationship with America."[31] Notably, this was the moment in which, after almost ten years of on-and-off presence in the United States (giving lectures and exhibiting drawings), Aldo Rossi began his first two projects on American soil: the School of Architecture at the University of Miami and the Mardi Gras arch for Galveston, Texas.

In the essay "In the Academy's Garden," Martino Stierli touched on the relationship between tourism and practice in the case of Robert Venturi's Italian *sojourn*: "While Venturi's experiences at the American Academy in Rome were primarily dedicated to touring, reading and studying architecture, there was also an opportunity to carry out a design proposal."[32] The proposal in question was a project for a studio pavilion in the garden of the Academy, which Robert Venturi envisioned as an "allegory for his learning from Rome." Aside from the fact that the pavilion was never built, this example is interesting because it shows that, in the context of the European tour, a rare opportunity to build was immediately turned into an opportunity to represent, in spatial terms, the learning experience of the tourist. And, more importantly, this entire operation—from the design of the pavilion to its potential construction—was imagined within the walls of the Academy, the institution that embodied the very notion of the grand tour. From this point of view, Aldo Rossi's approach to working-while-touring had a very different structure.

Hence, the photos with the white Mercedes Benz are part of a more complex trajectory, which includes the aforementioned opening of a satellite office in New York in the mid-1980s and, shortly after, Aldo Rossi's induction into the American Institute of Architects. In his case, tourism and practice were deeply intertwined, resulting in a complex transition from traveling to settling down and working in a new professional *milieu*. This theme raises a series of important questions regarding, among other issues, the globalization of the architectural profession, pointing to a transformation in the structures of power that regulated and accredited an architect's work.

Memberships

In 1989, three years after opening his New York office, Aldo Rossi was invited to join the American Institute of Architects. He was admitted as an “Honorary Fellow,” along with a selected group of other non-American architects. This was the period in which the AIA started to expand its horizons, approaching renowned international architects who had been working in the United States. But 1989 was also the year of the fall of the Berlin wall, an event the completely changed Europe’s geopolitical alignments. For Aldo Rossi, who had been a member and activist of the Italian Communist Party for many years, this was a particularly important transformation. Notably, his AIA membership came in the form of a little black card, which was mailed to his studio in Milan.[33] If it were not for the AIA logo, it could be easily mistaken for a credit card: it’s 3⅜” long by 2⅛” wide, weights about a fifth of an ounce, has a magnetic stripe on the back, and has the owner’s name, an account number and an expiration date embossed on the front.

This document can be situated in a sequence of cards, each of which speaks to different dynamics. First of all, from a young age, Aldo Rossi held a membership card of the Italian Communist Party, a document known in Italy as *tessera di partito*. For many years in post-war Italy, being a member of one of the major political parties was of paramount importance for professionals in many fields.[34] It was one of the ways in which the cold war was fought in Italy – a country that was very much on the border between east and west. Even though Italy’s Atlantic allegiance was affirmed right after World War II, the Italian Communist Party (the largest Communist Party in Western Europe) played a major role in the country’s politics until the fall of the Berlin wall, establishing a special relation with the Soviet Union. From an architect’s perspective, it meant that, in order to get a job in the cities and regions administered by the Communist Party (especially in central Italy, the so-called *red regions*, and parts of the north-west), it was very helpful to be a member. Parts of the academia operated in the

same way: many departments of architecture were very keen to look at the political affiliation of potential faculty members and having the right *tessera* was often key to getting a teaching job.[35]

The other major parties—starting with the main one, the Christian Democratic Party—did the same thing where they had the power. Aldo Rossi himself wrote several notes on this issue, going as far as to argue that "the future of our cities is in the hands of *architetti di partito*."[36] It's worth pointing out that this mechanism can be traced back to the Fascist period: in fact, after the advent of the regime in the early 1920s, all workers in virtually every field were forced to sign up for a membership card of the Fascist Party if they wanted to keep their jobs. And, notably, these were also the years in which most professions were restructured around specific organizations called "*ordini*." The *Ordine degli Architetti* (the Italian version of the AIA) was established in 1923 and, to this day, still oversees the architectural profession in Italy. In order to become a member and, therefore, be legally authorized to work as an architect, one had to pass an exam that was fittingly called *Esame di Stato* (State Exam), which was established in 1933.[37] From the early 1920s until the end of the cold war, this model resulted in a constant overlap and tension between the level of the State (which formally controlled the profession and regulated who could work as an architect) and the level of the party (which, in very practical terms, often decided who would get a job and who would not).

As Aldo Rossi's activities became increasingly international in the 1970s, other types of cards started to come into play. Given his communist background, every invitation to exhibit his work or to give a lecture in the United States was accompanied by a struggle to obtain an American visa.[38] The first academic invitation came from Cornell University, in the Spring of 1976. The surviving correspondence between Aldo Rossi and Cornell's Foreign Scholar Advisor shows that the main obstacle had to with the "Certificate of Eligibility for Exchange Visitor Status."[39] The Department of State was clearly not keen on declaring a member of the Italian Communist Party *eligible* to act as a

"visiting critic" in an American university. In a letter addressed to Mario Schack, the Chair of Cornell's Department of Architecture, Aldo Rossi wrote: "I think that my possibility to come to the USA is now difficult. I hope to come in your country: if it is not possible, I hope to see you in Italy or in another country in Europe."[40]

Before one of his visits to Yale University in the Fall of 1980, Aldo Rossi received an interesting letter from the school's Advisor to Foreign Scholars: "If at any time someone harasses you because of your political or personal beliefs, please let us know. We will see that you get protection if necessary, and you can be assured we will maintain confidentiality."[41] The bureaucratic apparatus that oversaw these visits was afraid that Aldo Rossi would be met with hostility in the United States. By 1980, however, Aldo Rossi had become somewhat of a celebrity in America. And this resulted in another series of cards. For example, in 1980, the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies invited Aldo Rossi to teach a course and gave him a faculty card.[42] It conformed to the standard business card format, it was made of thin cardboard, and—in addition to the IAUS header—it provided a few essential information: "Aldo Rossi – Faculty." At the bottom of the card, there was also the signature of Peter Wolf (the Chairman of the IAUS Board of Fellows) as a proof of authenticity.

Being identified as a worker (and therefore having an income in the United States) required additional forms of documentation.[43] In 1977, Aldo Rossi applied for a social security card. Some of the application materials are visible in the archive of the Getty Research Institute. Along with these documents, there are also copies of Aldo Rossi's American tax return for the year 1979. According to the 1042-S form ("Foreign Person's U.S. Source Income Subject to Withholding"), Aldo Rossi had a gross income of 6.000 US$ in America during the 1979 tax year.[44] Evidently, paying taxes in the United States implied becoming part of a community. But the social security card was more than an

instrument for renumeration and taxation: over the years, that nine-digit number on the card had become the primary identifier for all individuals who formally participated to American life.

Taking a step back, the transition from being a passive participant (a visitor, a tourist) to being an active participant (a worker, an entrepreneur) in American life can also be analyzed through another medium, with which Aldo Rossi had developed somewhat of an obsession: the postcard. In fact, he put together a very large collection of postcards, many of which came from the United States.[45] Most of them were either cards that he bought for himself during his early trips in America or cards that someone else (friends or colleagues) sent him. Ironically, several of these postcards were written by European acquaintances who wanted to point out buildings or other objects they had seen in the United States which, in their opinion, looked like Rossian imitations.[46] But there was also another category of cards, which responded to a very different logic: these were postcards produced by Aldo Rossi himself in collaboration with various institutions, in order to promote events such as exhibitions, lectures or publications. Most of these cards featured drawings of Aldo Rossi's most famous projects, like the Cemetery of Modena or the Theater of World. But there was also a card with a portrait of Aldo Rossi (made by Italian painter Silvio Pasotti), which reveals an attempt to build an aura not only around the architect's work, but also around the architect's persona. In this context, the postcard was no longer related to tourism, but started to operate as a professional device, as it offered a very simple way of reproducing and disseminating certain ideas or images.[47] Notably, the 1980s saw a growing interest in the medium of the postcard among intellectuals from various fields. Jacques Derrida published *La Carte Postale* in 1980: the central story of the book revolved around the idea of sending a copy of the same postcard to the same person, every single day.[48]

Cards and Credit

The membership card that Aldo Rossi received from the AIA in 1989, however, was different from all of these other cards, as it was structured like a credit card. As noted by George Ritzer, credit cards can be analyzed from two perspective. On the one hand, the credit card is an American icon: "The credit card expresses something about the essence of modern America and, like an express train, is speeding across the world's landscape delivering American (and more generally consumer) culture. The credit card is not the first symbol of American culture to play such a role, nor will it be the last. Other icons include Coca-Cola, Levi's, Marlboro, Disney and McDonald's. However, the credit card is distinctive because it is a means that can be used to obtain all those other icons, as well as virtually anything else available in the world's marketplaces."[49] On the other hand, although most credit card companies are American in origin, they have deliberately tried to give the sense that their cards are not confined to any nation. Mastercard has always sought to convey the image of "a card without a country." The hologram of Mastercard is the globe, indicating that the entire world is its domain. Visa gives its holders the sense that they are in possession of a pass that allows them to cross any border and to open any lock. The name of the card conveys a sense of power: the ability to go anywhere.[50] In the early 1990s, Mike Featherstone linked credit cards to the notion of "third cultures" – an idea generated by globalization theory which alluded to a series of partially autonomous cultures that transcended national boundaries and existed on a global basis.[51] In 1999, David Evans took it one step further, arguing that credit cards were the closest thing that the world had to a common global currency.[52] In *The Death of Money*, Joel Kurtzman highlighted also the impact of credit cards on traditional authorities, especially as it pertained to Nation-States. From his point of view, credit card companies performed a function formerly limited to governments: "they create money."[53]

In addition to this debate on the structures of power behind credit cards, in the 1980s and 1990s many scholars started to discuss credit cards more broadly as a new paradigm in value exchange. David Evans wrote: "It's a revolution in how we pay and finance: the movement away from money as something of intrinsic value and toward money as a unit of account is revolutionary."[54] According to almost everyone who has studied this phenomenon, the system was based on the notion of spending beyond one's means, which allowed most people to participate in consumer culture and, therefore, allowed the economy to function at a much higher and faster level than it might if it relied solely on cash.[55]

In his understanding of money as a structuring agent that reflects the totality of life, Georg Simmel argued that the first problem related to money is the "temptation to imprudence" – the tendency of going into the debt.[56] Clearly, the perspective had changed when in the early 1960s, as the first payment cards were starting to circulate in the United States, Francis Williams wrote: "If Americans were now to stop spending what they have not got, their whole economy would falter."[57] Most of the literature on this topic points to a fundamental connection between consumer culture and credit culture.[58] Building on Pierre Bourdieu's theory, Matthew Bernthal argued that, through their power to command other consumption markers, "credit cards shine a light on practices, knowledge, tastes and skills employed to acquire objects rather than simply to utilize them."[59]

At the begging of the movie *The Graduate*, a middle-aged neighbor tells young Dustin Hoffman that a really viable career future would be in "one word: *plastics*." [60] In that context, the word "plastic" not only referred to the literal manufacturing of plastic items: it was synonymous with false, bogus, synthetic, tawdry, lifeless, artificial, pre-fabricated. Plastic was associated with what is superficial in modern society. One of the aspects that separated Aldo Rossi's AIA membership card from all the other cards he previously owned was that, like all credit cards, it was made of plastic. In his effort to

trace a "history of how we pay for things," David Evans noted that the economy has always been associated with specific materials, to which people attributed value.[61] For most of human history, money was metal. The shift toward paper money occurred in the eighteenth century and accompanied the trajectory of modernity. As evidenced, for example, by Robert Hendrickson's *The Cashless Society*, the discussion on the possibility of a paperless economy had started as early as the 1970s.[62] Pointing to the inefficiency of dealing with paper, Terry Galanoy wrote in 1980 that "to run a cash economy—to print, mint, replace, circulate and protect money—costs a great deal."[63] In 1992, Sandra Lowe discussed credit cards as a step toward not only a cashless society, but also a checkless society.[64] Notably, this transition unfolded precisely as the architectural discourse, especially in the United States, started to be drawn to what Arie Graafland called "an autonomous paper architectural world."[65] As architects were increasingly focused on paper, the economy was gradually moving away from paper. As architects were endeavoring to turn their works on paper into marketable commodities, the use of paper money in financial transactions was quickly decreasing.[66] As architects developed a new interest in notebooks and sketchbooks, checkbooks were starting to be set aside in favor of less inconvenient payment methods.[67] From this point of view, the AIA plastic card speaks to a different logic: it signals an effort to align the profession with the economic structure of what Frederic Jameson called "late capitalism."[68] As noted by Matthew Bernthal, owning and using a credit card was one of the foremost indicators of active participation in this economy: "If you are working, you use a credit card; it would seem strange if you didn't in a social setting."[69] The AIA membership card that Aldo Rossi obtained in 1989 indicated that he no longer was a tourist, a visiting scholar or a drawing salesman on American soil: he was now identified as a working-architect in the AIA professional *milieu*.[70]

Professionalism and the State

Toward the end of the Reagan-Thatcher decade, many professional organizations like the AIA were struggling to deal with the forces of globalization. In 1993, the AIA created its first international chapter in London, followed by chapters in Europe, Hong Kong, Japan, Middle East and Shanghai.[71] And similar processes were unfolding in other parts of the world. For example, in 1990, multiple European organizations came together and founded the Architect's Council of Europe (ACE).[72] At the turn of the century, this led to an increasingly intense negotiation between European and American organizations, aimed at finding a way to establish mutual recognition and to define transatlantic standards of professionalism in architectural practice. As noted by Ali Farazmand and Jack Pinkowski, the goal was to make it easier for European and American architects "to provide services in each other's markets."[73]

This process, however, was very much at odds with the history of the architectural profession, which, both in Europe and the United States, had always been associated with one specific authority: the State. In most Western countries, this history can be traced back to the nineteenth century.[74] In 1885, for example, Dankmar Adler wrote: "Let no man practice architecture without a license from a competent State tribunal."[75] In those years, similar discussions on State certification of architectural qualifications were taking place also in France, England and Prussia. Mary Woods argued that the process of setting credentials, examining and licensing set in motion during the nineteenth century had the fundamental effect of transforming the profession into a State bureaucracy.[76] As noted by Sibel Dostoglu, this marked also a transition from craftsmanship to draftsmanship and, more broadly, a transition from the architect-artisan to the architect-businessman.[77] Richard Upjohn, the founder and first member of the AIA, stated that the main goal of his organization was "the establishment and maintenance of a perfect understanding as to prices and methods of conducting business."[78] In the

literature produced by the AIA, one notion is always stressed with particular emphasis: the notion that, prior to the establishment of the AIA, anyone could claim to be an architect. In very practical terms, the professionalization of architecture meant that only those who were authorized by their State could identify themselves as architects. Even in a federal republic like the United States, the power of licensing (the actual term is registering) architects has always been in the hands of the States, not the central government.[79]

In the essay *The Ac(credit)ation Card*, Neil Leach pointed to the dichotomy between the logic of accreditation—which operates at the national level—and the globalization of the profession. In his analysis, the emblem of this divergence is the education system, which historically has constituted the first mechanism of legitimation of the architectural profession: "According to the logic of accreditation, only those who have graduated from accredited programs and who have fulfilled other necessary conditions are entitled to call themselves architects."[80] The National Architectural Accrediting Board (NAAB) is the agency in charge of this process in the United States. As evidenced by its own rulebook, NAAB operates at a very specific level: "Architecture, like law and medicine, is regulated at the State level."[81] As a result, architectural graduates are only qualified to practice in one particular State.

The accrediting power of the State on both the organization of the profession and the formative system that allows individuals to become professionals has been particularly strong in Italy. A key reason is that, as already noted, the recognition and organization of most professions took place during the Fascist regime, which introduced the formula of the "*ordine professionale*." The name alone (*ordine* means *order*) speaks to a view of the profession as something that needs to be organized and disciplined by a higher authority. Formally, all *ordini* are public entities, under the supervision of the Department of Justice: the State gives them the task of governing their respective professions.[82] Hence, the mandate

to do everything an *ordine* does comes directly from the State. Furthermore, the Fascist regime introduced a distinction between "liberal professions" and "technical professions," which included both architects and engineers: as noted by Sergio Bologna and Dario Banfi, while the former were structured to work with individual citizens, the latter were envisioned mainly as professions "at the service of the State."[83]

One of the primary dictionary definitions of "accredit" is: "(of an official body) give authority or sanction to someone or something when recognized standards have been met." Another definition is: "give official authorization for someone to be in a particular place or to hold a particular post."[84] From this point of view, the authority to identify as a professional architect in a certain place has historically come from the State that had jurisdiction over that territory. To be more specific, the State normally had a monopoly on the concession of that authority. In this framework, the State essentially granted a line of credit to those who fulfilled the pre-determined requirements of the architectural profession. This concession was then formalized through the payment of some kind of professional fee. What was lent and borrowed in this revolving account was not money *per se*, but rather the authority to do a job, to sell a service and, therefore, to make money. By its very nature, this system led to a debtor-creditor relationship between the architect and the State: when an institution gives credit to someone, then there has to be a form of payback. And granting authority to someone also meant exerting authority over that person: if an architect could identify as such only with the permission of the State, then being an architect implied being, on some level, an *homme d'État*.

Aldo Rossi's early career is but one example of this mechanism. He could operate as an architect in Italy because he had graduated from a university whose program had been vetted by the Ministry of Education, passed an exam called *Esame di Stato di Abilitazione all'Esercizio della Professione di Architetto*, and then joined the State-controlled professional organization for architects (*Ordine degli Architetti*). As

in many other countries, this was the only path to becoming an architect: there was no alternative. Aldo Rossi's AIA card is important because it shows a multiplication of architecture's lines of credit and sources of authority. And, furthermore, it shows a fragmentation of the architect's identity. In the documentation that the AIA sent to its new members, the question of identity was always in the foreground: "In accordance with the Institute bylaws and subject to applicable State laws, you may now use the initials AIA as a suffix to your name. I encourage you to do so. The value the public and your clients place in those letters is in no small part determined by the pride our members have in using them."[85] Receiving an accreditation card had an impact even on the name of the architect: Aldo Rossi became Aldo Rossi AIA.

Card-Carrying Architect

In the early 1990s, financial analysts like Chicago Tribune's Patricia Widder started to highlight a new phenomenon – "the entry, beginning in the early 1980s, of non-banks in the credit card business."[86] These "non-bank cards" were commonly called co-branded cards, because they carried the name of both a credit card company (like Visa) and a sponsoring company (like, for example, General Motors). As noted by George Ritzer, this development led to the creation of a new generation of cards: "In the mid-1980s, the credit card firms sought to reach new groups of customers with the creation of affinity cards; like co-branded cards, they carry two names: Visa or Mastercard, plus the name of another (usually non-profit) entity."[87] The most elementary type of affinity card was the so-called personality card, which was designed to attract people who shared interests and activities: this was the period in which people began to acquire cards that carried the name of sport teams or rock bands, in an effort to identify with their favorite brands and to shape their personality around them.[88] But, in this context, the most relevant type of affinity card was the so-called lifestyle card, which was usually designed for

members of a specific organization. The AIA was obviously not alone in this. In fact, it would be very hard to find a professional organization in the United States—from the American Sociological Association to the American Medical Association—which did not offer a lifestyle card.[89]

In a recent essay on the relation between "the enlightened creative professional" and "the corporate global client," Vinca Kruk and Daniel van der Velden interpreted credit cards as active surfaces (predating the phone-as-surface), capable of transforming the valueless into the valuable. In this piece, they singled out the American Express "black card," one of the most exclusive credit cards: "The black in different kind of objects is the continuum of the single sign value of luxury. It disjoints the color black from its material properties in each separate object, transforming surface into information. Black surface belongs to the city's cultural and financial core, the urban tissue that concentrates decision making and spending capacity and connects to other such cores. The immaterial workers, dressed to kill in black Comme des Garçon, black Prada, black Jilsander, black Burberry, black Balenciaga and Black Dior, had bought themselves into their belief. Their belief was that they were the new élite. The new élite was founded on debt, was into black. The old élite (now stuffed) was founded on gold."[90]

The fact that Aldo Rossi was given a black credit card as a sign of his admission into the American Institute of Architects in the late 1980s is emblematic of a number of transformations within architecture. As already mentioned, it speaks to the globalization of the profession and a growing pressure to overcome national authorities. But it also reflects a shift of the profession towards the corporate world and, as a result, the emergence of new types of "creditors." In the year Aldo Rossi became a member, the AIA was receiving hundreds of thousands of dollars every year from a multitude of corporations (Xerox, Geico, Sprint, Avis, Airborne Express, just to name a few) to fund its operations. And each of these companies offered "advantage programs" to all AIA members.[91]

From this perspective, the black card reflects the ambition to seat at the table of global finance and actively ride the cultural wave of late capitalism. It's a surface inhabited by a number of brands, responding to a number of interests, all of which exert some level of authority over the cardholder. It's an active surface that speaks to a change in the structure of power through which architecture operates.

While thousands of other architects had an AIA black card just like this one, Aldo Rossi's case shines a particular light on the globalization of the profession, presenting it not as a process of simplification and standardization, but rather as a multiplication and fragmentation of the architect's identity. The expansion of his operational reach went hand in hand with an accumulation of cards, which often responded to contradicting or overlapping authorities and reflected tensions between diverse structures of power. Three numbers can be of help in further exploring the trajectory of Aldo Rossi as a *card-carrying* architect. First, 711: Aldo Rossi's registration number at the *Ordine degli Architetti*, in Milan.[92] It indicated that Aldo Rossi had graduated from an accredited program, had passed the State exam and had become a member of the professional organization for architects in Italy. The State's power to decide who could (and who could not) identify as an architect boiled down to this number: being *numbered* by the State was the precondition for practicing a profession in its territory. Second, 0058138: the number of Aldo Rossi's membership card for the Italian Communist Party, also known as *red card*.[93] While being a member of the *ordine* was necessary to formally identify as an architect, having some type of political affiliation was often necessary to actually get a job as an architect in Italy. While the first number responded to the logic of the State, the second one responded to the logic of the party. Paradoxically, in Aldo Rossi's case, the red card was instrumental in both finding work at the beginning of his career and jeopardizing work as soon as he started to operate beyond national borders and to move west. And that's when the third number came in: 022762223, the number of

Aldo Rossi's AIA card. Even though it came from an American institution, this card was designed for a multinational *milieu*, not unlike a Visa or a Mastercard. It represented an attempt to establish a new channel to grant someone the credit (and the corresponding account number) to operate in a market that could hardly be controlled by national authorities. These three numbers ultimately suggest a reading of post-modernization as a series of shifts and negotiations in architecture's identity politics, highlighted by the need of those who participated in this process to constantly find ways to *re-state* themselves and reproduce their work in different contexts.

Chapter 2: Black Card – References

[1] Fulvio Irace, "Preface," in Ernesto-Ramon Rispoli, *Ponti sull'Atlantico: L'Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies e le relazioni Italia-America, 1967-1985* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2012).

[2] Lea-Catherine Szacka, "Debates on Display at the 1976 Venice Biennale," in *Exhibiting Architecture: Place and Displacement*, ed. Thordis Arhennius (Zurich: Lars Muller, 2014) and Louis Martin, "The Search for a Theory in Architecture: Anglo-American Debates, 1957-1976," PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 2002.

[3] Martino Stierli, "In the Academy's Garden: Robert Venturi, the Grand Tour and the Revision of Modern Architecture," *AA Files*, No. 56 (2007) and Gabrielle Brainard, Rustam Mehta and Thomas Moran, eds. *Perspecta*, No. 41, "Grand Tour" (2008).

[4] See Spiro Kostof, ed. *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Bryan Norwood, "Inventing Professional Architecture," in *The University of Illinois: Engine of Innovation*, ed. Fred Hoxie (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2017).

[5] Graeme Bristol, "The Trouble with Architecture," in *Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era*, ed. Hossein Sadri (Berlin: Springer, 2018).

[6] Hossein Sadri, "Neo-liberalism and the End of the Profession of Architecture," in *Neo-liberalism and the Architecture of the Post Professional Era*, ed. Hossein Sadri (Berlin: Springer, 2018).

[7] Richard Hobbs, "Observations on our Decade of Redefinition," *AIArchitect* (January 2002).

[8] Neil Leach, "The Ac(credit)ation Card," in *The Architect as Worker: Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class and the Politics of Design*, ed. Peggy Deamer (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

[9] See George Ritzer, *Expressing America: A Critique of the Global Credit Card Society* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1995); David Evans, *Paying with Plastic* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999); Vinca Kruk and Daniel van der Velden, "White Night Before a Manifesto," in *The Architect as Worker: Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class and the Politics of Design*, ed. Peggy Deamer (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

[10] Mike Featherstone, *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1990) and Roland Robertson, Globalization, Social Theory and Global Culture (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1992).

[11] Peter Lange, ed. *Italy in Transition: Conflict and Consensus* (New York: Frank Cass, 1980) and Gloria Bianchino and Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, *Il Rosso e il Nero: Figure e Ideologie in Italia, 1945-1980* (Milan: Electa, 1999).

[12] John Hejduk's comment regarding Europe and America is mentioned in several of Aldo Rossi's writings, including the *Quaderno Azzurro* no. 26 (1979). It is also mentioned in a preparatory draft of *A Scientific Autobiography*. This material is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles.

[13] Louis Martin, "The Search for a Theory in Architecture: Anglo-American Debates, 1957-1976," PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 2002. Louis Martin writes: "The years 1972 to 1976 marked both the closure of the search for a universal theory of architecture in the late 1960s and the beginning of a new cycle of debates characterized by the acceleration of international exchanges, the advent of Italian criticism in North America and Britain, and the emergence of a new generation of theoreticians. These years of transition set the conditions for the self-conscious invention of the post-modern era in architecture." In the United States, 1976 began with the closing of the exhibition *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* at the Museum of Modern Art, a show that displayed the return of architectural drawings and had a profound effect on the architectural discourse. See Felicity Scott, "When Systems Fail: Arthur Drexler and the Postmodern Turn," *Perspecta*, Vol. 35, Building Codes (2004). In Europe, Charles Jencks had recently used the term "post-modern" in relation to architecture for the first time and was about to publish *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*. See Charles Jencks, "The Rise of Post-Modern Architecture," *Architectural Association Quarterly* 7, No. 4 (1975).

[14] Ernesto-Ramon Rispoli, *Ponti sull'Atlantico: L'Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies e le relazioni Italia-America, 1967-1985* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2012). On 25 March 1976, the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies inaugurated the exhibition *Aldo Rossi: An Exhibition of Drawings*. This was the first exhibition centered on Aldo Rossi in the United States and his first substantial interaction with the IAUS. Shortly after, Aldo Rossi began to collaborate with multiple east-coast universities. Cornell was the first American school to invite Aldo Rossi in March of 1976, at the request of Oswald Mathias Ungers.

[15] Lea-Catherine Szacka, "Debates on Display at the 1976 Venice Biennale," in *Exhibiting Architecture: Place and Displacement*, ed. Thordis Arhennius (Zurich: Lars Muller, 2014). Lea-Catherine Szacka argues that the objective of the exhibition *Europe*

/ *America* was to "circulate projects and ideas between American architects and their European counterparts." The exhibition juxtaposed a group of fourteen European architects led by Vittorio Gregotti and Franco Raggi with a group of nine American architects led by Peter Eisenman and Robert Stern. Lea-Catherine Szacka's essay emphasizes the difference between the approaches of the two camps: "Americans, concerned by the necessity of showing their competence and erudition, presented new ideas, *ex novo* and hitherto unseen projects extracted from particular and strictly American ideological positions. Europeans, on the other hand, presented real projects: concrete productions based on practical needs. Sole exception amongst the Europeans, Aldo Rossi used the occasion of the exhibition to produce and exhibit one of his most cited pieces of work: the *Città Analoga* collage."

[16] Martino Stierli, "In the Academy's Garden: Robert Venturi, the Grand Tour and the Revision of Modern Architecture," *AA Files*, No. 56 (2007). Martino Stierli interprets *Complexity and Contradiction* as the intellectual digest of Robert Venturi's extensive travels across Europe in the late 1940s and his tenure at the American Academy in Rome between 1954 and 1956: "Venturi's two-year tenure at the American Academy in the mid-1950s can in this way be shown to occupy the central episode in his intellectual biography. Since Venturi characteristically refrained from sketching or taking notes on his trips, the book is in many ways a somewhat delayed collection of images, thoughts and itineraries generated by his European *sojourn*. By marrying architectural connoisseurship once again to architectural tourism, he resumed the earlier tradition of the grand tour."

[17] Peter Eisenman, "Alternative Suburbane: Undici Progetti Americani," in *Europa/America: Architetture Urbane e Alternative Suburbane*, ed. Franco Raggi (Venice: Edizioni La Biennale di Venezia, 1978). According to Lea-Catherine Szacka, the historical importance of *Europe /America* lied less in the exhibition and more in the debate that took place at the Palazzo del Cinema on the day of the exhibition's opening: "Framed as a continuum to the work on display, the event rather turned into a forum for ideological confrontations and power struggles between generations and geography." See Lea-Catherine Szacka, "Debates on Display at the 1976 Venice Biennale," in *Exhibiting Architecture: Place and Displacement*, ed. Thordis Arhennius (Zurich: Lars Muller, 2014). During the debate, Peter Eisenman restated the argument he had written in the catalogue: "I think that we hope as Americans that for the first time we are bringing ideas from America." (Transcript of the debate in the original languages, IAUS archive, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal). Lea-Catherine Szacka also studied the setting of the debate: "Participants were oddly arranged and scattered across three rows of long tables

facing the audience. Some coalitions seemed to have been formed—Eisenman sat next to Stern and Hodgetts; Tigerman next to Hejduk; and Van Eyck near De Carlo and Hertzberger—yet there were no fixed locations for particular nationalities or ideologies. This perhaps reflects the plurality of positions spatialized through the debate. Another important aspect was the presence of a considerable audience, suggesting that the group was put on display to the profession or even perhaps to a wider public." The Biennale yearbook noted that "two basically opposite conceptions of the architect's role emerged from the discussion. On the one hand, the architects who work with institutions as a mediator of the needs of the community; on the other hand, those who see architecture as a language for expressing a personal vision in which the architect experiments in a way which might be called poetic." See *Annuario 1977 – 1978 / Eventi del 1976 – 1977* (Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, 1978). Manfredo Tafuri made a similar point, arguing that the 1976 Biennale revealed a strong tendency to reduce architecture to language, pointing to the work of Aldo Rossi and Robert Venturi in particular (Transcript of the debate in the original languages, IAUS archive, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal).

[18] Lea-Catherine Szacka, "Debates on Display at the 1976 Venice Biennale," in *Exhibiting Architecture: Place and Displacement*, ed. Thordis Arhennius (Zurich: Lars Muller, 2014). Robert Stern's comment served to emphasize the extent to which the 1976 Biennale represented an opportunity to disseminate ideas originating from America, thus inverting the traditional direction of information exchange: "Even if many exchanges had occurred between both continents before the 1970s, they were limited and often unidirectional (the United States adopted ideas from Europe). CIAM remained essentially European, despite repeated efforts by Sigfried Giedion to form an American wing within the organization. While other events had brought to Europe a certain group of American architects, the *Europe / America* show, thanks to Eisenman, collected a wide range of solutions that would represent the panorama of contemporary architectural culture in America." On the theme of transatlantic exchanges, see also Murray Fraser and Joe Kerr, *Architecture and the Special Relationship: The American Influence on Post-war British Architecture* (London, Routledge: 2007).

[19] On the history of the grand tour, see John Reeve, "Grand Tour", in *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 13, ed. Jane Turner (London: Macmillan, 1996); Tracey Jean Boisseau, "Grand Tour," in *Encyclopaedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 2, ed. Paul Finkelman (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001); Christopher Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (London: Thames Methuen, 1987); William Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). On the history of the American Academy in Rome, see Lucia Valentine and Alan

Valentine, *The American Academy in Rome, 1894-1969* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973). Martino Stierli provides an accurate introduction to this topic: "The term 'grand tour' itself was first used in 1670 by Richard Lassels in his *Voyage of Italy*. By the eighteenth century, the tour had become a firm social convention for the British nobility, assuming the character and importance of a rite of passage. But by the late nineteenth century the idea of the tour itself also toured, with economically and culturally aspiring American middle classes increasingly seeing in the cities of Italy and Greece a repository for a higher form of cultural learning. As early as 1663, the French Academie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture established the Prix de Rome and officially sanctioned the journey to Italy as a mandatory part of an artist's education, a move endorsed three years later when Jean-Baptiste Colbert founded the French Academy in Rome. As far as the United States was concerned, architectural education in the nineteenth century was heavily reliant upon the European academy system. Before 1865, when the Massachusetts Institute of Technology was first to introduce a course of architecture into its curriculum, American architectural students were forced to gain their professional training abroad. It was the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris which set the standard for American architectural education well into the twentieth century. In 1897, Charles Folien McKim founded the American Academy in Rome on the basis of the French model." See Martino Stierli, "In the Academy's Garden: Robert Venturi, the Grand Tour and the Revision of Modern Architecture," *AA Files*, No. 56 (2007).

[20] *Americana* is a thousand-page anthology of American literature, featuring thirty-three writers from Washington Irving to John Fante, selected by Elio Vittorini and published by the Milan-based publisher Bompiani in 1941. Having survived various interventions from the Fascist censor, this anthology became emblematic of the politicizing of American literature under Mussolini's regime. Elio Vittorini was an Italian writer and novelist. His best-known work is the anti-fascist novel *Conversations in Sicily*, for which he was jailed in the early 1940s. Towards the end of World War II, he joined the Italian Communist Party and began taking an active role in the Resistance, which provided the basis for his 1945 novel *Men and not Men*. In 1945 he briefly became the editor of the Italian Communist daily *L'Unita* and weekly *Il Politecnico*. After the war, Elio Vittorini chiefly concentrated on his work as editor, helping publish books by young writers such as Italo Calvino and Beppe Fenoglio. In 1959, he co-founded with Italo Calvino *Il Menabò*, a cultural journal devoted to literature in the modern industrial age. He also ran as a candidate on an Italian Socialist Party list, before dying in Milan in 1966. On this subject, see Jane Dunnett, *The "Mito Americano" and Italian Literary Culture under Fascism* (Rome: Aracne, 2015). Elio Vittorini's

anthology was a constant reference in Aldo Rossi's writing, especially as he started to spend more and more time in the United States. For example, in the *Quaderno Azzurro* no. 28 (1980), Aldo Rossi discussed *Americana* as the best representation of how Italian intellectuals saw the United States during and immediately after the Fascist regime.

[21] A key moment in the relation between Italy and the United States was the 1972 exhibition *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape*, organized by Emilio Ambasz at the Museum of Modern Art, in New York. According to Emilio Ambasz, this exhibition "was to leave a deep and pervasive imprint upon the perception of design" in America, since "visitors were to realize that design in general, and Italian design in particular, meant more than simply creating objects to satisfy functional and emotional needs: the processes and products of design could themselves be used to offer critical commentary upon our society." See Emilio Ambasz et al, *Emilio Ambasz Inventions: The Reality of the Ideal* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992). The following year, in 1973, Aldo Rossi invited five American architects—Eisenman, Hejduk, Meier, Graves and Gwathmey—to take part in the exhibition "Architettura Razionale" at the 15th Milan Triennale. This was the period in which the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) and the Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia (IUAV) started to build their relationship. On this relationship, see Teresa Stoppani, *Paradigm Islands: Manhattan and Venice: Discourses on Architecture and the City* (London: Routledge, 2011).

[22] In an essay on Aldo Rossi's relation with the United States, published one year after the architect's death, Drexel Turner put Aldo Rossi in the same category as Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier, underlining the notion of *learning from America*: "Architectural tourists from Loos to Le Corbusier have managed to find something to marvel at in America, whether it be plumbing, grain elevators or the Renaissance revivalism of lower Manhattan. Rossi was no exception. In the *Autobiography,* he reflected on Loos's project for *The Chicago Tribune* competition as his interpretation of America and not, of course, as one might have thought, a Viennese divertissement." See Drexel Turner, "Aldo Rossi Coming to America," *Cite* 40 (1997-1998).

[23] The set of photographs of Aldo Rossi's road trip in the United States is held in the archive of the MAXXI, in Rome.

[24] In the Spring of 1977, under the auspices of the Mellon Professorship, Aldo Rossi was invited along with poet John Ashbery, literary critic Jay Fellows, filmmaker Robert Freeman, novelist John Hawkes, and historian Joseph Rykwert to teach in the fifth-year studios of the Cooper Union School of Architecture. The purpose was "to make the school a crossroads where the maker and his work were no longer heroically apart but where the guest and the student, in company,

could share and sense the affinities of each other's craft." The mind behind this operation was John Hejduk, then Dean of the School of Architecture. Some archival documents (Getty Research Institute) show that John Hejduck invited also Manfredo Tafuri, but he could not make it happen. Overall, this experience resulted in a book, titled *Solitary Travelers* (New York: The Cooper Union School of Architecture, 1980). This publication was envisioned as a "collage of thought," containing eleven poems by John Ashbery, a labyrinthine text by Jay Fellows on John Ruskin, stills from *Secret World* by Robert Freeman, a story by John Hawkes, and essays by Aldo Rossi and Joseph Rykwert. Aldo Rossi's text was titled "The Meaning of Analogy in My Last Projects." While Aldo Rossi was at Cooper Union, John Hejduk also brought to the school part of the material that had just been exhibited at the 1976 Biennale *Europe / America*: this show at Cooper Union included the work that Aldo Rossi, Raimund Abraham, Peter Eisenman and John Hejduk had presented in Venice. The relation between Aldo Rossi and Cooper Union continued in the following years: for example, in 1978, the Italian architect came back as "Visiting Professor in Architectural Design." The appointment letter (Getty Research Institute) shows that he spent four weeks in New York and received a salary of 6,000 dollars.

[25] The overlap between touring and working can also be discussed in the context of the market for architectural drawings that emerged in the 1970s (analyzed in the chapter "Blue Book" of this dissertation). In this transatlantic framework, two figures are particularly relevant: Leo Castelli and Pierre Apraxine. At the time of Leo Castelli's death, the press canonized him as "the Italian who invented American art." See Annie Cohen-Solal, *Leo and his Circle: The Life of Leo Castelli,* trans. Mark Polizzotti and Annie Cohen-Solal (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2010). Leo Castelli's trajectory from Europe to America is thoroughly illustrated in Jordan Kauffman's dissertation: "Leo Castelli was born Leo Krauss in Trieste, Italy in 1907. He pursued a law degree at University of Milan, then returned to Trieste to work for an insurance company. His job was transferred to Bucharest, where he met his future wife, Ileana Schapira. It was her family's wealth and generosity that would provide the foundation for them to begin collecting art, and eventually, to open Castelli's first gallery. Castelli's job was again transferred in 1927 – this time to Paris at the Bank of Italy. When Paris fell in June 1940, they decided it was time to try again to emigrate to the United States: they arrived in New York on March 12, 1941. He and his wife studied at Columbia University – Castelli studying economic history, Schapira studying psychology. Since he was now living in the United States, but still strongly influenced by European Modernism, Castelli saw an opportunity to bridge the two art worlds. He became Wassily Kandinsky's agent in the United States and also worked as a go-between for European artists

and American gallerists. He would also help organize exhibitions of various American artists who toured Europe. He once proposed to open a branch of the Janis Gallery in Europe in order to promote American painting. Through his ventures in art, Castelli observed that the United States gallery scene was lackluster. From his perspective, there were no galleries in existence then that fully integrated European and American modernism. He believed there was space for him to open his own gallery, so he capitalized on this opportunity to fill a void in the market." See Jordan Kauffman, "Drawing on Architecture: The Socioaesthetics of Architectural Drawings, 1970-1990," PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2015. Pierre Apraxine, the curator of the Gilman Collection, had a comparable journey. Martin Filler wrote: "After receiving his master's degree in 1965 at the University of Louvain, where he specialized in early Flemish painting, Apraxine yearned for an invigorating change. 'I wanted to do something more involved with life, not dusty papers,' he says. As personal curator for Baron Léon Lambert, the Brussels financier and avant-garde arts patron, he felt liberated by 'becoming the eyes, ears, and legs for someone else.' Apraxine first came to New York on a Fulbright fellowship in 1969. He worked as an assistant curator at MoMA until his leadership in a bitter staff strike ended his prospects there. He then went on to the Marlborough Gallery. In 1976, when the Gilman Paper Company decided to form a collection, Apraxine jumped at the offer to be its curator, convincing the firm to break the conventional corporate-art mold." See Martin Filler, "Reflections of a Golden Eye," *Departures* (September 2005). In an interview with Paola Antonelli, Pierre Apraxine himself added a few details about his first contact with the United States: "When I took my first adult trip to America —New York, San Francisco and Chicago —in the winter of 1968-69, I went as much to see the newest architecture as the newest art. When I moved to New York in 1970 to work at The Museum of Modern Art, I learned about American architecture just by walking for hours on end through the city. In New York, I became acquainted with the work of such luminaries as Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and Antonio Sant'Elia, Buckminster Fuller and Robert Venturi." But, after becoming the curator of the Gilman Collection, a different mode of traveling came into play: "In July of 1976, I embarked on a tour of Europe. The first thing that comes to mind is Rossi showing me around the Gallaratese housing project. I had very few exchanges with scholars. I went directly to the architects and to their work, and I stayed away from the theoretical side of things. The only thing I knew at that time was that the modernist aesthetic was being questioned. But how it would change, really, nobody knew." See Paola Antonelli, "Interview with Pierre Apraxine," in *The Changing of the Avant-Garde: Visionary Architectural Drawings from the Howard Gilman Collection* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002). In the case of Pierre

Apraxine, the tour operated in two related ways: going to the United States was both a learning experience and a way to find a job; on the other hand, as soon as he started to work for American cultural institutions, he began to tour Europe in an effort to acquire material (especially drawings) from European architects and artists.

[26] On this topic, see Martino Stierli, *Las Vegas in the Rearview Mirror* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013); Hilar Stadler and Martino Stierli, *Las Vegas Studio: Images from The Archives Of Robert Venturi And Denise Scott Brown* (Zurich: Scheidegger and Spiess, 2009); Aron Vinegar, *I Am A Monument: On Learning From Las Vegas* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008). As a side note, it's worth mentioning that one of the first things Robert Venturi did when he arrived at the American Academy in Rome (Fall of 1954) was to buy a car.

[27] Aldo Rossi, *Quaderno Azzurro* no. 31 (1985-1986). After a gap of a couple of years, in 1985 Aldo Rossi resumed writing in his notebooks: "Ho rinunciato anche solo a segnare i miei viaggi, tanto che le sole note di riferimento mi sembrano essere i timbri dei passaporti o i Visa degli USA."

[28] The ticket of Aldo Rossi's talk in Houston, Texas is held in the archive of the MAXXI, in Rome.

[29] A vast range of archival documents (MAXXI, Rome and Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles) show that, when he had to give a talk or a lecture in front of an international audience, Aldo Rossi tended to use a standard presentation titled *Some of my Projects* (*Alcuni miei Progetti*). There were a few variations and projects were added as they were completed, but the structure was usually the same. This was the usual *incipit*: "In this lecture/conference I shall speak about my architecture/work/projects/buildings."

[30] "Aldo Rossi's Continuing Exploration of Typology and Morphology," *GSD New* (March/April 1984). This article summarizes a public lecture that Aldo Rossi gave at the Harvard Graduate School of Design in January of 1984. Aldo Rossi had been invited by the GSD to be the "Eliot Noyes Visiting Critic" for the Fall term. The reviewer writes: "Before showing his audience any slides, Rossi drew sketches on the blackboard of several different housing types that have influenced his work."

[31] The preparatory notes for this lecture at Yale are held in the archive of the MAXXI, in Rome. While the lecture follows the usual structure of Aldo Rossi's American presentations, there is also a new reference to an emerging ambition to transition from teaching to building in the United States.

[32] Martino Stierli, "In the Academy's Garden: Robert Venturi, the Grand Tour and the Revision of Modern Architecture," *AA Files*, No. 56 (2007). Martino Stierli traced the history of this proposal: "In the spring of 1955, under the supervision of Ernesto Rogers, the Academy's fine art and architecture fellows worked on design projects for additional studios in the grounds of the Academy's garden. Although none were ever realized, Venturi's proposal aroused the curiosity of the Academy's directors. In May 1958, he was asked to present his plans to the president of the Academy, but the project was later abandoned. Venturi situated his proposed studio in the garden behind the Academy's main building. Venturi's pavilion project therefore assumes the status of an architectural allegory for his learning from Rome."

[33] Aldo Rossi's AIA card, along with most of the documents related to Aldo Rossi's induction into the American Institute of Architects, is held in the archive of the MAXXI, in Rome.

[34] Aldo Rossi signed up for a *tessera* (card) of the Italian Communist Party in the Summer of 1955, at the age of 24. By that time, he had already started to write for the newspaper *Voce Comunista*. In the early 1950s, he even participated to a trip to the Soviet Union, organized by his local section of the Party. In the early part of his career, Aldo Rossi attended a number of events associated with this communist *milieu*: in 1955 alone, he attended the conference "Architetti Comunisti" organized by the Party's "Commissione Cultura" in Rome, the conference of the "Associazione Italia-URSS" in Milan, and a debate on the Soviet Union held in Turin. On party politics and the role of *tessere di partito* (party cards) in Italy, see Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Giuseppe Maranini, *Storia del Potere in Italia* (Milan: Corbaccio, 1995); Gloria Bianchino and Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, *Il Rosso e il Nero: Figure e Ideologie in Italia, 1945-1980* (Milan: Electa, 1999).

[35] Lodovico Festa, *La Provvidenza Rossa* (Palermo: Sellerio Editore, 2016).

[36] This quote is taken from an interview by Fulvio Irace, related to an exhibition on Aldo Rossi held in Bologna in 1977. Refering to the political situation in Italy during the 1970s, Aldo Rossi said: "Il destino delle città è in mano non tanto ai politici, ma agli architetti di partito, che indubbiamente sono una razza nuova e per alcuni aspetti singolare." The text of this interview is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles.

[37] Barbara Berta, "La Formazione della Figura Professionale dell'Architetto," PhD dissertation, University of Rome, 2008.

[38] This issue will be examined in detail in the chapter "Blue Book." A key piece of evidence is a letter sent to Aldo Rossi by gallerist Max Protetch in 1979, which discussed the difficulty of obtaining an American visa as a result of Aldo Rossi's

militancy in the Communist Party. Max Protetch, Letter to Aldo Rossi, 22 December 1979. This document is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles.

[39] Cornell's Foreign Scholar Advisor sent the "Certificate of Eligibility for Exchange Visitor Status" to Aldo Rossi on 26 February 1976. This document is now held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles. In this certificate, Aldo Rossi was presented as an "Architect" from "Italy," who had invited to work as a "Visiting Critic in the Department of Architecture, Cornell University." The salary was "$500." There was also a description of Cornell's exchange program: "A program to provide courses of study, research, practical training, teaching and lecturing, or a combination thereof, in all fields of academic study to foreign students, trainees, guest instructors, professors or specialists receiving (1) fellowships, scholarships, salaries, stipends or part-time employment opportunities from the University and (2) awards or opportunities for practical experience from cooperating organizations, in the general interest of international academic exchange." The certificate was also endorsed by the American Consulate in Milan.

[40] Aldo Rossi, letter sent to Mario Schack, 27 February 1976. This document is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles.

[41] After being invited to go to Yale in the Fall of 1980, Aldo Rossi received a letter that Yale's Adviser to Foreign Students and Scholars sent to all the "Foreign Nationals" on campus: the concern was that some visiting students or scholars might be "harassed" because of their political affiliations. This letter is now held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles.

[42] The faculty card that Aldo Rossi received from the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies has been shown and discussed by Marianna Charitonidou in her presentation at the conference *Aldo Rossi: Perspectives from the World*, held at the Politecnico di Milano on 12 June 2018. Her paper was titled "Aldo Rossi's Transatlantic Cross-Fertilisation: American Urban Facts and Reinvention of Design Methods."

[43] The identification of the architect as a *worker* is a complex issue that can be further explored by looking at the collection of essays *The Architect as Worker: Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class and the Politics of Design*, edited by Peggy Deamer (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015). In her chapter (titled "Work"), Peggy Deamer addresses "architects' blindness to the fact that they perform labor" and underlines two key misconceptions: "that creative work, like architectural design, isn't labor; and that work in general is laborious and uncreative." She argues that architecture, either in the form of the AIA or

the office structure, needs to "shed its work-aphasia and identify as an organization of workers." In another contribution to this book, Paolo Tombesi examines the difference between work and labor: "Work signifies external acts done by people, whereas labor does not focus on the thing itself but on the effort behind it. Hanna Arendt's famous distinction in *The Human Condition* (1958), builds on this effort/deed contrast by defining labor as repetitive, never-ending, borne out of necessity and carried out under submission, in contrast with the instrumental, temporally defined, enduring, result-producing freedom of work." According to Paolo Tombesi, "these two characterizations have been seen as evocative of the traditional social structure of the architectural industry, internally divided between professional conception and vocational execution roles. Work does indeed define architecture's intellectual objectives, while labor refers to the salaried workforce necessary to articulate them."

[44] Aldo Rossi's application for a social security number (1977) and form 1042S – "Foreign Person's U.S. Source Income Subject to Withholding" (1979) are held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles.

[45] Aldo Rossi's collection of postcards is now held in the archives of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles and the MAXXI, in Rome.

[46] A significant example is a postcard of Los Angeles sent to Aldo Rossi's Milanese studio by architect Vincenzo Giuseppe Berti on 8 November 1980. The message reads: "Ho appena visto citazioni (pezzi) dei tuoi lavori negli interni della Blue Whale di Cesar Pelli, disegnati da Michael Graves." The image on the card is an aerial view of Century City. The sender also circled Cesar Pelli's building (the Pacific Design Center, known as the Blue Whale) on the image.

[47] The cover of the exhibition *Europe/America* was also taken from a postcard: more specifically, it was a postcard depicting the bridge between the Florida mainland and the Keys, which had been collected by Franco Raggi, one of the curators of the 1976 Biennale. According to Lea-Catherine Szacka, in the context of the Biennale, this postcard suggested "a staged flow of ideas, reciprocity in transcultural and transnational exchanges, a binary division of the world, different spatial positions during the debate, and a public engagement that now resides outside the city center." Moreover, "this image speaks to the paramount importance of the relations between European and American architects for the later development of postmodern architecture." See Lea-Catherine Szacka, "Debates on Display at the 1976 Venice Biennale," in *Exhibiting Architecture: Place and Displacement*, ed. Thordis Arhennius (Zurich: Lars Muller, 2014). By the same token, the aforementioned lecture series *Solitary Travelers*, organized by John Hejduk at Cooper Union in 1977, was also advertised by

means of a postcard, featuring an architectural drawing and the names of the five visiting lecturers (Aldo Rossi, John Ashbery, Jay Fellows, Robert Freeman and John Hawkes).

[48] Jacques Derrida, *La Carte Postale: De Socrate à Freud et au-delà* (Paris: Flammarion, 1980). The book was published in English in 1987 with the title *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*. Particularly relevant is the opening section, titled "Envois." David Wills provides a good introduction: "The story of Envois, since we are concerned with storytelling, goes something like this. Derrida is in Oxford one day, in the company of Jonathan Culler and Cynthia. He is enticed into a bookshop where he cannot fail to be seduced by a postcard from Matthew Paris's thirteenth century fortune-telling book, which depicts plato (with a small "p") and Socrates. Derrida buys the shop out of that particular postcard and keeps sending it to the person closest to his heart." See David Wills, "Post/Card/Match/Book/Envois/Derrida," *SubStance*, Vol. 13, No. 2, Issue 43 (1984). Shani Bans reads it as an attempt to articulate the complexity and impossibility of locating the self: "Envois is preoccupied with the idea of the postal self. It's a correspondence between Derrida and his beloved other. This continual exchange in correspondence can be seen as an exchange of the self: 'I address myself to you, somewhat as if I were sending myself.' The self is constructed, Derrida goes on to explain, through reciprocation with the other – or rather, the postal other. Derrida's postal self is trapped in a paradoxical state of absence-presence, in a space where self-affirmation can only occur through self-denial, where self-acceptance must first bypass self-rejection, and where 'myself' can only exist in relation to the 'other.' Central to this argument is Derrida's notion of 'the tragedy of destination' – what happens, Derrida asks, if the postal self is misdirected, lost or never arrives?" See Shani Bans, "Review of *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*," *Self & Society*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (2016).

[49] George Ritzer, *Expressing America: A Critique of the Global Credit Card Society* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1995). In this sociological study, George Ritzer argues that, while there are many "icons" of American consumer culture (fast-food restaurants, theme parks, shopping malls, etcetera), the credit card is the linchpin that holds it all together. From this point of view, the credit card is regarded as "the premier symbol of an American lifestyle that much of the rest of the world is rushing to emulate." As early as 1972, Robert Hendrickson went even further, arguing that "the credit card is the twentieth century's symbol par excellence: it's emblematic of affluence, mobility and the capacity to overcome obstacles in the pursuit of one's goals." See Robert Hendrickson, *The Cashless Society* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1972). The credit card emerged in the United States in the decade following World War II. As noted by George Ritzer, this period was the

launching pad to many other key elements of modern American popular culture: the opening of the first McDonald's franchise in 1955; the opening of the first fully enclosed shopping mall in 1956; the first mass-produced suburban housing in Levittown in the late 1940s; the founding of the Best Western and Holiday Inn motel chains in 1946 and 1952; the beginning of national television broadcasting in 1946; the opening of Disneyland in 1955.

[50] George Ritzer, *Expressing America: A Critique of the Global Credit Card Society* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1995).

[51] Mike Featherstone, *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1990). According to Mike Featherstone, "third cultures" are the products of the process of globalization associated with late capitalism. They arise out of the transnational economic processes that transcend the porous political boundaries of Nation-States. The global finanscape is often presented as the main example of a "third culture," as it deals with the circulation of capital at a level that is above most national authorities.

[52] David Evans, *Paying with Plastic* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999). In 1999, when this book was published, a cardholder could pay with his or her Visa in 240 countries.

[53] Joel Kurtzman, *The Death of Money* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993). From Joel Kurtzman's perspective, the issuing of a new credit card with a $1000 limit could be seen as creating $1000.

[54] David Evans, *Paying with Plastic* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999). Analyzing the impact of credit cards on social and economic patterns at the turn of the millennium, David Evans wrote: "The most important innovation is the combination of payment and lending services on the same card. Increasingly, financial transactions are taking place over electronic networks in which customers and merchants are represented by series of numbers. Money is just an electronic picture. How long plastic will remain the physical forms for recording and transmitting that series of numbers is unknown." As early as 1980, Terry Galanoy wrote that "credit cards are an entirely new idea in value exchange." See Terry Galanoy, *Charge It!* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1980).

[55] The link between credit cards and the development of a consumer culture based on debt has been highlighted by multiple publications. Matthew Bernthal wrote that "Credit cards facilitate a level of participation in contemporary consumer culture that is qualitatively different from what would be possible in their absence." See Matthew Bernthal, David Crockett and Randall Rose, "Credit Cards as Lifestyle Facilitators," *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (June 2005). George Ritzer argued that "The most notable advantage of credit cards, at least at the societal level, is that they permit people to

spend more than they have." See George Ritzer, *Expressing America: A Critique of the Global Credit Card Society* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1995). David Evans wrote that "Payment cards encourage people to spend beyond their means." But, notably, he also pointed to a difference between Europe and the United States: "Europeans prefer debit cards rather than credit cards. With debit cards, the cardholder incurs debt only when she has used all the funds from her deposit account." See David Evans, *Paying with Plastic* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999).

[56] Georg Simmel, *Philosophie des Geldes* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1900). The book was translated in English in 1978 with the title *The Philosophy of Money*. Georg Simmel saw money as a structuring agent that could help understand the totality of life. In his view, the first problem related to money was the "temptation to imprudence." In comparison to its predecessors (such as barter), money tended to tempt people into spending more and going into debt. See Gianfranco Poggi, *Money and the Modern Mind: Georg Simmel's Philosophy of Money* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

[57] Francis Williams, *The American Invasion* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1962). According to Francis Williams, in the framework of the American debt society, "not to live beyond your immediate means is antisocial."

[58] Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: WritersPrintShop, 1987). Building on and diverging from Max Weber's work on capitalism, Colin Campbell's theory suggests that credit card practices reflect an essential cultural tension between rationality and desire: "In struggling to cope with the necessity of making trade-offs between need and pleasure, while seeking to reconcile their Bohemian and bourgeois selves, modern individuals inhabit not just an iron castle of economic necessity, but a castle of romantic dreams, striving through their conduct to turn the one into the other."

[59] Matthew Bernthal, David Crockett and Randall Rose, "Credit Cards as Lifestyle Facilitators," *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (June 2005). In *Distinctions* (1979), Pierre Bourdieu argues that social life is in essence a competition for status attainment. Actors attain status by utilizing varying allotments of status-generating assets, namely, economic capital (financial resources), social capital (relationships, network ties, organizational affiliations) and cultural capital (skills, tastes, knowledge, practices). Of these, cultural capital is thought to be especially privileged in determining overall status in contemporary capitalist societies. For Matthew Bernthal, "credit cards, through their power to command other consumption markers, call to our attention practices, knowledge, tastes, and skills employed to acquire objects rather than simply to utilize them. Although the acquisition and utilization of objects work in tandem, they are perhaps most distinct

when acquisition involves the use of credit cards. Credit card use constitutes an embodied form of cultural capital precisely because it prevails on varying stores of knowledge and tastes."

[60] In Mike Nichols's 1967 film *The Graduate*, "plastics" was understood to mean a cheap, sterile and meaningless way of life, boring almost by definition – the embodiment of everything about the values of the older generation that seemed repugnant to the young protagonist. Another reference from American popular culture is Jerry Lewis's album of "phoney phone calls," recorded in the 1960s. In one of his prank calls, aimed at a storekeeper, Jerry Lewis said: "I'd like to send you a little gift. You know, I'm in the plastic business now. So, I'd like to send you a plastic. Wonderful – now, can you help me out with this problem here? I'm suing you." In a more recent piece on *The New Yorker*, John Seabrook looked at plastics from a different perspective: "Plastics were at the beginning of what now looks like an extraordinary evolution as a material, and it's still going, moving ever higher in art and design, to say nothing of medicine. Zaha Hadid designs lovely plastic jewelry. The plastic chairs in Kartell, the furniture store in SoHo, get more beautiful all the time. Heart valves are made out of plastic—Would you like plastic or pig? my mother's heart surgeon asked her before operating—and perhaps one day soon they'll make plastic hearts. If you imagine a world in which millions of people have 3-D printers on their desks, to which they can download designs from the Internet and print products, then a lot of things are going to be made out of plastic." See John Seabrook, "Plastics," *The New Yorker*, 13 September 2010.

[61] David Evans, *Paying with Plastic* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999). David Evans wrote: "For 2000 years before the birth of Christ and long after, money was metal. With the acceptance of metal as exchange, the economy had one of its first standards. The next major revolution was the turning of metal into coins of predetermined weight and, therefore, predetermined value. The development of coinage was the real origin of money as we know it, and the precursor of the paper money and electronic money that followed. It took a long time to have another event of such lasting importance: the development of checks. The original invention was the *bill of exchange*, developed in Florence in the 12th century. Checks provided the first virtual money." According to David Evans, the history of the credit card can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century: "Hotel, oil companies and department stores issued cards before World War I. The cards identified the customers as having a charge account with the store. Metal *charga-plates* with embossed customers information were introduced by department stores in the late 1920s. The first credit card was introduced by Diners Club

in the early 1950s. It started as a tool for wealthy people who regularly went to restaurants and hotels in Manhattan. It was known as a T&E card (travel and entertainment)."

[62] Robert Hendrickson, *The Cashless Society* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1972).

[63] Terry Galanoy, *Charge It!* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1980).

[64] Sandra Lowe, "American Banking Cashes in on Debit Card System," *San Antonio Business Journal*, No. 6 (1992). Interestingly, Sandra Lowe noted that, in the early days of this technology, credit cards were often referred to as "plastic checks."

[65] Arie Graafland, *Architectural Bodies* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1996). Among other writings on "paper architecture," this text by Arie Graafland is emblematic of how this subject was often addressed in the architectural discourse of the 1990s: "The drawings of Aldo Rossi, Daniel Libeskind, Bernard Tschumi, Zaha Hadid, Rem Koolhaas, Peter Eisenman, John Hejduk and Frank Gehry relate not so much to current constructional practices as to an autonomous 'paper' architectural world. In contrast to Modernism and Constructivism, none of the above-mentioned architects is interested in political statements about the position of the architect in society." Being identifying with a credit card, on the contrary, is a quite strong statement about the position of the architect in society.

[66] The concepts of borrowing and repaying, which are at the core of the credit card industry, relate also to the market for architectural drawings that emerged in the post-war period and came to be associated with "paper architecture." A particularly interesting case study is the Art Lending Service (ALS), a program created by the Museum of Modern Art in the early 1950s, which will be discussed in the next chapter of this dissertation. On this subject, see Mackenzie Bennett, "MoMA Talks: Conversations: The Art Lending Service: Building an Audience for Modern Art" (1 December 2008).

[67] David Evans, *Paying with Plastic* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999). This passage shines a light on the changing perception toward checkbooks at the end of the 1990s: "Most of us cringe when the person ahead to us in line pulls out her checkbook and the clerk asks for three forms of identification. Checkbooks are inconvenient to carry. The typical checkbook weights 14 times more than a payment card. It would take 11 cards to fill up the space occupied by a checkbook. Interestingly, women are much more likely to carry checkbooks than men because they can put them in their purses. The other major drawback of checks is that they are often difficult to use outside of your local community."

[68] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991) and "Globalization and Architecture," in *The Domestic and the Foreign in Architecture* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishes, 2007). The term "late capitalism" came out of the Frankfurt School and, as noted by Fredric Jameson, was originally interpreted as a two-fold phenomenon: on the one hand, the development of "a tendential web of bureaucratic control" and, on the other hand, "the interpenetration of government and big business" – an interpenetration described as "State capitalism." Frederic Jameson looked at it from a different perspective, associating the rise of "late capitalism" with the transformations of the post-war period: "The economic preparation of postmodernism or late capitalism began in the 1950s, after the wartime shortages of consumer goods and spare parts had been made up, and new products and new technologies (not least those of the media) could be pioneered." For Frederic Jameson, this process was defined by a profound interrelationship between economic and cultural forces. And globalization was certainly part of it: "With globalization, there is no economic product which isn't a cultural object of some kind. The cultural and the economic are always connected and interrelated in the era of globalization."

[69] Matthew Bernthal, David Crockett and Randall Rose, "Credit Cards as Lifestyle Facilitators," *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (June 2005).

[70] On the concept of "worker" in the practice of architecture, see Peggy Deamer, "Work," in *The Architect as Worker: Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class and the Politics of Design*, edited by Peggy Deamer (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015). Peggy Deamer writes: "For a profession that seems to have it all—architects' creativity, unlike artists, is professionally sanctioned: we make things that matter to the world—how could we be victims of the same capitalist ideology which, in the form of Christianity, asks the poor to feel righteous about their poverty? My first answer is: we don't believe we do work. We go to the office, we get a paycheck, but as a profession architecture produces designs, neither mere products nor services. We know we are producing an object (indeed, a big one), but we don't like to think that we produce a commodity."

[71] The American Institute of Architects, "History," www.aia.org/history. This passage is presented as a key moment in the history of the Institute: "The creation of international chapters for AIA members working abroad reflects the global scope of practice for US firms. AIA chartered its first international chapter in London in 1993, followed by chapters in Europe (1994), Hong Kong (1997), Japan (2005), Middle East (2010), Shanghai (2015)."

[72] Architect's Council of Europe, "Mission and Objectives," www.ace-cae.eu/about-us/mission-and-objectives. The Architects' Council of Europe was founded in Treviso (Italy) on 11 May 1990, by the merger of the former Liaison Committee of the Architects of the United Europe (CLAEU) and the former Council of European Architects (CEA). The Architects' Council of Europe is composed of 43 organizations, which are the national regulatory and professional representative bodies in all EU Member States, the accession countries, Switzerland and Norway. Through its members, the Architects' Council of Europe represents the interests of over 600,000 architects from 31 countries in Europe. Among the main objectives of this institution is to foster cross-border cooperation: "The objective is to support the free movement of architects and architectural services throughout the European Union in the context of relevant EU Directives and Policies."

[73] Ali Farazmand and Jack Pinkowski, *Handbook of Globalization, Governance and Public Administration* (Milton Park: Taylor and Francis, 2006).

[74] Alicia Carriò, "The Hunger Games: Architects in Danger," in *The Architect as Worker: Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class and the Politics of Design*, ed. Peggy Deamer (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015). Alcio Carriò argues that "the professions had their origins in the power base that both feudal lords and organization linked to the church had over their subjects and followers. As these groups became economically independent, they became special structures with their own ethics and moralities. In general terms, we can say that the professions, such as we know them today, come from a long evolution where capitalism played a fundamental role, managing to mediate between artisans, small farmers and day laborers. The concentration of knowledge into professions found its foundational core in the mid-18th century, when knowledge accumulated by artisans and laborers was investigated in a systematic way in order to be apprehended and, subsequently, mechanized for the industrial revolution. This process found social and academic consideration in the universities, gradually organized to become mechanisms for the standardized production of experts who made available a naturalization of knowledge." See also Bryan Norwood, "Inventing Professional Architecture," in *The University of Illinois: Engine of Innovation*, ed. Fred Hoxie (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2017). Bryan Norwood writes: "Since Benjamin Latrobe's attempts at the beginning of the nineteenth century to make 'professional' (a term which was routinely used in connection with law and medicine) a fundamental descriptor of American architectural practice, the term has been used to denote the learned and ethical character of the architect's work. It is this term, perhaps more than any other, that has

guided the development of architectural practice in the United States over the past two centuries. While the sociological and historical definitions of professionalism are many, most point to some combination of expert knowledge, an ethical code, and gatekeeping methods such as schooling, licensing laws and professional associations." The case of Benjamin Latrobe has also been addressed by Phillip Barnstein: "America's first professional architect, Benjamin Latrobe, arrived from England in 1796. He was a member of the Architects' Club, an early professional association founded in 1791 that included John Soane as well as other architects and engineers of the gentlemen class. In Soane's context, the architect occupied a position of trust between the client and the mechanic. The architect was envisioned as a gentleman, like a clergyman, physician or barrister, who must be above crass commercial interests. For Soane, if the architect worked as a builder, he would jeopardize his honor and authority as the wise paternal figure mediating between client and mechanic." See Phillip Barnstein, "Three Strategies for New Value Propositions of Design Practice," in *The Architect as Worker: Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class and the Politics of Design*, ed. Peggy Deamer (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

[75] Dankmar Adler, "Committee on Building Laws," Proceedings of the Western Association of Architects, 1885. Dankmar Adler wrote: "We wish our fellow citizens to concede that we possess superior knowledge in our profession and to submit to our guidance in all matters relating to their building interests. Yet the public knows us as only a body of businessmen, self-styled architects, who have by their executed works, demonstrated at the risk of their clients, their greater or lesser justifications for assuming the title of architect... Let no man practice architecture without a license from a competent State tribunal." The Western Association of Architects (WAA) was an American professional body founded in Chicago in 1884, separately from the American Institute of Architects (AIA), by John Wellborn Root, Daniel Burnham, Dankmar Adler and Louis Sullivan. The two organizations eventually merged in 1889.

[76] The concerns voiced by Dankmar Adler were shared by many architects and professional organizations across Europe. As noted by Mary Woods, "In 1885, French architects proposed government review of their technical qualifications. Their artistic abilities, however, were not subject to review. Richard Norman Shaw led a group of British architects who opposed State regulation in 1884, because standardized requirements and uniform examinations could never assess their aesthetic qualifications. Prussia, on the other hand, had required State certification of its municipal architects since the early 19th century to ensure public safety and welfare. This was the kind of certification that Dankmar Adler had in mind for

American architects." According to Mary Woods, with these certifications, the profession ceased to be a gentlemen's club (based on cooptation) and gradually turned into a State bureaucracy. The status of its members started to have a legal basis. See Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) and Maria Maletesta, *Professionisti e Gentiluomini: Storia delle Professioni nell'Europa Contemporanea* (Milan: Einaudi, 2006).

[77] Sibel Dostoglu, "Lincoln Cathedral versus the Bicycle Shed," *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Summer 1983). Sibel Dostoglu's essay focuses on architecture's problem of legitimation: "Pevsner's famous dictum distinguished between the cathedral and the shed, or between architecture and building. The official demarcation line between the architect and the builder was not drawn until the nineteenth century rise of professionalism in the Western world. In Chicago, a specific date is given for the start of the architectural profession when in 1844 a distinguished carpenter John Van Osdel opened an architectural office confining his business exclusively to making plans and specifications. The transition from builder to a self-declared architect initially unfolds as a transition from craftsmanship to draftsmanship. The group designated as professional architects was those who joined around professional claims to distinction from and superiority over the builders, calling for a clear and exclusive definition of the term *architect*." See also Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). Mary Woods dispels the notion that the profession developed under the leadership of people formally schooled in architecture as an art during the late nineteenth century. Instead, she cites several instances in the early 1800s of craftsmen-builders who shifted their identity to that of professional architects. While struggling to survive as designers and supervisors of construction projects, these individuals organized professional societies and worked for architectural education, appropriate compensation, and accreditation. For example, Richard Upjohn, the founder and first member of the AIA, was a cabinetmaker. For Mary Woods, the professionalization of architecture revolved around the metamorphosis of the architect from artisan to businessman.

[78] Richard Upjohn, circular letter to AIA members, 22 February 1869.

[79] Ali Farazmand and Jack Pinkowski, *Handbook of Globalization, Governance and Public Administration* (Milton Park: Taylor and Francis, 2006). In the United States, all fifty States require all individuals to be licensed (the technical term is registered) before they may call themselves architects or contract to provide architectural services. Licensure requirements usually

include a professional degree in architecture, a period of practical training and passage of the Architect Registration Examination. Typically, the regulatory authority is vested in a State board of architecture. As early as 1920, it became evident that many architects conducted their practice in several states. The National Council of Architectural Registration Boards (NCARB) was formed as a federation of all State boards. The national certificate developed by this council allows architect to respond to opportunities for business in multiple States.

[80] Neil Leach, "The Ac(credit)ation Card," in *The Architect as Worker: Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class and the Politics of Design*, ed. Peggy Deamer (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015). Neil Leach writes: "According to the logic of accreditation, only those who have graduated from accredited programs and who have fulfilled other necessary conditions, are entitled to call themselves architects. For example, Renzo Piano is reportedly not registered as an architect, and the Architects Registration Board of the UK has requested that he should not be described as an architect, but as a building designer. If we apply the same logic to the past, we might surmise that no architects existed before the introduction of accreditation. All this is set in perspective by the fact that the globalization of the market-place has broken down regional barriers to the extent that now architecture is truly a global profession. NAAB comes across as perhaps the most parochial of all accreditation systems with its insistence that architectural graduates are only qualified to practice in one particular State." For a broader analysis of this topic, see Sibel Dostoglu, "Lincoln Cathedral versus the Bicycle Shed," *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Summer 1983). Building on Alvin Gouldner's research on "the new class" of intellectuals in modern society, Sibel Dostoglu argues that professionalism involves a certain restructuring of society whereby professionals try to distance themselves socially and to justify claims to privilege and power: "In this process, certain tools of legitimation are employed: namely the claim to superior expertise and to superior ethics. Using Alvin Gouldner's framework, these respectively correspond to the 'cultural capital' and the 'ideology of autonomy' of the new class of experts and intellectuals in modern society." See Alvin Gouldner, "The New Class Project I," *Theory & Society*, No. 6 (1978). For Sibel Dostoglu, cultural capital—or the sum of knowledge, theory, skills and languages derived from a systematic education—constituted the basis for the claims to the superiority of professional expertise: "By the last decades of the 19th century, the acknowledged source of an architect's cultural capital was a period of education in an architectural school (ideally in Paris), to be complemented by office training, and preferably by a trip to Europe to study the architectural heritage directly. Since professionalism is an exchange of cultural capital with incomes, or 'the political economy of culture'

referring back to Alvin Gouldner's terms, the possessors of that capital try to secure purchasers for it (i.e. clients), control its supply, and limit its production. The institutional form of achieving this is a process of setting credentials, examining and licensing." This analysis clearly underlines the monopolistic and technocratic tendencies that come with professionalism. But Sibel Dostoglu also shines a light on an intrinsic obstacle to the professionalization of architecture: "The validity of the tools of professional legitimation is and has always been questionable for the case of architecture. Cultural capital derived from education cannot guarantee competence, since the art content of the profession makes it difficult to teach, test or license. This gives rise to the first question 'profession or art?' that has divided opinions at the turn of the century as it does today. Nor does professional discourse provide the architect with enough credibility in claims to social concern and detachment from business. The intrinsic dependence of architecture on market imperatives and construction industry provokes the second question: profession or business?"

[81] The National Architectural Accrediting Board: "Accreditation," www.naab.org/accreditation. The National Architectural Accrediting Board, established in 1940, is the oldest and most important accrediting agency for architectural education in the United States. NAAB describes accreditation as "the process of external review that evaluates colleges, universities and educational programs for quality and improvement." This process is intended to verify that each accredited program "substantially meets those standards that, as a whole, comprise an appropriate education for an architect." Since most State registration boards in the United States require any applicant for licensure to have graduated from a NAAB-accredited program, obtaining such a degree is an essential aspect of preparing for the professional practice of architecture.

[82] Chiara De Micheli, "I Cugini degli Ingegneri," in *L'Ordine Inutile: Gli Ordini Professionali in Italia*, ed. Massimo Bonanni (Milan: Franco Angeli Editore, 1998).

[83] Sergio Bologna and Dario Banfi, *Vita da Freelance: I Lavoratori della Conoscenza* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2011).

[84] Definitions of the term "accredit" from the Oxford Dictionary (en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/accredit).

[85] Jeff Potter, President of the AIA, Standard letter sent to all new members in 2012. The paragraph titled "Affiliation" is particularly significant: "In accordance with the Institute bylaws and subject to applicable state laws, you may now use the initials 'AIA' as a suffix to your name. I encourage you to do so. The value the public and your clients place in those letters is in no small part determined by the pride our members have in using them."

[86] Patricia Widder, "Credit Cards Slipping from Banks' Grasp," *Chicago Tribune*, 3 March 1991.

[87] George Ritzer, *Expressing America: A Critique of the Global Credit Card Society* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1995). As noted by David Evans, in the mid-1980s, faced with an apparently saturated payment card market, both Visa and Mastercard began creating a multitude of affinity programs: after only one year, almost 300 clubs, charities, professional associations and other non-financial organizations had developed affinity programs. See David Evans, *Paying with Plastic* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999).

[88] George Ritzer, *Expressing America: A Critique of the Global Credit Card Society* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1995). George Ritzer writes: "The personality card is designed to attract people who share interests and activities. For example, some cards carry the names of celebrities like Elvis Presley or of organizations like the New York Giants. Others allow people to express their own personality or individuality by displaying, say, their astrological sign. People acquire such cards presumably to identify with their favorite personality or organization, or perhaps to demonstrate their own individuality, albeit in a highly conformist way."

[89] George Ritzer, *Expressing America: A Critique of the Global Credit Card Society* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1995).

[90] Vinca Kruk and Daniel van der Velden, "White Night Before a Manifesto," in *The Architect as Worker: Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class and the Politics of Design*, ed. Peggy Deamer (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015). This essay focuses on the role of the so-called "creative professionals" vis-à-vis the "corporate global clients" who work with them. The claim is that what is valued in this exchange is a "surface of virtual assets independent of the corporate objects themselves." For Vinca Kruk and Daniel van der Velden, the credit card and now the smart phone embody this approach to surface. From their point of view, a plastic credit card that says "Gold" or "Platinum" reflects the idea that the information properties of surface do not need to correspond to its material worth.

[91] The AIA card that Rossi received in 1989 was accompanied by a pamphlet that illustrated all the AIA advantage programs: "The AIA advantage programs listed here offer AIA members value and discounts on a wide range of products and services. These companies contribute over $300,000 annually to supplement the founding of valuable professional and public outreach and advocacy programs." The list of companies that worked with the AIA at the time included Sprint, Xerox, Advanta Business Services, United Parcel Service, Airborne Express, MBNA, Member Communications Plus, Pennywise, Geico, Avis, Budget and Hertz. This documentation is held in the archive of the MAXXI, in Rome.

[92] Information provided to the author by the *Ordine degli Architetti di Milano*, phone interview, 10 September 2018.

[93] Aldo Rossi's *tessera* of the Italian Communist Party is held in the archive of the Fondazione Aldo Rossi, in Milan. This document is mentioned also in Beatrice Lampariello, *Aldo Rossi e le Forme del Razionalism Esaltato: Dai Progetti Scolastici alla Città Analoga, 1950-1973* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2017).

Chapter 3: Blue Book

Introduction and Literature Review

This chapter sets out to explore the divergence between the emergence of a market for architectural drawings in the late 1970s and the type of drawing instruction that was enforced by most public education systems in the previous decades. The case of Aldo Rossi is quite unique in this regard: on the one hand, he was among the first European architects to engage with the American art market and rapidly became one of the protagonists of a new culture of drawing; on the other hand, his drawings were the result of a very unconventional education by the European standards of the day, as he was part of a small minority that did not learn to draw in a State-run school.

As a whole, this chapter engages with a key opposition that has been at the core of the discourse on political economy at least since Adam Smith and Karl Marx: the opposition State-market.[1] For Aldo Rossi, selling drawings in the galleries of Leo Castelli and Max Protetch was the first experience working in a context where the State (or the political forces behind it, such as the Communist Party) was not the be-all and end-all of most architectural productions. Crossing the Atlantic in the early 1970s was not only a way to step into a market for architectural drawings: in a more structural sense, it was Aldo Rossi's first interaction with a full-fledged market economy. This trajectory is therefore ideal to explore architecture's transition from a public to a market.

The literature on the commodification of architectural drawings in the 1970s is quite limited. It is only in recent years that architectural historians have started to address this phenomenon. The first comprehensive study—Jordan Kauffman's *Drawing on Architecture*—has just been published in 2018.[2]

Martin Hartung has also been working on a similar line of research: his forthcoming doctoral dissertation focuses on the Max Protetch Gallery.[3] In addition to surveying the *milieu* in which this process of commodification unfolded, Martin Hartung sets out to investigate its "socio-economic impact on design- and building culture." Jordan Kauffman, on the other hand, looks at this process from a "socio-aesthetic perspective," concentrating on how architectural drawings came to be perceived as aesthetic artefacts. While engaging with these thematics, this chapter ultimately points in a different direction: the argument is that the process of aestheticization and commodification did not involve all architectural drawings, but rather specific types of drawings, made by specific types of architects. Within the institutional framework that oriented these selections (often in contrast with the desires of potential customers), a particular section of Aldo Rossi's drawings—Leo Catelli called them "conceptual exercises"—was constantly addressed as emblematic of this typology.[4] Why were those specific drawings singled out? And where did that drawing mode come from?

As one of the most common adjectives used to describe these drawings was "childish," this chapter embarks on the first in-depth study of Aldo Rossi's early education and training.[5] Because of the outbreak of World War II, Aldo Rossi left Milan at a young age and was formed in a peripheric *collegio* ran by a religious congregation (the Somascan Fathers), with a very particular pedagogical approach, especially as it pertained to drawing. According to the literature on this minor congregation, the pedagogy of the Somascans was set up in the early sixteenth century and never embraced the transformations that shaped most education systems in the modern era, carrying a distinctly artisanal (some say pre-modern) approach well into the twentieth century.[6] There is clearly a discrepancy between the atypicalness of this school and the notion that the type of drawings that came out of it could become emblematic of a widespread culture shortly thereafter.

Aldo Rossi's graphic education is analyzed vis-à-vis the approach to drawing instruction that had informed public education in Italy since the beginning of the process of nation-building – an approach that responded to the logic of technical education, with an eye towards the industrialization and modernization of the country. The research conducted by Adele Mazzotta, Andrea Silvestri, Lisa Finetti, Chiara Palombella, Elena Bartonelli, Giaime Rodano, Mauro Moretti and Ilaria Porciani, among others, was key to comprehending how drawing was taught in Italian public schools, starting with the system that was established after the country's unification and then focusing on Aldo Rossi's generation, which was deeply affected by the education reforms imposed by the Fascist regime.[7] Partly due to Italy's permeability to a number of exterior influences, this chapter also engages with other dynamics in the history of drawing, from the development of "pedagogical drawing" in the German-speaking world (Clive Aswin) to polytechnic education in France (Antoine Picon, Bruno Belhoste, Andrew Burtica).[8] Overall, the focus is on the use of drawing as a (Foucauldian) disciplinary device, within the framework of a State-run education system.

In terms of both content and method, a key reference is Molly Nesbitt's essay "The Language of Industry," which unveiled the connection between the drawing instruction that characterized the schools of the French Third Republic and the "geometric abstraction" of twentieth-century modernism.[9] This chapter sheds light on a diametrically opposed connection. In the case of Marcel Duchamp, having gone to a school that enforced the language of industry (line over body) played a key role in the development of his mature work, especially his precision painting. Fifty years later, in the case of Aldo Rossi, it was precisely the illiteracy about the "abstract line"—the result of a training that diverged from the precepts of modern education—that led to the production of those *bodily* drawings that started to be exhibited and sold as works of art in the 1970s.

Towards the end of his career, Aldo Rossi started to describe this type of drawing with the label "blue book." He alluded to the *quaderni azzuri* that, over the years, had become the forum where this drawing mode could be practiced, reproduced and disseminated. In the literature on this medium, notebooking is commonly understood as a mind-transforming performance. According to Matthew Eddy, "by the time students had finished school, they had learned to conceptualize the pages, the script and the figures of their notebooks as indispensable learning tools that could be manipulated by scores of adaptable folding, writing, and drawing techniques."[10] Anke Te Heesen went as far as to describe the notebook as "a technique in the service of discipline."[11] The Italian term *quaderno*, which refers to the practice of squaring things, directly speaks to this disciplinary function. Aldo Rossi's *quaderni azzuri*, however, are discussed here in a different light, as a medium that could be hijacked and used to experiment with a type of drawing that diverged from the linear aesthetics associated with notebooking. When Aldo Rossi's drawings hit the market, the notebook itself went through a process of commodification.

Architecture First: A Culture of Drawing

"Dear Aldo, I have spoken to my friend (President Carter's advisor) and have found the source of your visa problems and a solution. The problem as you know as to do with the fact that on their records you are on the *bad list* and as such when you apply for a visa you are discriminated against. The solution is bureaucratic. [...] I will accompany you as your sponsor and employer and swear that you are a God loving, friend of America with Capitalistic intentions."[12]

Aldo Rossi received this letter during Christmas of 1979. The sender was Max Protetch, the founder of the eponymous gallery in New York City – one of the centers of a fast-growing market revolving around architectural drawings.[13] Not exactly the natural habitat of an Italian architect who had been

an active member of the Communist Party for roughly thirty years. Hence the difficulty in obtaining an American visa.[14] By the time of this letter, however, Aldo Rossi had just presented his drawings at two major exhibitions, running in parallel at the Max Protetch Gallery and the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies.[15] And, in spite of the obstacles associated with being on that "bad list," he had been very engaged with the American architectural discourse since the mid-1970s. Even before the seminal show *Architecture I* organized by Leo Castelli in 1977, one has to look very hard to find an event associated with this emerging culture of drawing in which Aldo Rossi's *disegni* were not involved in one way or another.[16]

After years devoted to State-funded projects, developed almost exclusively in Italy, Aldo Rossi's first contact with the United States coincided with (and was propelled by) the construction of a new *liaison* between architecture and the art market, leading to a reconceptualization of the architectural drawing.[17] Those writing about architecture in the American mass media at the time were quick to highlight this phenomenon. In her influential columns on the *New York Times*, Ada Louise Huxtable observed that "the nature of drawing is being re-examined" and that "art and architecture have come closer than at any time in history."[18] On the same newspaper, Paul Goldberger wrote that "architectural drawings have become art objects."[19] For Paul Gapp, from the *Chicago Herald Tribune*, "you might say that architectural drawing has been rediscovered."[20] Thomas Hess of the *New York Magazine* notified his readers that "the next hot property may well be drawings by the major designers."[21] *Philadelphia Inquirer*'s Victoria Donahoe was even more direct: "what has happened is that suddenly architectural drawings have become an ardently sought-after commodity."[22] And, of course, there were many concerned voices, as evidenced by a piece on *Artforum* by Stuart Greenspan: "What happens when architectural drawings really hit the market? Will the stock climb for architects or for a new hybrid, the artist-architect?"[23] For Ann Lorenz van Zanten, "architects should think long and hard before they

involve themselves in a new and possibly artificial art market."[24] To put things in perspective, all of these comments were written in the span of a few months, during the course of 1977.[25]

While historians have been less eager to investigate architecture's inroads into the art market, a recent study by Jordan Kauffman has attempted to fill this void. His research focused on how architectural drawings came to be understood as works of art, hence addressing the issue from a socio-aesthetic perspective. And provided a detailed survey of the *milieu* in which this reconceptualization occurred. Setting the stage for this analysis, Jordan Kauffman wrote: "During the 1970s and 1980s, for the first time, architectural drawings became more than an instrument for building. Prior to this period, except for scattered instances, buildings were considered to be the goal of architectural practice; architectural drawings were viewed simply as a means to an end. However, through a confluence of factors architectural drawings emerged from this marginal role. Drawings attained autonomy from the architectural process and were ultimately perceived as aesthetic artifacts in and of themselves. […] During this period, architectural drawings became the driving force of architectural debate, not for what architects put in them, but for what others asked them to be and saw in them."[26]

The "case" of Aldo Rossi

The Wall Street Journal put it in a different way: "Oh, buildings may be pretty, but collectors and others want drawings, will pay."[27] Unsurprisingly, the full-page illustration that accompanied this 1979 article was a drawing by Aldo Rossi. In the same years, Manfredo Tafuri had started to talk about Aldo Rossi as a "case." More specifically, as "the most watched and discussed case both in Italy and on the international scene – the only *caposcuola* capable of continually fueling around his own work and his own figure a debate that impacts the very concept of architecture."[28] A handful of New York institutions played a particularly important role in the internationalization of this "case:" the Institute

for Architecture and Urban Studies, the galleries of Leo Castelli and Max Protetch, and the Gilman Collection. According to Ernesto Ramon Raspoli, Aldo Rossi's "*fortuna*" in America derived mostly from the IAUS. [29] The Institute was founded in 1967 as non-profit independent agency concerned with research, education and development in architecture and urbanism. In 1977, after the first ten years of operations of the IAUS, Peter Eisenman defined it as a "halfway house between school and office."[30] As for Leo Castelli and Max Protetch, they ran two of the most important private galleries in America, with a particular interest in architecture.[31] The last major component was the corporate collection of the Gilman Paper Company, one of the most extensive collections of architectural drawings in the world, assembled in the late-1970s.[32]

All of these institutions did not operate as islands in the city: on the contrary, they had very strong ties with each other and belonged to the same network, which included also institutions like the Museum of Modern Art, the Drawing Center and Cooper Union, among others.[33] This connection was based on a very simple fact: the same group of people was involved in almost every project or event. For example, before opening his gallery, Max Protetch spent more than a year meeting every week with Peter Eisenman, who directed the IAUS, and John Hejduk, Dean of the School of Architecture at Cooper Union, to discuss the problematics associated with exhibiting architectural drawings.[34] Similarly, when Leo Castelli decided to organize his first architectural exhibition, he sought advice from Barbara Jakobson and Emilio Ambasz, two key figures at MoMA. And they endorsed Pierre Apraxine, who had accumulated a good deal of experience curating shows for the MoMA Art Lending Service.[35] Coincidentally, Pierre Apraxine was also the curator (and mastermind) of the Gilman Collection.[36] And, when the collection had been assembled, in the late 1980s, the Gilman Company hired Max Protetch to make an appraisal of it.[37] By the same token, especially in the early days of his gallery, Max Protetch relied heavily on Leo Castelli, who passed along several works and sometimes

even entire exhibitions.[38] And he had an equally productive relationship with the IAUS, as evidenced by two coordinated shows on Aldo Rossi and John Hejduk in the late-1970s.

The point is that, after Aldo Rossi made his official American debut in 1976 with a show at the IAUS, he was rapidly absorbed into an already-established network, in which a restricted group of individuals operated within and between different institutions, moving very fluidly, and blurring the lines that had traditionally separated activities related to the academia, the architectural profession, the museum, the art market and the corporate world. A few letters that Pierre Apraxine sent to Aldo Rossi in 1976 are particularly telling.[39] In the span of a few sentences, he thanks the architect for selling a set of drawings to the Gilman Collection, proposes to organize a number of museal events where drawings could be exhibited and sold, and finally invites him to partake in an academic conference and give a lecture. The same way of thinking lay behind the foundation of Max Protecth's gallery: the idea was to "create a center for intellectual discourse, like the Institute for Architecture and Urban Design, but commercial."[40] Likewise, Leo Castelli's gallery was regarded as a "quasi-museum."[41] In the 1980s, even academic institutions started to host events in which drawings by students and professors were displayed for sale.[42]

The Gilman Collection

These relationships inevitably bring to mind the writings of Fredric Jameson, who was among the first to theorize a new symbiosis between the cultural and the economic.[43] And, from a broader angle, they point to the sociological work of Pierre Bourdieu, especially as it pertains to the distinction between cultural capital and economic capital. In his definition of "objectified cultural capital," Pierre Bourdieu specifically chooses the example of a collection of paintings to show that certain goods can be appropriated both materially, which presupposes economic capital, and symbolically, which

presupposes cultural capital. If a collection is sold, what is transmissible is legal ownership and not (or not necessarily) what constitutes the precondition for specific appropriation, namely, the possession of the means of *consuming* the paintings. The ability to actually consume them depends on the buyer's "embodied cultural capital," which derives mostly from socialization and education. From this perspective, the sale of a work of art does not automatically imply a cultural transfer.[44]

The corporate collection assembled in the late 1970s by Pierre Apraxine on behalf of the Gilman Paper Company opens a window into a particular mode of buying and selling. The Belgian curator was hired by Howard Gilman (whose real passion was not art but exotic animals) to put together a collection for the company's offices in the Time-Life Building.[45] The initial focus was on photography and conceptual art. According to Pierre Apraxine, the idea to shift the focus of the collection came after visiting "an exhibition of visionary architectural drawings for unbuilt projects" at MoMA.[46] Curated by Emilio Ambasz and Barbara Jakobson, *Architectural Studies and Project* opened in 1975 and was the first sale exhibition of architectural drawings at MoMA. As noted in the press release, "all of the drawings are for sale, ranging in price from $200 to $2000."[47] But Pierre Apraxine's conversion was also motivated by the realization that the works of art acquired at the beginning of this endeavor—from Frank Stella's paintings to Dan Flavin's sculptures—were "too intellectually demanding and austere," and therefore created an uncomfortable working environment for Gilman's employees. For Pierre Apraxine, it was necessary to "reintroduce the recognizable imprint of the hand of the individual artist, often deliberately shunned by the Minimalists."[48]

This sequence of events shines a light on multiple issues. First, the fact that a corporation was inspired to acquire architectural drawings by observing the commercial shift of MoMA, one of the cultural institutions *par excellence*. Second, the fact that office workers felt more comfortable having drawings of "visionary" architectures on their walls, rather than photographs or conceptual paintings: they

somehow found them more relatable. Third, the fact that, in the late-1970s, a major corporate collection thought it was time to move away from objects that responded to the logic of mechanical reproduction and closer to objects that (at least in theory) showcased the uniqueness of the artist's hand. Fourth, the fact that, throughout this transformation, architectural drawings were understood as works of art in all respects, and therefore came to be treated as *pieces* of an art collection. But, in addition to all this, there is another (very obvious) aspect that has always been overlooked in the literature on the Gilman Collection: the fact that Gilman produced paper. The main buyer and collector of architectural drawings in the 1970s and 1980s was one of the biggest manufacturers of paper products in the world. In this case, so-called paper architecture and paper industry were very much intertwined, a revolving door of production and consumption.[49]

This relationship is important because it highlights the fragility of one of the myths that have held postmodernism together: the idea that architecture was distinguished from the materiality of things (Manfredo Tafuri called it palpability) because it had an irreducibly autonomous essence.[50] And, more specifically, it calls into question the dominant understanding of representation as an immaterial form of architectural culture. On the contrary, paper architecture was entrenched in a highly materialistic *milieu*, subject to an industrial complex and a market characterized by very specific interests and objectives. Those who presented themselves as autonomous cultural producers might be better described as intermediaries in an arena where representations were treated as commodities. Joseph Giovannini, writing for the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* in 1981, put it this way: "Architectural drawings have become an art commodity. They sell. The demand for drawings in galleries has, over the last several years, elicited a surprising supply, and the new market situation has subtly changed the nature of architectural drawings itself."[51] Interestingly, the identification of architectural works on paper as something valuable, something that could be exchanged for money, coincided with the dawn of what

economists call cashless society, as paper money was increasingly replaced by credit cards and other immaterial types of financial transactions.[52]

Establishing Value

Within this process of commodification, one of the biggest challenges was to determine the venal value of objects that had rarely been bought and sold individually. If architectural drawings are seen as "instruments for building," no one cares about their individual value: they are simply part of the overall service offered by the architect, which is sold as a single package. But if they start to be regarded as works of art, as autonomous objects with their own market, then someone has to figure out how much each piece is worth. In the late-1970s, this led to a new type of conversation between those who made the drawings (architects) and those who sold them (art dealers). For example, in a letter sent by Leo Castelli to several architects ahead of the exhibition *Architecture III*, the formula was: "Pricing of the work offered for sale will be agreed upon mutually by the artist and the gallery."[53] A letter sent by the curator of the Rizzoli Gallery (New York) to Aldo Rossi in the same year is even more specific: "As for the price of the works, you are welcome to set it yourself; or, if you prefer, the gallery can take care of it, with your approval. Overall, the gallery will keep 40% of the total revenue."[54]

Looking back on that period in a 2002 interview, Pierre Apraxine noted that, in the early days, many architects not only had troubles appraising their own drawings: on a deeper level, they struggled to see them as something valuable.[55] In this reflection, he singled out Peter Cook and Aldo Rossi, saying that they had discarded or lost multiple important drawings that the Gilman Collection had seen on magazines and wanted to buy. In many cases, drawings were used for publications and, after the article had come out, the *original* was not seen as something worth keeping. From this perspective, the drawing was not understood as a one-off, an individual object of intrinsic value, but rather as

something that participated to a cycle of reproduction and dissemination, in which the line between the original and the facsimile was drawn in the sand. And this approach also explains the low selling prices of the iconic drawings of the Cemetery of Modena, which constitute the backbone of the Gilman Collection. Just to give an example, one of the large perspective drawing was purchased for 1,750 dollars in the mid-1970s.[56] Notably, the cheapest purchases took place when Pierre Apraxine travelled to Milan at the beginning of his curatorial project, when Aldo Rossi had not yet grown accustomed to the dynamics of this new market. And the same thing happened to several other architects, from Yona Friedman to Hans Hollein, that Pierre Apraxine visited during his European tours.

Furthermore, as this material started to be exhibited in art galleries, it entered into the realm of another interest group: insurance companies. And this had a decisive impact on how architectural drawings were evaluated. From an historian perspective, the most interesting examples relate to drawings that, after being insured, were stolen or lost, leading to major controversies. Plus, these were the stories that attracted the attention of the mass media and, therefore, drew the general public into a conversation about the value of architectural drawings. For example, a heated correspondence between Aldo Rossi and the Biennale of Venice reveals that one his drawings was lost after the exhibition *Europa / America* of 1976.[57] The architect asked for a refund, but his request was denied because the deadline set by the insurance company had already expired. But when three drawings of the Theater of the World were stolen during the Biennale of 1980, Aldo Rossi received a check for 2,500,000 lire from Assicurazioni Generali.[58] This shows both the architect's growing awareness of the importance of his drawings, and the prominent role played by corporations with no particular architectural knowledge in determining their value.

One of the most controversial incidents was associated with an exhibition organized by the London Institute of Contemporary Arts in 1983. In fact, after the show, a set of Aldo Rossi's drawings disappeared, leading to a heated legal dispute, which immediately spilled over into the media. For example, *Building Design* ran an article titled "Irreplaceable Rossi Drawings Lost in Transit from ICA."[59] Not only drawings were being elevated to the status of irreplaceable objects in the eyes of the public, but the press went as far as to make an evaluation of these materials, arguing that each of the "missing masterpieces" was worth upwards of 3,000 dollars. Interestingly, according to a reporter, problems might have occurred at Italian customs, where the package sent by the ICA was believed to have been opened for inspection: "One of the drawings had the word *Mussolini* in its title, which may have caused concern." Clearly, customs officials had their own evaluation criteria. But it's also worth noting the irony in the fact that, after a few international exhibitions, Aldo Rossi went from not being able to obtain an American visa because of his Communist background, to not being able to bring some of his drawings back home because the Italian authorities mistook them for Fascist propaganda.

Conditions of Commodification

Especially in the early days of this new market, the commodification of the architectural drawing was far from being a linear process and responded to a multitude of heterogenous logics. First of all, not all architects wanted to market their drawings. For example, at the exhibition *Architecture I*, Robert Venturi and John Rauch placed a sign next to their works, clearly indicating that they were "Not For Sale."[60] In the mid-1970s, they were already worried about keeping their archive of drawings together. According to Pierre Apraxine, this concern was shared by other architects as well, such as James Stirling and Cedric Price, who were hesitant to sell some of their drawings to the Gilman Collection.[61] At the same time, others opposed these transformations for ideological reasons, as evidenced by a

letter sent to Leo Castelli in 1977 by Adolfo Natalini, who chastised this trend as "a graphic nothing in the hands of some talented architects and draughtsmen."[62] Ironically, not long after this letter, the Gilman Company acquired a significant portion of Superstudio's drawing collection.

Secondly, it's important to specify that not all architectural drawings were involved in this process of reconceptualization and commodification. The literature tends to address architectural drawings in this context as a homogeneous body. But, on the contrary, only very specific types of drawings participated to this process. Once again, the press was very quick to recognize this nuance. In an article titled "The New Allure of Architectural Drawings," published on *Portfolio* in 1979, architectural critic Ray Smith tried to explain this differentiation to an audience of collectors.[63] After having surveyed the price ranges of several different artefacts, from sketches to murals, he directly addressed the question of value: "Naturally, some drawings are more valuable than others. In the architectural process, different kinds of drawings are produced by different people for different purposes. Which are artworks? Only those drawn by the principal architect? Or are presentation drawings (made often by many hands, to show the client what the building will look like) and working drawings (made to show contractors how and what to build) also of value?" These questions were meant to point his readers in a very specific direction: "Experts agree that it's mainly drawings by architects themselves that are candidates for consideration as artworks. But not every architect's drawings will be valuable. Successful, big-name architects are often less appealing to today's collectors than architects whose work is seen as ideologically important." The first name on Ray Smith's list was Aldo Rossi, followed by the other six designers involved in *Architecture I*: Raimund Abraham, Walter Pichler, Emilio Ambasz, James Stirling, Richard Meier and Robert Venturi.

So, one of the first discriminating factors was the source of the drawing. The hype was not around drawings produced by big corporate firms (such as SOM, for example), but rather on drawings made

by a particular category of architects – those that are sometimes referred to as "black-cape architects."[64] But, in addition to this, there was also a difference between the drawings made directly by the (black-cape) architect and those made by his (white-collar) assistants or employees. Once again, the emphasis was put on the hands of the "principal," as the only legitimate source of value. If one of the overarching narratives that held postmodernism together revolved around equating drawing with authorship, the art market reveals some of the fictional traits behind this correlation. For example, it's well documented that some of the most sought-after Rossian drawings were made by other architects in his office: most of the iconic drawings of the Theater of the World were produced by a British collaborator by the name of Christopher Stead, while an American intern named Jesse Reiser was put to work on the drawings of the Cemetery of Modena.[65] And, notably, both endeavors took place after the respective buildings had been completed, responding to a form of post-production that was very common in Aldo Rossi's practice.

"Many architects can't draw, but that's considered a minor handicap these days, for buildings can be produced from drawings of no artistic value."[66] This comment, written by James Carberry on the *Wall Street Journal* in 1979, pointed to another important dichotomy: any drawing made for building purposes tended to be excluded from this emerging market, as it was difficult to see it as an aesthetic artifact in and of itself. While many critics at the time placed the emphasis on drawings for unbuilt or unrealized architecture, the principal *objets du désir* were drawings that did not relate to building at all.[67] In the documentation related to his show *Architecture I*, Leo Castelli described them as "conceptual exercises."[68] In the section of the exhibition devoted to Aldo Rossi, it's easy to see the gap between the models, which serve to illustrate built projects and reiterate a modernist way of exhibiting architecture, and the drawings. The core of the display was a set of seven drawings which, in terms of both format and content, seemed to be taken directly from the architect's *quaderni*. They portrayed

palm trees, a metaphysical castle *à la* De Chirico, a red cube, Coney Island, a triangle with smokestacks, the famous *cabine* of the Island of Elba, and two imaginary cities.[69] While arguing that "the imagery touches genius," Ada Louise Huxtable was among the first to address the impact of this type of drawings on the characterization of the architect: "To those practicing architects who still believe that building is a positive, creative and problem-solving necessity, this makes Mr. Rossi not an architect at all."[70]

Taking it one step further, one could also note that what was being avoided was not only drawings associated with buildings, but also drawings made with modes of representation rooted in the building practice. Jordan Kauffman appropriately called them "normative architectural drawings."[71] In fact, conventional views such as plans, sections or elevations were quite rare in these exhibitions. At the same time, drawings like Aldo Rossi's conceptual sketches were starting to be established as a new norm. Perhaps no one embraced this tension more than Peter Eisenman. In a letter sent to Aldo Rossi ahead of his 1979 exhibition at the IAUS, Peter Eisenman was very clear about the type of drawings he wanted: "Dear Aldo, thank you for sending the material. All arrived in good order. However, I think we have a problem of communication. […] In order to make the catalogue unique and valuable, I want to concentrate on one area of your work: *Città Analoga*. Therefore, I want to include as many sketches as possible both in the catalogue and in our exhibition. Consequently, much of the material which you sent I will turn over to Max Protetch, since they deal with projects."[72]

This document is interesting on many different levels. First of all, it reveals different understandings of what constituted valuable exhibition material. For Peter Eisenman, the drawings of the *Città Analoga* were much more relevant than the representations of Aldo Rossi's buildings. And, more importantly, it shows a deliberate decision to separate "drawings" from "projects." As already mentioned, the Max Protetch Gallery and the IAUS hosted two simultaneous shows on Aldo Rossi in 1979. One was titled

Aldo Rossi: Architectural Projects, while the other was presented as an exhibition of drawings. Even though most of the objects exhibited by Max Protetch could easily be described as conceptual exercises and had nothing to do with actual buildings, it's important to underline this linguistic distinction. The subtext was to devoid the drawing of its *projective* connotation – a property that had been attributed to architectural drawings for centuries, allowing people to conceive them as means towards a specific end: building. Of course, these reflections must be situated in the framework of the architectural discourse of the time. Robin Evan published his seminal essay "Translations from Drawing to Building" in 1986.[73] And, to stay within the context of the New York art scene, Arthur Drexler had already touched on this subject in 1976 with the exhibition *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts* at MoMA, which attempted to reverse the accepted understanding that drawings represent buildings, suggesting that it is actually buildings that attempt to emulate drawings.[74]

A donation form distributed by Max Protetch to a number of architects involved in a benefit auction in 1986 shines a different light on the terms *drawing*, *building* and *project*.[75] At the top of the form, before the section devoted to the characteristics of the donated item and the insurance value, each architect had to write the "Title/description of the drawing" and answer two questions: "Has the project been realized?" and "Will the project be built?" Answering "No" to these questions, thus affirming the autonomy of the drawing from the construction site both in the past and in the future, would have made the item more valuable in the eyes of the gallerist, the insurer and, most importantly, the potential buyers.

But not everyone had the same understanding of these key words. While Max Protetch identified the term "project" with a condition reached by the drawing when directed towards a building, Aldo Rossi was much more ambiguous about such distinctions. For example, as noted in the previous chapter, when he traveled to present his work, Aldo Rossi always gave the same lecture titled *Some of my Projects*.

However, given his notorious struggles with English, these lectures often resulted in him drawing on a blackboard. Besides, when he started to exhibit his drawings in museums and galleries, the language started to change. Let's consider, for example, three exhibitions held in Italy during the course of 1979: the first was called *Progetti e Disegni*, the second *Alcuni miei Progetti*, the third *Disegni e Progetti*.[76] And such ambiguity was only magnified by his encounters with Americans. Particularly interesting is the first draft, written in Italian, of the essay for the 1979 show at the IAUS. The initial title was "Questi Disegni." But self-censorship immediately kicked in, the word "Disegni" was crossed out, and the title was turned into "Questi Progetti o Disegni."[77] Two aspects stand out: first, the use of an "or" statement, rather than an "and" statement, suggesting that projects and drawings are not mutually exclusive terms; and, secondly, the decision to present the material as "these" projects and drawings, rather than "my" projects and drawings. In the end, a heavily-edited version of this essay was published in the IAUS catalogue under the title "My Designs and the Analogous City." In addition to the personalization of the material, it's worth noting the choice of the term "Designs" as a compromise between projects and drawings.

So, according to all of this documentation, the objects of desire were non-normative drawings, made with un-conventional modes of representation, possibly sketches, representing things that had not been built and were not going to be built, produced by black-cape architects with their own hands. Recognizing, of course, that all of these conditions rarely coexisted in a single drawing, this identikit generated by Peter Eisenman's network calls for a very simple question: was this what collectors and other buyers actually wanted? Wall Street guru Ed Seykota has a famous quote than may answer the question: "It can be very expensive to try to convince the markets you are right."[78] In fact, one does not have to be an expert in financial transactions to see that most of the endeavors mentioned so far struggled to be profitable. In spite of the vibrant debates and the excitement in the media, the

architectural shows organized by Leo Castelli were far from being a commercial success. Only a small percentage of the drawings ended up being sold. And the same thing happened to Max Protetch. Most of his revenue derived from selling drawings made by "Modern masters," such as Mies van der Rohe and Louis Kahn. As for Pierre Apraxine, suffice to say that the entire Gilman Collection, comprising 182 drawings from the 1960s and 1970s, was assembled for only 204,201 dollars. To put things in perspective, Max Protetch sold a single drawing by Frank Lloyd Wright for 200,000 dollars in 1983.[79] When Howard Gilman died in the late 1990s, having accumulated more than a billion dollars in assets, his Foundation treated the architectural drawings as small potatoes and donated them to the Museum of Modern Art. Conversely, his photography collection was sold to the Metropolitan Museum, having reached a market value that exceeded $100 million.[80]

The emphasis on representation has often been associated with the economic recession of the 1970s.[81] The underlaying argument suggests that, as architects started to have fewer opportunities to build, they turned to drawing. However, the way the market responded to this transformation shows that no one was beating down these architects' doors to purchase the particular drawings they were putting on the shelves. If the goal was to make money, conceptual exercises were not the way to go. *Progressive Architecture*'s review of Aldo Rossi's parallel exhibitions of 1979 is particularly significant: "To an American audience that lacks the realized buildings as counterpoint, the drawings' fecundity runs the danger of appearing irresolute, their repetition of elements obsessive. But these sketches must be understood as the most personal, intimate expressions of Rossi's art, descriptions of the underlying ambiguities and inherent poetry he senses in his work."[82]

The Childish Hand

But this friction didn't stop the institutions and the individuals involved in this process from flooding the art market with that type of architectural drawing. And, as noted by Terence Riley, Aldo Rossi's sketches quickly came to be perceived as the benchmark for all those who wanted to participated in this (often unprofitable) culture of drawing.[83] In the literature on Aldo Rossi's drawings, two aspects are repeatedly pointed out. The first is the personal and autobiographical nature of his drawings. The aforementioned review on *Progressive Architecture* is but one of many examples in which this trait was underlined. According to Rafael Moneo, traveling to America made this autobiographical tendency even more pronounced: "at the beginning of his career, Rossi mostly tried to be objective; when he came back from the United States, he was convinced that he could only talk about himself."[84] And the second aspect, which may be related to the first, is a form of childishness. In his introduction to the catalogue of *Architecture I*, Pierre Apraxine wrote that "Rossi's work is effortlessly readable, almost childish in its simplicity."[85] In another review, Ada Louise Huxtable alluded to Aldo Rossi's "wise child gaze."[86] Peter Eisenman repeatedly associated his drawings to the "timelessness of childhood."[87] And this aspect also attracted the attention of Robert Venturi, who had already started to explore the ideology behind children's drawings.[88] Meanwhile, in Italy, Manfredo Tafuri had started to talk about Aldo Rossi's "childish hand," criticizing his "elementarism."[89] And, in his writings, Aldo Rossi himself made several references to this concept: "A man cannot become a child again, or he becomes childish; but does he not enjoy the naïveté of the child and does he not himself have to strive on a higher level to reproduce the child's veracity?"[90]

A piece on the Italian newspaper *Il Giornale* shines a light on the bafflement caused by such approach in certain *milieus*: "Many malicious critics and jealous colleagues argue that Aldo Rossi, as a child, used to play with the game *Il Piccolo Architetto* [an Italian precursor of Lego]. That's why his famous projects

evoke a ludic architecture, made of little blocks, columns, spheres, triangles, pinnacles, cubes and even tinier cubes."[91] However, in spite of such emphasis on the childishness of Aldo Rossi's drawings, no one devoted any time to studying how Aldo Rossi learned to draw when he was actually a child. While much has been written about his drawings, most studies have overlooked how that particular type of drawing was shaped and developed in his formative years.[92] Particularly important are Aldo Rossi's early education and training in the 1940s, which took place in a religious school outside of Milan, the Collegio Arcivescovile "Alessandro Volta" of Lecco.

Following the outbreak of World War II, Aldo Rossi's family—like many other Milanese families—left the city and moved to a peripheric, semi-rural area, where the impact of the conflict was less intense.[93] This is where Aldo Rossi spent a significant part of his childhood. The importance of these formative years is highlighted in multiple of Aldo Rossi's own writings. At the beginning of *A Scientific Autobiography*, he discussed the experience in Lecco as "the visual education of my childhood."[94] There he started to draw coffee pots, pans, bottles and other every-day objects: "they were miniatures of the fantastic architectures that I would encounter later." In another essay on his youth, he noted: "I have always been grateful to my catholic education for the possibility of choosing extremely different types of logic and beauty."[95] According to Maristella Casciato, this particular education had a very profound impact on Aldo Rossi: in fact, the *quaderni azzurri* are full of religious references.[96] And, to make matters more complicated, this religious influence intertwined with another dynamic: as he was going to a strict catholic school, Aldo Rossi was simultaneously being raised in a communist community – a combination known in Italy as *catto-comunismo*.[97]

The Collegio Arcivescovile of Lecco had a very specific pedagogical approach.[98] It was run by the Somascan Fathers, a religious congregation founded in the sixteenth century. Their motherhouse was in Somasca, a secluded hamlet near Lecco. The order was originally called "Company of the Servants

of the Poor" and operated in underprivileged communities. However, it gradually shifted its focus toward "educating and forming youth," establishing a network of schools and seminaries in Northern Italy.[99] As noted Battista Orizio, the Somascan schools were among the first institutions in Europe to conceive and implement a "professional education."[100] From the beginning, their programs had a distinctly professionalizing outlook. The idea was to take children from working-class families and, while giving them a basic level of literacy and religious instruction, teach them a job. The goal was to "integrate these kids in the world of artisanal labor."

The Somascan pedagogical program revolved around the concept of manual labor. Not only students were taught artisanal skills, in many cases they were helped to find after-school jobs in *botteghe* or *officine*. Historians have found numerous employment contracts stipulated by the Somascan Fathers with various *maestri artiginali* on behalf of their students.[101] It was essentially a school that prepared kids for an artisanal job: the Italian term was "avviamento professionale." According to the surviving documents, the courses included activities such as woodworking, metalworking, weaving, tailoring and—interestingly—the building trade. Of course, the aim was not to form people that could design buildings, but rather bricklayers and foremen. On this topic, Lucio Zavattin has highlighted a notable detail: students were only taught how to read technical drawings, not how to make them.[102] So, as it pertained to the building trade, the Somascans aimed to form artisans that could only execute the plans drawn by others.

Discipline and Drawing

When Aldo Rossi finally returned to Milan and enrolled in the Politecnico in 1949, he was a fish out of water. And the way he drew was one of the biggest issues: "At the Politecnico in Milan, I believe that I was one of the worst students. Professor Sabbioni, whom I particularly admired, discouraged

me from making architecture, saying that my drawings looked like those of a bricklayer or a rural contractor, who threw a stone to indicate approximately where a window was to be placed."[103] The Politecnico was the institution were technical education had been pioneered in Italy. To be more specific, its origin went back to the first half of the nineteenth century, when Milan was still a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Its model was the Imperial Royal Polytechnic Institute, founded in Vienna in 1818, which in turn had been modelled after the French Ecole Polytechnique. The Politecnico of Milan was not envisioned as an isolated institution, but rather as the culmination of a technical education that engaged children from a very young age, through the establishment of technical elementary schools and high schools. As noted by Adele Mazzotta, what kept the entire curriculum together was a specific type of technical drawing. The focus was on "linear and industrial drawing."[104]

According to the surviving documentation, this mid-nineteenth-century program revolved around three key principles: every course needed to have an "industrial or commercial" outlook, it had to follow a "practical and intuitive" methodology and, most importantly, it had to reinforce the authority of the Austrian Monarchy.[105] The School of Architecture of the Politenico was founded in 1865, shortly after Italy's unification. But it wasn't until 1933 that the architectural program was formally separated from the engineering program. As noted by Camillo Boito, one of the founding fathers of the Politenico, the core of both programs was the teaching of "descriptive geometry" – the foundation of any technical drawing.[106] The objective was very clear from the get-go: architects had to be taught to draw exactly like engineers. In 1875, the structure of the Politecnico was even reorganized in order to introduce a "preparatory two-year period" that both architectural students and engineering students had to attend, centered on the production of technical drawings.[107] In his study of technical education in the nineteenth century, Andrew Butrica argued that drawing operated as the "lingua franca of an

industrializing society."[108] Notably, in the aftermath of Italy's unification in the 1860s, all the public technical schools were dislodged from the Ministry of Education and placed under the aegis of the Ministry of Industry.[109]

This dynamic invested not only the high level of polytechnic education: it started at the very beginning of the public technical curriculum. As noted by Andrew Butrica in relation to the French experience, the goal was to transform an artisanal working class into an industrial working class.[110] In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault brought up the example of the Manufacture des Gobelins, a tapestry factory that supplied the French royal court: in 1737, an edict organized a school of drawing for the apprentices of the Gobelins.[111] According to Ken Adler, Michel Foucault pointed to this case to show how the pedagogues of the late ancient regime used drawing lessons to regiment the "unruly children of artisans."[112] Another example highlighted in *Discipline and Punish* was Leon Faucher's set of rules for the so-called House of Young Prisoners, in Paris: in this case, the young detainees had to go through a very strict schooling program, were they had to attend drawing lessons on a daily basis.[113] In the same period, drawing was used as a disciplinary instrument in French military schools as well: for example, artillery courses were mostly made of drawing exercises. And, of course, there was a constant intertwine between military schools and technical (engineering) schools in France, to the point that the Ecole Polytechnique was turned into a military academy under Napoleon and, to this day, still is supervised by the French Ministry of Defense.[114]

In his techno-political study of modern education, Michel Foucault also pointed to the correlation between the body and the gesture. From his point of view, disciplinary control did not consist simply in teaching or imposing a series of particular gestures: "it imposed the best relation between a gesture and the overall position of the body, which is its condition of efficiency." Drawing or handwriting presupposed a gymnastic – a routine whose rigorous code invested the body in its entirety, "from the

points of the feet to the tip of the index finger."[115] In this framework, the everyday mechanics of schooling were read as a disciplinary technology or, as noted by Roger Deacon, as "moral orthopedics."[116] The same theme was addressed by Clive Ashwin in his study of the tradition of "pedagogical drawing" in the German-speaking countries during the nineteenth century.[117] The argument was that, with the gathering momentum of the industrial revolution, different justification for the teaching of drawing started to gain ground. Drawing was not envisioned simply as a valuable skill in the context of manufacturing activity, but also as something that could promote habits of precision, cleanliness, neatness and diligence conductive to successful industrial enterprise. It was in this context that drawing started to be understood as a fundamental part of every child's general education: "It became accepted by many educational theorists as a skill which was essential for the complete and balanced development of every child's physical, mental and moral faculties."[118]

A fitting example was the work of German-Swiss pedagogue Heinrich Pestalozzi, who had a significant influence in Northern Italy as well. The goal was to move away from artistic drawing (*kunstzeichnen*) and transform drawing into a disciplinary instrument. Rejecting the elitist model of the pre-industrial period, which was based on the presence of a tutor who could devote his full time and energy to the education of his pupil, Heinrich Pestalozzi aimed to devise a method that a teacher or quite modest education and ability could teach to large groups of children effectively. Notably, Heinrich Pestalozzi himself famously did not possess any skill whatsoever in drawing. As noted by Clive Ashwin, in order to establish its new identity as an essential component of all general education, drawing had to acquire the characteristics of a "theoretical rationale." And the whole teaching process had to be turned into a repeatable routine, based on "iron discipline, centered authoritarianism and dreary uniformity."[119] Notably, the routine revolved around an oral back-and-fourth between the teacher and the class. This is an actual example: "The teacher draws his line and says to the children:

I draw a horizontal line. The children all do the same and say all together: I draw a horizontal line. The teacher: Have you done it? The children answer: Yes! Teacher: What have you done? Children: I have drawn a horizontal line."[120] Heinrich Pestalozzi conclusion was quite clear: "If your child in the course of a year should not succeed in drawing a proper stove, he will at least have grown accustomed to sitting still and working."[121]

The School and the State

In all of these cases, the disciplinary action of modern education traced back to a specific authority: the Nation-State.[122] In this framework, the relationship between student and teacher echoed the relationship between society and the State.[123] The Italian case is particularly interesting, as Italy went through a rather unique and slow process of nation-building. As already noted, the technical education that took form in Northern Italy (of which the Politecnico of Milan was the highest expression) predated the country's unification and mostly derived from the Austrian and French systems. On the other hand, there was a widespread network of religious schools, with a long history in education, such as the *collegi* of the Somascan Fathers. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the large space in the middle started to be occupied by a new State-run education system, which had to negotiate with various local or regional models and forge a unified, national program.[124]

The structure of this national system came to be influenced by Antonio Gramsci's particular view of schooling, which focused on the humanities and emphasized the importance of intellectual work.[125] The point of reference was the Humboldtian idea of creating a vast Bildungsburgertum, a widespread middle class with a classical education.[126] But, as noted by Carlo Lacaita, the post-unitary period was also characterized by a strong push towards an education system that could align Italy with the other industrialized countries. The result was the development of a technical program with a specifically

industrial outlook, aimed at "adhering to modern civilization" and abandoning the backwardness of the previous period.[127] The way in which drawing was taught reflected these transformations. For example, while drawing was initially intended as a recreational activity and taught as "disegno spontaneo" in public elementary schools, it was quickly turned into a highly-disciplined subject, taught as "disegno applicato ai lavori."[128] A report on the teaching of drawing in Italy, written by Giuseppe Colombo in the late 1860s, lamented this shift, arguing that drawing had become too specialized and professionalized, at the expense of "general culture."[129]

Since the inception of the Italian nation, the education system had been regarded as a key element of statecraft. Addressing the question "What is the State?" during a speech in the newly-created House of Representatives in 1864, Francesco De Sanctis, the first Secretary of Education made the point that schools and universities were the primary manifestations of the State.[130] Clearly, education was seen as a fundamental tool in the process of nation-building – the challenge of turning individuals from very different regions into Italian citizens. This effort was taken to a whole new level in the 1920s, following the rise of the Fascist regime. In fact, one of the first actions of Mussolini's government was a comprehensive reform of public education, aimed at reaffirming the centrality of the State after the tormented period that followed the first global conflict. Giovanni Gentile, Mussolini's Secretary of Education, inaugurated this reform by sending a bulletin titled *La Disciplina nelle Scuole* to all the schools in the countries, requesting their "obedience to the State."[131] In the 1930s, the regime put forward an even more radical reform, elaborated by Giuseppe Bottai as the war was about to begin: "The aim of this reform is to take the school away from bourgeois society and turn it into a school of the Fascist people and the Fascist State: the people will be able to attend it and the State will be able to use it for its own ends."[132]

This was the school in which most of Aldo Rossi's generation went to. In fact, the organization of public education elaborated during the regime—which Mussolini praised as "the most Fascist" of all his reforms—remained in force until the early 1960s.[133] Except for religious schools (like the *collegio* attended by Aldo Rossi), the number of schools that did not belong to the State-run system was extremely small: if you were born in Italy between the 1920s and the 1940s and you were not formed by a religious institution, then your education almost certainly took place in a public school with a strong Statist imprint, which reflected the Fascist regime's efforts to control and discipline its subjects with an iron fist and, on the other hand, to accelerate the industrialization of the country. From this point of view, Aldo Rossi was part a very small minority that did not go trough this education mechanism. Besides, even in the landscape of religious schools, the Collegio Arcivescovile of Lecco was, as already noted, an institution *sui generis*. Notably, Aldo Rossi's family arrived in Lecco precisely when the local State-run school was restructured around an "industrial program," emphasizing the distance from the program offered by the Somascan Fathers.[134]

In the public system, higher education was intended to form a technocracy that could guide Italy on the path toward modernization, while primary and secondary education was meant to form an industrial working class. It was a school for the masses, with an emphasis on labor production. In addition to the religious imprint, the Collegio Arcivescovile had a different pedagogical approach altogether, one that did not share the push toward modernization and industrialization of the public system. While addressing a low-to-middle income student population, the Collegio Arcivescovile did not have an industrial vision of the working class, but rather one that was still tied to an artisanal world. This was the environment in which Aldo Rossi started to draw. Often described as childlike, his drawings can be read as the offspring of a graphic education permeated by an artisanal *modus operandi*. Despite the best intentions of his professors at the Politecnico, this idiom remained always

present in his drawings.[135] In fact, when he later started his professional practice, Aldo Rossi used to delegate the production of the so-called technical drawings to his collaborators and assistants.

The *quaderni azzurri* represent a particularly interesting lens for the study of Aldo Rossi's drawings. Many of them were manufactured in Switzerland by a paper company called Elco.[136] They were sold as *schulhefte* (school notebooks), designed for students' writing and drawing exercises. As highlighted in Elco's mission statement, they belonged to an educational model rooted in traditional craftsmanship, in which freehand sketching was the primary mode of expression. Since the beginning of his career, when he had a short-term teaching job in Zurich, these blue notebooks became the most personal repository of Aldo Rossi's drawings. It's important to keep in mind that, in the mechanisms of public education, the *quaderno* historically played a key role in disciplining or, more literally, "quadrating" how knowledge was reproduced and disseminated. And it was a particularly important device in Italy during the Fascist regime.

On the one hand, the notebooks employed in public schools were full of political images and messages. For example, during the 1930s, the regime distributed in many schools a notebook with a blue cover: the image on the front was a group of children wearing Fascist uniforms and carrying a sign that read "Ordine." On the other hand, the notebook was also the medium on which very strict drawing and writing exercised were carried out. Most of these exercises consisted of copying very specific forms from State-issued manuals. There were also manuals for teachers, so that they knew exactly what to draw on the blackboard. The "selected forms" were rigorously drawn with orthographic projection and certainly did not represent random objects: as evidenced by a manual elaborated by Roberto Raimondi in the 1930s, two of the most common forms were "Stemma dello Stato" (the emblem of the State) and "Fascio Littorio" (the symbol of the Fascist movement).[137] Both their exterior design and the type of drawings that students were forced to make on their pages show

the extent to which these *quaderni* operated as political instruments, channeling the government's propaganda. And it was not just about what student had to draw: it was also about how they had to draw it. The emphasis on technical drawings went hand in hand with the Fascist myth of order and discipline, as well as the desire to adopt the idiom of an industrial world of which Mussolini's Italy was desperately trying to become a part.

Line and Body

In her research on Marcel Duchamp's education, Molly Nesbit wrote about "the language of industry" in relation to the program for drawing instruction developed in the French Third Republic.[138] The dichotomy at the heart of her study was the one between line and body: "the question before the government was which one, the line or the body, would provide the classroom model and then the controlling image for French public culture." The body was associated with the old masters of the past, especially the Italian Renaissance, whereas the line (understood as geometric line) was associated with the technical culture of machine production. As noted by Benjamin Buchloh, Molly Nesbit's study showed how "the teaching of elementary drawing skills at the end of the nineteenth century tilted dramatically in the direction of instilling a disciplinary and instrumentalizing kind of technical competence."[139]

The result was a public culture based on mechanical drawing – "*sans* color, *sans* nature, *sans* body." Molly Nesbit described it as a language meant for work, a "preaesthetic" language.[140] And the underlying objective was to force citizens to start seeing the world as a linear entity from a very young age. This type of enforced "precision seeing" brings to mind James Scott's *Seeing like a State*, especially as it pertains to his analysis of how States tend to do whatever they can to make societies legible and to impose certain forms of "vision."[141] The fact that "Marcel Duchamp had been taught his lines" was

then used by Molly Nesbit to shine a new light on his precision paintings and, more broadly, on the development of the avant-gardes of the early twentieth century. Pointing to the *milieus* in which they were educated, she argues that most of the artists who sang the praises of "the abstract line" did not invent anything new: they were already immersed in a culture of the line. For example, Molly Nesbit was able to show that many of the objects in Marcel Duchamp's ready-mades were actually taken from his schoolboy drawing manuals.[142]

Looking at Aldo Rossi's education, one may be tempted to argue that he had not been taught his lines. Or, at least, that he had been taught a line that belonged to the bodily realm, as a result of the pre-industrial (and, in that sense, pre-modern) approach of his school. If in most modern State-run schools, the bodies of the students were subjected to specific regulations so that they could produce drawings (or handwritings) in which the bodily traits were as limited as possible, Aldo Rossi's *collegio* responded to a culture that still accepted the bodily quality of both the producer (the artisan) and the product (the artefact). According to Molly Nesbit, Marcel Duchamp unconsciously used "the language of industry" that he had learned as a child when he wanted to "make a work that was not a work of art." In Aldo Rossi's case, it was precisely his illiteracy about the language of industry that allowed him to present and sell his drawings as works of art. Molly Nesbit wrote: "Line was to lead France straight into the commodity."[143] In Aldo Rossi's case, the distance from the line was what allowed his drawings to be commodified.

Blue Books and Blue Chips

The *quaderni azzurri* plaid a key role in allowing Aldo Rossi's particular drawing education to spill over into his professional practice. As noted by Sylvia Lavin, notebooks are first and foremost fora of reproduction.[144] Throughout most of Aldo Rossi's career, the blue notebooks constituted the platform

on which his bodily, artisanal drawings could be repeated over and over. And, with the gradual commodification of the architectural drawing, the *quaderni azzurri* operated as an archive of images that could constantly be taken and reproduced in other contexts. For example, some of the drawings of the Modena Cemetery that Aldo Rossi's sold to the Gilman Collection were reproductions of drawings that had been sketched on the blue notebooks. The same thing could be said about a set of drawings for an exhibition held in Modena in 1983.[145] Interestingly, this transfer from the format of the notebook to the format of a large presentation drawing implied a shift of scale. The preparatory drawings for the Modena exhibition show that this issue was addressed by transferring the grid of the notebook before transferring the drawing itself. This allowed to recreate on a large piece of paper the same graphic template of a small notebook. Even though the grid was drawn in a rather imprecise way and some of the segments were probably sketched freehand, this detail shows that the production and reproduction of Aldo Rossi's bodily drawings still required some kind of linear framework or ordering system.

While this transfer was normally left unspoken, in the final phase of Aldo Rossi's career some of the drawings started to be actually marketed as spin-offs of the architect's notebooks. For example, the poster of an exhibition held at the Milanese gallery *L'Archivolto* announced the sale of a set of "drawings from the 1987 notebook, all colored and signed by Aldo Rossi."[146] This phenomenon was highlighted also by Max Protetch. Pointing to Michael Graves, Arata Isozaki, Zaha Hadid and others, he noted that, as architects began to think of their work as art, they often took pages from their notebooks and used them as exhibition material.[147] In Aldo Rossi's case, however, the role of the notebook gradually went beyond the reproduction of images or the extraction of pages. In fact, the notebook in its entirety went through a process of commodification and fetishization.

A significant example is a booklet titled *Aldo Rossi: La Conica e Altre Caffettiere*, published by Alessi in 1984.[148] This publication, produced in a limited series of 999 pieces, was an overt attempt to transform a blue notebook into a publishable (and marketable) object. Every page of the booklet was designed to look like a page of a *quaderno azzurro*. In this case, it was a school notebook made by an American company (Herlitz Incorporated, based in Dallas), which was fittingly called "Blue Book." The main center of attention was the cover, which clearly indicated the educational nature of this object. In fact, it had the classic layout with three lines, in which students could write "Name," "Subject," and "Date." The idea was precisely to play with the ambiguity produced by this layout, in which Aldo Rossi was framed as a student, perhaps a child, and the subject was rather unconventional for a school notebook: "Caffettiere."

Alessi's operation must also be understood as a way of turning a single object into a series, more specifically a limited series, that could be sold to collectors worldwide. And the fascination with the blue notebook was so high that, in addition to the initial 999 copies, a second series of 499 booklets was printed, this time marked with Roman numerals. Notably, this was the strategy that Alessi used for its limited series of design objects, such as coffee makers and tea pots.[149] By its very nature, the notebook responds to the logic of (limited) seriality. Notebooks normally come in series: as soon as you finish one, you start working on another notebook with identical features, and so on. The value attributed to Aldo Rossi's blue notebooks has to do also with the fact that they constitute a series, a collection. At the end of the 1980s, the Getty Research Institute was able to acquire most of this collection – 32 out of 47 notebooks.[150] And this now constitutes the bulk of Aldo Rossi's archive in the United States. Notably, one of the first thing that the Getty Research Institute did after acquiring this material was to partner up with the Italian publisher Electa in order to produce a boxed set edition of facsimiles of Aldo Rossi's *quaderni azzurri*.[151] It was part of an Electa publishing series called

"Riproduzioni in Facsimile." And, of course, it was a limited edition. In this case, the act of reproduction did not involve a single drawing or a single document, but an entire series of notebooks: they were meticulously scanned and reproduced, trying to incorporate even the smallest details, and then sold to a very specific public of collectors or enthusiasts. The price tag was (and still is) absolutely prohibitive for most architectural students.

While in this case the relationship between the original and the copy was quite easy to read, the booklet published by Alessi revealed a more complex approach to reproduction. The archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture holds another notebook, which Aldo Rossi used as a mock-up for *La Conica e Altre Caffettiere*.[152] The cover was also blue. But this time it was an Italian notebook, made by a large company called Pigna, which specialized in school equipment. It had, again, an introductory page with three lines: "Alunno," "Classe" and "Materia." Under *materia* (subject), Aldo Rossi wrote "Menabò Libro Alessi," which translates as "Mock-up Alessi Book." To further illustrate the category to which this notebook belonged, the last page featured a multiplication table (also known as times table), one of the most common tools used in elementary schools worldwide. Notably, this *quaderno* was part of a particular line of Pigna notebooks called "Bella Copia:" the name of the line was written on the cover. It means "fair copy," as opposed to "rough copy." This detail is significant because, first of all, it shows that this notebook was designed specifically so that students could make copies of something onto it. Secondly, it underlines that said copies had to be "belle," a term that in this context must be read as a direct reference to a sense of order and discipline, in opposition to the irregular traits of a rough (bodily) draft.

Except for a quick sketch of the cover for Alessi's book, Aldo Rossi did not include any drawings in his mock-up notebook. But there was a label on each page, indicating which type of drawing it had to accommodate. There were two main types. The first was labelled "Disegni Tecnici" and indicated the

technical drawings of coffee makers produced by either Aldo Rossi's assistants or Alessi's Ufficio Tecnico. The second included the renowned drawings of coffee makers made by Aldo Rossi himself. In this case, the label was "Blue Book" (written in English). This dichotomy speaks, on the one hand, to an understanding of the *quaderni azzurri* as a medium that operated outside of realm of the technical drawing. And, on the other hand, it suggests that the *quaderni azzurri* were not only the place where Aldo Rossi managed to carry out and reproduce his mode of drawing: over time, they came to be identified with that graphic mode, to the point that the architect himself used the term "Blue Book" to describe that type of drawings.

Anyone who has ever looked at the blue notebooks knows that they don't contain a lot of drawings: it is mostly text. But those "childish" drawings are particularly significant because they reflect Aldo Rossi's education – an uncommon combination of artisanal and religious inputs. And they document how that education survived through Aldo Rossi's polytechnic studies and infiltrated his professional career later on. Significantly, it was this particular type of nonlinear drawing that became the *objet du désir* of the American art market in the late-1970s. The less technical the drawing, the more desirable and valuable. What was intended as a graphic tool for an artisanal working class during World War II in small-town Italy, shortly after became a valuable commodity marketed in the galleries of Max Protetch and Leo Castelli. Throughout this process, the architectural drawing shifted from a public to a market, from an artisanal realm to an artistic realm, from blue collars to blue chips.

For someone who belonged to a Communist *milieu*, spent the 1950s writing political pieces on American imperialism and the dangers of consumer culture, and supported the student movement of the 1960s, this was not an easy transition.[153] After the awarding of the Pritzker Prize in 1990, *Time* described it as a "transformation from cult hero to blue-chip *éminence grise*."[154] Towards the end of the 1970s, Aldo Rossi himself started to write in his own notebooks thoughts about his repositioning,

arguing that "today there is not value in having a political consciousness" and that "there is nothing scandalous in the world of art dealing, reproduction and mannerism."[155] And this was exactly the period in which most of the Italian intelligentsia, traditionally linked with the Communist Party, started to chastise him. As soon as he had been able to convince the American authorities that he was not a Communist, a significant part of the Italian media started to accuse him of reviving the style of the Fascist regime. *La Stampa* ran an article titled "The Post-Modern Defendant," in which Aldo Rossi was accused of designing only cemeteries, barracks and prisons.[156] A reporter from *Il Giornale* interviewed him in 1986 and told him that many of his old comrades now referred to him as a "filthy Fascist." Fittingly, the interview was published with the title "From the Barricade to the Coffee Maker" (*Dalla Barricata alla Caffettiera*), alluding to his collaboration with the "elitist" brand Alessi.[157] Right off the bat, the interviewer provocatively asked Aldo Rossi how much money he was making. This was the answer: "I have not been able to fulfil my old dream of buying a red Ferrari yet. Recently, a new window of opportunity has presented itself in the field of industrial design. I have drawn a beautiful coffee maker for Alessi and I am glad that it is selling very well. Hopefully, thanks to this coffee maker, I will be able to make that boatload of money that I have not been able to make producing good architecture."

Chapter 3: Blue Book – References

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[4] Pierre Apraxine, ed. *Architecture I* (New York: Leo Castelli Gallery, 1977).

[5] On the "childishness" of Aldo Rossi's drawings, see Manfredo Tafuri, "Ceci N'est Pas une Ville," *Lotus*, No. 13 (1976); Ada Louise Huxtable, "The Austere World of Rossi," *The New York Times*, 7 October 1979; Peter Eisenman, "Editor's Introduction: The Houses of Memory – The Texts of Analogy," in *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge: MIT Press – Oppositions Books, 1982).

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[7] On the history of drawing instruction and technical education in Italy, see Adele Mazzotta, "La Didattica del Disegno Edile e la Cultura delle Scuole Tecniche nell'Ottocento a Milano," and Andrea Silvestri, "Francesco Brioschi e l'Istruzione Tecnica," both in *L'Istruzione Secondaria nell'Italia Unita*, ed. Carlo Lacaita (Milan: Franco Angeli Editore, 2013); Ornella Selvafolta, "L'Istituto Tecnico Superiore di Milano: Metodi Didattici ed Ordinamento Interno, 1863-1914" and Vincenzo Fontana, "La Scuola Speciale di Architettura," both in *Il Politecnico di Milano: Una Scuola nella Formazione della Società Industriale* (Milan: Electa, 1981); Lisa Finetti and Chiara Palombella, "La Facoltà di Architettura di Milano," in *L'Insegnamento dell'Architettura in Italia dal Dopoguerra alla Contestazione Studentesca*, Graduation Thesis, Politecnico di Milano, 2009; Elena Bertonelli e Giaime Rodano, "Le Riforme nella Scuola Italiana dal 1859 al 2003," INDIRE: Istituto Nazionale Documentazione Innovazione Ricerca Educazione, 2003; Mauro Moretti and Ilaria Porciani, "Università e Stato nell'Italia Liberale," *Scienza & Politica*, No. 3 (1990); Rino Gentili, *Giuseppe Bottai e la Riforma Fascista della Scuola* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1979).

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[9] Molly Nesbit, "The Language of Industry," in *The Definitely Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Thierry De Duve (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).

[10] Matthew Daniel Eddy, "The Nature of Notebooks: How Enlightenment Schoolchildren Transformed the Tabula Rasa," Journal of British Studies, No. 57 (April 2018). On notebooking, see also Aileen Douglas, *Work in Hand: Script, Print and Writing, 1690–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Tamara Plakins Thornton, *Handwriting in America: A Cultural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Anthony Grafton, "The Republic of Letters in the American Colonies: Francis Daniel Pastorius Makes a Notebook," *American Historical Review*, Vol, 117, No. 1 (February 2012); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Hans-Jorg Rheinberger, "Scrips and Scribbles," *MLN*, Vol. 118, No. 3 (April 2003); Christoff Hoffmann, "Processes on Paper: Writing Procedures

as Non-Material Research Devices," *Science in Context*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (June 2013); Richard Yeo, *Notebooks, English Virtuosi and Early Modern Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

[11] Anke Te Heesen, "The Notebook: A Paper-Technology," in *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[12] Max Protetch, Letter to Aldo Rossi, 22 December 1979. This document is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Max Protetch writes: "You must contact (when in America) the Department of Immigration and Naturalization (there is an office in New York) and go to that office with a letter from your employer stating that you need an extended visa. In this case, Peter Eisenman (Institute) and/or Cranbrook and/or MIT and I will state why you need an extended visa i.e. to teach and show you work. [...] Once your classification is changed, you will no longer have problems with visas." This letter was sent shortly after Aldo Rossi's personal exhibition at the Max Protetch Gallery, which ran from September 18 to October 13 of that year. Notably, Max Protetch associates Aldo Rossi's need to travel with two primary activities: teaching and showing his work (in this case, his drawings). This letter also shines a light on the network of American cultural institutions with which Aldo Rossi came to interact: the Max Protetch Gallery had very strong ties with the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, Cranbrook, MIT, Cooper Union, Cornell and many other institutions. It's also worth noting that Aldo Rossi's transatlantic crossing required a process of "classification" and "naturalization." As noted by Sylvia Lavin, the transatlantic crossing operated as a transformative device: "this becomes that." Conversation with Sylvia Lavin, Los Angeles, 8 April 2016.

[13] In his website, Max Protetch describes himself as "a dealer of contemporary art and architecture." See http://www.maxprotetch.com. In 1969, at the age of 23, he opened his first gallery in Washington DC, while a graduate student in political science at Georgetown University. In this space, he showed works by Andy Warhol and other Pop artists, gave Vito Acconci his first one-person show and hosted Conceptual and Minimal artists such as Carl Andre, Jo Baer, Robert Berry, Donald Judd, Dan Flavin, Doug Hubler, On Kawara, Joseph Kosuth, Sol LeWitt and Lawrence Weiner. The gallery also mounted several political shows, including the group show "Political Art," which featured Dorothea Rockburne, Daniel Buren, Sol LeWitt, Carl Andre and Robert Morris. This show was unique in dealing with the Marxist and political/economic involvements of Minimal and Conceptual art. In 1978, Max Protetch moved his gallery to New York and began showing architectural drawings. He exhibited drawings by Tadao Ando, Erik Gunnar Asplund, Peter

Eisenmann, Frank Gehry, Michael Graves, Zaha Hadid, John Hejduk, Rem Koolhaas, Daniel Libeskind, Samuel Mockbee, Aldo Rossi and Robert Venturi, among others. Max Protetch represented the estates of Frank Lloyd Wright, had holdings of Louis Kahn, Buckminster Fuller and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and sold the entire estates of Luis Barragan and Aldo Rossi. In 2009, the gallery was sold to new owners, who subsequently closed it. During the tenure of his New York gallery, Max Protetch held over 100 exhibitions of architectural drawings.

[14] The American authorities put Aldo Rossi on their "bad list" because of his militancy in the Italian Communist Party. Other key figures in the Italian architectural community had similar problems. For example, as noted by Ernesto-Ramon Rispoli, Manfredo Tafuri also struggled to obtain an American visa. His first professional trip to the United States was in 1974, on the occasion of a conference of the series "Practice, Theory and Politics in Architecture," organized by Diane Agrest at Princeton. The American authorities gave him only a three-day visa. Because of this tension, Manfredo Tafuri's appearances in the United States were very rare. His last visit was in 1976. See Ernesto-Ramon Rispoli, *Ponti sull'Atlantico: L'Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies e le relazioni Italia-America, 1967-1985* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2012). Even though McCarthyism and the "red scare" were fading away, Aldo Rossi and Manfredo Tafuri started to interact with the United States when the Cold War was still unfolding. And their allegiance to the Communist Party did not go unnoticed. On the politicization of Italian architecture in the post-war period, see also Giovanni Durbiano, *I Nuovi Maestri: Architetti tra Politica e Cultura nel Dopoguerra* (Padua: Marsilio, 2000).

[15] In the Fall of 1979, the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies and the Max Protetch Gallery run two parallel and coordinated exhibitions of Aldo Rossi's drawings: *Aldo Rossi in America* and *Aldo Rossi: Architectural Projects*. Both shows then went "on tour" in various academic institutions across the United States.

[16] By way of introduction, an example that speaks to the emergence of a culture of drawing in the transatlantic context during the 1970s is the exhibition *Drawings, the Pluralist Decade*, held in the American pavilion at the 1980 Venice Biennale. According to the catalogue, the exhibition told the story of art in the 1970s "through a medium [drawings] that raised its status during that period." See Janet Kardon, ed. *Drawings, the Pluralist Decade* (Philadelphia: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1980). These are some of the exhibitions of Aldo Rossi's drawings in major American and European institutions between the mid-1970s and the mid-1980s: *Aldo Rossi: An Exhibition of Drawings* at the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (1976), *Architecture I* at the Leo Castelli Gallery (1977), *Aldo Rossi: Architectural Projects* at the Max Protetch Gallery (1979),

Aldo Rossi in America at the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (1979), *Aldo Rossi: Alcuni dei miei progetti* at the Antonia Jannone Gallery (1979), *Aldo Rossi: Il Teatro del Mondo* at the Antonia Jannone Gallery (1980), *Aldo Rossi - Projects: Monuments of Venice* at the Max Protetch Gallery (1981), *Aldo Rossi: Modelli di architettura. Plastici e disegni dal 1962 al 1981* at the Antonia Jannone Gallery (1981), *Architecture in Silver: Alessi Tea Pots* at the Max Protetch Gallery (June 1983), *Rassegna n.1* at the Antonia Jannone Gallery (1984), *Aldo Rossi: La Conica* at Galerie Van Rooy (1985).

[17] From the Gallaratese to the Cemetery of Modena, the most important professional activities at the beginning of Aldo Rossi's career had been entrenched in the economics and the politics of the State, directed towards the common goal of the post-war reconstruction. On the post-war reconstruction in Italy, see Francesco Dal Co, "La Ricostruzione: Introduzione alla Storia dell'Architettura Italiana del Secondo Novecento," in *Storia dell'Architettura Italiana: Il Secondo Novecento* (Milan: Electa, 1997). For a detailed analysis of the first half of Aldo Rossi's career, with a focus on the Italian projects, see Beatrice Lampariello, *Aldo Rossi e le Forme del Razionalismo Esaltato: Dai Progetti Scolastici alla Città Analoga, 1950-1973* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2017).

[18] Ada Louis Huxtable, "Architectural Drawings as Art Gallery Art," *The New York Times*, 23 October 1977. This piece was a review of Leo Castelli's exhibition *Architecture I*, one of the first sale shows of architectural drawings of the 1970s. Ada Louis Huxtable wrote: "Today the lines between all of the arts are becoming less firm. The divisions between painting and sculpture are disappearing and the nature of drawings is being re-examined. The same thing is happening with architecture. While the cultural establishment calls for more art with architecture in the traditional sense—an unfailing rallying cry of art world dogooders—art and architecture have come closer than at any time in history. In these examples, they merge and dissolve."

[19] Paul Goldberger, "Architectural Drawings Raised to an Art," *The New York Times*, 12 December 1977.

[20] Paul Gapp, "Architecture: Drawing on the Past," *Chicago Herald Tribune,* 4 December 1977.

[21] Thomas Hess, "Drawn and Quartered," *New York Magazine*, 10 October 1977.

[22] Victoria Donahoe, "Architectural Drawings Suddenly Sought-After Items," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 25 December 1977.

[23] Stuart Greenspan, "Architecture I, Leo Castelli Gallery and ICA, Philadelphia," *Artforum* (January 1978).

[24] Ann Lorenz van Zanten, "Architecture: Seven Architects," Review held in the Leo Castelli Gallery records, Archive of the Smithsonian Institution.

[25] Although the interest in architectural drawings blossomed in the mid-1970s, there were some significant exhibitions in the previous period as well. A particularly interesting case study is *Visionary Architecture*, a show organized by Arthur Drexler at MoMA in 1960. This exhibition included drawings of Le Corbusier, Kiyonori Kikutake, Buckminster Fuller, Paolo Soleri, and other architects that operated between the 1920s and the 1960s, along with drawings of Leonardo da Vinci and Piranesi. Drawings, however, were not addressed as autonomous objects, but rather as manifestations of unbuilt, ideal or visionary architectures. See Arthur Drexler, "Visionary Architecture," *Arts and Architecture*, Vol. 78, No. 1 (1961). This exhibition is also discussed in Felicity Scott, "When Systems Fail: Arthur Drexler and the Postmodern Turn," *Perspecta*, Vol. 35, Building Codes (2004). For a short history of drawings at MoMA, see John Elderfield, "Drawings," in *The Museum of Modern Art, New York: The History and the Collection* (New York: The Museum of Modem Art, 1984).

[26] Jordan Kauffman, "Drawing on Architecture: The Socioaesthetics of Architectural Drawings, 1970-1990," PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2015. The approach of this research is described as socioaesthetic: "This is a study that affirms the idea that sociological causes influence the interpretation of something as aesthetic. Objects are aesthetic not because of some quality inherent in them, but because they are perceived as such."

[27] James Carberry, "Some People Prefer Architects' Sketches To Their Buildings: Oh, Buildings May Be Pretty, But Collectors And Others Want Drawings, Will Pay," *The Wall Street Journal*, 18 October 1979.

[28] Manfredo Tafuri, "Il Caso Aldo Rossi," in *Storia dell'Architettura Italiana, 1944-1985* (Turin: Einaudi, 1986). Manfredo Tafuri addressed Aldo Rossi as a *case* to be solved: "Aldo Rossi è un architetto che si pone oggi come il *caso* italiano e internazionale più seguito e discusso, l'unico *caposcuola* capace di alimentare di continuo, intorno alla propria opera e alla propria figura, una polemica e un interesse che investono, alla fine, lo stesso concetto di architettura."

[29] Ernesto-Ramon Rispoli, *Ponti sull'Atlantico: L'Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies e le relazioni Italia-America, 1967-1985* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2012). As already noted, the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies organized two of the most important exhibitions of Aldo Rossi's drawings in the United States: *Aldo Rossi: An Exhibition of Drawings* (1976) and *Aldo Rossi in America* (1979). As evidenced by a faculty card given to him in 1980 (discussed in the chapter "Black Card"), Aldo Rossi was also involved in several teaching activities at the IAUS. Furthermore, it was thanks to the Institute that Aldo Rossi's key writings were translated and published in English. *A Scientific Autobiography* and *The Architecture of the City* were both published in the early 1980s under the *Oppositions Books* header.

[30] Peter Eisenman, "Memo to the Board of Trustees. Re-Definition of the Institute: The Next Ten Years," 1977 (Archive of the Canadian Center for Architecture). This memo is discussed by Esther Choi in the framework of *Radical Pedagogies*: "Pedagogy, research and practice were approached by the IAUS as connected and equally important aspects of architecture. By extension, the IAUS imagined a new figure of the architect-educator hybrid: a new professional who was involved with enough theory so that he could see more clearly its opposite—the reality of his practice. Although the Institute never defined its educational aims, its particular brand of institutionalized counterculture had a profound influence on redefining the place of theory in architectural education and practice. While it relied heavily on government contracts in its first six years of existence—projects in which students were enlisted to work under the tutelage of its members—the IAUS's focus shifted in 1973 to the development of educational programs led by its Fellows, an international group of academics and practitioners. These programs were geared towards offering a non-professional architectural education that situated architecture as a humanist discipline. They included an undergraduate program in architecture involving ten liberal arts colleges in the United States, a continuing education program, a series of exhibitions and the magazine *Oppositions*. As a think tank, the IAUS advocated that speculation, theory and research could be wielded as valuable tools for tackling the problem of *the real*." See Esther Choi, "The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies and Princeton School of Architecture," in *Radical Pedagogies*, http://radical-pedagogies.com/search-cases/a19-institute-architecture-urban-studies-princeton-school.

[31] One of the most comprehensive studies of Leo Castelli's work is Annie Cohen-Solal's *Leo and his Circle: The Life of Leo Castelli,* trans. Mark Polizzotti and Annie Cohen-Solal (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2010). Leo Castelli opened his gallery in New York City in 1957. He was a Jewish Italian expatriate, who had left Europe in the early 1940s after the outbreak of the war. According to Annie Cohen-Solal, in the post-war period he became the most influential art dealer in the United States. Between the mid-1970s and the early 1990s, Leo Castelli's gallery held five exhibitions devoted to architecture: *Architecture I: Architectural Drawings* (1977), *Architecture II: Houses for Sale* (1980), *Barbaralee Diamondstein: American Architecture Now* (1980), *Architecture III: Architectural Follies, Drawings and Models* (1982), *The Guggenheim in Europe: Architectural Models and Drawings* (1992). Leo Castelli's architectural shows have recently been examined in the exhibition "Architecture Itself and Other Postmodernist Myths," curated by Sylvia Lavin at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (Fall 2018 – Winter 2019).

[32] Terence Riley, ed. *The Changing of the Avant-Garde: Visionary Architectural Drawings from the Howard Gilman Collection* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002). The Gilman collection consists of 182 works, mostly from the 1960s and early 1970s. The bulk of the collection was created in only five years—from 1976 to 1980—under the direction of Pierre Apraxine. In addition to Aldo Rossi's work, the collection includes drawings by Peter Cook, Hans Hollein, Superstudio, Sottsass, Ron Heron, Raimund Abraham, John Hejduk, Michael Graves, Rem Koolhaas, Walter Pichler, Gaetano Pesce, Peter Eisenman and James Stirling, among others. The collection was donated in 2000 to the Museum of Modern Art, which organized an exhibition of these drawings in 2002. In the introduction to the exhibition catalogue, Terence Riley wrote: "As a whole, the collection is not only unique, but is also a remarkably complete cross section of that period's rapidly changing currents in the world of architecture."

[33] The Drawing Center is a particularly interesting case study. It was founded in 1977 by Martha Beck, a former curator at the Museum of Modern Art. The history of the Drawing Center is illustrated in its website: http://www.drawingcenter.org/en/drawingcenter/1089/about/1090/about/42/mission-history/. For a reflection on the ideas behind the foundation of this institution, see Anne-Cécile Guitard, "The Drawing Center: Interview with Brett Littman," *L'Agenda du Dessin Contemporain* (May 2016). Brett Littman, the current director of the Center, notes: "When Martha Beck founded the institution, she had a lot of frustration with the Museum of Modern Art, where she was curator – every time that she proposed a drawing show, the Director at the time said: Well that's great we'll put it in a closet on the second floor. Drawing wasn't given a lot of importance in terms of art history, there was very little commercial importance placed on artists who simply drew, we were still living in an age when drawing was on the way to something else, secondary to painting and sculpture. Martha was quite instinctive and saw the future, because in the late sixties, of course, there were many artists who were working both in land art and earth art in conceptual ways, trying to develop new technologies like neon or sound waves and drawing invisible things. So I think that she saw through artist practice that drawing was going to take on a kind of new importance, and when she founded the institution, I think it was more out of a defensive stance about drawing – Drawing is important and we are going to plant the flag and we are going to make sure there's an institution for artists who draw and maybe that's the only thing they do, in terms of their artistic output."

[34] Jordan Kauffman, "Drawing on Architecture: The Socioaesthetics of Architectural Drawings, 1970-1990," PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2015. This detail comes from an interview that Jordan Kauffman conducted with Max Protetch in 2013.

[35] Annie Cohen-Solal's *Leo and his Circle: The Life of Leo Castelli,* trans. Mark Polizzotti and Annie Cohen-Solal (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2010). Barbara Jakobson had an advising role in Leo Castelli's first architectural exhibition (1977) and then organized his two following shows: *Architecture II: Houses for Sale* (1980) and *Architecture III: Architectural Follies, Drawings and Models* (1982). Emilio Ambasz presented his work at all three of these exhibitions. On the Art Lending Service, see the "history note" in the ALS Records of the Museum of Modern Art Archives, https://www.moma.org/research-and-learning/archives/finding-aids/ArtLendingb.html: "In 1948, the Junior Council of The Museum of Modern Art, led by Blanchette Rockefeller, began discussing the idea of creating an art lending library that would function as a forum to educate young collectors about modern art. The library would allow the public to rent works of art selected by a trustee advisory committee, in consultation with curators from the Museum. This early conception of an art lending library became the Art Lending Service (ALS) in 1951. The Art Lending Service provided the public with the opportunity of renting a piece of art for a two-month period before deciding whether to purchase the work or return it to the ALS. The ALS took a small commission on each work sold, which was used to staff and underwrite the expenses of the ALS. In addition to renting artworks in the lending library, the ALS organized approximately five exhibitions per year in the Museum's Penthouse Restaurant; these works were also for rent or sale." On this program, see also Mackenzie Bennett, "MoMA Talks: Conversations: The Art Lending Service: Building an Audience for Modern Art" (1 December 2008).

[36] Martin Filler, "Reflections of a Golden Eye," *Departures* (September 2005). Pierre Apraxine came in contact with the Gilman family through a connection at the Museum of Modern Art: Sandra Gilman, Howard Gilman's sister-in-law, was involved in the Art Lending Service. At the time, Pierre Apraxine was one of the curators of MoMA's Penthouse gallery. Martin Filler describes him as the "eminence grise behind the storied Gilman collection."

[37] Jordan Kauffman, "Drawing on Architecture: The Socioaesthetics of Architectural Drawings, 1970-1990," PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2015.

[38] Ibid.

[39] The archive of the Getty Research Institute holds two letters sent from Pierre Apraxine to Aldo Rossi on August 16 and December 20, 1976. The first letter was written shortly after Pierre Apraxine's Summer trip to Milan: "I am writing you from New York where I arrived safely a few days ago with all the drawings. They have already been sent to the framer." In this message, Pierre Apraxine signaled an opportunity to exhibit Aldo Rossi's *Città Analoga* in London: "As you know, Peter Cook is in charge of ART/NET, organizing conferences and exhibitions in London on architectural subjects. On the strength of my description of your Venice contribution, he wanted very much to invite you to exhibit it in London in October, as well as ask you to give a lecture there. If you would like to exhibit in London the drawings the Gilman Paper Company is buying, please feel free to do it leaving the instruction that it be sent to New York after the exhibit." He ended the letter by saying: "I look forward to seeing you in New York and showing you the collection." The second letter was written before another European tour, which Pierre Apraxine was planning for the beginning of 1977: "I am planning to do some travelling and will be again in Europe in January. I could meet you again in Milano and bring back the drawings to New York. I would like to ask you, also, if you would be interested in having an exhibition of your drawings in New York at the Drawing Center, a new place which is opening in January and which will be exclusively devoted to drawings and work on paper. It is headed by a friend of mine, a former colleague at the Museum of Modern Art, and exhibitions will be of a very high level. Although the Center is non-profit, works could be sold during the exhibition." The exhibition at the Drawing Center did not materialize.

[40] Jordan Kauffman, "Drawing on Architecture: The Socioaesthetics of Architectural Drawings, 1970-1990," PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2015. This comment comes from an interview that Jordan Kauffman conducted with Max Protetch in 2013.

[41] Paola Antonelli, "Interview with Pierre Apraxine," in *The Changing of the Avant-Garde: Visionary Architectural Drawings from the Howard Gilman Collection*, ed. Terence Riley (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002). Discussing the work of Leo Castelli in the 1970s and 1980s, Pierre Apraxine argued that "from time to time, the Castelli gallery functioned as a quasi-museum." Notably, many of the exhibitions of architectural drawings of this period were not imagined as one-time events: they often travelled to a number of heterogenous venues, from art galleries to university museums and cultural institutions.

[42] For example, the College of Architecture of Clemson University organized a "Student-Faculty Art Sale" in the Fall of 1987, devoted to the exhibition and sale of architectural drawings. The archive of the MAXXI (in Rome) holds one of the posters that were made to advertise this event.

[43] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991). In the introduction to this book, Frederic Jameson writes: "In postmodern culture, 'culture' has become a product in its own right. The market has become a substitute for itself and fully as much a commodity as any of the items it includes within itself. Modernism was still minimally and tendentially the critique of the commodity and the effort to make it transcend itself. Postmodernism is the consumption of sheer commodification as a process. The 'life-style' of the superstate therefore stands in relationship to Marx's 'fetishism' of commodities as the most advanced monotheisms to primitive animisms or the most rudimentary idol worship. Indeed, any sophisticated theory of the postmodern ought to bear something of the same relationship to Horkheimer and Adorno's old 'Culture Industry' concept as MTV or fractal ads bear to fifties television series."

[44] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (Westport: Greenwood, 1986). According to Pierre Bourdieu, cultural capital can exist in three forms: "In the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee." To illustrate how cultural capital operates in the objectified state, Pierre Bourdieu resorts to an example that is very much in line with the subject at hand: "A collection of paintings, for example, can be transmitted as well as economic capital (if not better, because the capital transfer is more disguised). But what is transmissible is legal ownership and not (or not necessarily) what constitutes the precondition for specific appropriation, namely, the possession of the means of *consuming* a painting or using a machine, which, being nothing other than embodied capital, are subject to the same laws of transmission. Thus, cultural goods can be appropriated both materially—which presupposes economic capital—and symbolically—which presupposes cultural capital."

[45] Martin Filler, "Reflections of a Golden Eye," *Departures* (September 2005). On Howard Gilman's passion for wildlife, Martin Filler writes: "The collection's principal rival was Gilman's beloved White Oak Conservation Center, a 7,500-acre nature preserve in northeastern Florida dedicated to breeding endangered species in captivity." He also reports a comment made by Pierre Apraxine on this matter: "If it was a choice between acquiring a white rhino and a great Gustave Le Gray landscape, the rhino would win. […] Howard was obsessed with getting an okapi. To help him find one, he put a tribe of Pygmies on his payroll. They wore T-shirts with the Gilman logo – on the Pygmies they looked like long dresses."

[46] Paola Antonelli, "Interview with Pierre Apraxine," in *The Changing of the Avant-Garde: Visionary Architectural Drawings from the Howard Gilman Collection*, ed. Terence Riley (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002). This is how Pierre Apraxine explained the genesis of the Gilman collection: "In 1975, I was asked by the owners of the Gilman Paper Company to put together a collection of contemporary art for the company's newly redesigned offices in the Time-Life Building, in New York. I proposed a collection of Minimal and Conceptual art, which, at that time, would have been a bold statement for a corporation to make. Paintings by Frank Stella, Ad Reinhardt, Ellsworth Kelly and Agnes Martin; wall drawings by Sol LeWitt and Dorothea Rockburne; sculptures by Dan Flavin, Donald Judd, Richard Serra and Walter de Maria—works that were intellectually demanding and austere, mostly abstract—dispersed through the offices created an unusual environment for a workplace. We also started to collect photographs with the aim of introducing subject matter familiar to the employees. Then around the same time, I saw an exhibition of visionary architectural drawings for unbuilt projects, organized for The Junior Council at The Museum of Modern Art. I was enchanted by the show, which was overseen by Barbara Jakobson and directed by Emilio Ambasz, then Curator of Design at the Museum, and I thought that a group of similar drawings would complement the Conceptual nature of the Gilman collection. It also seemed a good way to reintroduce the recognizable imprint of the hand of the individual artist, often deliberately shunned by the Minimalists."

[47] Emilio Ambasz and Barbara Jakobson's show *Architectural Studies and Projects* took place at MoMA in the Spring of 1975. According to the press release, it was "an informal exhibition of 50 recent drawings by American and European architects." In the introduction, Emilio Ambasz wrote: "Paper projects have in many instances influenced architecture's history as forcefully as those committed to stone. Whether their intent is aesthetic, evocative, ironic, polemical, methodological, ideological or conjectural, their strength has always resided in their poetic content." It is also interesting to note that MoMA specified that "the majority of the drawings on view are of visionary projects, imaginary creations never intended to be

built; the drawings are, in many cases, not the plan or façade for a specific construction, but rather the expression of an idea, or an attitude towards architecture." See Museum of Modern Art, *Architectural Studies and Projects*, press release: www.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_332895.pdf.

[48] Paola Antonelli, "Interview with Pierre Apraxine," in *The Changing of the Avant-Garde: Visionary Architectural Drawings from the Howard Gilman Collection*, ed. Terence Riley (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002).

[49] The Gilman company was established by Isaac Gilman, an immigrant from Russia, in the 1880s and was eventually sold in the early 2000s. In the post-war period, it became one of the largest producers of forest products in the world. See Robert Lenzner and Tomas Kellner, "The Fall of the House of Gilman," *Forbes*, 11 August 2003. In the same timeframe, another major corporation in this industry—the International Paper Company—also started to engage with art and architecture in its Manhattan headquarters. Notably, this was the period in which Peter Eisenman started to talk about cardboard architecture: "Cardboard is used to shift the focus from our existing conception of form in an aesthetic and functional context to a consideration of form as a marking or notational system. The use of cardboard attempts to distinguish an aspect of these forms which are designed to act as a symbol or a message and at the same time the representation of them as a message." See Peter Eisenman, "Cardboard Architecture: House I," in *Five Architects* (New York: Wittenborn, 1972).

[50] Correspondence between the author and the rédacteur of the book *Architecture Itself and Other Postmodern Myths*. This book accompanies an eponymous exhibition curated by Sylvia Lavin at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (Fall 2018 – Winter 2019). The exhibition "proposes a counter-reading of postmodern procedures, replacing the myth of the autonomous architect with accounts of empirically describable architectural activity."

[51] Joseph Giovannini, "Models for 'Houses for Sale' for Sale," *Los Angeles Herald Examiner, 16 March 1981.*

[52] See Robert Hendrickson, *The Cashless Society* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1972); George Ritzer, *Expressing America: A Critique of the Global Credit Card Society* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1995); David Evans, *Paying with Plastic* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999). The decline of paper money and the rise of the credit card industry in the 1980s is analyzed in detail in the chapter "Black Card."

[53] Leo Castelli, Letter to the architects invited to *Architecture III: Architectural Follies, Drawings and Models*, Fall of 1982. This document is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles.

[54] Alessandra Latour, Letter to Aldo Rossi, 18 July 1982. This document is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles. This letter shows that Alessandra Latour tried to organize an exhibition of the works of Aldo Rossi, Paolo Portoghesi and Carlo Aymonino at the Rizzoli Gallery in New York, in the early 1980s. The project did not materialize, but the surviving correspondence provides a number of interesting details. First, Alessandra Latour was very open about the overlap of cultural and commercial activities in this newly-established gallery: "L'intento è quello di creare un centro che oltre a coprire l'aspetto commerciale (le opere sono infatti in vendita) possa coprire anche un piano di informazione culturale." She also explained the financial plan of the exhibition in great detail: "La spedizione dall'Italia dovrebbe essere a carico del mittente e per questo si pensava di far arrivare il materiale con la minor spesa possibile, mentre la galleria si incarica di montare i disegni con apposite cornici, di organizzare il servizio stampa, la pubblicistica, la serata inaugurale, etc, e di trasportare la mostra a Chicago e poi farla rientrare in Italia. Per quanto riguarda i prezzi delle opere, questi possono essere fissati direttamente da te o, se vuoi, se ne può incaricare direttamente la galleria, sempre con la tua approvazione. La galleria, a sua volta, si tratterrà il 40% sulle vendite."

[55] Paola Antonelli, "Interview with Pierre Apraxine," in *The Changing of the Avant-Garde: Visionary Architectural Drawings from the Howard Gilman Collection*, ed. Terence Riley (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002). Pierre Apraxine noted: "Contemporary architectural drawings were not really collected at that time outside of museums. The Museum of Modern Art's collection of architecture and design had grown by gift rather than purchase. Also, many architects considered their drawings to be illustrations of their ideas for publication purposes, and did not dwell on their intrinsic value as drawings. I remember a few instances when the architects I visited—like Peter Cook or Aldo Rossi—had problems even locating drawings I had seen published and wanted to acquire."

[56] Jordan Kauffman, "Drawing on Architecture: The Socioaesthetics of Architectural Drawings, 1970-1990," PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2015. This detail comes from an interview that Jordan Kauffman conducted with Pierre Apraxine in 2013: "In hindsight, the shrewdest purchases included five studies for the *Cemetery of Modena* by Aldo Rossi purchased for 500 dollars each, and one of the iconic perspective drawings of the cemetery for 1,750 dollars. When the collection was appraised in 1988, the five studies for *Modena* were valued between 3,000 and 4,000 dollars each; the perspective was valued at 10,000 dollars. Today, each of these drawings holds such a significant place in the history of this era that it would nearly impossible to establish a value for them-they are priceless."

[57] Floris Ammannati (Secretary General of the Biennale di Venezia), Letter to Aldo Rossi, 15 February 1977. This document is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles. In this letter, a high-level bureaucrat of the Biennale acknowledged that one of Aldo Rossi's drawings had gone missing after the exhibition *Europe / America*. However, since Aldo Rossi had not filed his complaint in a timely manner, he concluded that conditions were not met for applying for compensation to Assicurazioni Generali, the insurance company of the Biennale.

[58] Angelo Bagnato (Administrative Director of the Biennale di Venezia), Letter to Aldo Rossi, 3 August 1981. This document is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Angelo Bagnato's letter accompanied a check for 2,500,000 Lire issued by Assicurazioni Generali, as compensation for the loss of three drawings, stolen during an exhibition related to the Theater of the World.

[59] Lewis Blackwell, "Irreplaceable Rossi Drawings Lost in Transit from ICA," *Building Design*, 1983. This document is part of Aldo Rossi's collection of newspaper clippings, most of which is now in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles. Aldo Rossi and his collaborators used to archive every newspaper article written about the various activities of their practice. After the opening of a satellite office in New York in 1986, the articles published on American newspapers were often cut and faxed to the Milanese studio.

[60] Jordan Kauffman, "Drawing on Architecture: The Socioaesthetics of Architectural Drawings, 1970-1990," PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2015.

[61] Paola Antonelli, "Interview with Pierre Apraxine," in *The Changing of the Avant-Garde: Visionary Architectural Drawings from the Howard Gilman Collection*, ed. Terence Riley (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002).

[62] Adolfo Natalini, Letter to Leo Castelli, 11 November 1977. This letter is held in the Leo Castelli Gallery Records of the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. A similar comment had been made one year earlier by Dutch architect Herman Hertzberger during the exhibition *Europe / America*, at the Venice Biennale. According to a local reporter, Herman Hertzberger did not appreciate the works exhibited by many American architects: "Those are architects? I think they should rather be on display at the Giardini with the painters, since their work has nothing to do with architecture. Architecture should serve people, that is, create an environment that allows people to express their individuality. But rather than this, some architects started to do nice drawings, thinking that they are Piranesi!" Interestingly, in this critique, Herman Hertzberger positioned Aldo Rossi among the Americans. See Vanna Barenghi, "Mio caro architetto, vuoi essere Piranesi?"

La Repubblica, 5 August 1976. This quarrel is also discussed in Lea-Catherine Szacka, "Debates on Display at the 1976 Venice Biennale," in *Exhibiting Architecture: Place and Displacement*, ed. Thordis Arhennius (Zurich: Lars Muller, 2014).

[63] Ray Smith, "Collectors' Notes: The New Allure of Architectural Drawings," *Portfolio* (October / November 1979).

[64] The expression "black-cape architect" is addressed in detail in the final chapter of this dissertation. Kate Marks has recently attempted to put forward a definition for architectural students: "Black cape architects: Founded by a famous individual, usually male, and rather orientated around his personality, ego and lifestyle. This is what most architecture students assume they will be or dream of being before the harsh reality of life in the architecture profession hits them. Highly successful in the commercial sense or in their profile, these individuals will die in harness through a combination of ego and failure to provide for the future. The attraction of working for one of these practices is to have the name on your CV. It is likely that you will learn a lot about the creative process simply by hanging on the coat tails of this famous individual, but it is equally likely that this is an unrealistic way of directing your career: your own chances of developing your own design profile are more limited, or you may not be as talented as the individual concerned." See Kare Marks, *HR for Creative Companies* (London: RIBA Publishing, 2016).

[65] On Christopher Stead's case, see the documentary *Aldo Rossi: Il Teatro del Mondo, 1979-2004*, created by Dario Zanasi and Francesco Saverio Fera in 2004. On the second case, see Jesse Reiser, "Jesse Reiser on Aldo Rossi," *Drawing Matter*, 30 September 2017. Both examples, as well as the concept of post-production in Aldo Rossi's work, are examined in greater detail in the next chapter of this dissertation.

[66] James Carberry, "Some People Prefer Architects' Sketches To Their Buildings: Oh, Buildings May Be Pretty, But Collectors And Others Want Drawings, Will Pay," *The Wall Street Journal*, 18 October 1979.

[67] James Carberry puts it this way: "There are also drawings in which an architect poses questions, tests ideas and works out solutions – or indulges in flights of fancy." See James Carberry, "Some People Prefer Architects' Sketches To Their Buildings: Oh, Buildings May Be Pretty, But Collectors And Others Want Drawings, Will Pay," *The Wall Street Journal*, 18 October 1979.

[68] Pierre Apraxine, ed. *Architecture I* (New York: Leo Castelli Gallery, 1977). In the catalog of Leo Castelli's *Architecture I*, all the drawings by Aldo Rossi that did not illustrate built projects were labeled "conceptual exercises." The same expression was used in the documents related to the transfer of this exhibition from the Leo Castelli Gallery to the Institute

of Contemporary Art, in Philadelphia, in 1978. This documentation is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles. Notably, the expression "conceptual exercises" relates to a broader discourse on conceptual art and conceptual architecture. In 1967, Sol LeWitt provided one of the first definitions of this phenomenon: "In conceptual art, the idea or concept is the most important aspect of the work. When an artist uses a conceptual form of art, it means that all of the planning and decisions are made beforehand and the execution is a perfunctory affair. The idea becomes a machine that makes the art." See Sol LeWitt, "Paragraphs on Conceptual Art," *Artforum* (June 1967). In his 1969 manifesto *Art after Philosophy*, Joseph Kusuth argued that "all art (after Duchamp) is conceptual (in nature) because art only exists conceptually." In 1970, *Conceptual Art and Conceptual Aspects*, the first exhibition dedicated to conceptual art, took place at the New York Cultural Center. In the same year, *Design Quarterly* devoted an entire issue to "conceptual architecture." This is the forum in which Peter Eisenman published his seminal essay "Notes on Conceptual Architecture: Towards a Definition." He wrote: "The task for a conceptual architecture as opposed to conceptual art would be not so much to find such a sign system or a coding device but rather to investigate the nature of formal universals which are inherent in any form or formal construct. A more difficult task would be to find a way of giving these conceptual structures the capacity to engender more precise and complex meanings merely through the manipulation of form and space." See Peter Eisenman, "Notes on Conceptual Architecture: Towards a Definition," *Casabella*, No. 359-360 (1971). On this subject, see also "Architecture As Conceptual Art?" *Harvard Design Magazine*, No. 19, (Fall 2003 / Winter 2004) and Nana Last, "Function and Field: Demarcating Conceptual Practices," in *Theory in Contemporary Art Since 1985*, eds. Zoya Kocur and Simon Leung (Cambridge: Blackwell, 2004).

[69] Pierre Apraxine, ed. *Architecture I* (New York: Leo Castelli Gallery, 1977). These were Aldo Rossi's seven "conceptual exercises:" *Triangolo con Ciminiere* (1971), *Il Cubo Rosso* (1973), *Le Due Città* (1973), *Il Castello* (1973), *La Cabine dell'Elba 2* (1975), *Souvenir de Coney Island* (1976) and *Palme del Sagui con Paesaggio* (1976).

[70] After *Architecture I*, Ada Louis Huxtable wrote: "Aldo Rossi's world can be built, and occasionally is, but it is a powerful imagery of scaleless classical geometry and surreal mystique that denies all human needs. It is architecture assoluta, and the imagery touches genius." See Ada Louis Huxtable, "Architectural Drawings as Art Gallery Art," *The New York Times*, 23 October 1977. Two years later, she wrote a piece entirely dedicated to the Italian architect, following his two parallel shows at the IAUS and the Max Protetch Gallery: "Much has been made of Mr. Rossi's apparent preoccupation with death, and

of his connection with Marxist politics. For Marxists, architecture has lost all public meaning; its only role is a destructive or nihilist one. To those practicing architects who still believe that building is a positive, creative and problem-solving necessity, this makes Mr. Rossi not an architect at all." See Ada Louise Huxtable, "The Austere World of Rossi," *The New York Times*, 7 October 1979.

[71] Jordan Kauffman, "Drawing on Architecture: The Socioaesthetics of Architectural Drawings, 1970-1990," PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2015. Jordan Kauffman noted that most of the materials exhibited by Leo Castelli were unconventional drawings: "axonometrics, abstract drawings and aerial views" were emphasized over plans, sections and elevations.

[72] Peter Eisenman, Letter to Aldo Rossi, 28 June 1979. This document is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles. In the preface to the catalogue of the exhibition, Peter Eisenman writes: "We have concentrated on the drawings for the *Città Analoga*, which in many respects appears as the primary *locus* of Rossi's architectural conception." See Peter Eisenman, "Preface," in *Aldo Rossi in America: 1976 to 1979* (New York: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1979).

[73] Robin Evan's research on representation had a profound impact on the architectural discourse of the 1980s and 1990s. See Robin Evans, "Translations from Drawing to Building," *AA Files*, No. 12 (Summer 1986) and Robin Evans, *The Projective Cast* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997). On the relation between drawing and building, Robin Evans noted: "Recognition of the drawing's power as a medium turns out, unexpectedly, to be recognition of the drawing's distinctness from and unlikeness to the thing that is represented, rather than its likeness to it, which is neither as paradoxical nor as dissociative as it may seem."

[74] Arthur Drexler, "Engineer's Architecture: Truth and Its Consequences," in *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977). *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts* was on show at MoMA from October 1975 to January 1976. It confronted the New York audience with a vast selection of Beaux-Arts works, including drawings of Henri Labrouste's Bibliotheque Sainte-Genevieve and Charles Garnier's Opera. On this event, see Felicity Scott, "When Systems Fail: Arthur Drexler and the Postmodern Turn," *Perspecta*, Vol. 35, Building Codes (2004). Felicity Scott writes: "If MoMA's Beaux-Arts show was (and still is) understood to demonstrate the discipline's turn away from

modernist abstraction and the machine aesthetic toward an embrace of historical and semantic referents (a paradigm that would dominate architectural practice for over a decade), it will be the wager of this study to demonstrate, in turn, that Drexler's provocation had a rather different, and certainly more subtle, critical agenda than has been attributed to it. While questioning the lasting efficacy of the modernist paradigm upon which the museum's aesthetic had been founded, the exhibition was not proposing a romantic turn to the past." Felicity Scott argues that this exhibition did not herald a return of historicism: instead, it was an attempt to open a debate that could lead to a historicization of modernism as a phase of architectural production.

[75] Donation form of a benefit auction organized by "Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility" in collaboration with the Max Protetch Galley, March 1986. This document is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles.

[76] Three Italian exhibitions of Aldo Rossi's work were organized back-to-back in 1979: *Aldo Rossi: Progetti e Disegni* at the Galleria Pan in Rome (March and April), *Aldo Rossi: Alcuni miei Progetti* at the Galleria Antonia Jannone in Milan (May and June) and *Aldo Rossi: Disegni e Progetti* at the Galleria Manzo in Pescara (June and July). Notably, these shows speak to the emergence of a culture of drawing in Italy as well. The *Galleria Antonia Jannone: Disegni di Architettura* is particularly important: after her inaugural exhibition in 1977 (with works of Aldo Rossi, Raimund Abraham, Carlo Aymonino, Emilio Battisti, Gianni Braghieri, Arduino Cantafora, Giorgio Grassi, Michael Graves, Vittorio Gregotti, Carlo Guenzi, Rob Krier, Alessandro Mendini, Franco Purini, Franco Raggi, Massimo Scolari, James Stirling, Superstudio and Mathias Ungers), Antonia Jannone became one of the most important gallerist in Europe to specialize in the sale of architectural drawings. She had a very productive relationship with Aldo Rossi and exhibited his drawings on multiple occasions (1977, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1984). Notably, her gallery was less than a mile away from Aldo Rossi's studio in Via Maddalena. See www.antoniajannone.it/galleria.

[77] Aldo Rossi, "Questi ~~Disegni~~ Progetti o Disegni," draft of an essay for the exhibition *Aldo Rossi in America* at the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies. This document is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles.

[78] Michael Covel, *Trend Following: How Great Traders Make Millions in Up or Down Markets* (Upper Saddle River: Financial Times Press, 2005). Ed Seykota is described as "one of the great traders and trend followers of all time."

[79] The specifics of these financial transactions (involving Leo Castelli, Max Protecth and Pierre Apraxine, among others) are addressed in Jordan Kauffman's "Drawing on Architecture: The Socioaesthetics of Architectural Drawings, 1970-1990," PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2015.

[80] Howard Gilman died in 1998 of a heart attack at age 73, at his White Oak Plantation near Jacksonville, Florida. According to *Forbes*, he had $1.1 billion in assets and $550 million of debt. As he was childless, he donated his assets to the Howard Gilman Foundation. See Robert Lenzner and Tomas Kellner, "The Fall of the House of Gilman," *Forbes*, 11 August 2003. The Foundation sold his collection of photographs to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the Spring of 2005. Martin Filler wrote: "This past March, the Met, which had a long relationship with Gilman, finalized a deal to acquire the entire trove in yet another of its world-class coups. […] New York dealer Hans Kraus told the *Times* he believes the collection's market value could exceed $100 million." See Martin Filler, "Reflections of a Golden Eye," *Departures* (September 2005). On the contrary, as noted by Terence Riley, the collection of architectural drawings "was generously donated to the Museum of Modern Art" in 2000. See Terence Riley, ed. *The Changing of the Avant-Garde: Visionary Architectural Drawings from the Howard Gilman Collection* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002).

[81] On the impact of the economic recession on the architectural productions of the 1970s, see James Murdock, "Drawing, Thinking and Digitizing: Recession's Modus Operandi," *Architectural Record* (December 2009) and Duco Hellema, *The Global 1970s: Radicalism, Reform and Crisis* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

[82] "Aldo Rossi: Two Exhibits," *Progressive Architecture* (October 1979).

[83] Terence Riley, ed. *The Changing of the Avant-Garde: Visionary Architectural Drawings from the Howard Gilman Collection* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002). In the introduction to the catalogue of the MoMA exhibition of the Gilman collection, Terence Riley presented Aldo Rossi as the pivotal figure in the architectural discourse of the 1970s and 1980s: "Despite the postmodernists' divergent trajectories over time, it was Aldo Rossi who played the role of the pivotal figure to this diverse group. His ideas of urban rationalism, archaic historical forms, deep emotion, and cultural, rather than global, expression defined architecture for his generation. If, in the 1980s and later, Rossi's having opened the Pandora's box of modernism—history—helped usher in the architectural traditionalism now known as postmodernism, he himself was no historicist but, rather, an architect who deeply understood the role of memory in the built environment."

[84] Rafael Moneo, *Theoretical Anxiety and Design Strategies in the Work of Eight Contemporary Architects* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004).

[85] Pierre Apraxine, "Introduction," in *Architecture I* (New York: Leo Castelli Gallery, 1977).

[86] Ada Louise Huxtable, "The Austere World of Rossi," *The New York Times*, 7 October 1979. Discussing the two New York exhibitions on Aldo Rossi held in 1979, Ada Louise Huxtable noted: "That wise-child gaze suggests as much of an inward vision as an eye attuned to the world around him. After all, how does one explain a style that combines a concentration camp imagery of cell blocks and towers with lyrical touches of striped cabanas and flying pennants that keep recurring in his drawings like elements in a dream?"

[87] Peter Eisenman, "Editor's Introduction: The Houses of Memory – The Texts of Analogy," in *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge: MIT Press – Oppositions Books, 1982). The themes of childhood and autobiography are all over Peter Eisenman's introduction to the first English version of *L'Architettura della Città*: "Rossi's analogous drawings, like his analogous writings, deal primarily with time. […] Time is expressed as an infinite past which takes things back to the timelessness of childhood, of illusions, of fragments of possessions and autobiographical images of the author's own alienated childhood - of which history's narrative can no longer give an effective account." Notably, *A Scientific Autobiography*, Aldo Rossi's other major book, had been published in English by *Oppositions Books* only one year earlier.

[88] Discussing the project for his mother's house (twenty years after its completion), Robert Venturi noted: "Some have said my mother's house looks like a child's drawing of a house – representing the fundamental aspects of shelter – gable roof, chimney, door and windows. I like to think this is so." See Robert Venturi, "Diversity, Relevance and Representation in Historicism Or, *Plus ça Change*…Plus a Plea for Pattern All Over Architecture, with a Postscript on My Mother's House," in *Architectural Record* (June 1982). In the same year, Paul Goldberger wrote: "Many of Venturi, Rauch & Scott Brown's buildings, such as Mr. Venturi's celebrated house for his mother in Chestnut Hill of 1962, or his Tucker House of 1975, are basic, primal houses, houses that are almost—but not quite—what a child might draw. At their best they merge a kind of childlike delight with an adult's ironic sensibility, bringing to architecture an attitude not altogether different from that which Lewis Carroll brought to literature." See Paul Goldberger, "Architecture View: Robert Venturi in Love with the Art of Building," *The New York Times*, 19 September 1982. On Vanna Venturi's house, see Frederic Schwartz, ed. *Mother's*

House: The Evolution of Vanna Venturi's House in Chestnut Hill (New York: Rizzoli, 1992). Notably, the preface of this book is written by Aldo Rossi.

[89] Manfredo Tafuri, "Ceci N'est Pas une Ville," *Lotus*, No. 13 (1976). Discussing Aldo Rossi's collage *La Città Analoga*, presented at the 1976 Biennale, Manfredo Tafuri wrote: "Rossi had for that matter already accustomed us to assess as formal machines autonomous drawings based upon the combinatory manipulation of real and ideal places. Is this an analogical thought as an archaic thought expressible only through dehistoricised images? And why is there now this further proposal of an itinerary inside the maze of an urban dream in which the fragment of a Renaissance treatise is equal to an eighteenth-century project or to one by Rossi? For Rossi's analogous city, too, no place exists. Below the composition might well be written, in a childish hand, the words: *ceci n'est pas une ville*." Ten years later, Manfredo Tafuri went even further in expressing the childish nature of Aldo Rossi's work: "Il rigorismo di Rossi è condizione del suo immaginario: esso vuol mostrare che l'estraneazione è raccontabile, che la condanna all'afasia è scongiurabile da chi sappia tornare bambino. Appunto: un sublime irresponsabile. Ciò spiega il ricorso rossiano ad infantili grafie o ad un'elementarietà geometrica che rimanda alle tavole del Durand." See Manfredo Tafuri, "Il Caso Aldo Rossi," in *Storia dell'Architettura Italiana, 1944-1985* (Turin: Einaudi, 1986). Manfredo Tafuri associated Aldo Rossi's work with "infantile graphics" and "geometric elementarism:" Aldo Rossi's way to prevent aphasia was "to become a child again."

[90] Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge: MIT Press – Oppositions Books, 1982).

[91] Noemi Lucarelli, "Dalla Barricata alla Caffettiera: Intervista ad Aldo Rossi," *Il Giornale*, 1986.

[92] Germano Celant, "Aldo Rossi Draws," in *Aldo Rossi Drawing*, ed. Luca Molinari (Milan: Skira, 2008). Germano Celant's essay is one of the most extensive studies of Aldo Rossi's drawings. However, it does not consider any event prior to 1959, the year of Aldo Rossi's graduation at the Politecnico di Milano. What happened in the previous 28 years of Aldo Rossi's life is not taken into account. This is the first line of the essay: "From 1959, the year of his degree thesis, Aldo Rossi's drawings pay attention to the theatricality of the image susceptible to architectural construction, a representative process of design freed from all subordination to a focus on technique and function." In Germano Celant's argument, the drawing is not understood as an autonomous object, but rather as a part of a broader process, within the context of Aldo Rossi's practice: "Drawing is the place where the virtual fire of the project circulates, where idea and intuition move with the facility of the power of an invention. It is physicality animated by the force of gravity that pins down Rossi's urban

invention. Here the fascination of spontaneity and creativity adhere to the concept of reflection on architecture. A living kind of design where concept hooks up with matter, triggers a flow of images, and expresses an energy of investigation in which the advent of reality is the goal."

[93] Fondazione Aldo Rossi: Biografia, www.fondazionealdorossi.org/biografia. According to the biography provided by the Aldo Rossi Foundation, "Aldo Rossi nasce a Milano il 3 maggio 1931. Nel 1941 a causa della guerra si trasferisce con la sua famiglia sul lago di Como, dove da ragazzo frequenta le scuole medie inferiori dei Padri Somaschi, rimanendovi anche durante le superiori, presso il Collegio Arcivescovile Alessandro Volta di Lecco. Nel 1949 si iscrive alla Facoltà di Architettura del Politecnico di Milano."

[94] Aldo Rossi, *A Scientific Autobiography* (Cambridge: MIT Press – Oppositions Books, 1981).

[95] Aldo Rossi, "Note Autobiografiche sulla Formazione," in *Aldo Rossi: Tutte le Opere*, ed. Alberto Ferlenga (Milan: Electa, 1999).

[96] Maristella Casciato, "Aldo Rossi: Early Writings and Architectural Reverie," Seminar at the University of California Los Angeles, 4 April 2016. In a recent conference on Aldo Rossi at the Politecnico di Milano, Andrea Oldani also touched on the impact of Aldo Rossi's early education on his mature work: "Aldo Rossi learned to draw in the kitchen of Somasca [the village near Lecco where he grew up]." See Luca Oldani, "The Legacy of Aldo Rossi: Gaze at Reality Building Yourself," Conference *Aldo Rossi: Perspectives from the World*, Politenico di Milano, 11 June 2018. At this conference, I also had the opportunity to speak with Vera Rossi, Aldo Rossi's daughter. She told me that Aldo Rossi frequently spoke about his early education in Lecco and regarded that experience as a key moment in his formative journey.

[97] In post-war Italy, the term "*catto-comunismo*" was commonly used to describe a significant section of the population that, while voting for the Italian Communist Party, was also Catholic and went to church on Sunday. On this dichotomy, see Augusto del Noce, *Il Cattolico Comunista* (Milan: Rusconi, 1981), Gianni Baget Bozzo, *L'Intreccio: Cattolici e Comunisti, 1945-2004* (Milan: Mondadori, 2004) and Massimo Teodori, *Il Vizietto Cattocomunista: La Vera Anomalia Italiana* (Padua: Marisilio, 2015).

[98] Collegio Arcivescovile Alessandro Volta: Storia, www.collegiovolta.it/il-collegio/la-storia. The school was founded in 1902 and the Cardinal of Milan immediately recognized it as a "Collegio Arcivescovile," hiring a priest as dean and a few theology students as teaching assistants. The Collegio absorbed the elementary program of the local parochial school and

added a program called "Scuola Commericale," modelled after the Swiss education system. In 1942, due to the enormous increase of the student population (because people were leaving Milan and moving to more secure locations), the schools of Lecco were reorganized: the local public school had the "Sezione Industriale," while the Collegio Arcivescovile ran the "Scuola di Avviamento Commericale." This was also the period in which the programs of the Collegio Arcivescovile started to be legally recognized by the Italian Ministry of Education as legitimate education programs: for example, the middle school of the Collegio Arcivescovile was legally recognized by the State in 1946.

[99] Francis Mershman, "Saint Jerome Emiliani," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 8. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910). The religious congregation of the Somascan Fathers was founded in the sixteenth century by Saint Jerome Emiliani and named after their motherhouse at Somasca, a secluded hamlet near Lecco (the place where Aldo Rossi grew up). The order was originally called "Company of the Servants of the Poor," as its primary objective was the care of orphans and sick people. In the following centuries, however, the Somascan Father focused primarily on education.

[100] Most of the literature on the Somascan schools points to the notion of "formazione professionale." Battista Orizio argues that, since the sixteenth century, the Somascans "implemented a comprehensive pedagogical program, which included the essentials of religion and morality, the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic, and, most importantly, professional education." See Battista Orizio, *San Girolamo Emiliani: Il Primato Storico della Formazione Professionale* (Albano: Fondazione San Girolamo Emiliani, 2012). Lucio Zavattin goes as far as to argue that, in sixteenth-century Europe, Saint Jerome Emiliani was "the first to conceived of and implement a program of professional education." And he notes that "the Somascan Fathers have been working on professional education throughout the five hundred years of their history, continuing the activity that their founder introduced in the sixteenth century (anticipating many modern developments), insisting on the value of manual labor." See Lucio Zavattin, "Cinque Secoli di Formazione Professionale," *Vita Somasca* (October / December 2014). On the importance of labor in the Somascan doctrine, Andrea Pellegrini writes: "The future that Saint Jerome and his followers had in mind for their students was in the world of artisanal labor. Hence it was necessary to give them advanced job training. That is why labor plays such an important role in the rule of the Somascan order." See Andrea Pellegrini, "La Formazione Professionale Oggi," *Vita Somasca* (October / December 2014).

[101] Marco Tentorio, "San Girolamo Emiliani Primo Fondatore delle Scuole Professionali in Italia," Archivio Storico dei Padri Somaschi, Genoa, 1976. Labor (especially manual labor) was at the center of the Somascan pedagogy. The goal was

to help kids (particularly orphans and underprivileged children) to find a job while in school. Saint Jerome Emiliani made deals with several artisans and acquired a number of workshops ("botteghe"), so that his students could work there and learn a trade. By researching the employment contracts in the Somascan archives, Marco Tentorio has been able to identify some of the main activities practiced in the Somascan schools, such as woodworking, metalworking, weaving, tailoring and the building trade. Children would study and work at the same time. As early as the sixteenth century, most Somascan schools started to use Italian as their primary language, abandoning Latin. For Marco Tentorio, this further demonstrates the primacy of "practice over theory." See also Alessandro Chiesa, *Forme di Pedagogia degli Orfanotrofi Somaschi nel XVI Secolo*, Graduation Thesis, University of Brescia, 1959.

[102] Lucio Zavattin, "Cinque Secoli di Formazione Professionale," *Vita Somasca* (October / December 2014). Lucio Zavattin notes that many Somascan schools had a "corso per muratori" – a class for bricklayers. These courses still exist – the main one is the "Centro di Formazione Professionale dei Padri Somaschi" in Como. At the end of the course, the students usually interned in a construction company that had some kind of partnership with the school and embarked on a path to become foremen ("capo cantiere").

[103] Aldo Rossi, *A Scientific Autobiography* (Cambridge: MIT Press – Oppositions Books, 1981). Commenting Professor Sabbioni's criticism, Aldo Rossi noted: "This observation, which made my friends laugh, filled me with joy, and today I try to recover that felicity of drawing which was confused with inexperience and stupidity, and which has subsequently characterized my work. In other words, a great part of the meaning and evolution of time escaped me and still does so today, as if time were a material which I observe only from the outside. The lack of evolution in my work has been the source of some misunderstanding, but it also brings me joy."

[104] Adele Mazzotta, "La Didattica del Disegno Edile e la Cultura delle Scuole Tecniche nell'Ottocento a Milano," in *L'Istruzione Secondaria nell'Italia Unita*, ed. Carlo Lacaita (Milan: Franco Angeli Editore, 2013). After Napoleon had demonstrated throughout Europe the advantages of a modern organization of the State, the Austrian Empire looked to Paris and its Ecole Polytechnique to found a school in Vienna that could respond to the need for modern knowledge, linked to mercantile techniques and practices. In 1818, the Imperial Royal Polytechnic Institute was established in Vienna. In Milan, which was then the capital of a province of the Austrian Empire, these dynamics lead to a reform of basic education. Alongside the traditional path of classical education, which was designed for the upper bourgeoisie and the

nobility, a new practical school was introduced, where technical and commercial notions were combined to educate the petty bourgeoisie and the working class. It was called "Scuola Elementare Maggiore." The program included basic notions of architectural design. Subsequently, in 1840, the "Imperial Regia Scuola Tecnica" was established – a school for "l'educazione della classe di artigiani e commercianti, che non abbisogna un'istruzione letteraria mediante le lingue morte." Drawing had a key role in this school. According to the programs of the time, drawing education entailed: "a) il perfezionamento degli scolari nel disegno d'ornato, diretto specialmente agli oggetti d'arti e mestieri; b) il disegno delle macchine; c) il disegno degli ordini architettonici, in quanto influisce sull'esercizio delle diverse arti meccaniche; d) il disegno delle manifatture e, come fondamento di questo, gli elementi del disegno di fiori." Notably, students were taught to draw architectural orders already in elementary school. However, the programs explicitly excluded "il disegno di architettura strettamente detto," as well as "il disegno di situazione." In 1853, the "Imperial Regia Scuola Tecnica" was turned into a "Scuola Superiore," consisting of two three-year periods. The program included several courses related to drawing: "disegno lineare e industriale; disegno a mano; disegno e geometria; disegno e architettura; disegno geometrico a mano." The manuals developed by Professor Domenico Moglia, always in orthogonal projections and outlined with extreme precision, speak to the approach of the school, which was still heavily influenced by Neoclassicism. The next step was the foundation of the "Istituto Tecnico Superiore Politecnico di Milano" in 1863, shortly after Italy's unification. The Politecnico was envisioned as the culmination of this system of primary and secondary technical schools, established during the Austrian rule.

[105] *Regolamento Organico per le Scuole Tecniche in Milano e Venezia*, 1840. The rulebook of the "Imperial Regia Scuola Tecnica" that the Austrians established in Milan in 1840 was very clear about the approach of the school: "Tutte le materie devono essere trattate a) con continua applicazione al commercio e all'industria; b) con particolare riguardo alla Monarchia Austriaca e al Regno Lombardo-Veneto; c) sempre intuitivamente e praticamente."

[106] Lisa Finetti and Chiara Palombella, "La Facoltà di Architettura di Milano," in *L'Insegnamento dell'Architettura in Italia dal Dopoguerra alla Contestazione Studentesca*, Graduation Thesis, Politecnico di Milano, 2009. The teaching of architecture in Milan started in the late eighteenth century at the Academy of Fine Arts of Brera. The Politecnico was established roughly one hundred years later, in 1863: it was originally called "Istituto Tecnico Superiore Politecnico di Milano." Its first director was the mathematician Francesco Brioschi. At the beginning, the Politecnico was designed for students who, having

already completed a two-year program in any university of the Kingdom of Italy, wanted to become engineers, following one of these courses: "Manipolazioni chimiche, Mineralogia applicata, Applicazioni di geometria descrittiva, Scienza delle costruzioni, Conduttura delle acque e Costruzioni stradali." The "Scuola Superiore di Architettura" of the Politecnico was established in a second stage, in 1865. One of the founding fathers was Camillo Boito, who taught "Storia dell'Archiettura" and "Rilievo e Restauro dei Monumenti." Discussing the fundamentals of an architect's education in the early 1860s, Camitto Boito noted: "D'una scienza, peraltro, deve l'architetto trovare il fondo, e distendersi a tutte le parti, a tutte le applicazioni, voglio dire della geometria descrittiva; da cui escono, come corollarii, e il disegno architettonico, e la stereotomia, e il taglio dei legnami, e la prospettiva, e la teoria delle ombre, e tutto ciò senza cui è impossibile non solo costruire, ma saviamente ideare un edificio." See Boito Camillo, "Sulla Necessità di un Nuovo Ordinamento di Studi per gli Architetti Civili," *Giornale dell'Ingegnere–Architetto ed Agronomo*, No. 9 (1861). The teaching of descriptive geometry had been pioneered by Gaspard Monge at the Ecole Polytechnique. See Joel Sakarovitch, "La Geometrie Descriptive, Une Reine Déchue," in *La Formation Polytechnicienne, 1794-1994*, eds. Bruno Belhoste, Amy Dahan Dalmedico and Antoine Picon (Paris: Dunod, 1994).

[107] *Dell'Ordinamento dell'Istituto Tecnico Superiore di Milano: 1875-76* (Archive of the Politecnico di Milano). In 1875, the Politecnico was expanded to include a preparatory two-year program which, in addition to the essential courses of math and physics, offered a number of drawing courses, such as "Disegno a mano libera, Disegno architettonico, Geometria descrittiva, ed Elementi d'architettura." This two-year program was identical for all students of the Politecnico, regardless of what specialization their wanted to pursue. After this preparatory period, students could choose between the school of architecture, the school of civil engineering and the school of industrial engineering. But they all had the same basic education. The idea was that architects and engineers needed to have the same fundamental know-how and, by extension, the same drawing skills. The most significant change to the eighteenth-century structure of the Politecnico came in 1933, at the apex of the Fascist period, when the Politecnico was divided into two branches: "Facoltà di Ingegneria" and "Facoltà di Architettura," which replaced the "Scuola Superiore di Architettura." The goal was to align the Politecnico with all the other universities in Italy and, therefore, limit its diversity and autonomy. It was part of an effort to centralize and control the entire education system. For a detailed analysis of architectural education at the Politecnico di Milano in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, see Ornella Selvafolta, "L'Istituto Tecnico Superiore di Milano: Metodi

Didattici ed Ordinamento Interno, 1863-1914" and Vincenzo Fontana, "La Scuola Speciale di Architettura," both in *Il Politecnico di Milano: Una Scuola nella Formazione della Società Industriale* (Milan: Electa, 1981).

[108] Andrew Butrica, "The Mind's Eye: Technical Education, Drawing and Meritocracy in France, 1800-1850," *Icon,* Vol. 21 (2015). This essay looks at drawing instruction in France through the lens of the scholarships administered by the *Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale* at various technical schools during the first half of the nineteenth century: "As the visual language of a new industrializing order, drawing had several meanings. Some types of drawing described machinery, while others applied to architectural ornament and construction, which was the second economic activity in France after agriculture. Much of the drawing executed in schools and the *concours* derived from the art world of the Academy Painting and Sculpture, founded in 1648, which favored the copying of human heads and figures. Drawing thus occupied a complex social space populated by architecture, construction and both the mechanical and fine arts. It shared that space with geometry and particularly descriptive geometry." See also Eugene Ferguson, "The Mind's Eye: Nonverbal Thought in Technology," Science, Vol. 197, Issue 4306 (1977).

[109] Andrea Silvestri, "Francesco Brioschi e l'Istruzione Tecnica," in *L'Istruzione Secondaria nell'Italia Unita*, ed. Carlo Lacaita (Milan: Franco Angeli Editore, 2013).

[110] Andrew Butrica, "The Mind's Eye: Technical Education, Drawing and Meritocracy in France, 1800-1850," *Icon,* Vol. 21 (2015). According to Andrew Butrica, drawing education had deep social and economic implications: "With industrialization and mechanization came a demand for workers conversant in the visual language of drawing. Spatial thinking was fundamental to the new industrial order. […] Above all else, drawing instruction served the needs of artisans and the working classes in general."

[111] Michael Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977). For Michael Foucault, the drawing school of the Manufacture des Gobelins (a major tapestry factory, located in Paris) was emblematic of the disciplinary techniques that were implemented toward the end of the *ancient regime*: "In 1737, an edict organized a school of drawing for the apprentices of the Gobelins; it was not intended to replace the training given by the master workers, but to complement it. It involved a quite different arrangement of time. Two hours a day, except on Sundays and feast days, the pupils met in the school. A roll-call was taken, from a list on the wall; the absentees were noted down in a register. The school was divided into three classes. The first for those who had no notion of drawing; they were made to copy

models, which were more or less difficult according to the abilities of each pupil. The second 'for those who already have some principles,' or who had passed through the first class; they had to reproduce pictures 'at sight, without tracing,' but considering only the drawing. In the third class, they learnt coloring and pastel drawing, and were introduced to the theory and practice of dyeing. The pupils performed individual tasks at regular intervals; each of these exercises, signed with the name of its author and date of execution, was handed in to the teacher; the best were rewarded; assembled together at the end of the year and compared, they made it possible to establish the progress, the present ability and the relative place of each pupil; it was then decided which of them could pass into the next class. A general book, kept by the teachers and their assistants, recorded from day to day the behavior of the pupils and everything that happened in the school; it was periodically shown to an inspector."

[112] Ken Adler, *Engineering the Revolution: Arms and Enlightenment in France, 1763-1815* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). According to Ken Adler, the teaching of technical drawing allowed engineers to shift control over production "from the artisan's atelier to the drafting studio." Those who mastered technical drawing "spoke the language of command."

[113] Michael Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977). In addition to the Manufacture des Gobelins, Michael Foucault pointed to another example in which drawing operated as a disciplinary device: Léon Faucher's House of Young Prisoners. The rulebook of this prison for children, written in 1837, lists in minute detail the schedule of each prisoner's day. Rule number 22 is particularly interesting: "At twenty minutes to eleven, at the drum-roll, the prisoners form into ranks, and proceed in divisions to the school. The class lasts two hours and consists alternately of reading, writing, drawing and arithmetic."

[114] On this subject, see Bruno Belhoste, Amy Dahan Dalmedico and Antoine Picon, eds. *La Formation Polytechnicienne, 1794-1994* (Paris: Dunod, 1994) and Antoine Picon, *French Architects and Engineers in the Age of Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[115] Michael Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977). To illustrate this point, Michel Foucault references Jean-Baptiste de La Salle's *Conduite des Ecoles Chrétiennes*, written in 1707: "The pupils must always hold their bodies erect, somewhat turned and free on the left side, slightly inclined, so that, with the elbow placed on the table, the chin can be rested upon the hand, unless this were to interfere with the view; the left leg must be somewhat more forward under the table than the right. A distance of two fingers must be left between the body and the table; for

not only does one write with more alertness, but nothing is more harmful to the health than to acquire the habit of pressing one's stomach against the table; the part of the left arm from the elbow to the hand must be placed on the table. The right arm must be at a distance from the body of about three fingers and be about five fingers from the table, on which it must rest lightly. The teacher will place the pupils in the posture that they should maintain when writing, and will correct it either by sign or otherwise, when they change this position."

[116] Roger Deacon, "Michel Foucault on Education," *South African Journal of Education*, No. 26 (2006).

[117] Clive Ashwin, "Pestalozzi and the Origins of Pedagogical Drawing," *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1981). Clive Ashwin traces the emergence of pedagogical drawing (*pädagogische zeichnen*), as opposed to artistic drawing (*kunstzeichnen*), in nineteenth-century Europe: "Before 1800, the teaching of drawing, even in general education, consisted in the main of makeshift adaptations of methods derived from the conventions of the academy school, the atelier and private tuition. These often featured the copying of prints and drawings with 'artistic quality.' They also tended to depend upon personal tuition of the individual rather than simultaneous instruction of a whole class. During the nineteenth century, these methods were largely replaced by others devised to teach drawing as a class subject to normally large groups of children. The shift was from *einzelunterricht* (the tuition of individual children) to the so-called *massenunterricht*, simultaneous instruction of large school classes which frequently exceeded sixty in number. In order to establish its new identity as an essential component of all general education, drawing had to acquire the characteristics of a theoretical rationale, a developed syllabus and a specially devised teaching method. This important historical innovation took place in the years around 1800 and centered on the German-Swiss Heinrich Pestalozzi and his immediate disciples and assistants."

[118] Clive Ashwin, "Pestalozzi and the Origins of Pedagogical Drawing," *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1981). Clive Ashwin analyzes a series of justifications for the teaching of drawing, emerged at various moments in time. The understanding of drawing as "a pastime for the cultivated classes" is traced back to the humanistic revival of the Renaissance (and possibly to antiquity). On the other hand, the view that drawing education might constitute a "valuable skill in the context of manufacturing activity" is associated with the industrial revolution. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, a third justification started to gain momentum – namely that drawing constituted an "essential part of every child's general education."

[119] Clive Ashwin, "Pestalozzi and the Origins of Pedagogical Drawing," *British Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (1981). According to Clive Ashwin, Pestalozzi's objective was to devise "a secure method by means of which a teacher of quite modest education and ability could teach very large groups of children effectively." His method was explained in a series of publications, including *Wie Gertrud Ihre Kinder Lehrt* (How Gertrude Teaches Her Children), which came out in 1801, and the elementary drawing manual *ABC der Anschauung* (The ABC of Sense Perception), published in 1803. Clive Ashwin notes that Heinrich Pestalozzi's drawing manuals offered "little more than banal and repetitious geometric exercises, containing nothing which could be related to modem notions of art education, self-expression and child art." He also argues that Heinrich Pestalozzi was singularly ill-equipped to revolutionize the teaching of drawing: "He neither possessed nor professed any skill whatsoever in drawing; in the words of his most ardent disciple Christoph Buss, he could unfortunately neither write nor draw, although he had a remarkable facility for enlisting and exploiting the skills of his collaborators in realizing his schemes." Many drawing teachers of the nineteenth century explicitly rejected certain features of the Pestalozzian system of drawing, but almost all courses devised for the class teaching of drawing made use of some of its innovations, such as "the detailed analysis and elementarization of the material prior to the lesson, the principle of progressive synthesis through increments of difficulty, and the use of catechism."

[120] Heinrich Pestalozzi, *ABC der Anschauung* (Zurich: Gessner, 1803). Most of the lessons in Heinrich Pestalozzi's manuals revolved around a routine, whereby the teacher demonstrated and named the figure to be learned, then engaged the children with a question and answer session about its form, and finally instructed the children to draw the figure for themselves.

[121] J. A. Green, *Life and Work of Pestalozzi* (London: Clive, 1913).

[122] On the agency of the State over education in the modern age, see Andy Green, *Education and State Formation: The Rise of Education Systems in England, France and the USA* (London: Macmillan, 1990).

[123] Giuseppe Tognon, *Croce e Gentile* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana 2016).

[124] Charles Maier, *Leviathan 2.0: Inventing Modern Statehood* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012). Addressing the role of Church and State in the production of welfare (and, therefore, also education), Charles Maier writes: "Governmentality has become a fashionable concept in the social sciences and has begun to seep into historical accounts as well. Its recent use derives from Michel Foucault, who applied it to describe the growing administrative and pastoral capacity of the

Catholic Church in the late Middle-Ages and then post-Renaissance political units to regulate behavior of those living within their borders. The Church had the mission of tending souls and providing the nurturing institutions that would ensure their salvation: the State would take over this welfarist mission." Because of the prominent presence of the Catholic Church and the delay in the process of nation-building, this transition took a long time to materialize in Italy and started to gain momentum only in the twentieth century.

[125] Antonio Gramsci, "From the Prison Notebooks," translated by Joseph Buttigieg, *Daedalus*, Vol. 131, No. 3, "On Education" (Summer 2002). Reflecting on public education in the early 1930s, Antonio Gramsci wrote: "The tendency today is to abolish every type of school that is disinterested (not motivated by immediate interests) and formative; or else, to leave only a scaled-down specimen of such a school for a tiny élite of gentlemen and ladies who need not bother with preparing themselves for a future career. The tendency is to continue propagating specialized vocational schools in which the student's destiny and future activity are predetermined. The crisis will have a solution, which, logically, should be along the following lines: to start with, a common school of general, humanistic, formative culture that properly balances the development of the capacity for working manually (technically, industrially) with the development of the capacities for intellectual work." For Gramsci, it was not starting from the structure (the economy) that reality could be transformed, but rather starting from the superstructure (ideology, culture). The school that he had in mind was identical for all children, without specializations, until they reached the age of fourteen.

[126] Werner Conze and Jurgen Kocka, eds. *Bildungsburgertum im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 4 Volumes (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985-92). The term *Bildungsburgertum* indicates the intellectual and economic upper bourgeoisie that emerged in Germany in the mid-eighteenth century, as opposed to the *Kleinburgertum*, the petite bourgeoisie. This group distinguished itself through education in the humanities and involvement in State affairs. Wilhelm von Humboldt played a key role in the development of this type of education.

[127] Carlo Lacaita, "La Svolta Unitaria e l'Istruzione Secondaria," in *L'Istruzione Secondaria nell'Italia Unita* (Milan: Franco Angeli Editore, 2013). Carlo Lacaita underlines the importance of the education system in achieving the unity, the independence and the political freedom of the newly-formed Italian nation. As noted by Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour (Italy's first Prime Minister), the goal of public education after Italy's unification was to adhere to "modern civilization" and "the progress of the century," removing the backwardness of the previous period. Technical education was seen as a

by-product of modernization, something capable of helping both industrial progress and social mobility. In his opening lecture at the school of chemistry of the University of Pavia in 1859, professor Angelo Pavesi said: "If viewed from below, industrialization is merely a way to make money; on the contrary, if viewed from above, it's labor taking the place of privilege – it's the most powerful generator of equality and freedom." See Angelo Pavesi, "Discorso di Apertura al Corso di Chimica," in *Il Politecnico*, Vol. VIII, Folder XLV, 1860. However, as noted by Carlo Lacaita, technical education took a long time to gain ground in Italy: outside of the main metropolitan areas, traditional schools (especially religious schools) continued to play a key role well into the twentieth century.

[128] Elena Bertonelli e Giaime Rodano, "Le Riforme nella Scuola Italiana dal 1859 al 2003," INDIRE: Istituto Nazionale Documentazione Innovazione Ricerca Educazione, 2003. This comprehensive study provides a number of important details on how drawing was taught in Italian elementary school after the 1923 "Riforma Gentile," perhaps the most substantial education reform of the twentieth century in Italy. In the system set up by Giovanni Gentile, public elementary schools had three steps: a 3-year "grado preparatorio," followed by a 3-year "grado inferiore," and finally a 2-year "grado superiore." The courses of the first level had a "recreational character:" children were taught "disegno spontaneo," along with other activities, such as singing and musical audition, gymnastic games, elementary construction exercises, gardening, breeding of domestic animals, and eradication of prejudices and popular superstitions. In the following level, drawing started to take on a different role: children were taught "disegno interdisciplinare." Finally, in the "grado superiore," drawing was applied to the labor market: "disegno applicato ai lavori" and "disegno per le arti meccaniche."

[129] Giuseppe Colombo, "Relazione sulla Condizione Attuale delle Scuole di Disegno e sul loro Ordinamento," in *Gli Istituti Tecnici in Italia* (Firenze: Barbera, 1869).

[130] Francesco De Sanctis, Speech at the House of Reprenstatives, Rome, 1 July 1864. The Secretary of Education began his speech by saying: "Che cos'è lo Stato? Lo Stato si chiama Università." On the role of public higher education in the process of nation-building in Italy after the unification, see Mauro Moretti and Ilaria Porciani, "Università e Stato nell'Italia Liberale," *Scienza & Politica*, No. 3 (1990).

[131] Giuseppe Tognon, *Croce e Gentile* (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana 2016). The reform of public education that goes under the name of "Riforma Gentile" took form during the twenty months (between October 1922 and July 1924) when the philosopher Giovanni Gentile served as Secretary of Education, in the first Mussolini administration. According

to Giuseppe Tognon, this reform unfolded at a time when the entire Western world was pervaded by the need to re-legitimize, through comprehensive popular reforms, the principle of statehood that World War I had called into question. In Italy, the "Riforma Gentile" was the first organic operation to restore the centrality of the State after the tormented post-war period. Gentile's call for "obedience to the State and its legitimate organs" (Giovanni Gentile, "La Disciplina nelle Scuole," Circolare Ministeriale alle Autorità Scolastiche, 22 November 1922) was not perceived as a threat at the time: most pedagogues and intellectuals, including Benedetto Croce, saw it as a necessary statement.

[132] Elena Bertonelli e Giaime Rodano, "Le Riforme nella Scuola Italiana dal 1859 al 2003," INDIRE: Istituto Nazionale Documentazione Innovazione Ricerca Educazione, 2003. In 1939, as Italy was about to go to war, Secretary of Education Giuseppe Bottai proposed a reform of the "Riforma Gentile." This proposal was based on a populist and fascist vision of the relationship between school and society. Giuseppe Bottai wrote: "Il fine della presente riforma è quello di trasformare la scuola, che è stata finora possesso di una società borghese, in scuola del popolo fascista e dello Stato fascista: del popolo che possa frequentarla; dello Stato che possa servirsene per i suoi quadri e per i suoi fini." The outbreak of World War II prevented its full implementation. See also Rino Gentili, *Giuseppe Bottai e la Riforma Fascista della Scuola* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1979).

[133] Benito Mussolini, "Circolare ai Prefetti delle Città Sedi Universitarie," 6 December 1923. This document is referenced in Edoardo and Duilio Susmel, eds. *Opera Omnia di Benito Mussolini*, Vol. 20 (Florence: La Fenice, 1956).

[134] Collegio Arcivescovile Alessandro Volta: Storia, www.collegiovolta.it/il-collegio/la-storia.

[135] Lisa Finetti and Chiara Palombella, "La Facoltà di Architettura di Milano," in *L'Insegnamento dell'Architettura in Italia dal Dopoguerra alla Contestazione Studentesca*, Graduation Thesis, Politecnico di Milano, 2009. In the post-war period, the primary objective of the "Facoltà di Architettura" of the Politecnico di Milano was to produce architects that could tackle the very concrete challenges of the reconstruction. The result was a matter-of-fact pedagogical approach, centered on a rationalist design methodology. In the mid-1950s, some of the students started to question this approach. In 1954, a group of students in the studio "Composizione Architettonica" started to elaborate projects with columns, capitals and pinnacles, as a form of protest against the "rationalist paternalism" of the school. Aldo Rossi was one of them. This event came to be known as the revolt of the "giovani delle colonne," because their drawings were full of eclectic columns. Giancarlo De Carlo wrote a piece on this protest in *Casabella*: "La rivolta dei giovani delle colonne rappresenta un rifiuto della condizione di

conformismo e di piccola astuzia che corrompe l'ambiente della Scuola. Questi giovani che si agitano e che dicono di no sono certo migliori di una gran parte dei loro compagni che si adagiano nelle piume dello stile moderno." See Giancarlo De Carlo Giancarlo, "Problemi Concreti per i Giovani delle Colonne," *Casabella*, No. 204 (1954).

[136] Elco Switzerland: History, http://elcoswitzerland.ch/en/subnavigation/geschichte.

[137] The practice of copying in Italian drawing education was addressed in the exhibition *500 Hundred Years of Italian Master Drawings*, held at the Princeton University Art Museum, in 2014. This study goes back to the Renaissance: "Through the mid-fifteenth century, aspiring artists were instructed to make copies after drawings in a model-book, a compendium of motifs (human figures, flora and fauna) passed from one generation to another, ready to be inserted into paintings or illuminated manuscripts. With the shift away from this medieval tradition—and toward a greater emphasis on individual artistic expression—copying from a wide variety of easily available sources, such as prints and plaster casts, became a way of honing and perfecting one's draftsmanship beyond the confines of the workshop or teaching academy. These settings provided the principal context for the study of anatomy and the figure in motion, with apprentices and students often posing as models for life-drawing sessions." See the catalogue of the exhibition: Laura Giles, ed. *Italian Master Drawings from the Princeton University Art Museum* (Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum, 2014). The pedagogical role of the copy is also addressed by George Kubler in *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962). He writes: "The idea of copying is in disfavor as an educational process and as an artistic practice, yet we welcome every mechanical production of the industrial age." On the tension between craft education and art education, he notes: "A great difference separates traditional craft education from the work of artistic invention. The former requires only repetitious actions, but the latter depends upon departures from all routine. Craft education is the activity of groups of learners performing identical actions, but artistic invention requires the solitary efforts of solitary persons."

[138] Molly Nesbit, "The Language of Industry," in *The Definitely Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Thierry De Duve (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991). Molly Nesbit's argument could be boiled down to this quote: "Duchamp had been taught his lines." This essay focuses on the programs for drawing instruction elaborated in the French public education system at the end of the nineteenth century, when Marcel Duchamp went to school: "Drawing proved to be controversial: line and body were pitted against each other. […] Each had a clear set of references and recommendations. The body was understood to be nothing less than the body as it had been rendered by the old masters of high culture, the classical sculptors and the

men of the Italian Renaissance. Line was geometric line, which carried with it a wholly different tradition – the functional, technical culture of machine production. The debate was long. Suffice it to say that geometric line won out. It was taught as part of a visual language, what was called at the time the language (*langue*) of industry."

[139] Benjamin Buchloh, "Hesse's Endgame: Facing the Diagram," in *Eva Hesse Drawing*, ed. Catherine De Zegher (New York: The Drawing Center, 2006). Benjamin Buchloh associates the Duchampian "anti-drawing" with the shift from a concept of drawing as the representation of the natural world to a concept of drawing as the definition of technical and functional structures. This conceptual transition is then traced throughout the twentieth century: "Duchamp's decision to suspend drawing between the technical diagram, the scientific schema and the graph of libidinal flows inspired a suite of followers, from Picabia to Warhol. All insisted that drawing from now on could only define itself as a self-effacing mimesis of mechanical, technical and commercial design. Not only did it seem as though subjectivity had been evacuated from drawing altogether, denying abstraction's promise to articulate a newly emerging subjecthood with the means of non-representational art, these suicidal and tautological diagrams of techno-scientific rationality also appeared to negate even the desirability of a self captured in drawing."

[140] Molly Nesbit, "The Language of Industry," in *The Definitely Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Thierry De Duve (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991). Molly Nesbit notes: "The public culture of the Third Republic was based on mechanical drawing, *sans* color, *sans* nature, *sans* body, *sans* the classics, some would have said *sans* everything. […] By and large this was a language meant for work, not for leisure and certainly not for raptures or poetic, high cultural sights. This language was preaesthetic." This type of drawing instruction was meant to inculcate what Molly Nesbit called "precision seeing:" children were expected to see the world as a linear entity. A significant portion of these drawing programs was created by Eugène Guillaume, who directed the École des Beaux-Arts from 1864 to 1878. Eugène Guillaume associated drawing with a complex apparatus of law and reason: "Drawing by its very nature is exact, scientific, authoritative." See Léon Charvet et Jules-Jean Pillet, *Enseignement Primaire du Dessin* (Paris: Delagrave, 1883). On the role of color in this language of industry, see Thierry De Duve, *Nominalisme Pictuale: Marcel Duchamp, la Peinture et la Modernité* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1984).

[141] James Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). This book examines a series of programs that various States imposed on their citizens in order to make society increasingly legible and, therefore, controllable. James

Scott focuses in particular on grand utopian schemes that did not work, such as Le Corbusier's urban planning theory realized in Brasilia.

[142] Molly Nesbit, "The Language of Industry," in *The Definitely Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Thierry De Duve (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991). Molly Nesbit examines a series of notebooks compiled by French students at the turn of the century and observes that the language of industry was never abstracted altogether from particular experience. Students were always asked to draw every-day objects, such as stools and vases. The idea was that students had to learn to see lines in the objects that surrounded them."

[143] Molly Nesbit, "The Language of Industry," in *The Definitely Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, ed. Thierry De Duve (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991). For Molly Nesbit, the program of drawing instruction developed at the turn of the century was the foundation on which the modern avant-gardes were built: "Geometric abstraction, the form fundamental to our definition of twentieth-century modernism, carried within itself the basic, industrial and masculine view of culture of the republican school." Therefore, she argues, "Those artists pointing to the virtues of abstract line had hardly discovered it: it may be more accurate to say that they could hardly avoid it." From her perspective, Marcel Duchamp did not refer to the language of industry self-consciously: "He simply used it logically enough when he decided it would be important to try to make a work that was not a work of art. […] It gave him a significant form to express the separation of his work from traditional painting, the separation that produced his precision paintings."

[144] Sylvia Lavin, conversation during the author's PhD Qualifying Exam, University of California Los Angeles, 6 June 2016.

[145] Part of this documentation is now held in the archive of the MAXXI, in Rome. The exhibition took place in the Galleria Civica di Modena, in the Summer of 1983. A number of drawings were produced *ex-novo* by Aldo Rossi's office, mostly replicating images of the cemetery that had been previously sketched in the *quaderni azzurri* or in other media. This was one of many examples of post-production in Aldo Rossi's practice.

[146] In the Winter of 1987, the Milanese gallery *L'Archivolto* held a sale show of Aldo Rossi's drawings. A brochure of this event is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles. According to this document, the exhibition included "53 drawings of the 1987 notebook, colored and signed by Aldo Rossi." All the materials were on sale.

[147] Jordan Kauffman, "Drawing on Architecture: The Socioaesthetics of Architectural Drawings, 1970-1990," PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2015. This detail comes from an interview that Jordan Kauffman conducted with Pierre Apraxine in 2013.

[148] Aldo Rossi, *La Conica e Altre Caffettiere* (Crusinallo: Alessi, 1984).

[149] Aldo Rossi's collaboration with Alessi is examined in detail in the next chapter of this dissertation. One of the most significant case studies is Alessi's "Tea and Coffee Piazza," an experimental project developed in the early 1980s. Eleven architects were assigned the task of designing a tea and coffee service. After two exhibitions (in Milan and New York, at the Max Protetch Gallery), these sets were then produced in a run of only ninety-nine each, branded with the logo of "Officina Alessi" and the monogram of their architect. They were all made of silver. This project paved the way for the approach to design, production and marketing that Alessi put in place throughout the 1980s and 1990s. On Alessi and the "Tea and Coffee Piazza," see Alberto Alessi, *The Dream Factory: Alessi Since 1921* (New York: Rizzoli, 2016); Alessandro Mendini, ed. *Officina Alessi: Tea and Coffee Piazza* (New York: Shakespeare and Company, 1983); Shannon Starkey's "Collapse and Expand: Alessi's Tea and Coffee Piazza," ACSA International Conference Proceedings (2012); Catharine Rossi, "From Mari to Memphis: The Role of Prototypes in Italian Radical and Postmodern Design," in *Prototype: Design and Craft in the 21st Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

[150] Aldo Rossi's sold part of his personal archive to the Getty Research Institute in 1988. At the time, the GRI was directed by Kurt Forster, who knew Aldo Rossi very well. In 1990, he even wrote the *laudation* at Aldo Rossi's Pritzker Prize ceremony. The documentation acquired by the GRI included a vast amount of correspondence and business documents, various drafts and writings, teaching material and, most importantly, 32 *quaderni azzurri* (written between 1949 and 1986). I could not find out how much the GRI paid for this material. See Getty Research Institute: Aldo Rossi Papers, http://archives2.getty.edu:8082/xtf/view?docId=ead/880319/880319.xml.

[151] Francesco Dal Co, *Aldo Rossi: I Quaderni Azzurri* (Los Angeles and Milan: Getty Research Institute and Electa, 2000).

[152] This notebook is held in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal.

[153] Among the articles written for *Voce Comunista*, "Politica dell'Industrial Design" (2 June 1955) is the piece in which Aldo Rossi's youthful anti-Americanism is most evident. Notably, the article was accompanied by a comic strip, showing Italian Prime Minister Mario Scelba on his death bed and U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles forcing him to sign a will

that read: "I leave everything to Uncle Sam." In the 1950s, John Foster Dulles was one of the main advocates of an aggressive stance against Communism throughout the world. Aldo Rossi's militancy in the Italian Communist *milieu* continued throughout the 1960s. For example, it is worth noting that *L'Architettura della Città* was published by Marisilio Editore, which, as noted by Maristella Casciato, was one of the most radical, left-wing publishers in Europe at the time. Maristella Casciato, "Aldo Rossi: Early Writings and Architectural Reverie," Seminar at the University of California Los Angeles, 4 April 2016. One of the key figures in the editorial staff was Toni Negri, Marxist philosopher and leader of Communist groups such as *Potere Operaio* and *Autonomia Operaia*. Clearly, Aldo Rossi was not the only European architect with this type of background. In a recent interview, Pierre Apraxine made an interesting comment on this point: "Many of the architects I met, from Rossi to Price, were very much on the left politically, which is what I considered myself to be. I am using the term in its European connotations. I know that in America it makes people nervous. In Europe, it simply denotes a set of values in which the wellbeing of the many is a concern that has to be addressed by government." See Paola Antonelli, "Interview with Pierre Apraxine," in *The Changing of the Avant-Garde: Visionary Architectural Drawings from the Howard Gilman Collection*, ed. Terence Riley (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002).

[154] Kurt Andersen, "A Cult Hero Gets His Due: The Bold, Austere Architecture of Italy's Aldo Rossi Wins the Pritzker Prize," *Time*, 30 April 1990. While praising Aldo Rossi for winning the Pritzker Prize, this piece did not fail to mention his controversial political background: "Like Johnson, the first Pritzker winner, Rossi has had to live down scandalous enthusiasms. Johnson was a fascist sympathizer in the 1930s and Rossi, whose work is sometimes reminiscent of monumental Mussolini-era buildings, defends to this day the soviet architecture of the Stalinist period." According to Kurt Anderson, the iconic projects of the cemetery of Modena, the school of Fagnano and, most importantly, the Teatro del Mondo turned Aldo Rossi into one of the most sough-after architects in the corporate world. One year earlier, in 1989, Mary McLeod had touched on this issue in an essay on the de-politicization of architecture during the Reagan–Thatcher era: "The image of the architect shifted from social crusader and aesthetic puritan to trendsetter and media star." See Mary McLeod, "Architecture and Politics in the Reagan Era: From Postmodernism to Deconstructivism," *Assemblage*, No. 8 (1989).

[155] This change in approach can be traced throughout a number of notes written in the *quaderni azzurri* in the late 1970s and early 1980s. For example, during a visit to New York in 1977, Aldo Rossi wrote a note on the positive side of

consumerism: "In senso positivo, il consumo è anche una forma di interesse, di appropriazione. Certamente qui il consumo presuppone un tuo valore d'uso, ma questo ha una sua morale." See Aldo Rossi, *Quaderno Azzurro*, No. 21 (1976-77). In 1979, complaining about the control exerted by the major political parties (especially from the left) over many building endeavors in Italy, he noted: "Oggi non ha nessun valore una coscienza e una tendenza politica da parte nostra. La spartizione degli incarichi è disinteressata al volto dell'architetto." See Aldo Rossi, *Quaderno Azzurro*, No. 25 (1979). In 1980, discussing architecture's presence in the art market, he wrote: "Attorno a queste ricerche c'è una mondo del commercio dell'arte, della ripetizione e del manierismo, e non trovo in questo nulla di scandaloso." See Aldo Rossi, *Quaderno Azzurro*, No. 27 (1980).

[156] Mario Fazio, "L'Imputato Post-Moderno," *La Stampa*, 28 December 1984. This piece is emblematic of the skepticism towards postmodern architecture in the Italian public discourse. As early as 1984, Leonardo Benevolo describes postmodernism as an already outdated phenomenon. Bruno Zevi is quoted as saying that Aldo Rossi ("il post-moderno Italiano più celebrato all'estero") could design only cemeteries, barracks and prisons. According to Mario Fazio, the main problem of postmodernism was the blurring of the line between the work of art and the work of architecture: "Il rischio è il ritorno al pezzo di architettura come quadro d'autore." There is also a quote by Renzo Piano, who had recently completed the Beaubourg: he describes postmodernism as a childish architectural discourse. By the same token, when Aldo Rossi won the Pritzker Prize in 1990, most of the Italian press did not celebrate this accomplishment. For example, *La Repubblica* ran an article titled "Rossi Premiato, Rossi Contestato," highlighting the fact that, as Aldo Rossi was being presented with this international award, a protest had broken out in front of one of his Milanese projects—the Monument for Sandro Pertini—which the local residents did not like. See Giovanni Maria Pace, "Rossi Premiato, Rossi Contestato," *La Repubblica*, 22 April 1990. In a piece written immediately after Aldo Rossi's death, Drexler Turner touched on this discrepancy: "Rossi experienced a far more hospitable critical reception in America than at home." Drexel Turner, "Aldo Rossi Coming to America," *Cite* 40 (1997-1998).

[157] Noemi Lucarelli, "Dalla Barricata alla Caffettiera: Intervista ad Aldo Rossi," *Il Giornale*, 1986.

Chapter 4: Silver Mold

Introduction and Literature Review

The overarching problematic of this chapter is the interplay between architecture and "high design" (Guy Julier and others) in the 1980s.[1] The specific case study is Aldo Rossi's collaboration with Alessi. Much has been written about Italy's post-war design culture: recent contributions include Catharine Rossi's *Crafting Design in Italy: From Postwar to Postmodernism*, Grace Less-Maffei's *Made in Italy: Rethinking a Century of Italian Design*, and the first volume of *EP*, titled "The Italian Avant-Garde, 1968-1976."[2] A significant part of this literature focuses on the context of this phenomenon, exploring the cultural, economic or social influences that "shaped Italian design."[3] Others focus on the products of this culture, without really investigating its production processes. And there is also a line of research that engages with the impact of design on the way people lived, worked, interacted, etcetera. Furthermore, the topic of this chapter refers to a specific literature on the *liaison* between architecture and design. A multitude of architects stepped into the field of design during the post-war period, especially in Italy: while addressing a variety of themes, most of the writings on this interaction—from Penelope Dean to Pier Vittorio Aureli—seem to focus on what architecture "brought" to this industry.[4] The aim of this study, on the other hand, is to explore how the *modus operandi* of Alessi infiltrated and influenced the architectural productions of Aldo Rossi throughout the 1980s.

This contamination is traced through the trajectory of a building that, since its inception at the 1980 Biennale, has been reproduced (or *re-stated*) in a multitude of media, scales and contexts: the Theater of the World. When it first appeared in the Venice lagoon, the theater was commonly interpreted as

an *instant object* (Manfredo Tafuri) and discussed in terms of singularity (Daniel Libeskind) and even solitude (Paolo Portoghesi).[5] After almost forty years of reproductions—including the temporary reconstruction of the building in Genoa in 2004—this chapter addresses the Theater of the World from a different perspective, exploring the connection between this stream of copies and the modes of production, mediation and consumption associated with Alessi's "limited editions."[6] In this framework, the theater is interpreted as an architectural mold, capable of generating copies well beyond its architect's life span.

Alessi's approach to molding relates to a multitude of themes. This chapter engages with a heterogenous literature, ranging from the culture of prototyping (Alberto Cosin Jimenez and Adolfo Estalella) to the emergence of an aesthetic economy (Andreas Reckwitz), from the culture of the copy (Hillel Schwartz) to the question of branding (Peggy Deamer and Anna Klingman).[7] At the core of this study, however, is the theme of originality and replicability. Alessi's definition of "high design" revolved around an inherent contradiction between seriality and the cult of the one-off, between the logic of the factory and the only-special mode associated with the postmodern, between machines and manual labor, between the realm of tokens and, borrowing a term used by Peter Dormer, the realm of "heavenly goods."[8] A key voice in the *milieu* in which Alessi and Aldo Rossi operated was that of Umberto Eco, who associated postmodernism with a transfer of "iteration and repetition" from artisanal workshops and industrial factories to the "world of artistic creativity."[9] This chapter aknowledges a number of examples of this discourse, from Rosalind Krauss's study of the posthumous castings of Rodin's *The Gates of Hell* to Bruno Latour's reflections on the digital facsimile of Veronese's *Le Nozze di Cana*.[10]

As in the previous chapters, particular attention is devoted to the spaces in which these processes unfolded. In the case of Alessi, two terms play a key role: *fabbrica* and *officina*. The architectural literature

offers many references on the first term, including Sigfried Giedion's study of mechanization, Reyner Banham's research on the connection between European modernism and American industrial architecture, and David Nye's work on the concept of technological sublime.[11] But, in this context, particularly relevant is the use of the term "factory" in the artistic avant-gardes of the post-war period. In fact, Alessi's transition from the concept of "fabbrica estetica" to the creation of a brand called "officina" suggests a renewed fascination with the romance (Caroline Jones) of pre-industrial manufacturing – the opposite of what Andy Warhol did in the 1960s.[12] Furthermore, the problem of defining Alessi's space of production went hand in hand with another phenomenon: the rise of industrial tourism and the establishment of a company museum within the factory. Blurring the line between an archive (Giorgetta Bonfiglio-Dosio) and an ethnographic display (Kate Sturge), Alessi's museum opens a window into multiple aspects of collecting.[13] Looking at it through the lens of Jean Baudrillard's theory, Alessi was essentially in the business of making collectable items: its audience did not consist of clients, but rather collectors.[14] On the other hand, the museum reflected Alessi's interest in collecting its own objects, becoming the curator of its own culture. The rise of corporate museums in the design industry—a phenomenon that has become very common in Italy—has been addressed in a number of studies: particularly interesting is the literature on Museimpresa, the Italian Association of Company Archives and Museums (Valentina Martino, Fiorella Bulegato, Monica Amari).[15]

In the final part of this chapter, Alessi's influence on Aldo Rossi's work is examined from a broader, geo-political perspective. As noted by Grace Lees-Maffei, Alessi (as well as other similar brands) walked a fine a line between "Italianness" and "internationalism."[16] The slogan "made in Italy" is emblematic of the tension between the effort to underline the national identity of the product and the ambition to sell that product in a global market.[17] In a recent volume on architecture and globalization, Sang Lee and Ruth Baumeister presented this issue in terms of a dichotomy between "the domestic"

and "the foreign."[18] Because of its name, its mobile nature and its history of reproductions, the Theater of the World engages with similar problematics. Focusing on the designation "*del mondo*" (rather than the term "*teatro*"), this chapter resituates Aldo Rossi's project in a larger discourse on globalization (Anthony Giddens, Roland Robertson, David Held, Ulrich Beck) and explores the discrepancies between the concept of "*locus solus*" and the plurality of geographies in which this architecture came to be molded.[19]

The Aesthetic Factory

In 1989, at the apex of the success of his brand, Alberto Alessi summoned a few of his most relevant collaborators to his factory in Crusinallo, a small town in Piedmont, for a photoshoot. The group put together by the "godfather of Italian design" included Alessandro Mendini, Achille Castiglioni, Enzo Mari and Aldo Rossi.[20] By that time, the architect of the Theater of the World had been working with Alessi for almost a decade. The collaboration started in the early 1980s and marked not only Aldo Rossi's definitive step into the world of industrial design, but also his first long-term *liaison* with an Italian private client after the post-war reconstruction, a period dominated by public projects.[21]

The widely circulated image that came out of this photoshoot, produced by architectural photographer Gianni Berengo Gardin, provides a considerable amount of information about Alessi, his designers and the ideology behind their endeavors. Looking at it with today's eyes, the first aspect that stands out is the fact that all subjects were middle-aged white males. The peculiar setting in which these men were photographed is also noteworthy. It's important to point out that Alberto Alessi was not casual about the language he used to describe his company's *locus* of production. In the early 1970s, he grouped a series of manufacturers under the banner "Italian Design Factories," imagining Alessi as their crown jewel.[22] But the term factory (*fabbrica* in Italian) was approached in a very particular way.

He wrote: "By Italian Design Factories I mean a group of long-established companies that developed mostly after the Second World War. These companies are small- to medium-sized and concentrated almost exclusively in antique furniture, lamps and small decorative objects. They are mostly located, with a few exceptions, within sixty miles of Milan. Even today, their goods seem to be characterized by fine craftsmanship, though often produced with the aid of machinery. By this I mean that even if the technology and tools they use are contemporary and industrial, the essence of their practice, a valuable one that is worthy of preservation, has remained craft-based."[23]

Evidently, in the post-war period, this was not the only case in which the term factory had been associated with production processes that challenged, deviated from, or played with the logic of industry. The point of reference was Andy Warhol's space in New York, which certainly had a significant impact on Alberto Alessi's thought.[24] And this analogy takes on a particularly interesting meaning on the count that, as noted by Grace Lees-Maffei, Alessi's expansion occurred while Italy was negotiating the Americanization of its production and consumption.[25] In this framework, the companies that identified as "Italian Design Factories" saw themselves essentially as *mediators* in the field of industrial production. This concept comes to the fore in the intricate diagrams drawn by Alessandro Mendini, the chief ideologist behind Alessi. The structure of his diagrams, which he called "conceptual maps" of the company, communicate the notion of absorbing all kinds of inputs from the outside world and, through the mediation of the factory, turning them into a "sea of objects" for the world to consume.

Alberto Alessi explicitly talked about his role as analogous to that of a museum curator, an orchestra conductor or a film maker.[26] And the way in which Gardin's photograph is staged seems to reflect that vision. While the four architects are standing in the front, grouped around a large work station, the owner takes a backseat, lounging on a piece of furniture in a Rodinesque pose. If this was a

theatrical stage or a movie set, the designers would be the actors, and Alberto Alessi would be the director. In this curated representation, he is portrayed as the "mind" between the mechanical work of the factory (in the background) and the manual work of his designers (in the foreground).

While the machine room in the back opens a window into the world of industrial production, the scene in the front tells a very different story. Here the emphasis is on the *one-off*, the prototype, the singular object made by an individual designer. The architects are all touching the worktop—the flatbed of production—and Achille Castiglioni is even pretending to pull the level of a tool. And to reinforce the illusion that the designers were actually hand-making their signature objects in this stage of production, they were also given a costume, as in any proper theatrical scene. Actually, it was more like a uniform, since they were all wearing the exact same outfit, known in Italian as *Tuta* – the typical jumpsuit used by blue-collar workers.[27] To increase the sense of ambiguity that surrounded the relation between the owner and the designers, Alberto Alessi was wearing that outfit too. In a very literal sense, blue collars were put on top of white collars.

This tension had to do with Alessi's particular view of the factory – a view that was very much rooted in an artisanal world. Alessandro Mendini used to describe it as an "aesthetic factory," which he intended as "a space for high design, unfettered by the laws of mass production." The term alluded to both the desire of producing a specific aesthetic microcosm through the sea of Alessi's objects, and the interest in the aesthetic experience of the factory building. But it also spoke to a broader phenomenon, which Andreas Reckwitz has recently described as the rise of an aesthetic economy.[28] In Alessi's case, this process was defined by a struggle to come to terms with an industrial *modus operandi* that was never fully accepted by large sections of Italian culture and, after the post-war reconstruction, had started to be challenged worldwide by the multi-faceted process of post-industrialization.[29]

From this point of view, particularly important is the decision to create the trademark "Officina Alessi" in the early 1980s, a specific section of the Alessi brand devoted to the most experimental (and expensive) objects, usually in the form of limited editions.[30] Interestingly, most of the products displayed in Gardin's photograph came out of this particular collection. The term *officina* is usually translated as workshop or laboratory.[31] But it also has an affinity with the word office, with its socio-economic implications. Overall, it could be defined as the office of an artisan, a manual laborer who operates in a non-industrial context. From this perspective, it represents a direct alternative to the logic of industrial production, contradicting the narrative about the "Italian Design Factories."

Notably, this was not an isolated application of the term *officina*. In the same years, it started to appear in multiple *milieus* within the Italian public discourse. In the field of architecture, it's important to mention the publishing house "Officina Edizioni," founded in the 1960s, which engaged with many of the key figures of this period, from Manfredo Tafuri to Paolo Portoghesi. And Aldo Rossi was also involved in some of its editorial projects throughout the 1970s. Interestingly, the name was taken from another important initiative, the literary and cultural review "Officina," created by Pier Paolo Pasolini in the 1950s.[32] In all of these cases, the term *officina* referred to a specific mode of production. Having spent some time at "Officina Edizioni" working with Manfredo Tafuri, Maristella Casciato still recalls the intense manual labor that went into making those books.[33]

Why was the rhetoric of manual labor so important to a company like Alessi? Among other studies on this topic, Peter Dormer has addressed the manual production of "high design" from the perspective of the manufacturer's time, arguing that "the power to have the exclusive rights of another person's labor is appealing because the possession of someone else's time is an absolute; all the other aspects of an object can be copied and mass produced and, horror of horrors, popularized."[34] From this point of view, the value of an object is associated with the time that a laborer has to give up in

order to make it. Owning the object means owning that person's time, which is perceived as infinitely more valuable than a machine's time. And, within this distinction, the hours of different subjects have different values: in the case of Alessi, architects were certainly at the top of the list.

In Gardin's picture, however, it's easy to see that the representation of the four architects/designers as manual laborers was a *mise-en-scène*. Another (less choreographed) photograph taken during that same day is particularly revealing. In this second picture, only Alberto Alessi and Aldo Rossi seem to be aware of the photographer. The others stand in the background and, despite their blue jumpsuits, look like visitors or members of a guided tour of the *fabbrica*: they don't appear as experts in their habitat, but rather as novices trying to figure out how things work in an unfamiliar environment.[35] Aldo Rossi was especially known for having no interest in the manufacturing process. According to Alberto Alessi, in response to the complaints of the engineers and the directors of production, who had only a few of his sketches to work with, Aldo Rossi used to repeat: "You know how to make a coffee maker much better than I do."[36]

The first photograph, on the other hand, was meant to produce the opposite imagery. Particularly important was the workstation, which was used as a key theatrical device. Because of its shape and, more importantly, its diagonal angle, the workstation operated as a bridge between the designers and the lens of the camera, meaning the viewers and, therefore, the consumers. Hence, the image generated the illusion that, on this continuous horizontal plane, Alessi's products could go directly from the hands of their makers to the homes of their users. In other words, this plane represented an idealized version of the production process. Or, more specifically, it represented the process that Alessi wanted his customers to dream about. After all, it's easy to see that the value of a kettle is inevitably going to be increased by the perception that someone like Achille Castiglioni or Alessandro Mendini literally had a hand in manufacturing it.

Molding

That being said, there is one object on this bridge of production and sale that seems to be out of place. It's the closest object to the camera, right in front of Aldo Rossi's *La Conica* coffee maker. It appears to be made of two brick-like elements, with a number of elongated knobs. Given the context, one could easily mistake it for a designer object, a sculpture or some other kind of product for sale. But it's actually a mold. While it's hardly noticeable in the picture, the mold is important because it speaks to a specific way of addressing one of the fundamental issues in the work of Alessi and his designers, especially Aldo Rossi: the issue of reproduction. In fact, molding shines a particular light on the tension between the original and the copy – between seriality and the only-special-mode that is generally associated with this cultural *milieu* and, more broadly, with the postmodern.

How does this technology relate to the process described by Bruno Latour as "the migration of the aura" from the original to the facsimile?[37] How does it relate to the notion that a facsimile may actually add new layers of originality to the original? If molding, by its very nature, belongs to a culture of the copy, it can also reflect changing approaches towards the concept of originality.[38] In this context, particularly interesting is the position of Umberto Eco, whose work had a profound influence on the cultural *milieu* in which Alessi operated. In his writings from the 1980s, such as "Innovation and Repetition: Between Modern and Postmodern Aesthetics," Eco pointed to a particular form of molding: "The repetitiveness and the seriality that interests us here look at something that at first glance does not appear the same as (equal to) something else. Let us see the case in which (1) something is offered as original and different (according to the requirements of modern aesthetics); (2) we are aware that this something is repeating something else that we already know; and (3) notwithstanding this—better, just because of it—we like it (and we buy it)."[39]

In the same year, Rosalind Krauss published *The Originality of the Avant-garde and Other Modernist Myths*. Fittingly, one of her primary case studies was the casting of Rodin's *The Gates of Hell*, produced in the late 1970s: "Rodin has been dead since 1918, and surely a work of his produced more than sixty years after his death cannot be the genuine article, cannot, that is, be an original. The answer to this is more interesting than one would think; for the answer is neither yes nor no. When Rodin died he left the French nation his entire estate, which consisted not only of all the work in his possession, but also all of the rights of its reproduction, that is, the right to make bronze editions from the estate's plasters. The Chambre des Deputes, in accepting this gift, decided to limit the posthumous editions to twelve casts of any given plaster. Thus, *The Gates of Hell*, cast in 1978 by perfect right of the State, is a legitimate work: a real original we might say. But once we leave the lawyer's office and the terms of Rodin's will, we fall immediately into a quagmire. In what sense is the new cast an original?"[40]

In the collaboration between Alessi and Aldo Rossi, the logic of the mold operated on multiple levels. Looking at the archival material that documents this interaction, among a multitude of (more or less) famous drawings of coffee makers, there is an unusual object that, just like the mold in Gardin's photograph, is very easy to miss. It's a curved piece of thick cardboard, with a handwritten label that reads: "Curvatura Caffettiere." The shape of the curvature had been drawn with a sharpie on a sheet of paper, which was then pasted onto the cardboard and cut manually with scissors. The label was not written directly on the paper, but on a piece of yellow adhesive tape. Comparing it with other texts, it's safe to assume that it's Aldo Rossi's handwriting.

This object shows that molding was already operating as a key device in the drawing stage of the process. In fact, in a pre-CAD world, this piece of cardboard allowed Aldo Rossi's office to produce multiple drawings of coffee makers, making sure the curvature was always the same. In spite of its rudimentary appearance, it was an important technology, as it responded efficiently to the necessity

of reproducing a single shape over and over. In order to draw one of the objects for Alessi, anyone in Aldo Rossi's team could simply grab the corresponding carboard mold, place it on a sheet of paper, and trace its outline with a pencil.

What is the difference between this object and other, more common drawing tools, such as a ruler or a French curve? One could argue that they all have a mold-to-cast relationship with the drawing: if the tool constitutes the mold, the drawing is its counterpart, the cast.[41] But, on the other hand, Aldo Rossi's piece of cardboard is different because it does not have a generic character: only one specific object can be drawn with it. And this specificity accounts for a few other points of divergence, including the fact that, unlike most regular drawing tools, it does not deal with measurements. And the fact that it had to be made in-house, by hand. Evidently, stationary shops sell many types of French curves, but they don't have Alessi curves.

On the other side of the production process, the molding tools used in the Alessi factory seemed to be aligned with this *modus operandi*. Even though they were made of more durable materials, they had the same shape and scale, operating in the same way as the cardboard mold. In other words, an analogous logic was applied to the drawing and the fabrication of Alessi's products. The way in which the "Curvatura Caffettiere" is designed further suggests a direct relationship between the tools that Aldo Rossi's people employed to draw coffee makers and the tools that Alessi's people employed to fabricate coffee makers.

The most revealing detail is the marking of the angle at the edge of the cardboard element. In fact, one of the main rules of mold making is to avoid acute angles, also known as undercuts or *sottosquadri* in Italian, which would essentially make the cast indivisible from the mold. Besides, when designing a mold, it's important to taper its sides by an appropriate angle known as "draft angle" (usually 1 or 2 degrees), which facilitates the extraction of the product. The fact that the draft angle is actually drawn

on the cardboard, indicating that the corner is slightly bigger than ninety degrees, shows the extent to which the molding process informed the design of the object.[42] And, conversely, each project had to have these specifications because the molds used in the factory, the ones made of steel or cast iron, were developed on the basis of the drawings submitted by the designers. From this point of view, the production process hinged on a constant back and forth between drawings made with molds and molds made with drawings.

Not all of Alessi's molds worked in the same way. The most commonly known process is called casting – the process in which a liquid material is poured into a mold that contains a hollow cavity of the desired shape and is then allowed to solidify. An example is the renowned *Juicy Salif* lemon squeezer designed by Philippe Starck in 1990.[43] Even though Alessi's advertisement campaign presented it as an object sculpted from a single block of marble, just like Michelangelo's David, the lemon squeezer was actually made of aluminum casting, using a three-part mold that could be disassembled to release the finished product.

However, the objects made with this system were few and far between, as most utensils, especially those in Alessi's catalogue, were manufactured with another molding process, known as stamping or pressing. In this case, the mold is made of two components, commonly referred to as "male" and "female," arranged in a machine called stamping press. The upper half of the mold, which may be either male or female, is mounted on the press ram and delivers the stroke action. The lower half is attached to an intermediate bolster plate, which in turn is secured to the press bed. The process is usually carried out on flat sheet metal – a material amenable to be deformed by the mold into a net shape.[44]

In spite of the awkward sexual metaphor, it's interesting to note that the *modus operandi* of this technology, and therefore the terms used to describe it, seem to respond to the logic and the language

of paper. This analogy is particularly evident in the case at hand because the Italian word for mold is *stampo*. In this context, the same term indicates both the process of molding and the process of printing. From a broader perspective, this is not a coincidence, considering that the history of printing has constantly been intertwined with the history of molding.[45] In fact, looking at the production line in Alessi's facility, the molding machines can be easily read as copy machines. Evidently, they operate with sheets of aluminum or copper, rather than sheets of paper. And they are designed to break the planarity of the medium. But they respond to a similar logic.

From this point of view, particularly important is the relation between the mold and the press that activates it. On the one hand, the press speaks the language of seriality and non-specificity – the language of the factory. This can be observed in Alessi's machine room, where an army of hydraulic presses (made by a company called Galdabini, based near Gallarate) is neatly lined up on the shop floor, conveying the typical image of repetition that defines most industrial environments.[46] On the other hand, the molds contained by these machines respond to a different logic – the logic of the one-off, the *unicum* and, therefore, the *officina*. In fact, even though they are used to produce multiple facsimiles of a given product, they often constitute one-of-a-kind pieces. Notably, the molds are not shaped like the product itself, but rather its negative. And, furthermore, the desired shape is obtained through a deconstruction of the object, which is understood as the chasm between its two counterparts (male and female).

The Cult of Prototyping

In a letter addressed to Aldo Rossi in 1983, Alberto Alessi pointed to another fundamental device in this process: "We have finally prepared the first prototype of your tea and coffee service, made of silver 925/1000. In my view, it's beautiful and very interesting, and I believe it constitutes a sort of

compendium of your architectural expression, with a high degree of quality."[47] This is one of the many instances in which prototypes are discussed in these glowing terms. In the same correspondence, there are references to the "great happiness derived from viewing the prototypes" or even the anxiety over possible "leaks" of their images. In conjunction with molds, casts and presses, the prototype constitutes a key term of the equation set up by Alessi to address the question of reproduction.

And this emphasis on the prototype did not come out of the blue. Michael Guggenheim has recently studied how the process of postmodernization brought about a reconsideration of prototyping, which started to move to the forefront of the public discourse in many fields.[48] In architecture, the term had historically been associated with the concept of *the first* or *the original*. Its roots are in the eighteenth century and intersect, on the one hand, the research on building types initiated by thinkers like Quatremère de Quincy or Durand and, on the other hand, the debate on the origins of architecture, fueled by the narrative of the primitive hut. One could trace the genealogy of these ideas up to the edge of the modern movement, considering for example Pevsner's *A History of Building Types* and Rykwert's *On Adam's House in Paradise*, both published in the 1970s. By that time, the research on typology had already started to move in a different direction, as evidenced by the work of Aldo Rossi himself. And, more broadly, the conditions were in place for the emergence of what Alberto Corsin Jimenez and Adolfo Estalella have called "a new culture of prototyping."[49]

In *Prototyping Cultures*, the two Spanish scholars have pointed to a new understanding of prototyping, no longer related to the development of first forms or original objects, but to a broader mode of producing culture – a "test mode" that relied on experimentation, do-it-yourself science, beta-knowledge, bricolage, interdisciplinarity and user involvement, among other ideas. According to their analysis, the *milieus* in which this culture took off were mostly para-laboratory contexts: media-labs, workshops, garages, art collectives. And, with the advent of computer technologies, digital space

gradually took over this culture.[50] Alain Pottage wrote: "Prototyping is what happens when the distinction between means and ends folds into itself, so that what is means and what is end becomes an effect of interest or strategy."[51]

So, how did Alessi and its designers relate to this emerging culture? One of the most significant projects of this period was certainly the "Tea and Coffee Piazza" – a highly publicized project that allowed Alessi to collaborate with the *crème de la crème* of architecture in the 1980s.[52] The idea was to assign eleven "pure architects"—an expression coined by Alessandro Mendini—the task of designing the same object – a classic tea and coffee service.[53] In addition to Aldo Rossi, the group included a number of international figures associated in different ways with the postmodern, such as Robert Venturi, Michael Graves, Charles Jencks, Kazumasa Yamashita and Hans Hollein. In this framework, the expression "pure architect" may be assimilated to the notion of "black-cape architect," which was quite common in the American corporate world at the time: in the same period, Disney's executives used this term to describe Aldo Rossi and many of the other architects they hired, who, incidentally, often coincided with the architects hired by Alessi.[54] Both of these expressions were meant to evoke the mythical image of the solitary genius, operating in a quasi-transcendent realm.

In 1983, after a four-year process, the "Tea and Coffee Piazza" was presented to the public in the form of an eponymous book (with graphic design by Bruno Munari) and a series of exhibitions.[55] Particularly important were the exhibitions held in the Milanese church of San Carpoforo, curated by Hans Hollein, and the Max Protetch Gallery in New York, which ran simultaneously. Notably, the eleven tea and coffee services were conceived and presented as prototypes. They were produced in a run of only ninety-nine each, branded with the logo of "Officina Alessi" and the monogram of their architect. Furthermore, they were marketed as handcrafted objects and, even more interestingly, they were all made out of silver.[56] Considering that none of these services actually became part of Alessi's

regular production line (even though they influenced several successive products), the "Tea and Coffee Piazza" was essentially a research on prototyping as an end in itself. In this context, the prototype was not understood as the first step in a process of development, but rather as the apex of that process – an object that, more than any other, could arouse interest, desire and awe. As noted by Catherine Rossi, the distinction between prototype and product was under attack.[57]

Evidently, if prototyping had been viewed by Alessi as a moment of testing and bricolaging, then it would have made very little sense to exhibit these sets all over the world, and even less sense to make them out of silver. The materiality of these tea and coffee services was particularly important. In fact, the choice of silver was emblematic of the value assigned to these objects and, to some extent, spoke to a certain idolization of the prototype. Hans Hollein's exhibition at San Carpoforo certainly magnified this impression, on the count that the tea and coffee services were displayed in a set modelled after the chapels of the church. Framed by its little chapel, each silver prototype was offered to the public as an icon, and object of worship. In Aldo Rossi's project, the tray was even turned into a little "tabernacle," a portable sanctuary in which the prototypes looked like sacred relics. In this theatrical setting, saturated with religious or spiritual associations, the show seemed more eager to engage with the cult of prototyping, rather than the culture of prototyping.[58]

The logical consequence of this approach—the commodification of the prototype—was staged in a simultaneous show hosted by Max Protetch, in New York. This venue was significant because, as illustrated in the previous chapter of this dissertation, Max Protetch had been one of the first to bring architecture into the art market in the 1970s.[59] And, in doing so, he had helped create an American market for a number of European architects, including Aldo Rossi. While the gallery dealt primarily with drawings, the Alessi show—which Max Protetch significantly called "Architecture in Silver"—highlights a process of commodification that went beyond what is known as paper architecture.

Navigating this highly curated confusion between architecture, art and design, the exhibition framed the tea and coffee services as prototypes of valueness (the state of having value), regardless of their characteristics. Their value had to do with the monogram of the designers, the Alessi brand, the fact that they were hand-made in Italy, the limited number of pieces and, if that wasn't enough, the fact that they were all made out of silver.

The Hundredth Collector

This experience also shines a light on the publics of prototyping. The "Tea and Coffee Piazza" was exhibited in a church in Milan and a gallery in New York. And while the project was still in the works, several cultural institutions approached Alessi to manifest their interest, including the Museum of Modern Art. But, looking at Alberto Alessi's notes on this project, it's clear that his idea of prototyping related to a very specific audience. The catchphrase was: "The hundredth collector will be told: sorry, no more."[60] Along with many other references to the act of collecting, this note spoke to a production process that was not geared towards a customer (the logic of the store) or a spectator (the logic of the musuem), but rather a figure that, while occupying a somewhat intermediate position, had a unique approach to the product: the collector. From this point of view, the "Tea and Coffee Piazza" involved an effort to prototype a specific kind of audience. The distinction was subtle but clear: if a coffee maker is something to buy and maybe utilize, the prototype of a coffee maker is something to collect. And therefore, borrowing Jean Baudrillard's expression, it ceases to be a coffee maker and becomes a *piece*.[61]

In light of the convergence between prototyping and collecting (in the framework of a global art market), it's also important to examine the fabrication of these limited editions. In fact, the process behind the "Tea and Coffee Piazza" makes it even harder to look at these prototypes as either first

forms or testing devices. Before the ninety-nine silver pieces were manufactured, each architect had the opportunity to develop three so-called *prove d'autore* – a sequence of trial proofs intended to progressively define and refine each project, under the supervision of Alessi's technicians. Given their experimental and transitory character, they were not made of silver, but rather copper or brass and, instead of the monogram of their designer, they were marked with the letters P. A. (*prova d'autore*).

The concept of *prova*, with its multiple variations—trial proof, artist's proof, *bon à tirer* proof, etcetera—has a long history, which interestingly relates to the world of printmaking and the blossoming of collectionism in the eighteenth century. In this context, the term proof generally referred to the practice of issuing small editions of prints for special collectors, often before the lettering or the inscription below the image was added.[62] Notably, in the Italian acceptation of the term, proofing was strongly associated with the notion of authorship: it's not simply a proof, it's an author's proof.

Looking at it through the lens of the cultural *milieu* in which Alessi operated, the *prova d'autore* represents an inherent contradiction. On the one hand, the emphasis on authorship is in direct contraposition with the countercultural movements embraced by Alessi in the 1970s, and the attempts to debunk the "myth" of the author.[63] Alberto Corsin Jimenez and Adolfo Estalella interpreted the culture of prototyping as a consequence of this transformation. But, on the other hand, in this framework, the author was also associated with testing and experimenting, which presuppose the possibility of incompleteness and even failure. In the case of the "Tea and Coffee Piazza," the *prove d'autore* actually document how the design process unfolded. They belong to the sphere of working, unlike the ninety-nine silver prototypes, which respond to the static notion of *the work*.[64]

In 1998, the factory building in Crusinallo was reorganized to include a new space: the Alessi Museum. The declared goal was, first and foremost, to house Alessi's "vast and fascinating body of prototypes."[65] Now, this was by no means a unique case. For example, by that time, the Vitra Museum

in Weil am Rhein had already been open for almost ten years. And, more broadly, one could relate this experience to the long history of industrial tourism, which goes back to the nineteenth century, as well as to the redefinition of the episteme of the museum, prompted by the process of postmodernization and the parallel debate on cultural heritage.[66]

This decision was presented as a response to a phenomenon that Alberto Alessi described as "spontaneous and curious:" the fact that, way before the opening of the museum, Crusinallo had become a tourist attraction, with large numbers of enthusiasts asking to access the facilities and see how their favorite Alessi products were made. Evidently, the spontaneity was inversely proportional to the marketing campaigns and the overall aura carefully created around the Alessi brand. After all, when you present your products in the form of holy relics, enshrined in little tabernacles, it's only normal that pilgrims will come knocking at your door. As noted by Alessandro Mendini, who was in charge of this transformation, all of Alessi had already started to assume the identity of a museum.[67]

But the Alessi Museum also leads back to the issue of collectionism, and its interactions with the cultures of molding and prototyping. While many of the objects marketed as prototypes, such as those of the "Tea and Coffee Piazza," were purchased by various collectors around the world, the museum in Crusinallo also spoke to a different trend: Alessi's interest in keeping and collecting its own objects. In fact, the space designed by Alessandro Mendini is not about exhibiting or displaying Alessi's products. It's a rather small environment, filled with almost 25.000 pieces, stored in transparent, high-density mobile shelving units. In order to actually see the content of one of these display cabinets, one has to rotate a handle placed on its exterior accessible face, thus opening a passage in the solid body of the collection.

Understandably, the term "archive" has often been associated with this environment, even in Alessi's own narrative.[68] But this space also relates to another (rather obsolete) mode of collecting, still visible

in old ethnographic museums and similar institutions, which revolves around the organization of a high volume of artifacts according to a typological classification.[69] While most of these collections have recently been rethought and restructured, considering also the complicated link between ethnography and colonialism, there are a few survivors. For example, when the Etruscan Museum of Rome was set up at the end of the nineteenth century, it seemed perfectly normal to take all the vases of similar size and shape and store them by the dozens in the same display cabinet. And then repeat the same operation with all the urns, all the statuettes, all the utensils and so forth, regardless of their geography and chronology.

In spite of all the obvious differences, a visitor of the Alessi Museum can easily notice that all the kettles are stacked up in a cabinet, all the lemon-squeezers in another one, and so on. And no one object seems to be unique. The governing principle of this collection is that of multiplication: everything has multiple duplicates. A psychologist may look at this pattern of collecting as a form of compulsion or obsession. But it could also be related to the most elemental modes of collecting, as performed for example by children, involving an accumulation of analogous objects—some type of toy—which inevitably get stored in a box.[70] For example, there isn't one representative specimen of Aldo Rossi's *La Cupola* coffee maker, but at least twenty pieces – some identical and some with variations of color or material. And the shelves above and below are occupied by other sets of coffee makers, designed by other people in different periods, but with comparable sizes and shapes.

The museums that are organized in this way usually aim at representing an exogenous culture. As noted by Kate Sturge, ethnographic displays have historically dealt with the issue of translating a foreign culture, in a (more or less) problematic effort to represent the Other.[71] However, in this case, Alessi seems to attempt to produce and curate a collection of its own culture – the culture of high

design, the culture of "made in Italy," the culture of prototyping. The producer and the collector not only operate in the same building: they become the same subject.

While the Alessi Museum is more about collecting than displaying, its material is constantly circulated to other institutions and exhibited all over the world. Among the countless displays of Alessi's collection, one is particularly interesting, in terms of both context and content. The context is Casa Testori, a cultural institution based in the villa of the late Giovanni Testori, one of the most influential Milanese intellectuals of the second half of the twentieth century. In addition to his endeavors in theater, cinema and literature, Giovanni Testori was an important art historian and critic (being the *protégé* of Roberto Longhi) and over the years assembled one of the most significant private collections in Milan. His wealth derived from being the heir to a family of industrialists, who had been producing textile items in a factory across the street from the villa since the end of the nineteenth century. Given the amount of art objects assembled here, the residence was progressively turned into a domestic museum and, after its owner passed away in the 1990s, it became a cultural center, open to the public, under the name of Casa Testori.[72]

In the framework of a broader exhibition organized in 2011, the kitchen of Casa Testori was set up to host a specific section of the Alessi collection: Aldo Rossi's coffee makers.[73] The center of the installation was a silver prototype of the "Tea and Coffee Piazza," prominently displayed on a tall podium. Grouped around it were three related objects, placed on lower pedestals: one of the *prove d'autore* and two miniature versions of the tea and coffee service. Then, in a niche of the kitchen, a multitude of regular coffee makers, including those that anyone can buy, were put side by side on three narrow shelves, seemingly replicating the way in which these objects are organized in the Alessi Museum. And, finally, one the other side of the room, the show included a giant mock-up of *La Cupola*, one of Aldo Rossi's experiments on the concept of *fuori scala* (off-scale).

Annotating in his notebooks a phone conversation with Giovanni Testori, who (like many others) wanted to buy some of his drawings, Aldo Rossi described him as "the custodian of all the Milanese Borromean culture," alluding to both his erudition and his collection of artworks.[74] So, how did Alessi relate to this *milieu*, positioned at the intersection of very specific approaches to cultural production and industrial production? Precisely thirty years after the "Tea and Coffee Piazza," it's interesting to notice a certain reiteration of the cult of the prototype, now staged in an environment associated with an old-school mode of collecting. In the exhibition at Casa Testori, the prototype is literally put on a pedestal. Moreover, the installation reinforces the idea of a hierarchy between the proof and the prototype, which are positioned at different stages of an ideal pyramid of development—a *crescendo*—culminating in an individual artefact.

But, at the same time, the individuality of the prototype clashes with the seriality of the regular coffee makers, which seem to be stored rather than exhibited. Notably, Alberto Alessi wanted to emphasize the fact that, except one or two cases in which it was inevitable, his prototypes were manufactured without the help of molds.[75] This was meant to separate them from the rest of his products, which responded to the logic of the mold one way or another. However, the exhibition also highlights a substantial continuity between the silver one-off and the rest of the lot: it's easy to see that most of the coffee makers produced over the years were slight variations on the objects designed for the "Tea and Coffee Piazza." From this point of view, the prototype was operating as a molding device too – a technology capable of generating repeatable forms, with which it established a relation of analogy.[76]

Scalability

The installation at Casa Testori also shines a light on the tension between reproduction and the practice that Aldo Rossi used to call "*salto di scala*."[77] Both the miniaturization of the "Tea and Coffee Piazza" and the gigantic model of *La Cupola* speak to a particular approach to the issue of scalability. As for the reduction of scale, particularly important was the collection of miniatures launched by Alessi in the early 2000s. This was at the same time a response to the growing popularity of the Alessi brand and an attempt to popularize its catalogue, making it accessible to a "public of collectors" that didn't necessarily have the resources to buy the "*oggetti veri*."[78] From a broader perspective, this experience speaks to a transition of collectionism toward an increasingly massified market: for a very reasonable price, one could now purchase a miniature of Michael Graves's kettle and call herself a collector. And there were many analogous cases: for example, more or less in the same period, Vitra started producing and selling a collection of miniature chairs.

In its own narrative, Alessi presented this alteration of scale as a response to the differentiation between the functional value and the status or style value of its products: "A status symbol could be, for example, a gold Rolex watch, which indicates the economic condition of its wearer; an example of style value might be a coffee pot by Aldo Rossi, which can be understood as an indication of cultural sensitivity." Behind this somewhat outworn typological classification of value à la Alois Riegl, the commercial strategy was very clear: you don't need a gold watch (or a silver prototype) to be part of the conversation. In other words, the illusion of participating to Alessi's culture was dislodged from the ownership of "*oggetti veri*."

This rhetoric brings to mind Peter Dormer's analysis of consumerism in relation to design goods. Writing in the early 1990s, he identified two categories: "heavenly goods," meaning objects designed for the internationally rich to buy, and "tokens," defined as objects bought by the wish-they-were-

rich.[79] Notably, the adjective "heavenly" goes very well with Alessi's effort to craft a quasi-religious aura around its high-end collections, as evidenced by Hans Hollein's church exhibition and Aldo Rossi's tabernacle, among other examples. In *The Culture of Design*, Guy Julier took this dichotomy one step further, arguing that, more often than not, the realm of heavenly goods actually overlaps with the realm of tokens. In fact, the places were tokens can be bought usually nestle within the habitat of the very rich: "Shopping for these goods becomes a form of tourism as you venture into a territory of exclusivity to claim a souvenir of that momentary experience."[80] As in the case of Alessi, most design museums include a gift shop, where visitors can buy a memento of their pilgrimage. And, at the same time, these objects are typically displayed in the shop as museum pieces.

While the miniaturization of the product can be associated with the amplification of its public, the manufacture of oversized objects—Penelope Dean called them "blow-ups"—responded to a different logic. After all, how many people would be interested in a six-foot coffee maker? This experimentation goes back to the mid-1980s, when Alessi produced a giant tea and coffee service for Aldo Rossi's "Domestic Theater," an installation at the 1986 Triennale of Milan.[81] Notably, this project was part of a larger exhibition on the theme "The Domestic Project: The House of Mankind – Archetypes and Prototypes." Again, this experience must be situated in the framework of the architectural discourse of the time, with its emphasis on typological questions.[82] The constant point of reference was *The Architecture of the City*, and its approach to architecture based on type rather than function, revolving around a repertoire of timeless archetypal shapes. But the terms of that conversation are still debated today. In a recent book, Patrick Schumacher has added more wood to the fire: "Archetypes, or more generally solution-types, belong to the discourse on form: Aldo Rossi explicitly emphasized this abstraction from specific function, trying to argue for the virtues of such enduring forms and their potentially open-ended capacities."[83]

While tracing thirty years of arguments on this topic would inevitably lead into a swampy territory, of which much has been written, it may be more productive to look at it from a different perspective – the perspective of Alessi. Firstly, in addition to Aldo Rossi, the majority of the architects involved in this debate on archetypes and prototypes at the Triennale collaborated with Alessi in some capacity. The list includes Richard Sapper, Achille Castiglioni, Daniel Libeskind, Ettore Sottsass, Zaha Hadid and Andrea Branzi, among others. And the first thing one saw entering the exhibition was Alessi's set of giant coffee makers, which did not simply operate as stage props for Aldo Rossi's dramatization of the domestic typology: they themselves embodied a specific approach to the type and its reproduction. George Teyssot, one of the curators of the exhibition at the Triennale, has recently looked back on that debate, in relation to the present condition: "A sphere of contemporary technology replaces such a theater of memory, and this evolution focuses our attention on the present, which now replaces the archaeology of the archetype with an exploration of prototypes."[84]

The case of Alessi shows that, while this archeology of the archetype was being performed, a culture of prototyping had already infiltrated this *milieu*. And this culture had very little to do with the images of the primitive hut and Noah's ark that were thrown around at the Triennale and featured prominently on the cover of the exhibition catalogue. For Alessi, the prototype was not understood as the origin but rather as the end goal of the production process, the actual product, which than could be serially multiplied, scaled down to become a refrigerator magnet or scaled up to be exhibited at an event like the Triennale. Type, scale and function were not only the terms of a theoretical discourse: they were also entangled in a commercial mechanism of reproduction and dissemination.

Let's take for example the iconic *Bombé* tea pot, designed by Carlo Alessi. In addition to the full-size tea pot that one can actually use to make tea, it also exists as a miniature collectable and as a monumental simulacrum, sitting on a tall pedestal at the entrance of the Alessi factory. And a similar

over-scaled model was placed on the marquee of the Alessi store in Crusinallo, after having being used in the photoshoot for the cover of the book *Alessi: The Design Factory*, with Alberto Alessi sitting in it. In this context, the concept of prototyping went beyond the mode of production: it was also about the construction of a microcosm in which the consumer could see every product as having the aura of the prototype, with its cultural associations and its value judgments. And if every object can be read as a one-off—something that, using an oxymoron, may be described as a serial prototype—then even the most generic customers can see themselves as special collectors.[85]

But the "shift of scale" was also key in blurring the lines between architecture and the field in which companies like Alessi operated. On the one hand, Alberto Alessi explicitly wanted to work with architects, not designers. And he often used Mendini's phrase "pure architects," referring to a specialization of the architectural profession, which had grown apart from the notion of total design (from the teaspoon to the city). On the other hand, the request was to give an architectural quality to Alessi's teaspoons. This is particularly clear in Aldo Rossi's objects, as evidenced by his well-known drawings where people live in coffee makers and drink coffee out of buildings.[86] But this theme runs through most of Alessi's catalogue: Robert Venturi's tray is modelled after the Piazza del Campidoglio, Charles Jencks's teapots are shaped like columns, Michael Graves's kettles allude to Greco-Roman temples (as well as Michael Graves's buildings), and so forth.

And this wasn't just a *divertissement*: designing architectural kettles often came with a much bigger paycheck than designing kettle-like architecture. Arduino Cantàfora, one of Aldo Rossi's most important collaborators, has commented on this point in a recent interview: "Most of the revenue [of Aldo Rossi's practice] came from Alessi royalties for the various coffee makers, like *La Conica* and *La Cupola*. I've seen *La Conica* even in the most absurd homes, as a wedding gift. That object entered the collective unconscious. When you hit the nail on the head, it's like winning the lottery."[87]

Teatro del Mondo

Conversely, while architecture was brought into the realm of coffee makers, the *modus operandi* of businesses like Alessi—based on the logic of the mold, the cast, the press, the proof, the prototype, the miniature, the blow-up—came into the purview of many influential architects, offering specific answers to a number of questions, ranging from typification to scalability, from reproduction to dissemination. To examine this interplay, one of the most significant case studies is the Theater of the World, the architectural mold *par excellence*, whose construction happened to coincide with Aldo Rossi's first involvement with Alessi.

The first iteration of the Theater of the World was built in 1979 for the Venice Biennale. At the end of the event, it was brought to Dubrovnik, across the Adriatic Sea, and exhibited until 1981, when the structure was disassembled. Then some of the surviving components sat in a warehouse in Marghera (the industrial hinterland of Venice) until the early 2000s, when the theater was rebuilt in Genoa, during a temporary exhibition curated by Germano Celant.

By that time, however, a problem had emerged. Francesco Saverio Fera, the architect who organized this difficult reconstruction, put it this way: "It sounds absurd, but even though there are many drawings of this building, made by both Aldo Rossi and his collaborators, we quickly realized that none of them could actually be used for an accurate reconstruction of the original." He then added: "Paradoxically, the theater was built without construction drawings: it was drawn directly on the construction site."[88] Meanwhile, the local media put a different spin of the story: "The archive of the Biennale, an institution in disarray, has misplaced the original projects of the great architect, along with the original documentary *Venezia e lo Spazio Scenico*."[89] Indeed, when Germano Celant's team went to the archive, the folder of the Theater of the World turned out to be empty.

This obsession with *the original*, however, did not account for the complex role that drawings actually played in Aldo Rossi's process. In this regard, particularly significant is the information provided in a recent interview by Christopher Stead, a British architect who worked in Aldo Rossi's studio in the early 1980s and produced most of the iconic drawings of the Theater of the World. But it all happened when the theater had already been dismantled. He noted: "One day Aldo called me into his office and said: I need you to do some drawings. And he showed me a set of photographs of the theater by Antonio Martinelli, some black and white prints, and the sketches that he had done himself. But there were no architectural drawings. So, I had to start this from scratch. […] The task I had was to create a plausible set of drawings which could reflect both the built reality and the architectural intention. And that could be presentable, so that it could published, read and understood by architects. They were scale drawings."[90]

In one of Antonio Martinelli's most widely-circulated photographs, Aldo Rossi stands in the middle of the construction site, holding a drawing of the theater's elevation. The photo is all about the cause-effect relationship between the architect and the drawing, and then between the drawing and the building. Interestingly, a construction worker is also included in the shot, with the typical blue *Tuta*, captured while walking between the drawing and the steel frame of the theater. However, a trained eye would probably notice that, in the drawing that Aldo Rossi is inspecting with such intensity, the body of the theater has sixteen sides (as in many preliminary sketches), rather than eight. In other words, the drawing that was brought to the site and photographed did not match the structure that was actually being built in front of the architect's eyes.[91] In fact, the architectural drawings of the Theater of the World, including those that illustrate the structure and the detailed arrangement of the steel elements, were made after the fact. And their primary criteria were plausibility and propensity for dissemination.

Notably, this post-production was not an isolated case in Aldo Rossi's practice. This mechanism has recently been discussed also by Jesse Reiser, an American architect who met Aldo Rossi at Cooper Union in the late 1970s and then did a brief internship in his Milanese studio. His assignment was to recreate a few drawings of the Modena cemetery, several years after the project, gearing them towards a supposed American audience. According to Jesse Reiser, this peculiar request had to do with Aldo Rossi's ambition to create a school and to internationalize his work, disseminating his major projects beyond the Italian public (and market). It's significant that the retroactive drawings of both Venice and Modena were assigned to non-Italian architects, chosen specifically for their particular draftsmanship.

In Christopher Stead's case, the drawings were molded on sketches and photographic images of the theater, which left some room for speculations. In Jesse Reiser's case, the molding process was even more literal: "Aldo Rossi gave me one of the large film positives of Modena that he used to run blueprints from. In retrospect, it's actually really sad what I did: to transfer the drawing I put the film directly on the Arches paper, then used a pin to produce points, and then connected the points in pencil."[92] In fact, this pierced film and the cardboard mold designed to draw coffee makers operated in similar ways.

In the example of the Theater of the World, the ambiguity of the representational apparatus—considering both the absence of *ex ante* drawings and the abundance of *ex post facto* drawings—was countered by countless attempts to reproduce the object, in a variety of media, contexts and scales. Among other examples, particularly emblematic was the "Teatro del Mondo Model Kit" created by Academia Boekhandel, a Dutch publisher in 1984. The kit consisted in a set of A4 sheets of cardboard, which had to be folded and assembled in order to create a 1:100 scale model of the theater. Overall, the entire package referenced the language of Ikea and similar build-it-yourself manufacturers. Perhaps

the most interesting element was an exploded axonometric view of the model with very detailed assembling instructions – the instructions that the actual Theater of the World never had.[93]

Notably, the mind behind it was someone very close to Aldo Rossi: Umberto Barbieri. In that period, they even had a joint office in The Hague. So, even in a project as small as this model kit—basically a collector's toy—one can see the effort by Aldo Rossi's inner circle in the promotion of a certain ideology. In this case, the manual labor was provided by Onno van Nierop, a Dutch architect and graphic designer that Umberto Barbieri had met at the University of Delft. His task was to break down and reproduce the iconic presentation drawings of the Theater of the World, creating a set of two-dimensional pieces that could be put together, generating a three-dimensional model. Was he aware that those drawings had been made by Christopher Stead (not Aldo Rossi), several months after the demolition of the theater?

The text that accompanied the kit ended with Umberto Barbieri's call to arms: "This floating theater was removed and pulled down after the 1980 Biennale. Ever since many publications, drawings, photographs and sketches of the Teatro del Mondo have been published. This scale model kit should be regarded as a supplement. Now you too can build a replica of a temporary monument which contains so many typical images and forms from history and architecture."[94] It was not only about replicability, but also about giving the impression that the users could appropriate the object and make it their own.

Even though the end product was a three-dimensional model, the Dutch example relied on the flat surface of the drawing. Evidently, working with the representation of the object was the most accessible way to approach its reproduction. Within this category, one can also consider the images of the Theater of the World that featured in a number of print advertisements throughout the 1980s, such as those of Sisley Sportswear. Not surprisingly, Alessi used pictures of Aldo Rossi's theater in its

own adverting too. But this mechanism did not just operate on the level of the representation: it addressed also the one thing that, theoretically, the image culture associated with the postmodern did not take into consideration: buildings.[95] The notion of molding architecture found a particularly fertile ground in America, which proved to be very receptive to Aldo Rossi's ambition to internationalize his *school*.

As noted by Arduino Cantàfora, shortly after the Biennale, Aldo Rossi received an interesting phone call from the wife of the Italian Foreign Minister: "Architect, I have just learned, via our Embassy, that First Lady Nancy Reagan would like to meet you to discuss moving the Teatro del Mondo to the United States after the Biennale."[96] Even though this idea turned out to be unfeasible, Aldo Rossi started to use the Theater of the World in a very specific way when addressing his American audiences. As noted in the previous chapter, before the Biennale, Aldo Rossi had just stepped into the American scene, interacting primarily with academic institutions and the art galleries that were interested in his drawings.[97] The first American clients came in the early 1980s, leading to the opening of his satellite office in New York City. The two major projects elaborated in this context—in terms of both importance of the client and scale of the endeavor—were the projects for the School of Architecture at the University of Miami and the Euro Disney Resort. And both of them included a full-scale replica of the Theater of the World. Even though, after a long design process, the two projects were never completed, the surviving drawings show that the Theater of the World had become an important device in Aldo Rossi's work, operating on multiple levels.

On the one hand, these replicas were conceived as actual buildings, with specific functions. For example, in the case of Miami, the theater was meant to house a library. The explanation was quite forward: "In the spirit of Venice, the city without borders (east and west), the library is placed on the

water and reconstructed, like a quotation, as the Teatro del Mondo. The theater becomes a library and, at the same time, an original of a lost building."[98]

But, on the other hand, the Theater of the World often appeared on these drawings in a form that transcended the matter-of-fact representation of the project. For both Miami and Euro Disney, there are plans or perspective views in which the theater unexpectedly pops up in the form of a stylized façade, seemingly drifting on the surface of the drawing without any relation to the rest of the project. So, in addition to being incorporated in the design, the Theater of the World was also used as a kind of signature – a recognizable logo that could instantly frame the work as the product of a specific author.[99] From this point of view, it was not much different from Disney's logo—Mickey Mouse in front of a map of the world—which also featured on most of these drawings. And this combination between the logo of the company and the signature of the designer is something that has already been observed in relation to Alessi. In this case, the Theater of the World operated as Aldo Rossi's Mickey Mouse.

Gutters and Garbage

In addition to the polished presentation drawings of the Venetian theater, mostly made by Aldo Rossi's collaborators after the success of the Biennale, there is also a set of preliminary sketches, which have ended up in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture. These are the sketches that were made before the building was erected and, therefore, shine a light on the contradictions behind the design process. Looking at one of the first drafts of the all-important elevation, one of the most notable elements is the presence of a large human hand, seemingly lifting the theater by the tip of its roof. This Corbusian hand, invading the space of the drawing, speaks to a reflection on scalability,

unsettling the common perception of the size of architecture. A hand is all it takes to turn a drawing of a building into a drawing of a toy (in this case, a dollhouse).[100]

But it also relates to the world of industrial design—the world of Alessi—where the production process involves a good deal of manual labor and the product revolves around the scale of the human hand. What comes out of the *fabbrica* or the *officina* is usually something that can literally be handled. In fact, it's not hard to see the continuity between the roof of the Theater of the World and the lid of Aldo Rossi's coffee makers. The clearest example is the *Ottagono* coffee maker, designed in 1989, which basically constitutes a miniature replica of the Venetian theater. And, beyond the level of the drawing, it's interesting to note that the pinnacle of the Theater of the World, with its iconic sphere surmounted by a little flag, was made of copper – the material of Alessi's *prove d'autore*.

Although the hand suggests a transposition of the building into the realm of the toy or the designer's proof, the working sketches are also characterized by another recurrent theme, which belongs to a different conversation. In these otherwise extremely abstract drawings, a purely utilitarian aspect was given a great deal of attention: gutters and drainpipes. In fact, next to the usual exercise in formal gymnastics, there is a remarkable number of detailed drawings that get into the nitty-gritty of the system for rainwater collection and removal. In fact, it's quite ironic that, approaching the design of a floating structure, what seemed to really obsess Aldo Rossi was rainwater. But, more importantly, this detail gives a specific architectural quality to the object: dollhouses and coffee makers don't need drainpipes.

This technology is drawn in a very specific way: there are multiple views of each element (plans, elevations, axonometric sketches) and the key components are all measured. For example, the shape and size of the outlets at the base of the roof are expressed in centimeters, marking even the angle of inclination of the pipe to the vertical surface of the façade. This is important because it clashes not

only with the abstract manner in which the theater is commonly represented, reducing the building to a handful of ethereal lines, but also with the notion of the shift of scale. In this case, there is no ambiguity about the size of the object: each pipe is 40 centimeters long and its diameter goes from 10 centimeters at the top to 6 centimeters at the bottom.

It is also important to note that this system of drainpipes and gutters did not disappear in the various spin-offs and reproductions of the Theater of the World, from the Dutch model kit of the early 1980s to the recent 1:5 scale model made for an exhibition at the Fondazione Vedova in Venice, and most of the heterogenous merchandise produced in between.[101] Even though it's easy to overlook them, the pipes that stick out of the façade are fundamental indicators of the materiality of the theater. In fact, they are the only parts of the interior steel structure that pierce the immaculate wooden shell and reveal themselves to the outside. While most of the literature has been focusing on the exterior image of the Theater of the World, the drainpipes constitute a remainder to look at what's behind the envelope.

As noted by Paolo Portoghesi, the curator of the Biennale at the time, Aldo Rossi initially proposed a wooden structural frame, but the idea was quickly abandoned due to deadlines and budget constraints. The only way to stay within the budget (80,000,000 Lire) was to employ a steel frame. [102] And this led to the involvement of Ponteggi Dalmine, the biggest company in the Italian steel industry. This is very important because Dalmine not only provided the materials and assembled the structure, but also played a key role in the design process. And this partly explains the absence of construction drawings made by Aldo Rossi. In fact, thanks to the team that worked on the reconstruction of the Theater of the World in Genoa, a new set of drawings has recently been discovered. These documents were made by Dalmine's engineers and delineated the structure and, consequently, the layout of the building. The basis was Aldo Rossi's set of sketches but, given their low level of detail, Dalmine had quite a bit of

responsibility in the definition of the project. After all, the interaction with Alessi's engineers was not much different. As with his coffee makers, the architect seemed to acknowledge that the technicians could create a tubular construction better than him. [103]

But Dalmine's involvement went even deeper than that. In a recent interview, Gianni Braghieri, one of Aldo Rossi's collaborators at the time, noted that the Biennale did not have the resources to buy the steel tubes from Dalmine, so it ended up renting them.[104] Even though Gianni Braghieri didn't give much weight to this little-known fact, it's rather remarkable that the structure of one of the most iconic buildings of the twentieth century was actually a rental. And this is one of the reasons the theater had to be dismantled so quickly: each day corresponded to a sum of money that had to be payed to the rightful owner of the structure. And, after the demolition, the steel tubes were returned to Dalmine, which used them in other projects. So, the very pieces of the *original* Theater of the World ended up in some scaffolding or another tubular structure, who knowns where.

Interestingly, the same process took place during the reconstruction of the theater in Genoa, in 2004. Again, the budget (this time 500,000 Euro) could not cover the purchase of the steel components, so the designers rented them and then gave them back after the exhibition. And this wasn't because the event was meant to be temporary: in fact, the initial plan was to make a permanent structure that could be donated to the city of Genoa. But the tubes were too expensive.[105] Moreover, it's important to underline that, because the structure had been designed by Dalmine with its standard modular system, another group of architects could go back to the same contractor, twenty-five years later, and reenact the same operation.

As in the case of Alessi, this speaks to a particular relation between the designer and the manufacturer. In the case of the Theater of the World, the manufacturer did not simply execute a project: it also contributed to its definition, provided and owned the materials, fabricated the object and, with the

passage of time, became the only repository of the know-how. But, on the other hand, companies like Alessi and Dalmine embody two profoundly different approaches to production and reproduction. In fact, Dalmine has become one of the biggest construction companies in Italy by focusing primarily on a single product, a seamless steel tube known as "Innocenti," which can generate virtually any type of structure. It's the logic of seriality and standardization: the factory produces only one thing, which did not change much between 1979 and 2004.

It's basically everything from which Alessi has tried to distance itself, emphasizing the individuality of each product, fueling a culture of the prototype, and even attempting to revive a certain artisanal *modus operandi*. And certainly it did not match the narrative that accompanied the postmodern discourse, with its only-special mode. But it turns out that the Theater of the World, one of the symbols of this culture, had at its core the most generic and standardized construction system, to the point where its components could be disassembled and reused in other buildings.

What about the other part of the theater, the wooden envelope? As already noted, after the demolition of the structure in 1981, the pieces that were still in good conditions were stored in a warehouse near Venice. Notably, the owner of the warehouse was a public company called Syndial, which specialized in waste treatment and disposal. Since no one was particularly attracted by the "perfume of garbage," what was left of the Theater of the World sat there until the early 2000s, when the architects involved in the project for Genoa started to look for the "*legni originali*" (the original wooden boards).[106] Clearly, this material was not in a condition to travel to Genoa but, as noted by Gianni Braghieri, it was used as a model for the new envelope. The goal was to acquire some of the information that photographs and drawings could not fully provide, such as the characteristics of the wooden elements and the exact color of the varnish. Even though the project revolved around "recreating the image of the theater," a concrete effort was made to inquire into the materiality of Aldo Rossi's building.[107]

With this in mind, what happened at the end of the exhibition in Genoa is rather surprising. The title of an article published on *Repubblica*, one of Italy's major newspapers, summed it up in a very direct way: "They are dismantling the Theater of the World, let's go get firewood."[108] In fact, this time, rather than storing the wooden boards in some warehouse, the main sponsor of the exhibition decided that it would have been easier and cheaper to just allow people to bring these materials home. According to the *Repubblica* reporter, in the days that followed the event, anyone could simply walk up to the construction site, approach one of the workers involved in the demolition process, and ask for a piece of the Theater of the World. Unlike the valuable steel tubes, which were immediately returned to Ponteggi Dalmine, the envelope was seen as something to get rid of in the most inexpensive way possible, as it could not be recycled in any other context.

Interviewed about the possibility of turning this temporary theater into a permanent presence in the city of Genoa, building commissioner Bruno Gabrielli made it very clear what the problem was: "The building is not usable because the materials are not fire resistant. And it would be too expensive to bring it up to legal standards."[109] So, in the end, even the most ephemeral architecture (or, rather, *architecture éphémère*, as Manfredo Tafuri called it in one of his French moments) had to deal with very utilitarian issues. Even a building designed to have a global reach, an architecture *of the world*, could not get away from local bureaucracies and legal standards. Aside from anything else, for those who had to manage it, the Teatro del Mondo was first and foremost a fire hazard.[110]

As already noted, in Aldo Rossi's writings there are several references to a comment made by John Hejduk in relation to the Theater of World: "Inside is Europe, but outside, the shell is America."[111] While this comment, which Aldo Rossi seemed to appreciate very much, was never explained, this dichotomy can now be viewed from a different perspective. Considering both Venice and Genoa, the *inside* was a modular framework, rented from a major steel manufacturer, which then reused the very

same materials in other building projects. As for the *outside*, it ended up being archived in a dump near Marghera and, the second time around, was handed to random people on the street, who took it home either as a souvenir or as firewood.

The Theater of World Shrinkage

John Hejduk's opposition also speaks to the difficulty of deciphering the geography of the Theater of the World. In fact, the term *mondo* is open to multiple interpretations. In the debate that surrounded the appearance of the theater at the Biennale, two major references were repeatedly pointed out. First, the Shakespearian Globe Theater, which Aldo Rossi himself presented as one of his sources of inspiration. But most critics, from Francesco Dal Co to Paolo Portoghesi, linked the project with the Venetian tradition of the *Theatrum Mundi*. From this point of view, the precedents (or, borrowing Marco Dezzi Bardeschi's term, the prototypes) were the temporary floating theaters *en plen air* designed by Vincenzo Scamozzi and Giovanni Rusconi during the Cinquecento.[112]

The concept of *Theatrum Mundi* has a long history in Western thought, going back to Neoplatonism and the roots of Christianity. As noted by Thea Brejzek and Lawrence Wallen, it refers to the belief that the world operates as a stage, populated by actors who perform a play devised by a divine author-god. But, while belonging to this epistemology, the Venetian theaters of the sixteenth century responded to a more specific logic. In fact, they were conceived as scale models of the world—little cosmologies—which moved through the lagoon and provided a spectacle that the public would experience from the shore, from the *outside*. Manfredo Tafuri was among the first to challenge this genealogy, pointing to the introverted and rigid form of Aldo Rossi's building and reading it as an homage to the sense of boundaries and the concept of *finitio*, which are expressly anti-Venetian.[113]

This emphasis on boundaries, highlighted by both John Hejduck and Manfredo Tafuri, can also be viewed from a different perspective. Here one may borrow a dichotomy set up by Sang Lee and Ruth Baumeister in a recent book on globalization: the domestic and the foreign. Their argument is that, in the age of globalization, architecture is constantly required to negotiate "the interior (domestic, domus, domesticus) and the exterior (foreign, externus, alienus, barbaricus)."[114] Interestingly, the Theater of the World has never been discussed in the framework of the process of globalization – a phenomenon that had a major impact on Aldo Rossi's generation and that, by the 1980s, had become a pivotal topic in most fields.[115]

Aldo Rossi's project relates to this phenomenon not only due to its global designation and global reach. It also engages with a series of key terms that participate to the discourse on globalization. Notably, globalization has often been described in terms of a shift of scale. Thomas Larsson characterized it as "the process of world shrinkage." For David Held, it primarily involved a "stretching" of socio-economic activities across national borders. Roland Robertson interpreted it as "a compression of the world."[116] While this reduction of distance corresponded to a widening of interconnectedness, it also led to a weakening of State sovereignty and State structures. And, as noted by Ulrich Beck, it resulted in the formation of new types of national identities.[117]

In this context, the unofficial brand "made in Italy" is particularly emblematic of the tension between the domestic and the foreign. As noted by Grace Lees-Maffei, Alessi was at the forefront of this negotiation. The company presented itself as quintessentially Italian, but its carefully constructed Italian-ness was mostly shaped by exterior expectations, rather than interior processes of identification. As in the case of many other companies that operated worldwide, Alessi's "claim to nationality hinged entirely on its product being *made* in Italy, in the face of the internationalism of its designers, materials and markets."[118] This contradiction had been highlighted as early as the 1970s by

Giulio Carlo Argan: "To the extent that industrial design tends to establish an international style of mass-production, one might say, paraphrasing a famous witticism by George Orwell, that Italian style aspired to be the most international of all."[119] But this aspiration was accompanied by an aggressive marketing of the concept of *Italianità*, which ended up being perceived as a mark of quality and specialness in the eyes of world. While Alessi represents a particularly clear example, this mechanism has been at the core of the Italian economy at least since the post-war reconstruction, being the driving-force behind a number of key sectors, from the fashion industry to the food industry. Starting with the wording in English, the economy of "made in Italy" is export-oriented and operates from the inside out: it's about creating a product that can be appreciated as Italian by foreign customers, rather than domestic ones.

How did Aldo Rossi's theater relate to this face of globalization and the struggle to negotiate Italian-ness and internationalism? As in the case of Alessi, there are many ways to look at it. The building was manufactured in Italy by Italian contractors, but the most of the iconic drawings were done by a British designer. The initial site was Venice, but then the theater travelled to other countries and engaged with other publics. The structure had to deal with local rules and standards, but the form was replicated in a variety of different *milieus* around the world. On the one hand, the First Lady of the United States had to go through the Italian Foreign Minister to discuss the possibility of borrowing the Teatro del Mondo. On the other hand, Time Magazine labelled "Italy's Aldo Rossi" as an "international cult hero."[120]

Overall, the project of the theater did not use the logic of "made in Italy." Partly because Venice represents a geographic outlier which, due to its very nature, can hardly be associated with a specific *land*. But also because the whole trajectory of the Theater of the World challenged the concept of the singularity of place—the "*locus solus*" emphasized by Peter Eisenman in the introduction to *The*

Architecture of the City—and embraced the process of displacement associated with the global.[121] And the dissolution of the singular relationship between a specific location and the buildings that are on it—the relationship between architecture and the city—went hand in hand with the possibility of reproducing (or molding) a talismanic object anywhere a demand existed or could be created.

Chapter 4: Silver Mold – References

[1] The term "high design" is used in several of the writings referenced in this chapter. Guy Julier attempts to define it by contrasting it with the notion of anonymous design: "At the other hand of this scale we find *high design*, where conscious designer intervention and authorship, along with the price tag, play a large role in establishing the cultural and aesthetic credentials of an artifact." See Guy Julier, "High Design," in *The Culture of Design* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2000).

[2] See Catharine Rossi, *Crafting Design in Italy: From Postwar to Postmodernism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); Grace Lees-Maffei, ed. *Made in Italy: Rethinking a Century of Italian Design* (London: A&C Black, 2014) and Alex Coles, ed. "The Italian Avant-Garde, 1968-1976," *EP*, Vol. 1 (2013). Grace Lees-Maffei's volume includes a detailed historiography of Italian design, written by Maddalena Dalla Mura and Carlo Vinti. Other sources on Italian design are Pauline Madge, "Italian Design Since 1945," in *From Spitfire to Microchip: Studies in the History of Design from 1945* (London: The Design Council, 1985); Nina Bornsen-Holtman, *Italian Design* (Cologne: Taschen, 1994) and Claudia Neumann's *Design Directory Italy* (London: Pavilion Books, 1999). Most of these studies address the work of Alessi in one way or another. On Alessi, there are also multiple publications produced by the company itself. The most recent book is *The Dream Factory: Alessi Since 1921* (New York: Rizzoli, 2016).

[3] Grace Lees-Maffei, ed. *Made in Italy: Rethinking a Century of Italian Design* (London: A&C Black, 2014)

[4] See Penelope Dean, "Blow-Up," *Hunch* 11: Rethinking Representation (2007) and Pier Vittorio Aureli, "More Money/Less Work: Archizoom," *EP*, Vol. 1 (2013). Discussing Aldo Rossi's work for Alessi, Penelope Dean writes: "In 1980, the power of architecture resided in its ability to bring representation to industrial products through expression, style and rhetoric."

[5] See Manfredo Tafuri, "L'Ephémère est Eternel: Aldo Rossi a Venezia," *Domus*, No. 602 (1979); Daniel Libeskind, "Deus ex Machina, Machina ex Deo: Aldo Rossi's Theater of the World," *Oppositions*, No. 21 (1980) and Paolo Portoghesi, "Il Teatro del Mondo," in *Aldo Rossi: Teatro del Mondo* (Venice: Cluva, 1982).

[6] Sophie Lovell, *Limited Edition: Prototypes, One-Offs and Design Art Furniture* (Basel: Birkhauser Verlag AG, 2009). This book examines the work of a multitude of designers who operated "outside of the industrial manufacturing system" and moved away from the logic of serial reproduction.

[7] Some of the key sources of this chapter are Alberto Corsin Jimenez and Adolfo Estalella, eds. *Prototyping Cultures: Art, Science and Politics in Beta* (London: Routledge, 2017); Andreas Reckwitz, *The Invention of Creativity: Modern Society and the Culture of the New* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017); Hillel Schwartz*, The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996); Peggy Deamer, "Branding the Architectural Author," *Perspecta*, No. 37 (2005) and Anna Klingmann, *Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007).

[8] Peter Dormer, *The Meanings of Modern Design* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990).

[9] Umberto Eco, "Innovation and Repetition: Between Modern and Postmodern Aesthetics," *Daedalus* 114 (1985). Umberto Eco writes: "A good craftsman, as well as an industrial factory, produces many tokens, or occurrences, of the same type or model. One appreciates the type and appreciates the way the token meets the requirements of the type: but the modern aesthetics did not recognize such a procedure as an artistic one. […] I would like to consider now the case of an historical period (our own) for which iteration and repetition seem to dominate the whole world of artistic creativity."

[10] See Rosalind Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant-garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985) and Bruno Latour and Adam Lowe, "The Migration of the Aura – or How to Explore the Original Through Its Facsimiles," in *Switching Codes: Thinking Through Digital Technology in the Humanities and the Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

[11] A selection of key readings on the space of the factory includes Sigfried Giedion, "Mechanization and Death: Meat" in *Mechanization Takes Command* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948); Reyner Banham, *A Concrete Atlantis: US Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture 1900-1925* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986) and David Nye, "The Factory: From the Pastoral Mill to the Industrial Sublime" in *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994).

[12] Caroline Jones, "Andy Warhol's Factory, Commonism and the Business Art Business" in *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Post-War American Artist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). Caroline Jones writes: "Warhol joined other artists of the 1960s in seeking a radical distance from the Abstract Expressionists' version of modernism—their conception of originality, their emphasis on the autographic touch, and their romance with the isolated studio—advertising his wish for a submersion in the detached neutrality of the assembly line."

[13] On the overlap between company museums and company archives, see Giorgetta Bonfiglio-Dosio, *Archivi di Impresa: Studi e Proposte* (Padova: Cleup: 2003). On the logic of ethnographic museums, see Kate Sturge, *Representing Others: Translation, Ethnography and the Museum* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 2007).

[14] Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," in *Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1994).

[15] See Valentina Martino, "Made in Italy Museums: Some Reflections on Company Heritage Networking and Communication," *Tafter Journal*, No. 84 (2015); Fiorella Bulegato, *I Musei d'Impresa: Dalle Arti Industriali al Design* (Roma: Carocci, 2008) and Monica Amari, *I Musei delle Aziende: La Cultura della Tecnica tra Arte e Storia* (Milan: Franco Angeli Editore, 2001).

[16] Grace Lees-Maffei, "Italianità and Internationalism: Production, Design and Mediation at Alessi, 1976-96," *Modern Italy*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2002).

[17] There is a broad literature on the concept of "made in Italy." A particularly interesting source is Luigi Settembrini and Guido Vergani, eds. *Made in Italy? 1951-2001* (Milan: Skira, 2001). This book accompanied an exhibition organized in 2001 at the Palazzo della Triennale di Milano, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the first Italian fashion show (Florence, 1951) and the fortieth anniversary of the International Furniture Show (Milan, 1961).

[18] Sang Lee and Ruth Baumeister, eds. *The Domestic and the Foreign in Architecture* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishes, 2007).

[19] On globalization, see Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991); Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1992); David Held, *Global Transformations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999); Ulrich Beck, *The Cosmopolitan Vision* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006). Aldo Rossi's concept of "*locus solus*" is discussed in Peter Eisenman, "Editor's Introduction: The Houses of Memory, the Texts of Analogy," in *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982).

[20] Alberto Alessi was introduced as the "godfather of Italian design" at *Design Indaba* 2011, a major design conference held in Cape Town every year.

[21] A detailed overview of Aldo Rossi's professional relationships is available on the website of the Fondazione Aldo Rossi: www.fondazionealdorossi.org/biografia.

[22] The ideology behind the concept of "Italian Design Factories" is discussed in Roberto Verganti's *Design Driven Innovation: Changing the Rules of Competition by Radically Innovating What Things Mean* (Boston: Harvard Business School Publishing Corporation, 2009).

[23] Alberto Alessi, *The Dream Factory: Alessi Since 1921* (New York: Rizzoli, 2016).

[24] On Andy Warhol's approach to the term "factory," see Caroline Jones's "Andy Warhol's Factory, Commonism and the Business Art Business" in *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Post-War American Artist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) and Marco Livingstone's "Do It Yourself: Notes on Warhol's Technique" in *Andy Warhol: A Retrospective* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1989).

[25] Grace Lees-Maffei, "Italianità and Internationalism: Production, Design and Mediation at Alessi, 1976-96," *Modern Italy*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2002).

[26] Alberto Alessi, *Le Fabbriche dei Sogni* (Milan: La Triennale di Milano, 2011).

[27] The relationship between fashion and labor in Italy was addressed in an exhibition and book organized by *Fondazione Pitti*, titled *Workwear* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 2009). As for the *Tuta*, this piece of clothing has a particularly interesting history. It was created in 1919 by Florentine Futurist designer Ernesto Michahelles and is regarded as the first model of jumpsuit. Its manufacture was intentionally straightforward: shaped like a T, the *Tuta* was cut from a single piece of cotton, with one straight incision. Michahelles renamed himself THAYAHT, a bifrontal palindrome, in keeping with the symmetry of his design. Set against the bourgeois suits of the day, with their made-to-measure construction, the *Tuta* insisted on absolute standardization and functionality. It was made of cheap, sturdy materials and was easily reproducible. Michahelles even published the pattern in an Italian newspaper (*La Nazione*) to make it accessible to the greater public. This topic was analyzed by Annemarie Strassel in "Mode of Production: Reclaiming the Revolutionary Potential of the Uniform," for the exhibition *The Uniform Project*, held in Chicago in 2013.

[28] The expression "aesthetic factory" comes from Alessandro Mendini's book *La Fabbrica Estetica* (Crusinallo: Alessi Tendentse, 1992). Andreas Reckwitz theorized "the rise of an aesthetic economy" in his book *The Invention of Creativity: Modern Society and the Culture of the New* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017).

[29] Italy's complex process of industrialization was addressed by Duccio Bigazzi in "Mass Production or Organized Craftsmanship? The Post-War Italian Automobile Industry," in *Americazion and Its Limits: Reworking US Technology and Management in Post-War Europe and Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[30] According to the company's own narrative, the collection "Officina Alessi" was created to group under one brand "the most ambitious, elaborate, experimental and innovative products by Alessi." A key reading in relation to this topic is Sophie Lovell's *Limited Edition: Prototypes, One-Offs and Design Art Furniture* (Basel: Birkhauser Verlag AG, 2009).

[31] Peter Lukehart, ed. *The Artist's Workshop* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993). This book traces a history of the workshop from the Italian Trecento to the British arts and crafts movement. The title alludes to two other books: W. G. Constable's *The Painter's Workshop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954) and Rudolf Wittkower's *The Sculptor's Workshop* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1974).

[32] Sam Rohdie, *The Passion of Pier Paolo Pasolini* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996). This book touches on Pasolini's understanding of the term *officina*: "Officina can be translated as workshop. The connotations of the noun are artisanal. Officina was meant to suggest a time prior to consumer capitalism, the capitalism which had spawned a vulgar mass culture and a precious avant-garde."

[33] Conversation with Maristella Casciato at the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 9 May 2016. On the history of "Officina Edizioni," see Maristella Casciato's essay "Officina Edizioni: Un Editore Italiano e i Suoi Autori," presented at the conference *Le Livre et l'Architecte*, Paris, 31 January 2008.

[34] Peter Dormer, *The Meanings of Modern Design* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990).

[35] The rise of tourism in industrial environments is addressed by William Littman in "The Production of Goodwill: The Origins and Development of the Factory Tour in America," in *Constructing Image, Identity and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003). In this study, the factory is discussed as a visual spectacle of production.

[36] This anecdote is narrated by Alberto Alessi in several of his writings, including *The Dream Factory: Alessi Since 1921* (New York: Rizzoli, 2016).

[37] Bruno Latour and Adam Lowe, "The Migration of the Aura – or How to Explore the Original Through Its Facsimiles," in *Switching Codes: Thinking Through Digital Technology in the Humanities and the Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,

2011). As noted in the chapter "Faded Fax," Bruno Latour's argument revolves around the notion that a facsimile may actually add new layers of originality to the original. The primary case study is the digital reproduction of Veronese's panting *Le Nozza di Cana*. On this subject, see also Hillel Schwartz, *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996) and Stephen Hock, *Serial Postmodernists: Repetition and Innovation in Contemporary American Fiction* (Doctoral Dissertation, 2005).

[38] For a critical assessment of the debates concerning originality and replicability in the field of semiotics (Charles Sanders Peirce, Teresa de Lauretis, Umberto Eco, Mieke Bal), philosophy (Nelson Goodman, Jean Baudrillard, Gilles Deleuze), art theory (Walter Benjamin, Ian Haywood, Norman Bryson) and history (Carlo Ginzburg), see Almira Ousmanova's "Fake at Stake: Semiotics and the Problem of Authenticity," in *Problemos*, Vol. 66, No. 1 (2004).

[39] Umberto Eco, "Innovation and Repetition: Between Modern and Postmodern Aesthetics," *Daedalus* 114 (1985).

[40] Rosalind Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant-garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985). The essay on Rodin's castings was originally published in *October*, Vol. 18 (1981) with the title "The Originality of the Avant-garde: A Postmodernist Repetition." Rosalind Krauss notes that Rodin was usually not present when castings of his sculptures were made, nor did he review the final product before shipping it out to galleries and museums: "For Rodin, the concept of the 'authentic bronze cast' seems to have made as little sense as it has for many photographers."

[41] On drawing and casting, see Robin Evans's *The Projective Cast* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997).

[42] The various mechanisms of mold-making are thoroughly described in *Mold-Making Handbook*, edited by Klaus Soeckhert and Gunter Mennig (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2013). The first edition of this manual was published in 1965.

[43] Guy Julier addresses the case of Philippe Starck's lemon squeezer in the fifth chapter of his book *The Culture of Design* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2000). He writes: "Its shininess allies it with a typology of silverware reserved for the cabinet of *special things*."

[44] These processes are described by Henry Theis in *Handbook of Metalforming Processes* (New York: Marcel Dekker, 1999).

[45] It's important to note that Gutenberg's printing press was based on molding technologies. As noted by Frederick Kilgour in *The Evolution of the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), "The crucial component of the invention of printing was the mold in which type was cast." In Gutenberg's process of making type, a hard metal punch (with the letter carved back to front) was hammered into a softer copper bar, creating a matrix. This was then placed into a hand-held mold and

a piece of type, or sort, was cast by filling the mold with molten type-metal. After the casting process, the sorts were arranged into type cases and used to make up pages, which were then inked and printed. The implications of this system have been discussed in a number of studies, including Lucien Febvre's *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800* (London: Verso, 1997), Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) and Marshal McLuhan's *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

[46] David Nye, "The Factory: From the Pastoral Mill to the Industrial Sublime" in *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994). David Nye examines the continuing appeal of the "technological sublime" (a term coined by Perry Miller) as a key to American history. In the context of the factory, the sense of sublime derives mainly from the repetition of a limited number of elements many times. From this point of view, sublime and seriality appear to go hand in hand.

[47] Alberto Alessi, Letter to Aldo Rossi, 14 February 1983. This document is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles.

[48] Michael Guggenheim, "The Long History of Prototyping," *Limn*, Issue 0 (2010). Michael Guggenheim writes: "Prototyping has always existed and probably, for most of human history, has been more important than it's opposite, orderly science and planning. But the differentiation of the functional system of science and art and the strong differentiation between experts and lay people in high modernity has obscured existing forms of prototyping. Only since the late 1960s, as part of the what Jürgen Gerhards called the revolt of the audience, has it become possible to acknowledge prototyping as part of western society." Michael Guggenheim interprets prototyping as a mode of cultural production: "A mode that is tentative, based on bricolage, user involvement and ongoing changes of products and practices, rather than on an expert in a closed lab who turns out a finished product to be used by an unknowing user."

[49] This topic was the object of the conference *Prototyping Cultures*, organized by Alberto Corsin Jimenez and Adolfo Estalella at the Medialab–Prado of Madrid, in 2010. Most of the papers were published in the first issue of *Limn*, titled "Prototyping Prototyping" (2010) or in a special issue of the *Journal of Cultural Economy*, titled "Prototyping Cultures" (2014). This material was recently turned into a book: *Prototyping Cultures: Art, Science and Politics in Beta* (London: Routledge, 2017). In the introduction to the conference, Alberto Corsin Jimenez and Adolfo Estalella set the stage for a reflection on the culture associated with prototyping. They started by pointing to the world of software development, "where the release of non-

stable versions of programs has become commonplace." In this context, they highlighted one of the key features of prototyping: "the incorporation of failure as a legitimate and very often empirical realization." But they also underlined that "prototyping has become an important currency of explanation and description in art-technology contexts, where the emphasis is on the productive and processual aspects of experimentation." From a historical and sociological angle, "the backdrop of such cultures of prototyping is not infrequently connected, if in complex and not always obvious ways, with the do-it-yourself, environmental and recycling movements of the 1980s and 1990s."

[50] In *Prototyping Cultures*, Alberto Corsin Jimenez and Adolfo Estalella paid particular attention to the spaces of prototyping: "Medialabs, hacklabs, community and social art collectives, dorkbots, open collaborative websites or design thinking workshops are spaces and sites where prototyping and experimentation have taken hold as both modes of knowledge-production and cultural and sociological styles of exchange and interaction." These reflections have been influenced, among other sources, by Alfred Gell's theory of artistic agency, which ascribed the term prototype to those entities capable of generating "an ambience of neighbourly futurity." See Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1998). Going further back, another key source is Bruno Latour's work on the laboratory and its modes of production. See Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 1979). Notably, Bruno Labour's critique of the culture of the laboratory coincides with the emergence of a debate on prototyping and its spaces of production.

[51] Alain Pottage, "the Charismatic Prototype," *Limn*, Issue 0 (2010). Alain Pottage starts from a specific theory of prototyping: the classical patent law doctrine of reduction to practice. He argues that "the nineteenth-century theory of reduction to practice focused on the agency of the things or media to which it ascribed a prototyping function: ideas as they were held in the head, sketches, drawings and blueprints, scale models, and experimental manufactures. The basic question in these cases was whether an inventor had used one of these material prototypes as a means of perfecting an inventive idea or, alternatively, as a means of materializing that idea as an effective instrumentality. In other words, was prototyping the final phase of experimentation with an idea, or as the beginning of the process of preparing a finished idea for manufacture?" Alain Pottage suggests that "Prototyping is an instance of what has already *come next*."

[52] Alessi's "Tea and Coffee Piazza" is the object of a vast literature. A particularly interesting contribution was made by Catharine Rossi, which was able to link this project with the emergence of a culture of prototyping in her essay "From

Mari to Memphis: The Role of Prototypes in Italian Radical and Postmodern Design," published in *Prototype: Design and Craft in the 21st Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013). She argues that the prototype was caught up in Italian design's ambiguous relationship with post-war modernity: "In the 1950s, architects such as Ponti and the Castiglioni brothers were designing objects suited for a mass system of production and consumption which did not exist. In the crisis of consumerist values of the 1960s, these architects lost their faith in the future of industrial production in Italy. By the 1980s, Sottsass and his band of Memphis architects were designing objects that could not be produced or consumed on a large-scale. Increasingly, however, this did not matter. Once photographed and disseminated, the prototype had performed its function as a vehicle of communication. And the distinction between prototype and product had therefore collapsed."

[53] Alessandro Mendini's expression "architetti puri" is often referenced in Alberto Alessi's books, including *The Dream Factory: Alessi Since 1921* (New York: Rizzoli, 2016). It was supposed to be read as an indication that, in the most experimental projects, Alessi preferred to work with architects rather than industrial designers. But the emphasis on purity evokes a number of different cultural associations. Does it indicate a kind of virginity towards the mechanisms of the factory? And, if the selected individuals are presented as pure architects, are there any impure architects? What constitutes purity in the architectural profession? It's also important to note that purity is a highly loaded term in the history of modern art and architecture. On this topic, see Mark Cheerham, *The Rhetoric of Purity: Essentialist Theory and the Advent of Abstract Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[54] Douglas Moreland, phone interview by author, 28 March 2016. The concept of "black-cape architect" is further discussed in the next chapter of this dissertation, titled "Black Cape."

[55] Alessandro Mendini, ed. *Officina Alessi: Tea and Coffee Piazza* (New York: Shakespeare and Company, 1983).

[56] Eva Czernis-Ryl traces a history of Italian silverware since the 1970s in her book *Contemporary Silver: Made in Italy* (Sydney: Powerhouse, 2004). Eva Czernis-Ryl focuses on the rise of Italian-made silver in the global market in the 1980s, pointing to Alessi as one of her primary case studies. The example of the "Tea and Coffee Piazza" highlights the transformation of silverware into a fashionable object of desire for the contemporary consumer. The materiality of Alessi's objects has also been addressed in *Il Bel Metallo / Steele and Style* (Milan: Arcadia, 1985), edited by Patrizia Scarzella, with an introduction by Paolo Portoghesi.

[57] Catharine Rossi, "From Mari to Memphis: The Role of Prototypes in Italian Radical and Postmodern Design," in *Prototype: Design and Craft in the 21st Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

[58] Shortly after the "Tea and Coffee Piazza" exhibitions, Deyan Sudjic published *Cult Objects: The Complete Guide to Having It All* (London: Paladin Granada Publications, 1985). Deyan Sudjic addresses objects like those produced by Alessi from the perspective of their expanding cult-status. The notion of cult-object goes hand in hand with the notion of cult-architect. For example, when Aldo Rossi won the Pritzker Prize in 1990, *Time* Magazine ran an article titled "A Cult Hero Gets His Due" (*Time*, 30 April 1990).

[59] Jordan Kauffman, *Drawing on Architecture: The Object of Lines, 1970-1990* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2018).

[60] This reference to the hundredth collector appears in Alberto Alessi's presentation of the "Tea and Coffee Piazza" exhibition. It can also be found in an invitation letter sent to Aldo Rossi in 1983, now held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles. Among other studies on Alessi's approach towards limited editions, see Penelope Dean, "Blow-Up," *Hunch* 11: Rethinking Representation (2007). Penelope Dean argues that "Alessi's agenda of limited edition (a deliberate move away from the constraints of mass production) and designer signature was a means to upgrade the products into luxury design items through architectural association. Alessi's ability to produce one-off high designs for museums, collectors and clients required recognizable forms of representation, presumably understood as an architectural skill. The role of representation in the 1980s thus served to elevate both the reputation of the company and its products as design."

[61] John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds. *Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994). This book starts with an essay by Jean Baudrillard, titled "The System of Collecting." He writes: "Any given object can have two functions: it can be utilized, or it can be possessed. […] The object pure and simple, divested of its function, abstracted from any practical context, takes on a strictly subjective status. Now its destiny is to be collected. Whereupon it ceases to be a carpet, a table, a compass or a knick-knack, and instead turns into an *object* or a *piece*." Jean Baudrillard had been working on this topic since the 1960s. See Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968).

[62] Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking* (London: British Museum Press, 1996).

[63] Two studies had a particularly important impact on the understanding of authorship in the post-war period: Roland Barthes's "The Death of the Author," *Aspen*, No. 5-6 (1967) and Michael Foucault's "What is an Author?" *Bulletin de la Société Française de Philosophie*, Vol. LXIV, No. 3 (1969).

[64] The fundamental distinction between *the work* and the process of *working* was discussed by Sylvia Lavin in a lecture titled "Oh, My Aching Antenna: The Postmodernization of Creativity," held at the University of California Los Angeles, 23 May 2016.

[65] Alberto Alessi, "The Alessi Museum," in *The Dream Factory: Alessi Since 1921* (New York: Rizzoli, 2016).

[66] In the Italian context, this phenomenon culminated in the institution of Museimpresa – the Italian Association of Company Archives and Museums, founded in 2001 in Milan by Assolombarda and Confindustria, the two most influential associations representing the national industrial sector. Alessi has been one of the most active members of Museimpresa. The mission of Museimpresa includes "the conservation of companies' material and immaterial heritage; the accreditation of the role played by museums and historical archives within wider cultural and social corporate policies; and the promotion of industrial tourism connected to company sites and cultural centers." Notably, Museimpresa promoted the publication of *Turismo Industriale in Italia: Arte, Scienza, Industria, un Patrimonio Culturale Conservato in Musei e Archivi di Impresa* (Milan: Touring Editore, 2003), which has a chapter devoted to Alessi. Produced by the major tourism organization in Italy (Touring Club), this is one of the first guidebooks that focuses on museums and archives associated with industrial activities, explicitly giving these sites the status of cultural patrimony. The culture behind Museimpresa has been discussed by Valentina Martino in "Made in Italy Museums: Some Reflections on Company Heritage Networking and Communication," *Tafter Journal*, No. 84 (2015). For a broader analysis of the emergence of corporate museums in the 1980s and 1990s, see *Corporate Museum: From Industry Identity to Exhibition Communication* (Florence: Altralinea Edizioni, 2017) by Xianya Xu. On the specific case of the Vitra Museum, see *Project Vitra: Sites, Products, Authors, Museum, Collections, Signs; Chronology, Glossary* (Basel: Birkhauser, 2008), edited by Cornel Windlin and Rolf Fehlbaum. For a comprehensive discussion on the museification of design, see *Design Objects and the Museum* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), edited by Liz Farrelly and Joanna Weddell.

[67] Peter Weiss, ed. *Alessandro Mendini: Design and Architecture* (Milan: Electa, 2001).

[68] The Italian literature on this topic constantly points to a somewhat hybrid typology, which attempts to combine the archive and the museum. As already mentioned, Museimpresa gave a concrete expression to this combination, positioning archives and museums in the same discourse. On this topic, see Monica Amari's *I Musei delle Aziende: La Cultura della Tecnica tra Arte e Storia* (Milan: Franco Angeli Editore, 2001), Linda Kaiser's *Musei e Archivi d'Impresa: Il Territorio, le Imprese, gli Oggetti, i Documenti* (Milan: Assolombarda, 2001), Giorgetta Bonfiglio-Dosio's *Archivi di Impresa: Studi e Proposte* (Padova: Cleup: 2003), Massimo Negri's *Manuale di Museologia per i Musei Aziendali* (Rome: Rubbettino, 2003) and Fiorella Bulegato's *I Musei d'Impresa: Dalle Arti Industriali al Design* (Roma: Carocci, 2008). According to a survey published in Fiorella Bulegato's book, Italy had 573 industrial museums in 2008, the largest number in Europe. And most of these museums are strategically connected to a historical archive. From this perspective, the museum is understood as the center of a richer cultural offering, which plays an important role in the overall public relations strategy of the company.

[69] David Jenkins, "Object Lessons and Ethnographic Displays: Museum Exhibitions and the Making of American Anthropology," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (1994). According to David Jenkins, the museums of the late-nineteenth century functioned to sort the world systematically into drawers, glass-fronted cases, bottles and filing cabinets. This represented a "shift from delighting in the world's strange offerings and the appeal of subjective involvement to an attempt to master and control the world's diversity through new forms of conceptualization." For a comprehensive analysis of this topic, see Mary Bouquet, "A History of Ethnographic Museums," in *Museums: A Visual Anthropology* (London: Berg, 2012).

[70] Different forms of collecting, including the most pathological and infantile impulses, were discussed by Joseph Rykwert in "Why Collect?" *History Today*, Vol. 51, Issue 12 (2001). This essay is influenced by the aforementioned work of Jean Baudrillard on the psychology of collecting.

[71] Kate Sturge, *Representing Others: Translation, Ethnography and the Museum* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 2007). This study revolves around the notion of "translating cultures." It focuses on how the Other is addressed in ethnographic museums, emphasizing the role of the curator in speaking for the Other. After addressing the colonial period, Kate Sturge looks at ethnography from the 1970s onward. Among other approaches put forward in second half of the 20th century, particularly interesting is the trend referred to as "ethnography at home." It's an ethnography written by members of the observed

culture, whether this be in the former colonies or in the former colonizing country. In these particular cases, the need for translation ceases to exist.

[72] The work of Giovanni Testori as both an art historian and a collector has been addressed in the catalogue of the exhibition *Testori e la Grande Pittura Europea*, held in Ravenna in 2012. The literature on Giovanni Testori includes Carlo Bo's *Testori: L'Urlo, la Bestemmia, il Canto dell'Amore Umile* (Milan: Longanesi, 1995), Annamaria Cascetta's *Invito alla Lettura di Testori* (Milan: Mursia, 1995) and Davide Dall'Ombra's *Giovanni Testori: Biografia per Immagini* (Milan: Gribaudo, 2000). In Giovanni Testori's own body of literary work, particularly interesting in this context is the novel *Il Fabbricone* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1961). The term *fabbricone* literally indicates a large factory building, but in this novel the concept of *fabbrica* is dislodged from the realm of industrial production and used to describe the working-class apartment building in which the story unfolds.

[73] This exhibition of Rossian objects was part of an event titled *Giorni Felici a Casa Testori: 22 Artisti in 22 Stanze e in Giardino*, held in September and October 2011. Shortly after, in 2013, Casa Testori hosted another exhibition on Aldo Rossi, curated by Claudia Tinazzi. The show was accompanied by a publication titled *Aldo Rossi: L'Idea di Abitare* (Milan: Casa Testori, 2013). The relationship between Aldo Rossi and Giovanni Testori has also been the object of a panel organized by the Treinnale Lab during the Milan Arch Week of 2017. At this event, Fabio Reinhart, one of Aldo Rossi's former collaborators, spoke about Giovanni Testori's attempt to purchase a set of the architect's drawings and the proposal to put together a book of these materials. Another interesting affinity, highlighted by art historian Giovanni Agosti, is the fact that both of them were somewhat obsessed with a particular type of blue notebooks: they took notes on very similar *quaderni azzurri*.

[74] Aldo Rossi, *Quaderni Azzurri*, No. 47, 1991 (Archive of the Getty Research Institute).

[75] Alessandro Mendini, ed. *Officina Alessi: Tea and Coffee Piazza* (New York: Shakespeare and Company, 1983). The publication that accompanied the "Tea and Coffee Piazza" project made the point that "production is done by hand and, in one or two cases, with the help of molds."

[76] Notably, in Carl Jung's theory of archetypes, the concept of prototype is assimilated to the figure of a mold. As noted in the *Gale Encyclopedia of Psychology* (Detroit: Gale Group, 2001), "Jungian archetypes are like prototypes or molds that each person fills in differently depending on his or her individual experience."

[77] Aldo Rossi, *Quaderni Azzurri*, No. 31, 1986 (Archive of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angele). Kurt Forster translated the expression "*salto di scala*" as "shift of scale." See Kurt Forster, "Aldo Rossi's Architecture of Recollection: The Silence of Things Repeated or Stated for Eternity," in *The Pritzker Architecture Prize, 1990: Presented to Aldo Rossi* (Los Angeles: Jensen and Walker, 1990).

[78] The narrative that accompanies the promotion of this miniature collection directly acknowledges both the psychological and the socio-economic dynamics associated with collecting design objects. The text in a promotional brochure is quite telling: "Through our experience at Alessi, we are well aware of the fact that people buy our coffee makers and kettles not just because they have to make coffee or boil water, but also because of a whole series of other reasons linked to factors based on the collective imagination. […] This collection was created with special consideration for collectors of our products, to give them the chance to complete their private collections of authentic objects and with considerable savings in terms of both space and expenditure." And this is not the only case in which Alessi engaged with the questions of scalability and miniaturization. As noted by Claudia Neumann in *Design Directory Italy* (London: Pavilion Books, 1999), the "Tea and Coffee Piazza" and several other objects produced in the 1980s and 1990s were conceived and marketed as "miniature architectures." Alessandro Mendini referred to it as "micro-architecture for the table." For a reflection on how scale affects the capacity of artworks to mediate between viewers' expectations and perceptions, see Joan Kee and Emanuele Lugli, "Scale to Size: An Introduction," *Art History*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (2015).

[79] Peter Dormer, *The Meanings of Modern Design* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990).

[80] Guy Julier, *The Culture of Design* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2000).

[81] On this exhibition, see Christian Casadei, "Rappresentazione e Costruzione: Il Teatro Domestico di Aldo Rossi," in *Il Luogo della Rappresentazione* (Bologna: Clueb, 2009). For a study on scalability in the *milieu* in which Alessi and Aldo Rossi operated, see Penelope Dean's "Blow-Up," *Hunch* 11: Rethinking Representation (2007). She writes: "With architecture as the preeminent cultural form under postmodernism, Alessi's *Piazza* architects proportionally reduced the discipline's scalar logic to enable transference from the scale of architecture to the scale of product design." But miniaturization is not the only process that responds to this logic: "The concept of blow-up finds an interesting and paradoxical predecessor in the product design enlargements of Aldo Rossi. While his Alessi commissions were architectural reductions, his coffee pot drawings demonstrate a parallel interest in the reverse process: the enlargement of product design into architecture. Rossi's

technique of enlargement, however, was an architectural act, retaining the centrality of architecture and operating with disciplinary tactics: scalar proportion, formal outline and articulation."

[82] The exhibition was accompanied by an eponymous publication: *Il Progetto Domestico: La Casa dell'Uomo – Archetipi e Prototipi* (Milan: Electa, 1986), edited by Georges Teyssot. For a comprehensive historiographical analysis of the architectural debate on typology, see Adrian Forty's entry "Type" in the *Words and Buildings: Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000). Among other ideas, Adrian Forty discusses the classical, Neoplatonic notion of type as exposed by Quatrèmere de Quincy, the anthropologization of type accomplished by Gottfried Semper, the concept of *Typisierung* defined by Hermann Muthesius as a normalization of industrial products, and Aldo Rossi's approach to typology, understood as a theory of formal permanencies to be found in an urban context. In recent years, Georges Teyssot himself has addressed this historiographic issue in *A Topology of Everyday Constellations* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2013).

[83] Patrik Schumacher, *The Autopoiesis of Architecture, Volume II: A New Agenda for Architectur*e (London: John Wiley, 2012).

[84] Georges Teyssot, "On That Word, Nature," *The Avery Review*, No. 1 (2014).

[85] Alberto Corsin Jimenez, "The Prototype: More Than Many and Less Than One," *Journal of Cultural Economy*, Vol. 7, Issue 4 (2014). This essay makes a claim for the rise of prototyping as a cultural discourse in design, engineering and artistic circles, but also among analogous experimental moments in social studies of science and critical theory. In particular, it examines the work that prototypes do as "figures of suspension and expectation:" according to Alberto Corsin Jimenez, they offer in this guise a design for contemporary complexity that is "at once more than many and less than one."

[86] On this topic, see Shannon Starkey's "Collapse and Expand: Alessi's Tea and Coffee Piazza," ACSA International Conference Proceedings (2012). Analyzing the "Tea and Coffee Piazza" program, Shannon Starkey writes: "Combining with desires for autonomy, the resurgence of typological thinking in the 1970s determined the design approach: the architects utilized the program to design the tea service as small architecture. The title reflects this approach—beyond hinting at the involvement of architects—equating domestic tea service with the urban piazza. The participating architects reduced the discipline's scalar logic, enabling a shift from the scale of the building to the scale of consumer products."

[87] Nicolò Ornaghi and Francesco Zorzi, "A Conversation with Arduino Cantàfora," *Log*, No. 35 (2015). One of Arduino Cantàfora's main contributions to the Italian architectural discourse of the time was *Città Analoga*, a painting exhibited at the Milan Triennale of 1973, which became the manifesto of the *Tendenza* movement. It also inspired the seminal collage

Città Analoga, designed by Aldo Rossi (along with Eraldo Consolaselo, Bruno Reichlin and Fabio Reinhart) for the Venice Biennale of 1976.

[88] Francesco Saverio Fera, "Sulla Ricostruzione del Teatro del Mondo di Aldo Rossi," *Firenze Architettura*, No. 1 (2006).

[89] Enrico Tantucci, "Venezia ha ridotto in pezzi il Teatro del Mondo e Genova lo ricostruisce," *La Tribuna di Treviso*, 11 June 2004.

[90] Christopher Stead's interview is part of a documentary titled *Aldo Rossi: Il Teatro del Mondo, 1979-2004*, created by Dario Zanasi and Francesco Saverio Fera. This documentary was made on the occasion of the reconstruction of the theater in Genoa in 2004, shining a light on the trajectory of Aldo Rossi's project in the previous twenty-five years. On the post-production of architectural drawings, an interesting source is Jennifer Bloomer's "Abodes of Theory and Flesh: Tabbles of Bower," *Assemblage*, No. 17 (1992). In her study, Jennifer Bloomer identifies three types of drawings: "Two are tools: sketchbook drawings, which examine and document construction techniques, signification of material, and form; and shop drawings, from which a full-scale construction was built. The third, *dirty* drawings, document the project *ex post facto*. The dirty drawing aims both to exploit the power of the pornographic image and to mark the connection between it and the conventions of architectural representation. It occupies the territory between a working drawing and a pornographic photograph (I have in mind that famous, lush image of the flesh of Marilyn Monroe dished up on red satin). Thus it is both technically correct and improperly ornamental. […] It comments as well on the contemporary phenomenon of the architectural drawing as art commodity."

[91] On the relationship between architect, drawing and building, see Mark Pimlott's "Picturing Fictions," in *Without and Within: Essays on Territory and the Interior* (Rotterdam: Episode Publishers, 2007). Mark Pimlott uses the term *picturing* to represent the struggle to establish the presence of an idea through an architectural drawing. He writes: "Representation marks the failure of being able to reproduce the real, yet its very attempts mark the hope that the real may come into being through its agency. […] Representation is at once unbelievable and compelling: it's a fiction that one must go to, approach, believe in." This argument was influenced by Robert Sokolowski's "Picturing," *Review of Metaphysics*, No. 31 (1977) and Robin Evans's "Translations from Drawing to Building," *AA Files*, No. 12 (1986).

[92] Jesse Reiser, "Jesse Reiser on Aldo Rossi," *Drawing Matter*, 30 September 2017.

[93] A different but related aspect of this phenomenon is highlighted in a recent book titled *The Lego Architect* (San Francisco: No Starch Press, 2015), written by Tom Alphin. In this case, a major corporation like Lago presents a series of famous architectural works to its mass public in the form of build-it-yourself collectable miniatures. The book is accompanied by a Wall Street Journal review: "Be the Corbusier of Lego…No building permits required."

[94] Umberto Barbieri, Jan de Heer and Otto van Nierop, *Aldo Rossi: Teatro del Mondo Model Kit* (Delft: Academia Boekhandel, 1984).

[95] Sylvia Lavin, Syllabus of the Seminar *Building Postmodernism*, University of California Los Angeles, Winter 2015. The introduction to this syllabus highlights the tension between images and buildings in postmodern architecture: "Postmodern architecture has been associated with many things: historicism, irony, late capital, typology, consumerism…As diverse as the series of associations may be, they are drawn together by their emphasis on architecture as image. On the one hand, rendering it as a free-floating signifier made architecture available to stand in for and provide access to these many discourses and concerns. On the other hand, this subsumation into the semiosphere also ensnared the history of postmodern architecture in a tautology: postmodernity is about image culture and therefore we study its architectural history by examining images, representations and various signs as if they had no attendant matter. This research course instead focuses on the postmodern building, the one thing postmodernity, theoretically, could not produce."

[96] Nicolò Ornaghi and Francesco Zorzi, "A Conversation with Arduino Cantàfora," *Log*, No. 35 (2015). In this interview, Arduino Cantàfora spoke about the remarkable interest the Theater of the World had sparked in the United States: "When Nancy Reagan saw it—I don't know if in person or published somewhere—she wanted it in the San Francisco Bay. One day the phone rings—some people who were in the office told me—and the wife of the Italian Foreign Minister said, «Architect, I have just learned, via our Embassy, that First Lady Nancy Reagan would like to meet you to discuss moving the Teatro del Mondo to the United States after the Biennale». The Foreign Minister sent a plane to Milan to bring Rossi to the American Embassy in Rome to discuss traveling to the United States. This is just to tell you that, directly or indirectly, the Teatro del Mondo triggered an exponential growth of his celebrity. Even though the trip to America came to nothing." Interestingly, in the original Italian version of this interview, Arduino Cantàfora used the expression "salto di scala" to describe the exponential growth of Aldo Rossi's celebrity. The Rossian notion of *shift of scale* was applied to the architect's status as well.

[97] Peter Eisenman, ed. *Aldo Rossi in America: 1976 to 1979* (New York: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1979) and Diane Ghirardo, "Aldo Rossi in the United States: A Meditation on Artifacts over Time," Proceedings of the 1999 ACSA International Conference in Rome.

[98] Aldo Rossi, "Project for the New School of Architecture at the University of Miami," Undated presentation, late-1980s. This document is held in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal. As already noted, Aldo Rossi's fluid understanding of the relationship between the original and the copy speaks to the Latourian notion of "the migration of the aura." Particularly relevant is Bruno Latour's argument regarding the role that copies play in building the aura of the original: "No question about it, the obsession of the age is for the original version. But paradoxically, this obsession for pinpointing originality increases proportionally with the availability and accessibility of more and more copies of better and better quality. If so much energy is devoted to the search for the original—or archeological and marketing reasons—it is because the possibility of making copies has never been so open-ended. If no copies of the Mona Lisa existed would we pursue it with such energy – and would we devise so many conspiracy theories to decide whether or not the version held under glass and protected by sophisticated alarms is the original surface painted by Leonardo's hand or not. In other words, the intensity of the search for the original depends on the amount of passion and the number of interests triggered by its copies. No copies, no original. In order to stamp a piece with the mark of originality you need to apply to its surface the huge pressure that only a great number of reproductions can provide." See Bruno Latour and Adam Lowe, "The Migration of the Aura – or How to Explore the Original Through Its Facsimiles," in *Switching Codes: Thinking Through Digital Technology in the Humanities and the Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

[99] On this topic, see Peggy Deamer's "Branding the Architectural Author," *Perspecta*, No. 37 (2005). This essay points to the work of Michael Graves as the primary example of branding in architecture: "His move from architecture to product design, from the one-off, unique object (building) to the off-the-shelf multiple (tea kettles for Alessi, stools for Marshell Field's, toilet cleaners and outdoor pavilions for Target), is part of a larger trend of the last twenty years, exemplified by Martha Stewart's association with KMart, to popularize design with a capital D in the most extreme of mass-markets. […] His aim is not the unique and the singular, but the shared and commonly cherished." On branding, see also Anna Klingmann's *Brandscapes: Architecture in the Experience Economy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007). For a study of the relationship

between buildings and logos, see Catherine de Smet's "About One Striped Rectangle: Jean Widmer and the Centre Pompidou Logo," *Design Issues*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (2010).

[100] On the representation of hands in architectural drawings, see Anne Bordeleau's "The Architect's Own Hand is Seen Here: Architecture and Representation," in *Charles Robert Cockerell, Architect in Time: Reflections Around Anachronistic Drawings* (New York: Routledge, 2016). The starting point is a note on a drawing of the Cambridge Library made by Cockerell, which reads "the architect's own hand is seen here." Anne Bordeleau addresses the architect's representation as a double index, identifying where a building is situated in the world, as well as the conceiving hand that has placed it there. Cockerell's note emphasizes this second relation. Notably, the hand as inherently present appears explicitly in other representations throughout history: from medieval illustrations of God as geometer, to Le Corbusier's hand pointing down to his envisioned Ville Radieuse, the hand becomes a "site of investigation in its own right." For a specific reflection on Le Corbusier, see André Wogenscky, *Le Corbusier's Hands* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005) and Mark Dorrian, "The Aerial View: Notes for a Cultural History," *Strates* 13 (2013). Discussing the famous photograph of the Ville Radieuse model, Mark Dorrian comments on the detached hand and its increased agency as a "visualizing power." In this context, the hand is understood as something that can make things appear by pointing at them from a position of distance. Le Corbusier's hand operates as the "divine hand" that puts the world in motion.

[101] In 2012, the Fondazione Vedova in Venice organized an exhibition titled *Aldo Rossi: Teatri*. The eponymous book, edited by Germano Celant, has been published by Skira (Milan). In addition to the scale model of the Theater of the World, the show included two giant Alessi coffee makers.

[102] Paolo Portoghesi, "Il Teatro del Mondo," *Controspazio*, No. 5-6 (1979). In this essay, Paolo Portoghesi points to the fact that, according to Aldo Rossi's initial project, the building was supposed to have a wooden structure: "the contradiction between load-bearing structure and envelope" came about later, as a result of budgetary constraints and time constraints. The steel frame was cheaper and required less time.

[103] In a 1980 interview produced by the Biennale, Aldo Rossi mentions the "ponteggi" of his Venetian theater, underlining the industrial language of this particular structure. The term "ponteggi" literally means scaffoldings, but it can also indicate the structural frame of a building. The pivotal role played by Dalmine in the design and construction of the Teatro del Mondo has been recognized during the reconstruction project in Genoa, in the early 2000s. As noted by Francesco Saverio

Fera in "Sulla Ricostruzione del Teatro del Mondo di Aldo Rossi," *Firenze Architettura*, No. 1 (2006), the absence of *ex ante* architectural drawings led the researchers to the archive of Ponteggi Dalmine. That is where they found the construction drawings made by Dalmine's engineers. More precisely, they found a series of copies (known as "copie rosse") because the original construction drawings had been kept by Christopher Stead, the architect whose job was to produce Aldo Rossi's presentation drawings. Notably, this discovery was made possible by the fact that, in an effort to preserve and present its legacy to the public, Dalmine had created a *Fondazione* in the late 1990s. This institution included an archive, as well as other spaces devoted to exhibitions and various cultural activities. The focus of the *Fondazione* is on Dalmine's involvement in a number of cultural events that marked the history of Italy in the twentieth century. One of the main examples is the "ponteggio" commissioned by Federico Fellini for the iconic final scene of the movie *Otto e Mezzo* (*8½*). Not unlike the Museo Alessi, the Fondazione Dalmine has become a tourist attraction. In fact, Alessi and Dalmine both partake in Museimpresa, the Italian Association of Company Archives and Museums. For a historical overview of Dalmine's role in Italy's post-war culture, see Ilaria Giannetti's *Il Tubo Innocenti: Protagonista Invisibile della Scuola Italiana di Ingegneri*a (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2017).

[104] Gianni Braghieri's interview is part of the documentary *Aldo Rossi: Il Teatro del Mondo, 1979-2004*, created by Dario Zanasi and Francesco Saverio Fera in 2004, on the occasion of the reconstruction of the theater in Genoa.

[105] These behind-the-scenes dynamics were highlighted by journalist Michela Bombani of *La Repubblica*. See Michela Bombani, "Smontano il Teatro del Mondo: A Caricamento si Va a Fare Legna," *La Repubblica*, 7 April 2005.

[106] The Biennale's decision to store the surviving pieces of the Teatro del Mondo in a warehouse of a company that dealt with waste disposal brings to mind Michael Shanks's reflections on the archeological importance of garbage. See Michael Shanks, David Platt and William Rathje, "The Perfume of Garbage: Modernity and the Archeological," *Modernism/Modernity*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2004). The premise of this essay is that "99 percent or more of what most archaeologists dig up, record, and analyze is what past peoples threw away as worthless." And this leads to a process of historical metamorphosis: "the quotidian becomes the materialization of a historical moment: mundane things come to carry the baggage of history, they become allegorical." Interestingly, the case of the Theater of the World seems to embody a different metamorphosis: an object that at the time of its construction was invested with great historical significance and presented as an allegorical talisman of a certain architectural ideology quickly reverted into a mundane pile of wooden

planks, forgotten in a generic industrial periphery. In this case, what was initially regarded as "historical" became mundane and worthless.

[107] Francesco Saverio Fera, "Sulla Ricostruzione del Teatro del Mondo di Aldo Rossi," *Firenze Architettura*, No. 1 (2006). Francesco Saverio Fera points to the importance of finding the original material of the 1979 Teatro del Mondo. This quasi-archeological research was also discussed by Gianni Braghieri in the documentary *Aldo Rossi: Il Teatro del Mondo, 1979-2004*. For him, finding the surviving elements of the original envelope was key to the process of "recreating the image" of Aldo Rossi's building. From this point of view, the reproduction (or molding) of the Theater of the World was still entangled in the materiality of the so-called *original*. In this reconstruction project, the envelope was addressed as an image. On the envelope's capacity to re-present, see Alejandro Zaera-Polo's "The Politics of The Envelope," *Log*, No. 13/14 (2008).

[108] Michela Bombani, "Smontano il Teatro del Mondo: A Caricamento si Va a Fare Legna," *La Repubblica*, 7 April 2005.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Manfredo Tafuri, "L'Ephémère est Eternel: Aldo Rossi a Venezia," *Domus*, No. 602 (1979). Tafuri underlines the ephemeral nature of the Theater of the World, which he describes as "un oggetto pago della sua inessenzialità." On the other hand, the discourse on the bureaucratic side of design has a long history. One of the canonical texts on this subject is Henry-Russell Hitchcock's "The Architecture of Bureaucracy and the Architecture of Genius," *Architectural Review,* No. 101 (1947). While discussing the bureaucratic framework of the emerging post-war industrial society, Hitchcock also carves out a special space for the "architecture of genius." In this realm, the "genius-architect" (or the antibureaucrat) would be called on to design those special (cultural or monumental) buildings that required artistic or creative synthesis.

[111] Aldo Rossi, *Quaderni Azzurri*, No. 26, 1979-80 (Archive of the Getty Research Institute). The opposition *inside / outside* was a key theme in John Hejduk's work. In "The Flatness of Depth," in *Mask of Medussa* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), he writes: "Architecture can be observed both from a distance and internally (close-up); we can become internally ingested by it, become part of its interior. Instead of just being an outside observer or an outside spectator, we can become part of its very interior organism. We become physical-organic participators; we become enclosed. Architecture is the only art form that affords us the opportunity of being voyeurs who watch the outside from the outside, the outside from the inside, and the inside from the inside. It is all made up from a series of outside fragments and inside fragments." As noted by Michael Meredith in relation to the exhibition *Sanctuaries* at the Whitney Museum (2002), John Hejduk's work revolves

around the figure of the mask – a space that mediates between inside and outside, an architectural figment meant to be embodied from within as much as it is from without. As a result, according to Michael Meredith, most of his projects seem to float, removed from their context, as if the sites were primarily shifting mental constructs.

[112] On the debate the followed the exhibition of the Theater of the World at the 1980 Biennale, see *Aldo Rossi: Teatro del Mondo* (Venice: Cluva, 1982), edited by Manlio Brusatin and Alberto Prandi. The book is a collection of the most important writings on the Venetian theater from the early 1980s. This literature constantly points two the Shakespearian Globe Theater and, most importantly, the Venetian Theatrum Mundi of the 16th century as the fundamental historical references of Aldo Rossi's project.

[113] Thea Brejzek and Lawrence Wallen, "Performing the Past: The Full-Scale Model and Mock Up," in *The Model as Performance: Staging Space in Theatre and Architecture* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018). Building on Manfredo Tafuri's position, this study highlights the divergence between Aldo Rossi's project and the tradition of the Theatrum Mundi: "Aldo Rossi's relation to the historical *Theatri* was antithetical to the open, circular form of the earlier floats [by Rusconi and Scamozzi]. Instead, he set a fully enclosed horizontal structure with a central empty space denoting a stage and single window looking to the outside. In this cultural geographic context, his Teatro presented itself as the performance of a model as it comes into vision and disappears again with the motion of the waters of the San Marco basin."

[114] Sang Lee and Ruth Baumeister, eds. *The Domestic and the Foreign in Architecture* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishes, 2007). Sang Lee and Ruth Baumeister were inspired to work with the opposing notions of the domestic and the foreign by reflecting on the German terms *heimlich* and *unheimlich*. They both derive from the stem word *heim*, meaning home – the domesticity of one's place of origin. Particularly interesting is the Freudian interpretation of this dichotomy and the claim that the *unheimlich* always returns to what we have long known and are most familiar with. In his essay "Notes on Architecture for Globalized Bodies," Diego Barajas introduced the notion of *globalized bodies* to characterized the subjects that are constantly "exposed to the contrast between the homogeneous and the differentiated," and that are "neither linked to any given geographical location nor defined by any territorial structure."

[115] Fredric Jameson, "Globalization and Architecture," in *The Domestic and the Foreign in Architecture* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishes, 2007).

[116] The various attempts to explain and define the phenomenon of globalization have often relied on spatial metaphors, with a particular emphasis on issues of scale. In *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), Anthony Giddens argued that "globalization can be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa." In *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1992), Roland Robertson, an early writer in the field, described globalization as "the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole." In *Global Transformations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), David Held stated: "A satisfactory definition of globalization must capture each of these elements: extensity (stretching), intensity, velocity and impact." Swedish journalist Thomas Larsson, in his book *The Race to the Top: The Real Story of Globalization* (Washington DC: Cato Institute, 2001), argued that "globalization is the process of world shrinkage, of distances getting shorter, things moving closer; it pertains to the increasing ease with which somebody on one side of the world can interact, to mutual benefit, with somebody on the other side of the world."

[117] Ulrich Beck, *The Cosmopolitan Vision* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006).

[118] Grace Lees-Maffei, "Italianità and Internationalism: Production, Design and Mediation at Alessi, 1976-96," *Modern Italy*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2002). In this study, the extent to which Alessi typifies Italian post-war design is questioned with reference to the company's international design team and the marketing of its products to foreign consumers as manifestations of *Italianità*. Grace Lees-Maffei argues that Alessi is structured to operate in two distinct markets – home and abroad: "In Italy, Alessi objects are ubiquitous and quotidian. Outside Italy, import expenses contribute to the fact Alessi objects occupy the higher end of the price range for household goods. […] Whereas Alessi goods are tantamount to ordinary in Italy, overseas they carry the lustre of *Italianità*." This point brings to mind Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural grazing: French words hold the same allure in New York as English words in Paris. From this point of view, *Italianità* is something that may be perceived only from the outside: "For Alessi to market its goods as bearers of *Italianità*, the company needs a self-conscious understanding of how it is viewed elsewhere." In "Made in England? The Mediation of Alessi S.p.A." in *Made in Italy: Rethinking a Century of Italian Design* (London: A&C Black, 2014), Grace Lees-Maffei goes one step further in addressing the "myth of made in Italy." For the author, this unofficial brand refers to the particular nature of Italian design based, variously, on the architectural training of many Italian designers, the input of sympathetic manufacturers, the

concentration of local centers of specialization, the fusion of craft heritage with experimentation with new materials, the tight networks based on family, proximity and a number of key institutional initiatives such as the Salone del Mobile. Grace Lees-Maffei challenges the production emphasis of *made* with an understanding that "products are as much made through their consumption and mediation as they are through their manufacture."

[119] Giulio Carlo Argan, "Ideological Development in the Thought and Imagery of Italian Design," in *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1972).

[120] Kurt Andersen, "A Cult Hero Gets His Due: The Bold, Austere Architecture of Italy's Aldo Rossi Wins the Pritzker Prize," *Time*, 30 April 1990.

[121] Peter Eisenman, "Editor's Introduction: The Houses of Memory, the Texts of Analogy," in *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982). The introduction pays particular attention to Aldo Rossi's concept of *locus*: "The *locus* is a component of an individual artifact which, like permanence, is determined not just by space but also by time, by topography and form, and, most importantly, by its having been the site of a succession of both ancient and more recent events. For Rossi, the city is a theater of human events. This theater is no longer just a representation; it is a reality. It absorbs events and feelings, and every new event contains within it a memory of the past and a potential memory of the future. Thus, while the *locus* is a site which can accommodate a series of events, it also in itself *constitutes* an event. In this sense, it is a unique or characteristic place, a *locus solus*. Its singularity is recognizable in signs that come to mark the occurrence of these events. Included in this idea of the *locus solus,* then, is the specific but also universal relationship between a certain site and the buildings that are on it. Buildings may be signs of events that have occurred on a specific site; and this threefold relationship of site, event, and sign becomes a characteristic of urban artifacts. Hence, the *locus* may be said to be the place on which architecture or form can be imprinted. Architecture gives form to the singularity of place."

Chapter 5: Black Cape

Introduction and Literature Review

This final chapter focuses on a case study that coalesces the problematics discussed in the previous sections of this dissertation and, therefore, aims to serve as a conclusion. The object of study is the collaboration between Aldo Rossi and Disney – a *liaison* that interfaces with the emergence of new markets for architecture, the transition from public to corporate patronage, the transatlantic crossing, the globalization of practice, the repositioning of the governing bodies of the profession and, overall, the transformation of the structures of power through which architecture operated between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s. Furthermore, this case study opens a window into how the technological *stream*s discussed so far came together and interacted in the last decade of Aldo Rossi's practice, addressing in different ways the issue of production and reproduction.

In a period defined by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the acceleration of the process of European integration, one of the key topics in many fields was the dissolution of the State: this vast literature includes Ludwig von Mises's research on omnipotence, Michael Foucault's research on domination and governmentality, Michael Mann's research on political autonomy, Zygmunt Bauman's research on the rift between power and politics, Robert Cooper's research on the postmodernization of power, among other studies.[1] Even though architecture had constantly been entrenched in the economic, political and cultural structures of the State at least since the dawn of what Jurgen Haberman called "the project of modernity," this literature rarely intersected the architectural discourse of the post-war period.[2] As the entity that had served as the primary producer and product of architecture for centuries

was going through a process of redefinition, this discourse mostly drifted towards the issue of autonomy, rather than addressing architecture's newly-forming interdependences.[3]

Disney's engagement with architecture is emblematic of this transition. On the one hand, Disney was one of the main "non-State actors" (Markus Wagner) to both produce architecture on a global scale and to use architecture as a means to build its own brand.[4] On the other hand, even though the rise of Disney in the post-war period is often associated with the processes of postmodernization and globalization, the way in which the company operated revealed an ambiguous continuity with the logic of the State. The literature on Disney never addressed this convergence directly: the landscape created by Disney was described as a utopia (Louis Marin), an example of hyperreality (Umberto Eco), a non-place (Marc Augé), the end of public space (Michael Sorkin), a façade of power (Sharon Zukin), a spreading social paradigm (Alan Bryman), but it was never discussed in relation to statehood and its transformations.[5]

Aldo Rossi's work for Disney relates to this topic in a number of ways. Firstly, their collaboration did not start in the United States, but at Disneyland Paris – a site that many Europeans read as a sign of the aggressivity of late capitalism, the Americanization of the old continent, and the weakening of traditional public authorities (Jean-Louis Cohen).[6] Secondly, this interaction with one of the biggest multinational companies took form as Aldo Rossi's own practice started to transcend the increasingly porous boundaries of the State, and to employ some of the tools and the modes of production of the corporate world. Thirdly, as illustrated in the previous chapters of this dissertation, Aldo Rossi got to this point after a career that was based on very different premises: he grew up in Mussolini's Italy and did many of his key project in the context of the post-war reconstruction, operating simultaneously as an architect and as a militant of the Communist Party. He was formed in a context where architecture was thought of as a "State art" (Giuseppe Terragni).[7] Aldo Rossi's projects for Disney—from Paris to

Celebration and Los Angeles—shed light on the problem of dealing with a client that is not a State but has more power than most States, while revealing a tendency to reproduce a set of forms that respond to a history of power that has very little to do with postmodernity.

L'État n'est plus

"It's clear that I am not the Cavalier Bernini, but it's also clear that you are not the King of France." This message was faxed by Aldo Rossi to his "friends at Disneyland" on October 11, 1988.[8] Its *casus belli* was the project for a large hotel at the Euro Disney Resort in Paris, on which Aldo Rossi had been working for several months. According to the surviving correspondence, the Italian architect was tired of receiving "miniscule critiques" and abruptly decided to end the relationship. Although many narratives could be drawn from this document, the reference to Louis XIV sheds light on the complex and contradictory structures of power in which architecture operated, as postmodernity was being enshrined as the "condition" of the time.[9]

This reference appears also in *The Architecture of Reassurance*, one of the most thorough research projects on Disney's built environment, promoted by the Canadian Centre for Architecture in 1997. Although it does not mention Aldo Rossi's fax, this study makes multiple comparisons between Walt Disney and the Sun King: "both have vast powers—technological as well as human—at their command."[10] In this case, the analogy revolves around the construction of idealized worlds in the form of heavenly gardens, juxtaposing the royal retreat in Marly and Disneyland. Though the structure of the "vast powers" that supported these efforts is left unexplored, linking someone or something to the Sun King inevitably generates an association to a very specific form of power – a political construct that was defined in Westphalia a few years before Bernini's *voyage* to Paris and, over the following three hundred years, operated as the primary engine for modernization: the State.[11] Louis XIV was the

embodiment of this idea: *L'État c'est moi*. And, as noted by Louis Marin, his architecture was the *locus* where the representation of modern statehood was expressed and—in every sense of the word—constructed.[12]

Louis Marin was also among the first European intellectuals to show interest in Disney. As early as 1973, he began to study Disneyland, framing it as "a fantasmatic projection of the history of the American nation."[13] This point of view certainly influenced Umberto Eco's reading of the theme park as one of the emblems of hyperreality. For the Italian semiologist, entering into this realm meant "consigning ourselves to another power and abandoning our own will."[14] In 1992, French anthropologist Marc Augé went as far as to describe the Euro Disney Resort as a *non-lieu*, denouncing a lack of history, identity and sociality.[15] In the influential *Variations on a Theme Park*, which came out in the same year, Michael Sorkin suggested that going to Disneyland was very much like going to a foreign country: a customs-like toll barrier gives access to a separate realm, where a sovereign authority makes the rules, provides security and even prints its own money.[16] Looking at it from the perspective of a political scientist, Richard Foglesong took it one step further and underlined how Disney was able to operate an autonomous government with quasi-regalian powers within its parks, often in conflict with national regulations.[17] Meanwhile, in 1996, *The Nation* published a special issue titled *The National Entertainment State*, arguing that Disney was at the heart of a structure of power that essentially controlled how people got their information.[18] To use a term coined by sociologist Sharon Zukin, these and many other examples all point to a prolonged struggle to *read* the new "landscape of power" associated with Disney.[19]

These reflections never intersected with another major literature on the architecture of power. For example, in 1995 alone, two books came out with the same title: *The End of the Nation State.* The first was written by the French ambassador to the European Union, the second by a senior partner at the

multinational consultancy McKinsey.[20] By that time, a discourse on the dissolution of modern statehood had been unfolding for decades. Zygmunt Bauman described it as a "mutilation of the Leviathan," underlining the demise of the Westphalian model and the emergence of a new rift between power and politics.[21]

How did this transformation impact architecture? At least since Louis XIV, architecture had been operating in a symbiotic relation with the Nation-State. And the concept of modernity had been the primary *trait d'union*. In the transatlantic framework, the trajectory of modern architecture constantly paralleled the trajectory of the modern State. Operating in a context where this interconnection had reached its apex—the Fascist regime—Giuseppe Terragni noted: "L'architettura è un'arte di Stato."[22] The realignment of this relationship, a process initiated among the debris of World War II and then accelerated by the recession of the 1970s as well as the conservative turn of the Reagan-Thatcher period, impacted the very foundations of architecture. A key part of this realignment was the process of European integration, the most direct response to the failures of nationalism. According to Robert Cooper, the author of *The Postmodern State*, the European Union constitutes the most developed example of a postmodern system.[23] Notably, Aldo Rossi's building for Disneyland Pairs was meant to be on a new road axis called "Avenue de l'Europe."

Even when addressed in terms of crisis, death or postmodernization, architecture and statehood seemed to go hand in hand. In this regard, there is an interesting history of necrologies. As for architecture, none is more well-known than Charles Jencks's statement: "Modern Architecture died in Saint Louis, Missouri, on July 15, 1972 at 3.32 p.m. (or thereabouts), when the infamous Pruitt Igoe scheme, or rather several of its slab blocks, were given the final *coup de grace* by dynamite."[24] Using a similar analogy, political scientist Christopher Coker made the argument that the modern State collapsed along with the concrete blocks of the Berlin wall, on November 9, 1989.[25]

Interestingly, Disney was (or claimed to be) linked to both of these collapses. In the 1960s, before focusing on Florida, Walt Disney developed a project for a theme park in Saint Louis and choose a site near the Pruitt Igoe complex. Even though the proposal did not go through for bureaucratic problems, anyone could see the contraposition between these two approaches to "place-making."[26] As for the second example, there is a remarkable statement by Michael Eisner, the former CEO of the company: addressing the cultural impact of the American entertainment industry, he famously argued that Disney made an essential contribution to the fall of the Berlin wall.[27]

From Stalin to Disney

The "Bernini fax" opens a window into the unique intersection between these overarching problematics and Aldo Rossi's workings. Firstly, even though Italy managed to maintain a difficult balance on the iron curtain during the post-war years, Aldo Rossi used to gravitate toward a specific side of the Berlin wall. For example, when the Pruitt Igoe scheme was being demolished, he had just participated to a conference titled *The Construction of the Socialist State*, organized by the University of Venice in collaboration with a group of architects from East Germany.[28] Unsurprisingly, in Aldo Rossi's early writings, architecture was often addressed as "arte di Stato," the same expression used by Giuseppe Terragni in the 1930s.[29] And, as already noted, from a very young age, he had been involved with the Italian Communist Party and even wrote several articles for the newspaper *Voce Comunista*. An emblematic snapshot of that period is a photograph taken during a trip to Moscow, in which Aldo Rossi poses in front of a monumental portrait of Stalin.[30] How does one go from Stalin to Disney? In *Laviathan 2.0*, Charles Maier identified the 1980s with a general reaction against State authority.[31] This was the period in which Michel Foucault began to write about statehood as a form of domination, arguing that the problem of the day was to "liberate" society from the State and its institutions.[32] But,

on the other hand, there was also a growing resistance toward alternative types of authority. By the mid-1990s, more than half of the world's largest economies were companies, not countries. More specifically, they were multinational corporations, like Disney. And these so-called "non-State actors" were often perceived as illegitimate authorities, threatening the institutions that had held the power for centuries.[33] Fittingly, in his 1993 "Letter from EuroDinsey," Jean-Louis Cohen presented Disney's executives as evil witches and had French President Jacques Chirac play the role—of course—of Snow White.[34]

Aldo Rossi's interaction with Disney reveals a similar tension. As noted by the architect himself, for the majority of his career, his clients were primarily Italian *comuni* – the local appendages of the State.[35] And one may add that most of his key projects were sited in cities administered by the Communist Party, from Modena to Gallarate. From this perspective, the reference to the King of France speaks to a certain difficulty in dealing with a major non-State client which, to make matters worse, tended to operate as a State. After all, the theme park was often referred to as Disney's kingdom. Come to think of it, statehood may have been the actual theme of Disneyland.

On the other hand, telling the story of the Cavalier Bernini in a fax addressed to the Director of Real Estate Development of the Euro Disney Resort (listing Michael Eisner in carbon copy) was clearly a display of cultural power – a way of demonstrating intellectual superiority. Additionally, the message was written in Italian, further expressing Aldo Rossi's unwillingness to meet them halfway. As previously noted, this was the period in which Pierre Bourdieu published his work on the notion of cultural capital, forwarding the idea that anyone could acquire a cultural good, but only those with "embodied cultural capital" could fully consume it.[36] The CEO of Disney undoubtedly prided himself on belonging to that category. In a recent interview, one of his employees was very keen to share that Michael Eisner grew up in "a house with abstract paintings on the walls" and, therefore, could cultivate

his particular taste in art and architecture from a very young age.[37] What is certain is that he did not pass up the opportunity to *consume* Aldo Rossi's letter: as soon as he read it, he had it framed and hung in his office, just like a work of art.[38]

As illustrated in the chapter "Blue Book," this was hardly the only corporate office in America that could showcase an Aldo Rossi *piece*. In fact, by that time, his drawings had been circulating as commodities in the American art market for more than a decade. But Disney had a particular agenda. The company's narrative repeatedly tried to present Disney as "the new Medici for our time."[39] As is well known, this was the period in which Disney collaborated with many of the leading designers associated with postmodernism, including Robert Venturi, Frank Gehry, Arata Isozaki, Michael Graves and Robert Stern. Even *The New York Times* ran an article titled "The Medici Behind Disney High Art," praising Michael Eisner for his "capacity to commission culture."[40] Evidently, this was not the type of culture that Aldo Rossi and his comrades had in mind when, in the early 1970s, they were meeting to talk about "arte capitalista" and the so-called "lotta della cultura."[41]

The Louis XIV provocation played very well in the Disney headquarters. Upon receiving the fax, Michael Eisner flew Aldo Rossi all the way to the United States on his private jet, told him how much he enjoyed the Bernini reference and, after a long negotiation, convinced him to accept two projects in Celebration and Los Angeles, which would later be followed by other collaborations.[42] What sounded like a slap in the face turned out to be Aldo Rossi's *passepartout* for Disney's coffers. Douglas Moreland, one of the project managers involved in these endeavors, explained this U-turn by arguing that people want what they can't have, especially at Disney: saying no to Michael Eisner made Aldo Rossi a must-have. But he also noted that Aldo Rossi perfectly fit the profile of Disney's ideal architect. In corporate jargon, those belonging to this typology were labelled "black-cape architects" – an expression that alluded to the popular motif of the one-of-a-kind artist, the visionary genius in the

footsteps of Frank Lloyd Wright.[43] From this point of view, Aldo Rossi's trajectory can be understood as that of a red architect turned into a black-cape architect, and then quickly assuming the status of a blue-chip architect.[44]

Forms of Power

What type of architecture resulted from this transmutation of the species? First of all, it is worth underlining that this transformation played out on a transatlantic scale, as the collaboration with Disney started in Europe and, only at a later stage, moved to Mickey's holy sites in America. The surviving drawings show that Aldo Rossi's hotel at Disneyland Paris was meant to be a large quadrilateral building with colonnaded façades.[45] The highlight of the composition was its eastern colonnade, defined by a pedimented centerpiece and two pavilions – one at each of its extremities. Even though no one explicitly pointed it out, the formal reference to the Louvre was quite obvious. The model was not Bernini's proposal, but rather the design elaborated by the *petit conseil*. In a handwritten note, Aldo Rossi went as far as to describe the way in which masonry and steel elements came together in the colonnade – a detail that only makes sense if read as a nod to Claude Perrault's structural system. A system which, incidentally, had just been discussed by Robin Middleton on the pages of *AA Files*, in 1985.[46]

Aldo Rossi's design also included a tower at the center of the courtyard, a point from which one could "see the whole Kingdom." But the theme of surveillance was taken to the next level in the project for Celebration.[47] As evidenced by some of the early sketches, this office building was initially envisioned as a full-fledged panopticon. Obviously, this was one of the hot topics in the architectural discourse of the time and received a lot of attention among Italian architects. In the early 1970s, for example, Aldo Rossi's work and Jeremy Bentham's panopticon were presented side by side on the cover of

Controspazio.[48] A few years later, Manfredo Tafuri organized a seminar on panopticism at the University of Venice.[49] And many other examples could be brought up to show the remarkable interest in this typology, which came to be understood as a fundamental lens through which to consider the relation between architecture and power. In the Foucauldian model, the panopticon was not only a building, but also a diagram of modern power and, more specifically, a diagram of modern statehood.

By the same token, the project for Los Angeles (which housed the ABC headquarters) had a peculiar affinity with the Casa del Fascio, in Como. For example, in the initial drawings, the gigantic image of Mickey Mouse on the main façade seemed to imitate the Mussolinian iconography that used to dominate Giuseppe Terragni's building.[50] Incidentally, Mickey Mouse and Mussolini had an interesting love-hate relationship: in the late 1930s, the *Duce* forbade the publishing of all American content except for Disney's comic books, because his kids liked Mickey Mouse. However, he had it rebaptized Topolino, in order to make it less American.[51] Reviewing the ABC building for *The Los Angeles Times*, Nicolai Ouroussoff chose a different analogy: "Its simple, pumped-up forms give it a haunting presence, but the ghosts the building evokes would make Mickey Mouse's knees buckle: the neoclassical Stalinist monuments that were one of the architect's most unusual inspirations."[52] For a critic of Russian decent like Nicolai Ouroussoff, Aldo Rossi's work for Disney spoke a very familiar language: "Aldo Rossi was unapologetic about his admiration for the 'great architecture' of the Stalinist period in Russia, and that's evident here." One could go on all day with this game of guess-the-reference. But that is not the point. What is worth noting is the repeated use of motifs associated with a specific history of power—from Louis XIV to Mussolini and Stalin—in the projects for Disney. While Aldo Rossi's fax screamed "you are not the King of France," his buildings addressed the theme of power in a very different way.

As for the framework in which this exchange could unfold, there is an important indication at the beginning of Aldo Rossi's 1988 message: "I just read the last facs sent to my friend Morris Adjmi about our project for Paris." Of course, the first thing that stands out is the misspelling of the word *fax*, which was somewhat de-Americanized and turned into the Italian *facs* (just like Topolino). But, on a deeper level, this note sheds light on the transformation of Aldo Rossi's practice in the late 1980s. As noted at the beginning of this dissertation, his friend Morris Adjmi was actually his business partner and managed his satellite office in New York City, which had been established only a few months before the beginning of the collaboration with Disney. In fact, the idea behind the opening of the Manhattan office was precisely to be able to work with important American clients like Disney. In the same period, Aldo Rossi opened smaller satellite offices in other countries, from Japan to the Netherlands: his projects, clients and even employees were becoming increasingly international. As such, the back-and-forth with Disney should be read as a dialogue between two multinational organizations that were operating in similar markets.

The meetings between Aldo Rossi and the Disney executives used to take place in the New York office. Since Aldo Rossi's English was quite poor, he used to communicate his ideas through drawings, more specifically watercolor paintings, which were then brought to Disney's headquarters and shown to the top decision-makers. Douglas Moreland has kept a couple of those watercolor paintings and still treasures them to this day. Other Disney executives, also understanding that those documents were more than simple working instruments, have decided to sell them on the art market for a profit.[53] Overall, this process brings to mind a passage of Yi-Fu Tuan's study of Louis XIV's project for Marly: "First, the King would see a watercolor rendering, which might undergo several revisions before it won final royal approval."[54]

The interaction with Disney also speaks to the importance of faxing for both internal and external communications. For example, the "miniscule critiques" that irritated Aldo Rossi were first voiced in Disney's Burbank headquarters by the company's uppermost executives, who then sent a fax to the Director of Real Estate Development of Disneyland Paris, who then sent a fax to Morris Adjmi in Aldo Rossi's satellite office in New York, who then sent a fax to the architect's studio in Milan. And Aldo Rossi's polemic response was delivered as a fax too. The *original* version of the "Bernini letter"—the one with Aldo Rossi's handwritten signature—never left his Milanese studio, until it was moved to the MAXXI, in Rome, as part of Aldo Rossi's archive.

Apart from the immediacy allowed by faxing, this type of international correspondence was not an innovation *per se*. Bernini himself had similar interactions with the French court. Among other examples, one can look at the letter sent to Jean-Baptiste Colbert by the French Ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Créqui, before the architect's departure for Paris: "Last Thursday I was at the Cavalier Bernini's and, in discussing the new plans which you tell me that the King wishes him to make for the Louvre, he seemed to me outraged at the manner in which his earlier one has been treated. He said that the faults which have been found with his building were more numerous than the stones which would be needed to build it."[55] But faxing wasn't just a system to communicate with clients and collaborators. Aldo Rossi's work for Disney in the late 1980s and early 1990s shows that faxing played a key role in the design process as well. It impacted the way projects were laid out, scaled, represented, reviewed, changed, approved, reproduced, disseminated. And, to this day, if a researcher wants to examine Aldo Rossi's projects for Disney, a significant part of the material is only accessible on long scrolls of fax paper.

In the Weberian tradition, the State was understood as a compulsory association claiming control over a territory and its inhabitants. According to Ludwig von Mises, this type of association constantly

strove toward a condition of omnipotence within the *land* delimited by its borders.[56] In the mid-1980s, Michael Mann linked this particular structure of power to the concept of autonomy, emphasizing the State's unique ability to provide a "territorially-centralized form of organization."[57] And, as noted by Charles Meier, this process was propelled by a series of technological innovations that, on the one hand, helped overcome the constraints of space and time within that territory and, on the other hand, allowed a constant contraposition with other territories.[58]

The technology that enabled a project for Paris to be developed on the Milan – New York axis by an international group of architects, hired by an American corporation, responded to a very different logic. While still dealing with physical, non-virtual objects, this apparatus undermined any form of physical control. How can a single authority exert control over an object that does not have a single location and circulates at the speed of sound all over the world, existing in the form of infinite possible copies? Addressing the advent of "electrotecture" in 1993, *ANY* noted: "When speed reaches a certain point, time and space collapse and distance seems to disappear."[59] In 1994, Lillian Bell argued that faxing represented "the abolition of time and space."[60] In their study of the globalization of architectural practice, Paul Knox and Peter Taylor discussed the development of global office networks in the early 2000s, pointing to multinational organizations that, thanks to digital technologies, could claim to operate as one virtual office.[61] The fax machine partly anticipated these phenomena and from very early on started to pose difficult questions regarding architecture's allegiances.

Aldo Rossi received his AIA credit card only a few months after his fax-quarrel with Disney.[62] If the same drawing could exist simultaneously in New York and Milan, then it was only normal that an architect could identify with both the American Institute of Architects and the Italian *Ordine degli Architetti*. But it's also worth underlining the convergence between working with Disney and being

identified with a credit card. On the one hand, monetary sovereignty has always been one of Disney's underlying ambitions: as noted by Bob Sehlinger, this is the only corporation that has "a license to print money."[63] Disney Dollars were envisioned as a device to separate people from their money and encourage them to spend as much as possible within the company's stores and theme parks. On the other hand, the growth of Disney in the post-war period coincided with the development of the credit card business. Disney was among the first corporations to engage with this business and started to develop affinity cards at a very early stage. And, on a deeper level, Disney rapidly came to embody the intertwine between consumer culture and credit culture. According to George Ritzer, "Disney World would not exist without credit cards."[64] Looking at it through the lens provided by Disney, Aldo Rossi's AIA card reflects a tendency to align an increasingly globalized profession with the *modus operandi* of its major patrons.

The Re-State

In his essay for the 1990 Pritzker Prize, Kurt Forster presented Aldo Rossi's work as an "architecture of recollection," emphasizing "the silence of things repeated or stated for eternity."[65] The act of reproducing or *re-stating* takes on a particular meaning when discussed in relation to Disney. As already noted, this discourse unfolded in a context in which the Benjaminian approach to reproduction had begun to give way to a different understanding of the connection between the original and the copy. In 1996, one year before Aldo Rossi's death, Hillel Schwartz published his influential study on the rise of a "culture of the copy" – a culture in which, as noted by Terence Hawkes, "an overt admiration for originality, authenticity, the unique and the one-off found itself systematically undermined by a covert commitment to reproduction, duplication, the simulated and the subsequent."[66] According to Hillel Schwartz, this contradiction was a by-product of industrial capitalism's ability to produce, reproduce

and market any material good: "What is reproducible seems profitable, patentable, provable, improvable, imperishable ... and true." While consumers might be critical of the copy, especially if it is made by a machine and not an artist, they are also energized by it. Perhaps no one embraced this logic more than Disney. As early as 1986, when Aldo Rossi was about to start working with Disney, Umberto Eco described Disneyland as "a fantasy that is absolutely reproduced" – the emblem of how "the completely real" can be identified with "the completely fake."[67]

Aldo Rossi's work shines a light on multiple types of reproduction. The situations in which objects are borrowed or taken from other contexts, as in the aforementioned example of the Louvre colonnade, are the most elemental and easy to recognize. A step up in complexity can be reached when looking at Aldo Rossi's *oeuvre* as a system amenable to be reproduced by others. Throughout this dissertation, the cases of Jesse Reiser's drawings of the Modena Cemetery and Christopher Stead's drawings of the Theater of the World have been highlighted to show how the mechanisms of reproduction and post-production operated in Aldo Rossi's practice, and how these materials were often used to construct a "*scuola*" that could be disseminated in various milieus (and markets).[68] Another interesting example involves the Gallaratese, Aldo Rossi's first major building: a series of drawings made in 1970 by a group of Aldo Rossi's students at the ETH reveals that the logic of the copy had been brought to the academia as well. Even though Aldo Rossi was at the beginning of his career, some of his students (including Max Bosshard) were already making copies his projects.[69]

Several preliminary drawings for the Euro Disney Resort, made by "I Discepoli" in New York and then faxed to the Milanese studio, operated in the same way: except, in this case, the final product was a combination and juxtaposition of a multitude of canonical project from Aldo Rossi's catalogue.[70] Towards the end of his career, the Gallaratese, the Modena Cemetery and the Theater of the World, among other selected projects, started to move away from being regarded as autonomous objects and

closer to becoming factors of a larger equation, that many individuals could manipulate and reshuffle, while still obtaining a Rossian result at the end. Notably, this process was not limited to drawings. The construction of a replica of the Theater of the World in 2004 speaks to the palpability of the *re-state*.[71] And it also shows that the impulse to reproduce Aldo Rossi's ideas continued well beyond the architect's life. As recently as June 2018, the Politecnico di Milano held a conference on Aldo Rossi in which architects were encouraged to engage with Rossian objects and scholars went as far as to discuss what the "Maestro" would teach if he was still alive.[72]

The most intricate level, however, has to do with self-reproduction: Aldo Rossi reproducing Aldo Rossi. In the introduction to the volume *Achitectureproduction*, a collection of essays published in 1988, Beatriz Colomina noted: "Today, in a stage of late capitalism, production and reproduction stand as two terms within a continuous cycle, their roles overlapping."[73] This debate was heavily based on the work of Walter Benjamin, as well as the recently published theory of Jean Baudrillard on simulation. But the emphasis was mostly on representation and its media. One of the few who started to look at buildings was Michael Hays, who addressed the mechanisms of reproduction used by architects such as Hannes Meyer and Ludwig Hilberseimer.[74]

In the case of Aldo Rossi, once again, the Theater of the World provides a series of key examples. While it certainly was a media phenomenon, the theater was also used in several building projects. And this strategy was particularly evident in Aldo Rossi's American work. The fact that First Lady Nancy Reagan promoted a diplomatic mission to bring the floating structure to the other side of the Atlantic speaks to the type of reception that the Theater of the World had in the United State.[75] Even though this plan turned out to be unfeasible, from that moment Aldo Rossi started to include replicas of this building in several of his early American projects. The theater featured in the project for the University of Miami, the first big commission developed on the Milan – New York axis.[76] And even

more so in the first project for Disney: behind the Louvre-like colonnade, the design included a reproduction of the Theater of the World, floating on an artificial basin, seemingly unrelated to the rest of the project. Although it did not seem to have a specific function, this object signaled a presence, making the project immediately recognizable. Not unlike the coffee makers designed for Alessi in the same period, the Theater of the World could be easily molded and placed in a variety of *milieus*, demonstrating the Rossiness of the endeavor in question.

***Grands Projets* in a Small World**

Among the few surviving documents of Aldo Rossi's site visit to Disneyland Paris, there is an interesting photograph taken by the architect himself. It shows two of his collaborators walking on Main Street—which was still under construction—and heading toward the Sleeping Beauty Castle, along with two Disney representatives.[77] Disney's castles and Aldo Rossi's theaters operated in a similar way: both were repeatedly used in multiple environments, with slight variations, to send a specific message. Moreover, just like those castles, the Theater of the World was often reduced to a stylized silhouette and used as a kind of trademark on Aldo Rossi's documents, complementing and sometimes replacing his professional seal (which featured his registration number at the "Ordine degli Architetti di Milano"). The tension between the domestic and the global is visible even in these little details. Even though the theater has been linked to the Venetian tradition of the *theatrum mundi*, the denomination "of the world" points to the transformation of Aldo Rossi's practice, reflecting a strive toward the global.[78] Notably, Disney often used a similar language: take for example the water-based ride *It's a Small World*, which plays a pivotal role in every Disney theme park.[79]

As noted in the previous chapter, several of Aldo Rossi's drawings for the Parisian project also included Disney's corporate logo – Mickey Mouse standing in front of a globe. In the context of this

study, it is worth noting that this iconography relates to a specific history of power, which, again, traces back to Bernini and Louis XIV. In his account of the architect's *voyage*, Paul Fréart de Chantelou underlined Bernini's intention of placing his much-admired bust of the King on a terrestrial globe.[80] As noted by Irving Lavin, there was an ancient tradition of portraits mounted on globes to suggest apotheosis. And this was a particularly common device in the French monarchy. Moreover, Bernini had already experimented with this device while working for the papacy in Rome. Irvin Lavin points to a particular emblem devoted to Gregory XIII, in which the Pope is presented as the sovereign of a "Piccol Mondo" (small world). The inscription on the globe intended for the bust of the Sun King was along the same lines: "Picciola Basa" (small base).[81]

These examples highlight a tension between the ambition of a universal power and the emergence of a new nationalism rooted in the concept of the State. And, as noted by multiple scholars, it was precisely the rise of a new national self-consciousness in Louis XIV's court that torpedoed Bernini's plans for the Louvre.[82] In this context, if "buildings are the portraits of the soul of Kings"—an expression attributed to Bernini by Chantelou—then only a subject of the King is legitimized to produce such a portrait. While much has been written about the unacceptable Italianness of Bernini's work for the King of France, most studies have overlooked one of the most noteworthy details of his project: as noted by Daniela Del Pesco, Bernini's proposal included a complex structure for spectacles and theatrical performances in the area between the Louvre and the Tuileries. This structure was envisioned as a scaled-down reproduction of two Italian monuments: the Theater of Marcellus and the Colosseum.[83]

Among those who studied with great attention Bernini's proposal was certainly I. M. Pei. In fact, while Aldo Rossi was sending his polemic fax in 1988, I. M. Pei's renovation of the Louvre was about to be inaugurated. It was the crown jewel of a broader renovation of Paris promoted by President François

Mitterrand. And, again, the protagonist was a non-French architect. Even though François Mitterrand was a socialist, he envisioned the Louvre as the symbol of power *par excellence* and as a key device in his policy of *grandeur*, to the point that a large section of the public accused him of reviving an old royalist tradition. In the face of such criticism, according to *The New York Times* and other sources, the President did everything he could to reassure his architect: "I will not abandon you as Louis XIV abandoned Bernini!"[84]

In the end, I. M. Pei's pyramid was built exactly where Bernini had imagined his theaters. Shortly after, the pyramid became also the logo of the museum. And next to the new glass and steel structure, the Chinese-American architect accurately positioned a reproduction (cast in lead) of Bernini's equestrian statue of Louis XIV, which had been rejected by the King and confined to a remote location in the gardens of Versailles. From François Mitterrand to Michael Eisner, from the Louvre to Disneyland, these examples show that reproducing certain objects, certain ideas and even certain names (like Bernini) spoke to the balance of power in which architecture operated during the process of post modernization. And perhaps this is where Walter Benjamin's theory applies to these phenomena: while he associated artistic production with the ritual sphere, reproduction was understood as a fundamentally political practice.[85]

Chapter 5: Black Cape – References

[1] See Ludwig von Mises, *Omnipotent Government: The Rise of the Total State and Total War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944); Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (1982); Michael Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results," *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1984); Robert Cooper, *The Postmodern State and the World Order* (London: Demos, 1996); Zygmunt Bauman and Carlo Bordoni, *State of Crisis* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014).

[2] Jurgen Habermas, "Modernity: An Unfinished Project," in *Habermas and the Unfinished Project of Modernity: Critical Essays on the Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, eds. Maurizio Passerin d'Entreves and Seyla Benhabib (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). This essay was originally delivered as a talk in September 1980, when Jurgen Habermas was awarded the Theodor Adorno Prize by the city of Frankfurt.

[3] The concept of autonomy in the postmodern architectural discourse is currently being addressed in the exhibition "Architecture Itself and Other Postmodernist Myths," curated by Sylvia Lavin at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (Fall 2018 – Winter 2019).

[4] Markus Wagner, "Non-State Actors," in *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Markus Wagner defines the term non-State actor as "a superordinate concept that encompasses all those actors in international relations that are not States. It comprises individuals as well as entities, the latter spanning a large range of organizations and institutions on the global, regional, sub-regional as well as the local levels. These entities cannot be identified by common sociological features as they include, inter alia, international organizations, corporations, non-governmental organizations, de facto regimes, trade associations and transnational corporations, terrorist groups and transnational criminal organizations. Most, though not all, non-State actors possess some form of legal capacity under international law. This characteristic serves at the same time as the distinguishing feature of non-State actors vis-à-vis States which generally possess full legal capacity."

[5] See Louis Marin, *Utopiques: Jeux d'Espaces* (Paris: Minuit, 1973); Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality* (San Diego: Harcourt, 1986); Marc Augé, "Un Ethnologue à Euro Disneyland," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, August 1992; Michael Sorkin, ed. *Variations*

on a Theme Park (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992); Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Alan Bryman, *The Disneyization of Society* (London: Sage, 2004).

[6] Jean-Louis Cohen, "Letter from EuroDisney," *ANY: Architecture New York*, No. 1 (1993).

[7] Giuseppe Terragni, "Architettura di Stato," *L'Ambrosiano*, 11 February 1931. This essay was part of a debate on the relationship between architecture and the State at the height of Mussolini's regime. Giuseppe Terragni put forward a three-point program: "1) to declare architecture a State art; 2) to change radically the laws concerning the architectural profession and its relation to building committees; 3) to entrust to architecture, thus renewed, the task of confirming and making eternal the triumph of the Fascist ideal in the world." This proposal was completely aligned with Mussolini's ideology: "For the Fascist, everything is in the State and nothing human or spiritual can exist—even less so, can have value—outside the State." This excerpt is taken from Mussolini's "The Doctrine of Fascism," published in the *Italian Encyclopedia* in 1932. On this topic, see Hanno-Walter Kruft, "Italy: Futurism and Rationalism," in *A History of Architectural Theory* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994).

[8] The original version of this fax is held in the archive of the MAXXI, in Rome. In Italian, the message reads: "É chiaro che io non sono il Cavalier Bernini, ma è altrettanto chiaro che voi non siete il Re di Francia." This message is also quoted in Michael Eisner's book *Work in Progress* (New York: Hyperion Books, 1999). On the process behind the design and construction of the Euro Disney Resort, see Alain Littaye and Didier Ghez, *Disneyland Paris: from Sketch to Reality* (London: Neverland Editions, 2012).

[9] Jean-François Lyotard, *La Condition Postmoderne: Rapport sur le Savoir* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1979).

[10] Karal Ann Marling, ed. *Designing Disney's Theme Parks*: *The Architecture of Reassurance* (Paris: Flammarion, 1997). This publication accompanied an eponymous exhibition at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal. Particularly relevant is the essay by Yi-Fu Tuan and Steven Hoelscher, titled "Disneyland: Its Place in World Culture," which repeatedly sets Walt Disney and Louis XIV side by side.

[11] The Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years War in 1648, is generally understood as the key moment in the development of the modern international system composed of sovereign States, each with exclusive authority within its own geographic boundaries. For a comprehensive overview of this topic, see Derek Croxton and Anuschka Tischer, *The Peace of Westphalia: A Historical Dictionary* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002). For a study of the French case, see James

Collins, "Louis XIV and the Creation of the Modern State," in *The State in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). On the development of bureaucracy in France, see John Rule and Ben Trotter, *A World of Paper: Louis XIV, Colbert de Torcy, and the Rise of the Information State* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

[12] Louis Marin, "Classical, Baroque: Versailles, or the Architecture of the Prince," *Yale French Studies*, No. 80 (1991). This essay was first published in French in 1989. Louis Marin emphasizes the double meaning—objective and subjective—of the phrase *the architecture of the Prince*: "The Prince, Louis XIV as it were, was—as we know—a great builder. In a sense, his function as King found its fulfillment, its monarchal dignity, its privileged manifestation, in the edification of the palace. The King is an arch-architect, the architectural Subject of Versailles through which the Kingdom receives its most perfect consecration. But the architecture of the Prince means just as much the construction, the edification of the King as Monarch in and by his palace. In this sense, the castle and gardens of Versailles *architect* the Prince to make him not only the absolute of political power, but the center of the cosmos in its entirety." How does this concept tie in with the figure of Bernini? The commemorative plaque affixed to the face of his home in Rome is quite telling: "Here lived and died Gianlorenzo Bernini, a sovereign of art, before whom reverently bowed Popes, Princes and Peoples."

[13] Louis Marin, *Utopiques: Jeux d'Espaces* (Paris: Minuit, 1973).

[14] Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality* (San Diego: Harcourt, 1986).

[15] Marc Augé, "Un Ethnologue à Euro Disneyland," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, August 1992.

[16] Michael Sorkin, ed. *Variations on a Theme Park* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992).

[17] Richard Foglesong, *Married to the Mouse: Walt Disney World and Orlando* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

[18] Mark Crispin Miller and Janine Jacquet Biden, "The National Entertainment State," *The Nation*, June 3, 1996.

[19] Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

[20] Jean-Marie Guéhenno, *The End of the Nation State* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995) and Kenichi Ohmae, *The End of the Nation State* (New York: The Free Press, 1995). In the same year, Gene Lyons and Michael Mastanduno curated a volume titled *Beyond Westphalia? State Sovereignty and International Intervention* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). At the time, Francis Fukuyama reviewed it as "the latest of a long series of recent books on the obsolescence of the Nation-State."

[21] Zygmunt Bauman and Carlo Bordoni, *State of Crisis* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014). The argument is that, with the advent of globalization, the State has been stripped of much of its power. Zygmunt Bauman and Carlo Bordoni support this thesis with an analysis of statehood, modernity and democracy in a globalized world where "real power"—located in the global flow of capital—has been separated from politics, which continues to operate at national and local levels. This transformation is described as a "crisis of agency:" the divorce between power and politics fundamentally undermines the agency of the State.

[22] Giuseppe Terragni, "Architettura di Stato," *L'Ambrosiano*, 11 February 1931.

[23] Robert Cooper, *The Postmodern State and the World Order* (London: Demos, 1996). Robert Cooper argues that the Nation-State balance-of-power system was both created in Europe (due to the Peace of Westphalia) and abandoned in Europe (due to the process of European integration). The European Union is presented as the postmodern system *par excellence*: it does not rely on balance, nor does it emphasize sovereignty. According to Robert Cooper, the postmodern system has other characteristics: interdependence, the breaking down of the distinction between domestic and foreign affairs, the growing irrelevance of borders, mutual interference, mutual surveillance, mutual vulnerability, the rejection of force for resolving conflicts and the consequent codification of self-enforced rules of behavior. Evidently, this undermines the doctrine of *raison d'état* and roughly five centuries of Machiavellian theory.

[24] Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977).

[25] Christopher Coker, "Post-Modernity and the End of the Cold War," *Review of International Studies*, No. 18 (1992).

[26] Brian Burnes, Dan Viets and Robert Butler, "Walt Disney's Vision for Downtown Saint Louis," in *Walt Disney's Missouri* (Kansas City: Kansas City Star Books, 2002).

[27] Michael Eisner, "Planetized Entertainment," *New Perspectives Quarterly*, No. 12 (1995). The CEO of Disney made the argument that the force of American entertainment was so profound that it was partly responsible for the end of the Cold War: "The Berlin Wall was destroyed not by force of Western arms, but by force of Western ideas. And what was the delivery system for those ideas? It has to be admitted that to an important degree it was American entertainment. Inherent in the best and worst of our movies and TV shows, books and records is a sense of individual freedom and the kind of life liberty can bring. It's in the movies of Steven Spielberg; it's in the songs of Madonna; it's in the humor of Bill Cosby." Responding to the critique of many French intellectuals, who saw Euro Disney as a "cultural Chernobyl," Michael Eisner

said: "It would be an absurd exaggeration to say Euro Disney could replace the Berlin Wall as an emblem of freedom and harmony instead of conflict and division. But it may not be such an exaggeration to appreciate the role of the entertainment industry in changing history." For Nathan Gardels, containment was being replaced with entertainment. On this topic, see also Henry Giroux, "Disney Entertainment and Political Power," in *The Mouse that Roared: Disney and the End of Innocence* (Lanham: Roman & Littlefield Publisher, 1999).

[28] Manfredo Tafuri et al, *Socialismo, Città, Architettura in URSS, 1917-38: Il Contributo degli Architetti Europei* (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1971). This publication was the result of a conference organized by the University of Venice with a group of scholars from the Deutsche Bauakademie, based in East Berlin. The director was Hans Schmidt, whose work had a significant impact on the Italian discourse of the time. Particularly important was his research on monotony and typology. For example, in the catalogue of the 1973 Triennale, Aldo Rossi highlighted the importance of Hans Schmidt's theory, especially as it pertained to the definition of architectural type. It was an explicitly socialist approach to typology: type was presented as the product of the collective work of a socialist society. See Aldo Rossi et al, *XV Triennale di Milano: Architettura Razionale* (Milan: Franco Angeli Editore, 1973). In the early part of his career, Aldo Rossi also made two trips to East Berlin, in 1961 and 1970. Manfredo Tafuri had a more critical approach toward this German discourse. In an essay on Hans Schmidt, published in 1972, he made the point that "the dissolution of architecture in urban totality, in typological series and in the world of mechanical reproduction proved to be a luxury of upper-class culture." See Manfredo Tafuri, "Hans Schmidt: Ein Radikaler Architekt," *Werk*, No. 59 (1972).

[29] Aldo Rossi's notes for a debate on ideology and architecture held in Milan, in 1970. This documentation is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles. In these early writings, architecture was constantly addressed from a political perspective. He wrote: "La scelta dell'architettura è un vero e proprio partito architettonico."

[30] Aldo Rossi describes his trip to the Soviet Union in his first article for the newspaper *Voce Comunista*, titled "La Coscienza di Poter Dirigere la Natura," published in 1954. This was a group trip organized by his local section of the Italian Communist Party. As already noted, the articles of this period are characterized by a strong stance against the United States. Aldo Rossi calls for a rejection of the "political and cultural export of the Yankee civilization." He talks about "American imperialism." And he argues that the most important task of the day was to oppose the "rampant theories of Americanism," which he presented as "demagogic, hostile to the people's interests and alien to our national culture."

[31] Charles Maier, *Leviathan 2.0: Inventing Modern Statehood* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012). Charles Maier identifies two phases in the history of the State. Its foundations are traced to the legal and political breakthroughs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when notions of territorial sovereignty and statehood took hold across Europe. This phase is labeled Leviathan 1.0, after Thomas Hobbes's 1651 treatise. But the main focus of Charles Maier's analysis is the next era of political transformation, stretching from the 1850s to the 1970s, when the modern Nation-State—Leviathan 2.0—came of age and spread around the world, representing "the most efficient engine of expansion and governance that the world had seen for centuries." Charles Maier writes of a shift from "sovereignty," the central concern of Machiavelli and Leviathan 1.0, to "governmentality," that of Foucault and Leviathan 2.0. In *The Sources of Social Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), Michael Mann makes a similar distinction between "despotic" power, which a regime exercises over a largely self-sustaining society, and "infrastructural" power, under which mass citizenship, competing political parties, State interventions in education, welfare, economic protection, and major investment programs transform the visible distinction between rulers and subjects into the conceptual distinction between State and society. In the 1980s, according to Charles Maier, the fragmentation of sovereignty with the emergence of important sub- and supra-State political institutions, and the global flows of capital, goods, labor, and information escaping State control started to erode the structure of Leviathan 2.0.

[32] Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (1982). In his critique of the State, Michel Foucault writes: "The conclusion would be that the political, ethical, social, philosophical problem of our days is not to try to liberate the individual from the State and from the State's institutions but to liberate us both from the State and from the type of individualization which is linked to the State. We have to promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for several centuries." Foucault's work was less about analyzing power as a phenomenon than about trying to characterize the different ways in which contemporary society expressed the use of power to "objectivize subjects." In this context, particularly important was the concept of "governmentality," which refers to the way governments try to produce the citizens best suited to fulfill those governments' policies, as well as to the organized practices (mentalities, rationalities and techniques) through which subjects are governed. On this topic, see Thomas Lemke, "An Indigestible Meal? Foucault, Governmentality and State Theory," *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2007).

[33] Markus Wagner, "Non-State Actors," in *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[34] Jean-Louis Cohen, "Letter from EuroDisney," *ANY: Architecture New York*, No. 1 (1993). This letter reflects the way many French intellectual felt about Disneyland Paris: "At the signing of agreements, Disney offered Chirac a design by American architects. I do not know, dear ANY, if one should believe the malicious gossip that this ceremony resembled the scene from Snow White in which the witch offers the innocent heroine a poisoned apple. Not only did concessions made by the government not create the promised 12,000 permanent jobs, when construction began the tune changed again: Disney's imposed adjustments on the 1,700 construction enterprises drove a number of them into bankruptcy. By the opening it was obvious that the majority of actual new jobs were precarious. Greedy Picsou (the French name for Scrooge) upstaged kind little Mickey." The debate revolved around the tense relation between Disney and the French authorities. It was clearly difficult to accept the fact that a non-State actor could have that kind of political, economic and social impact on the French territory. Not to mention the cultural impact.

[35] Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani, "Colloquio con Aldo Rossi," *Domus*, No. 722 (1990). Aldo Rossi was quite outspoken about the fact that most of his early work resulted from State commissions. Things started to change in the 1970s and the United States played a key role in this transformation. In another interview, published in 1987, he said: "In America, I started a new phase of my career – a more international phase." See Giacinto di Pietrantonio, "Aldo Rossi: Interview," *Flash Art*, No. 149 (1987).

[36] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (Westport: Greenwood, 1986).

[37] Douglas Moreland, phone interview by author, 28 March 2016. As previously noted, Douglas Moreland is an architect and used to work as a project manager for Disney. He was involved in Aldo Rossi's collaborations with Disney in the early 1990s.

[38] Morris Adjmi, phone interview by author, 10 April 2016. According to Morris Adjimi, Michael Esiner told Aldo Rossi that he framed and hung the Bernini letter in his office in the Disney headquarters.

[39] Kathy Privatt, "Modern Medicis," in *Angels in the American Theater: Patrons, Patronage, and Philanthropy* (Cardondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2007). The "Medici label" was first used in the early 1990s by Peter Schneider, then

President of Walt Disney Theatrical Productions, who referred to Michael Eisner as a modern Lorenzo de Medici. He praised Michael Eisner's "fundamental desire to do architecture" and his numerous collaborations with "world-class architects." This label was later reused by many other individuals, both within the company and in the mass media. According to Kathy Privatt, during Michael Eisner's tenure as CEO, the Medici analogy was deemed so important that it ended up informing a significant part of Disney's corporate policy. Describing his collaboration with Disney in Aldo Rossi's practice, Morris Adjmi touched on this narrative as well: during our interview, he told me that Disney's representatives often referenced the "Medici label."

[40] Peter Applebome, "The Medici Behind Disney High Art," *New York Times*, 4 October 1998.

[41] Aldo Rossi's notes for a debate on ideology and architecture held in Milan, in 1970. This documentation is held in the archive of the Getty Research Institute, in Los Angeles. Most of this debate revolved around the difficult relation between culture and politics. Or, more specifically, between culture and political activism within the Communist Party. Aldo Rossi emphasized the "political responsibility" of architecture. In essence, the question was: how should a Communist architect produce culture?

[42] Morris Adjmi, phone interview by author, 10 April 2016.

[43] Douglas Moreland, phone interview by author, 28 March 2016. According to Douglas Moreland, "Disney was all about black-cape architects." For him, the point of reference was Frank Lloyd Wright, "who used to wear a black cape." He also noted that Michael Eisner did not want to work with big corporate firms, such as SOM: he preferred small, but very prestigious firms. Significantly, Disney paid close attention to the Pritzker Prize: at a certain point, having won the Pritzker Prize was almost a *conditio sine qua non* for sitting at the table with Disney.

[44] Kurt Anderson, "A Cult Hero Gets His Due," *Time*, 30 April 30 1990. As noted in the chapter "Blue Book," after the 1990 Pritzker Prize, *Time* presented the latest phase of Aldo Rossi's career in terms of a "transformation from cult hero to blue-chip eminence grise."

[45] Most of the documents of Aldo Rossi's project for the Euro Disney Resort are held in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal and the archive of the MAXXI, in Rome.

[46] Robin Middleton, "Architects as Engineers: The Iron Reinforcement of Entablatures in Eighteenth Century France," *AA Files*, No. 9 (1985).

[47] Several documents of Aldo Rossi's project for Celebration are held in the archive of the MAXXI, in Rome. Aldo Rossi's office complex was at the center of Celebration: the town grew around his buildings. The project was completed in 1996, one year before the architect's death. While the initial proposal resembled a panopticon, the design gradually morphed into a group of buildings centered around an obelisk. In the same years, several other well-known architects worked in Celebration: Philip Johnson designed the city hall, Michael Graves designed the post office, Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown designed the bank, and the list goes on. Much has been written about Celebration: among other sources, see Douglas Frantz and Catherine Collins, *Celebration, USA: Living in Disney's Brave New Town* (New York: Holt, 1999) and Andrew Ross, *The Celebration Chronicles: Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Property Value in Disney's New Town* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1999). Most studies focus on the controlling concept behind Celebration: in fact, it's a rather unique case of private government by a corporation. Notably, Disney had total control over design and went as far as to create a pattern book that defined the permitted "styles:" Classical, Victorian, Colonial Revival, Coastal, Mediterranean and French.

[48] Robert Evans, "Panopticon," *Controspazio*, No. 2 (1970).

[49] Franco Rella, Manfredo Tafuri, Massimo Cacciari and Georges Teyssot, *Il Dispositivo Foucault* (Venice: Cluva, 1977). On the impact of Michael Foucault's work on the architectural discourse of the time, see Paul Hirst, "Foucault and Architecture," *AA Files*, No. 26 (1993).

[50] Several documents of Aldo Rossi's project for Los Angeles are held in the Archive of the MAXXI, in Rome. From a financial point of view, this was Aldo Rossi's biggest commission: it had a $95-million budget. The building was completed in 1999, shortly after the architect's death. It housed the new corporate headquarters of ABC, which had been recently acquired by Disney.

[51] As noted by John Wills, this connection kept unfolding until the end of the war. In fact, the Allies used "Mickey Mouse" as the password for the D-Day – the beginning of Europe's liberation from Fascism. See John Willis, "The World According to Disney," in *Disney Culture* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2017). On Mussolini and Disney, see Guido Bonsaver, *Censorship and Literature in Fascist Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

[52] Nicolai Ouroussoff, "The building that houses ABC's corporate headquarters at the Burbank complex pays homage to another time and place," *The Los Angeles Time*, 19 February 2001.

[53] Douglas Moreland, phone interview by author, 28 March 28 2016. Douglas Moreland has kept three watercolors made by Aldo Rossi in 1994. They were part of a project for a Disney resort on Newport Coast, which was never executed. Douglas Moreland was the project manager. Aldo Rossi made these drawings during a meeting in his Manhattan office in order to illustrate his ideas.

[54] Yi-Fu Tuan and Steven Hoelscher, "Disneyland: Its Place in World Culture," in *The Architecture of Reassurance: Designing Disney's Theme Parks* (Paris: Flammarion, 1997). On the process behind the approval of designs at Marly, see also Olivier Bernier, *Louis XIV: A Royal Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1987).

[55] Among other sources, this exchange is discussed in Cecil Gould, *Bernini in France: An Episode in Seventeenth-Century History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982). Before traveling to Paris in June 1665, Bernini had already sent to the French court two plans for the Louvre. Both had been rejected. Nevertheless, it's important to highlight that there had been an intense correspondence between Rome and Paris prior to the famous *voyage*, with multiple drawings and other documents sent back and forth by post. The French Ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Créqui, was one of the key intermediaries.

[56] Ludwig von Mises, *Omnipotent Government: The Rise of the Total State and Total War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944). This book was published at the end of World War II, when the battle against Nazism held the world's attention. The question was: how had this system gained power? Ludwig von Mises considered and rejected several explanations popular at the time, such as inherent defects in the German national character. Instead, he looked to the rise of another ideology, which he termed *Etatism*: "Etatism, as a theory, is the doctrine of the omnipotence of the State and, as a policy, the attempt to regulate all mundane affairs by authoritative commandment and prohibition." On this topic, see also Jason Kuznicki, "The Modern Omnipotent State," in *Technology and the End of Authority* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

[57] Michael Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results," *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (1984). Michael Mann argues that the State is essentially a *place*, and this is the origin and mechanism of its autonomous powers. Its autonomy is based on the fact that the State is always territorially bounded and centralized, unlike the other power actors of civil society. On the one hand, these reflections bring to mind Disney's emphasis on the concept of place-making. See Beth Dunlop, *Building a Dream: The Art of Disney Architecture* (New York: Disney Editions, 1996). On the other hand, they bring to mind the debate on the autonomy of architecture, which was unfolding in the same period.

See Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture within and against Capitalism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008).

[58] Charles Maier, *Leviathan 2.0: Inventing Modern Statehood* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012). On the role of technology in the process to nation-building, Charles Maier writes: "Technological inventiveness—that is, a different range of ideas, thinking applied to the material world—was crucial to the transformations of the mid-nineteenth century. The inventions that overcame the constraints of distance and time allowed the global restructuring of territory that transformed the States of the mid-nineteenth century."

[59] Cynthia Davidson, ed. *ANY: Architecture New York*, No. 3 (November/December 1993): "Electrotecture: Architecture and the Electronic Future."

[60] Lillian Bell, "F'AXis," in *Urgent Images: The Graphic Language of The Fax*, ed. Liz Farrelly (London: Booth-Clibborn Editions, 1994).

[61] Paul Knox and Peter Taylor, "Toward a Geography of the Globalization of Architecture Office Networks," *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (2005). According to Paul Knox and Peter Taylor, the international reach of architecture as a profession was established well before World War II: they see it in the work of Albert Kahn and Le Corbusier, in Philip Johnson and Henry Russel Hitchcock's promotion of the idea of an International Style, in the international migration of architects like Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe, in the Athens Charter and in the colonial practices of many European architects. After World War II, they point to the work of Louis Kahn and Eero Saarinen, and the emergence of large American architecture and engineering (A&E) firms, such as CRS, whose commissions derived mostly from the US government's foreign aid projects. However, for Paul Knox and Peter Taylor, the development of truly global practices was made possible only by the advent of digital technologies. On this topic, see also James Faulconbridge, "Global Architects: Learning and Innovation through Communities and Constellations of Practice," *Environment and Planning: Economy and Space*, Vol. 42, No. 12 (2010).

[62] Most of the documents related to Aldo Rossi's induction into the American Institute of Architects are held in the archive of the MAXXI, in Rome. As noted in the chapter "Black Card," he became an Honorary Fellow of the AIA in 1989. At the investiture ceremony, this was the jury comment: "Aldo Rossi, Italy. A writer, educator and designer whose work has been exhibited around the globe, Aldo Rossi is—and is likely to continue to be—one of the most influential architects in

the world today." Notably, there was a strong emphasis on the global scope of Aldo Rossi's work. And it's rather surprising that such attention for the global came from an organization that had traditionally responded to a national agenda. But this was the period in which the AIA wanted to extend its horizons. In fact, Aldo Rossi was but one of several non-American architects who were given Honorary Fellowships. For example, along with Aldo Rossi, the class of 1989 included architects like Sverre Fehn, Josef Kleihues and Toshio Nakamura, among others.

[63] Bob Sehlinger, *The Unofficial Guide to Walt Disney World* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996).

[64] George Ritzer, *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Revolutionizing the Means of Consumption* (London: Sage, 1999). On the connection between credit culture and consumer culture, see also Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society* (London: Sage, 1970-1998). As early as 1970, Jean Baudrillard points to the role of credit cards in the emerging consumer society.

[65] Kurt Forster, "Aldo Rossi's Architecture of Recollection: The Silence of Things Repeated or Stated for Eternity," in *The Pritzker Architecture Prize, 1990: Presented to Aldo Rossi* (Los Angeles: Jensen and Walker, 1990).

[66] Hillel Schwartz, *The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likeness, Unreasonable Facsimiles* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). Hillel Schwartz theorizes a culture in which, on the one hand, people are obsessed with the idea of originality and authenticity and, on the other hand, there is an addiction to copies, replications and reproductions: "Copying is what we are now about." On this topic, see also Marcus Boon, *In Praise of Copying* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

[67] Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality* (San Diego: Harcourt, 1986). Umberto Eco presents his *travel* as a pilgrimage in search of "hyperreality," or the world of "the Absolute Fake," in which imitations don't merely reproduce reality, but try to improve on it. From his point of view, Disneyland is "the absolutely fake city" – a place that no longer even pretends it is imitating reality, but is straightforward about the fact that "within its magic enclosure it is fantasy that is absolutely reproduced." On this topic, see also Nicholas Perry, *Hyperreality and Global Culture* (London: Routledge, 1998) and Jaap Kooijman, *Fabricating the Absolute Fake* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).

[68] On the reproductions of the Cemetery of Modena, see Jesse Reiser, "Jesse Reiser on Aldo Rossi," *Drawing Matter*, 30 September 2017. On Christopher Stead's case, see the documentary *Aldo Rossi: Il Teatro del Mondo, 1979-2004*, made by Dario Zanasi and Francesco Saverio Fera on the occasion of the reconstruction of the Theater of the World in Genoa, in 2004.

[69] Florencia Andreola, "Aldo Rossi's Teaching in Zurich," Paper given at the Conference *Aldo Rossi: Perspectives from the World*, Politenico di Milano, 11 June 2018. This example shines a light on the importance of reproduction in Aldo Rossi's academic activity. Multiple projects made be his students at the ETH were modelled after the Gallaratese complex, which had recently been completed. It is unclear whether this type of reproduction was encouraged by Aldo Rossi or whether it happened spontaneously.

[70] This documentation is held in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal.

[71] Francesco Saverio Fera, "Sulla Ricostruzione del Teatro del Mondo di Aldo Rossi," *Firenze Architettura*, No. 1 (2006).

[72] Conference *Aldo Rossi: Perspectives from the World*, Politenico di Milano, 11-13 June 2018. Particularly emblematic was Luca Oldani's paper, titled "The Legacy of Aldo Rossi: Gaze at Reality Building Yourself," which included an imaginary syllabus of a course Aldo Rossi may teach in 2018.

[73] Beatriz Colomina, "Introduction: On Architecture, Production and Reproduction," in *Architectureproduction* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988). The essay starts by considering a common dictionary definition of the word *reproduce*: "Produce copy or representation of; cause to be seen, heard etcetera, again; produce offspring of (oneself, itself); produce further members of the same species by natural means." According to Beatriz Colomina, the subject implicit in this dictionary definition is the craftsman or the storyteller: "The craftsman's universe is that of the identification of the object with the world. The object carries the traces of its maker." The argument is that such continuity between man and object responds to an outdated understanding of reproduction: "With industry, mass production and reproduction, this relationship is reversed. The product (the original) and its reproduction (the copy) are confused with each other. The relations between maker and object, object and user (or viewer), are now those of producer, product and consumer (or audience), determined by their respective position in the continuous process of production. The importance of the process increases at the expenses of the individua product and its authority as thing (once the repository of all communicative value), and of the author as transcendent self and bearer of meaning." This discourse was influenced by Jean Baudrillard's *Simulations* (New York: Semiotexte, 1983) and the theory of Walter Benjamin, who argued that the introduction of new means of reproduction, such as the photograph or the film, could be seen as not just a technically better way of reproducing reality, but also as one that altered the status of the product and the producer. The result was what Jean Baudrillard called

a "reversal of origin and finality." On this discourse, see Brian McLaren, "Under the Sign of the Reproduction," *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (1992).

[74] Michael Hays, "Reproduction and Negation: The Cognitive Project of the Avant-Garde," in *Architecturereproduction* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988). Part of this research was later published in Michael Hays, *Modernism and the Posthumanist Subject: The Architecture of Hannes Meyer and Ludwig Hilberseimer* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992). In this study of Meyer and Hilberseimer, "the work" is addressed as a trace or direct registration of those materials and procedures of reproduction from which it is constructed. What is significant is the technique of reproduction, not the single object.

[75] Nicolò Ornaghi and Francesco Zorzi, "A Conversation with Arduino Cantàfora," *Log*, No. 35 (2015).

[76] Most of the documents of Aldo Rossi's project for the University of Miami are held in the archive of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, in Montreal.

[77] This photograph is held in the archive of the MAXXI, in Rome.

[78] Manlio Brusatin, "Theatrum Mundi Novissimi," in *Aldo Rossi: Teatro del Mondo* (Venice: Cluva, 1982)

[79] John Willis, "The World According to Disney," in *Disney Culture* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2017). According to John Willis, this ride exemplifies the global ambition of Disney's culture-machine: "Originally designed for Pepsi at the 1964 New York World's Fair, Disneyland's *It's a Small World* provides a fifteen-minute journey across the globe. Three hundred audio-animatronic children chant the ride's title song in their *native* language, a Sherman Brothers message of peace crafted in response to the Cuban Missile Crisis. The song is arguably the most played music in history. *It's a Small World* underlines the common values of humankind and a shared destiny on this planet. It also situates Disney at the core of those values, the force that binds the world together and makes it small. Disney Culture is a powerful force connecting the United States and the world. It communicates across territorial, religious, political and cultural divides. The studio often does this by a process of *assimilation*, whereby it takes a multitude of stories and adapts (or Disneyfies) them for an international audience. Disney remains a major culture producer for the globe."

[80] Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Diary of the Cavaliere Bernini's Visit to France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). Translated by Margery Corbett. With annotations by George Bauer. Chantelou was the French noblemen tasked with escorting and assisting Bernini during his Parisian *sojourn*. Fluent in Italian, he took detailed notes of every encounter he witnessed: his diary is one of the most important sources on Bernini's work for Louis XIV. According to Chantelou,

Bernini arrived in France in May 1665 and was received with the honors befitting a head of State. For example, in Lion, all the artists of the city convened to welcome him and pay their respects. Then, at the doors of Paris, Colbert sent his own carriage to take Bernini and his entourage to a palace that had been meticulously prepared to host them. Rudolf Wittkower made the argument that no artist before him had ever travelled with a similar apparatus. For Stefano Malatesta, Bernini's *voyage* was the apex of the long march toward the recognition of the artist's merits that had begun at the end of the Middle Ages: it represented the triumph of the artist's social ascension. But, at the same time, it was also the moment in which Baroque art was confronted with absolutism and *raison d'État*. On the relation between art and power in the Baroque period and, specifically, in Bernini's case, see Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

[81] Irving Lavin, "Bernini's Image of the Sun King," in *The Art of Gianlorenzo Bernini* (London: The Pindar Press, 2007). Bernini made three major works for Louis XIV: the design for the Louvre, a portrait bust and an equestrian statue. As most of the art associated with Louis XIV, these works are generally discussed in terms of *theming*. As noted by Irving Lavin, the primary theme was the identification of the ruler with the sun, which responded to the millennial tradition of the *oriens augusti* (the rising of the august one). Louis XIV's official device was the sun, with his face in it, represented above a globe. All three of Bernini's projects for the French monarch were composed of essentially the same elements, which generated a form of visual apotheosis: "a lower realm of the natural earth; an intermediate, man-made, Herculean domain of dressed stone or providentially arranged drapery; and an upper level inhabited by the king." Overall, Bernini's representations of Louis XIV reflected a particular understanding of statecraft: in contrast with the Machiavellian view of the pragmatic prince, "Bernini was profoundly indebted to the vital tradition of moral statesmanship, which culminated in the idea of the prince-hero." This tradition, which had been supported mainly by the Jesuits, related to the idea that "the basis of just rule lay in individual virtue and self-control, rather than in inherited rank or unbridled power." As such, "his view challenged the very foundations of traditional monarchist ideology." On the anti-Machiavellian tradition, see Rodolfo De Mattei, *Dal Premachiavellismo all'Antimachiavellismo* (Florence: Sansoni, 1969).

[82] The problem of nationalism in relation to Bernini's work in France has been discussed in a multitude of publications, including Cecil Gould, *Bernini in France: An Episode in Seventeenth-Century History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), George Bauer, "Bernini in Paris," in *An Architectural Progress in the Renaissance and Baroque: Sojourns in and out of Italy*

(University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992) and Irving Lavin, "Bernini's Image of the Sun King," in *The Art of Gianlorenzo Bernini* (London: The Pindar Press, 2007). According to Irving Lavin, the design for the Louvre ended up being a "scapegoat in the rising tide of French cultural nationalism."

[83] Daniela Del Pesco, *Il Louvre di Bernini nella Francia di Luigi XIV* (Naples: Fratelli Fiorentino, 1984). In his journal, Chantelou mentions a project for two theaters "à l'imitation du Colisée et du Théâtre de Marcellus." This proposal was eventually rejected by Colbert because it would have been too expensive and, more importantly, it would have required a very long time to build. According to Daniela del Pesco, this structure was also deemed "too Roman."

[84] Richard Bernstein, "I. M. Pei's Pyramid: A Provative Plan for the Louvre," *The New York Times*, November 24, 1985. Notably, the whole article revolves around the comparison between I. M. Pei and Bernini. For a comprehensive study of I. M. Pei's design for the Louvre, see Catherine Bergeron, *The Grand Louvre: History of the Project* (Paris: Le Moniteur, 1994). For a more detailed analysis, see Stephen Rustow, "Transparent Contradictions: Pei's Pyramid at the Louvre," Paper given at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Boston, 29 March 1990. Before embarking on a formal analysis, Stephen Rustow points to the political contradictions of Mitterrand's project: "The Louvre was clearly intended as the brightest star in the pléiade of the *grands projets* proposed in 1981. The other projects announced were the Opera de la Bastille (arch. C. Ott), the Grand Arche de la Défense (arch. J. O. von Sprekelson), the Parc de la Villette (arch. B. Tschumi), the Institut du Monde Arabe (arch. J. Nouvel), the new Ministry of Finances (arch. P. Chemetof and B. Huidobro), and the Paris World's Fair of 1989, planned to celebrate the bicentennial of the Revolution. The populist rhetoric in which these ambitions were couched could not veil their truly imperial scope. And that it was the Socialists who would transform the former symbol of monarchy and *patrie*, the very avatar of elitist, conservative values, was an irony lost on no one." Another interesting source is a 2010 interview with Didi Pei, architect and son of the I. M. Pei. Discussing his father's Parisian project, he said: "I think it's more French than people realize. You have to understand that in France everything is political. I was very quizzical when they criticized it because in America, architecture is not political at all. Architecture is architecture. And it is evaluated on its own merits as architecture. So, the Louvre was a debate about politics, and when the project was *a fait accompli*, which took a long time, the political part just went away." See Didi Pei, "The Architect and the City," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (2010).

[85] Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken, 1969). The essay was first published in German in 1935. In this context, the following passage is particularly relevant: "The instant the criterion of authenticity ceases to be applicable to artistic production, the total function of art is reversed. Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice – politics." On the question of politics in Walter Benjamin's work, see Howard Caygill, *Walter Benjamin: The Colour of Experience* (London: Routledge, 1998), Lutz Koepnick, *Walter Benjamin and the Aesthetics of Power* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999) and Krzysztof Ziarek, *The Historicity of Experience: Modernity, the Avant-Garde and the Event* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2001).