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Crafting Utopia: Paolo Soleri and the Building of Arcosanti

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Crafting Utopia:

Paolo Soleri and the Building of Arcosanti

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by

Jacqueline Alexis Meyer

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Crafting Utopia:

Paolo Soleri and the Building of Arcosanti

by

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Master of Arts in Architecture

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Professor Sylvia Lavin, Chair

Over the course of the 1960s and 1970s, the architect Paolo Soleri envisioned and built the utopian architectural project Arcosanti. Despite its notoriety, Arcosanti's relationship to the discourses and discipline of architecture has been little understood. Responding to the research question of how Soleri constructed his utopia, this thesis argues that a dialectic of inside and outside formed the conditions of its realization. Each chapter of the thesis raises a relationship between inside and outside that Soleri navigated. The first chapter investigates his participation in museum exhibitions. The second explores his production of ceramics. The third examines his construction of his own designs with the Institute for American Indian Arts Amphitheater. The final chapter analyzes Arcosanti as a camp.

The thesis of Jacqueline Alexis Meyer is approved.

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University of California, Los Angeles

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Introduction

A city built on the proceeds of bells; it's an unbelievable proposition. In the geographic center of Arizona but far from everything else, the architect Paolo Soleri crafted and sold bells as a means to realize the city of Arcosanti. Arcosanti's believability was of central concern to Soleri, who undertook the project from the late 1960s to his death in 2013 as a demonstration of the viability of his theoretical proposals. Architecture had a sacred role in Soleri's cosmology: it was the counterforce to the entropy that threatened humanity and the instrument that could transform society into a more perfect state.[1] To realize architecture's full potential on these terms was an ambitious and sometimes controversial undertaking, and this thesis endeavors to account for the practices he mobilized to fulfill the mandate that he prophesied. Mundane and worldly as those methods were, I contend that inversions of his position on the outside enabled his performance of an absolute form of authorship.

Soleri's near absence from historical scholarship is but one of the many "outsides" that he has inhabited, and this thesis is in part a response to that exclusion.[2] But, rather than simply inserting Soleri and his work into the historical record, this thesis questions his evasion of existing knowledge systems as a point of departure. This is not to say that Soleri is obscure or recondite; the architect and his work have been the object of much self-promotion and

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[1] Soleri's most comprehensive statement of his ideas and philosophy is in *The Omega Seed: an Eschatological Hypothesis.* Garden City, NY, Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1981.

[2] There are several books on Soleri that do not attempt historical claims, like Antonietta Iolanda Lima's 2003 monograph *Soleri: Architecture as Human Ecology.* There have also been several exhibitions on the architect, notably the 2005 exhibition *Soleri: Etica e Invenzione Urbana* at the MAXXI Museum. In addition, filmmakers have produced several biographic documentaries. See Lisa Scafuro's 2013 *The Vision of Paolo Soleri: Prophet in the Desert.* Mona Lisa Film Production.

journalistic attention, which is to say nothing of the thousands who have worked on the Arcosanti project or the millions of tourists, architects and otherwise, who have visited since its inception.[3] Even when not considered seriously, he was considered as a feature of the architectural scene: As Peter Eisenman said of his own Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, everyone has "got to belong to some club." If not with the Institute, "…either you're a Pablo Solari (sic) club or you're a Charlie Moore jiggle-jaggle California [club.]"[4] For all of the ways in which Soleri is an exception, and for all the ways he managed to isolate himself, Eisenman's offhand comment points to the potential that an investigation of Soleri's methods holds: his overt cultivation of what is politely called a "club" has the capacity to reveal the mechanisms of belonging that underlie the practices of architects as central as Eisenman and Moore.

There are several movements and figures that intersect in Soleri's work and through which the architect has been known. His pedigree as an apprentice to Frank Lloyd Wright is an unavoidable connection. Upon completing his education in his native Turin in 1947, Soleri travelled to Wright's Taliesin West compound in Arizona only to have the master turn him out into the harsh desert a year later when Soleri transgressed the etiquette of the master-pupil

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[3] The Cosanti Foundation, which runs both Arcosanti and Soleri's Cosanti compound in Scottsdale, claims an average of 50,000 people visit every year. See arcosanti.org.

[4] CASE Transcript, 1970, Box: B.50.5.02, File B1-4, Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies Fonds 1965- 1985, Canadian Centre for Architecture.

relationship with his comportment and his ambition.[5] This paternity is visible in many of Soleri's designs, and Soleri's fixation on urban density is in part a reaction to Frank Lloyd Wright's approach as exemplified in the Broadacre City scheme. Most critical to this study is Soleri's appropriation of Wright's organizational strategy for the production of architecture and aura. Soleri can also be considered among authors of megastructures, or single structures that house entire cities. The "Arcologies," or architecture as ecology, that Soleri proposed were necessarily single structures (because only as such would they conform to biological organisms in their "wholeness").[6] For designing such megastructures in their 1960s heyday, authors and editors have grouped Soleri with architects like Yona Friedman, Constant Nieuwenhuys, Kenzo Tange and Archigram.[7]

Overlapping with the megastructuralists is a loose category of eccentric thinkers with provocative and universal projects who flourished in the middle of the century. Soleri begins his 1969 treatise *Arcology: City in the Image of Man* with a riposte to one of these, the planner Constantinos Doxiadis.[8] But the peer with whom Soleri has been most strongly associated, in

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[5] The widespread attraction in postwar Italy to Wright through the influence of Bruno Zevi is addressed in Reyner Banham's discussion of Arcosanti in *Scenes in America Deserta*. Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., 1982. On his expulsion, Soleri and Wright have given multiple reasons, but in his final account, Soleri admits that, in light of his efforts at coordinating his own monumental program, his independent streak made him a poor contributor to Taliesin in his interview with John Strohmeier in *The Urban Ideal: Conversations with Paolo Soleri.* Berkeley, CA, Berkeley Hills Books, 2001.

[6] Paolo Soleri. *Arcology, the City in the Image of Man*. Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press, 1969, pp. 13.

[7] For its extensive criticism of Arcosanti, especially of its organizational means, Reyner Banham's survey of megastructures is frequently called as a witness to this thesis. *Megastructure: Urban Futures of the Recent Past*. New York, Harper and Row, 1976.

[8] *Arcology*, 2.

their time and in historical studies since, is the inventor Buckminster Fuller. Over the course of his career ascent in the 1960s, Soleri rarely appeared where Fuller did not. Several of his first national platforms, like the 1961 EPEC Conference in Saint Louis and the 1964 *Two Urbanists* exhibition at Boston, showcased them together. The two did not get along, likely because of what they shared rather than their points of difference. Beside their propensity for dominating conversation with long-winded speeches in self-constructed languages, they shared equal vigor and ingenuity in the construction of totalitarian solutions to a looming ecological crisis under the emerging paradigm of the earth as closed-system with limited and interconnected resources.[9] For this, Soleri has featured as a supporting character in studies of the late modern period.[10] But in the single extant peer-reviewed article to foreground Soleri, the historian of architecture Larry Busbea makes the case that Soleri's contributions to cybernetic discourse should be better known for their introduction of a lineage of materialist thought.[11] In so doing, Busbea explicates and interprets Soleri's sometimes inscrutable philosophy with clarity and insight.

Finally, Soleri can also be seen as an architect of utopia. He passionately rejected this designation. His address to the 1969 *Utopie e/o Rivoluzione* conference at the Politecnico di

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[9] Roger Tomalty, a longtime assistant to Soleri, recalled an anecdote that "Paolo is very uncomfortable in those situations; if he's not the center, dinner's enough, and Paolo wants to watch TV. So Paolo goes and turns the television on and Fuller couldn't stand TV, so Fuller takes earplugs, sticks them in, turns in the opposite direction, and starts reading a book." in Vanesian, Kathleen. "Paolo Soleri Is the True Legend of the Arizona Architecture Scene." *Phoenix New Times*, 30 May 2013,

[10] See Peder Anker *From Bauhaus to Ecohouse: a History of Ecological Design*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2010 and Felicity Scott. O*utlaw Territories: Environments of Insecurity/Architectures of Counterinsurgency*. Zone, 2016.

[11] Larry Busbea. "Paolo Soleri and the Aesthetics of Irreversibility." *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 18, no. 6, 2013.

Torino, his home university, argued for neither "Utopia and/or revolution, but evolutionary radicalism." Later translated and published in *Perspecta*, his case was that the stasis of utopia was "incongruent" with the processes of miniaturization and complexification, or "the laws to which all living phenomena are subjected" by the force of evolution. Further, a city in congruence with these laws would require nothing more impossible than "the physical, energetical, and informatio-communicational logistics" that already existed in 1969.[12] By these standards, Soleri's paradoxical embrace and rejection of utopia repeated the ones set by Herbert Marcuse in an address to the Free University of Berlin two years earlier, where he announced the end of utopia, because "today any form of the concrete world, of human life, any transformation of the technical and natural environment is a possibility" so that "we have the capacity to turn [the world] into the opposite of hell." For Marucse, evidence of this was a renewed interest, both academic and by the nascent counterculture, in what Frederick Engels once called "Socialist Utopias," or the efforts by the likes of Fourier, Owens and Saint-Simonians to correct the ravages of industrialization by creating ideal, rational communities apart from larger society.[13] Experiments in ideal communities flourished over the nineteenth century, especially in the United States, and the parallels between those and the alternative communities of the counterculture became the object of the 1976 book *Seven American Utopias* by Dolores Hayden. Soleri, the only architect leading a revival of this form of utopianism, was a vital reference. I agree that Soleri should be understood in this lineage. However, unlike the agnosticism she

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[12] Paolo Soleri. "Utopia e o Revoluzione: Utopia and/or Revolution." Perspecta, 13/14, 1 Jan. 1971, pp. 284.

[13] Herbert Marcuse. "The End of Utopia." Lecture, July 1967, Free University of West Berlin, Free University of West Berlin, Marxists.org.

afforded the 19th century communitarians whose success she measured by the provocation they posed, she wrote that Soleri was presiding over "the most authoritarian process of all." The fact that students paid tuition to execute Soleri's design decisions did not bode well to Hayden, who warned that "like those historical communities whose designs were said to come from God, one cannot expect much growth, change, or innovation, when 'God'—or Soleri—stops giving orders."

Hayden's suspicion of Soleri touches on two interrelated criticisms of his project: The first is the contradiction at the heart of his vision for a new collective mode of life to be organized only by himself. Soleri imagined that in the tightly condensed cities he proposes, Arcological citizens would evolve "collectivized brains" that functioned similarly to "the organic individual [who] is not only a mechanism in the service of its own component cells; the sum is greater than its parts."[14] Perhaps this future would not be so frightening if the collectivized brains could participate in the formation of their own intersubjective community-organism. The ability for future inhabitants to configure their communities to some degree was generally a feature of the megastructure designs of his contemporaries, but Soleri never entertained such an option in his hypothetical Arcologies. Instead, no one besides Soleri—not even other architects—ever appeared to have opportunity to exercise their individual creative capacities in their design.[15] Compounding this was the second criticism, which was of the arrangement that required volunteers to sacrifice money and labor to realize Arcosanti, the Arcology underway. Therefore,

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[14] "Utopia e o Revoluzione: Utopia and/or Revolution." pp. 285.

[15] The *Arcology* book and later exhibition material credit the assistants who composed many of the elaborate Arcologies under Soleri's supervision under "graphics."

the exploitation of students followed what Soleri called evolution, but what is more aptly called intelligent design, with Soleri playing the part of God.

To expand on the hermeneutics that Busbea has initiated or to foreclose further analysis of Soleri for being a megalomaniacal charlatan would be to further inscribe boundaries the architect concocted for himself. Instead, this thesis asks how his writing supported—and was supported by—other procedures of his authorship. To begin to see Soleri from the outside is to see these boundaries as a construction of an inside. This dialectic between outside and inside that I argue shaped Soleri's work is somewhat different, yet reliant, on past applications of the inside and out in the history of art in particular. The notion of the "outsider artist" in art history is one. In fact, when writing a history of skill and labor in the use of concrete, Adrian Forty raises Soleri as one of the "visionaries, religious eccentrics, cranks and 'outsiders' to have been drawn to concrete."[16] And when the curator Harald Szeemann described the outsider artists that he included in his exhibitions who worked on an environmental scale, he found they all had similarities as men who started at "the equinox of one's life," to create "their own worlds, a perpetuum mobile fed by their own energy."[17] By these criteria, Soleri fits the bill as "outsider architect," but judging by extensive education and his frequent sojourns within major institutions, it is an imperfect designation.

However, when Soleri was exhibited in major museums, it was under the paradigm of the "genius" against the "bureaucrat" set by the curator and historian Henry-Russel Hitchcock. That

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[16] Adrian Forty. "Concrete and Labor." *Concrete and Culture: a Material History*, Reaktion, London, 2012, pp. 230.

[17] Szeemann's reflections found in Carine Fol's *From Art Brut to Art without Boundaries.* Milano, Skira, 2015.

classification of architects participated in a larger conversation over bureaucracy in the earlier part of the twentieth century that was initiated in part by the sociologist Max Weber, who studied bureaucracy as a form of authority that succeeded patriarchal authority in the west. Outside of both these systems of legitimation was the "charismatic" type of organization, which arose in times of crisis and legitimated itself through the charismatic leader who, in the terms of Szeemann, maintained their authority in "a perpetuum mobile fed by their own energy." Repudiating worldly economic systems but extracting wealth from followers, the lifespan of these charismatic episodes was short, either burning out or transforming by necessity into the bureaucratic or patriarchal mode.[18] Again, the symptoms point to the diagnosis of Soleri as a charismatic architect.

Finally, there is the sphere outside of the context of the means-ends rationality of everyday life where art lives autonomously. This outside condition of art was roughly coterminous with modernity, whereas the time when art was fully integrated it was in the realm of the cult. Condensed in his account of the avant-garde's attempt to countermand this separation, Peter Bürger parsed the development and reaction to the split in his 1984 book *Theory of the Avant-Garde*. The matter of Soleri's fanatical attachment to individual production, his designation as a genius and his seemingly atavistic use of craft can here be read as markers of his exemplary position in the modern bourgeois model of art.[19] But mixed with this is his cultic religious framework with followers fully immersing their lives in Soleri's project, Arcosanti pushes at the categories. Indeed, even in systems where the break of inside and outside is clean

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[18] Max Weber. *Economy and Society: an Outline of Interpretive Sociology.* Edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittitch, Berkeley, Univ. of California Pr., 1978.

[19] Peter Bürger. *Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

and distinct, the two exist only in relation to one another. The case of Soleri, by staking an outside, reveals the topographical lines of the field where midcentury architects operated.

Each of the four chapters of this thesis covers Soleri's navigation of one condition of "outside" in relation to an inside. I begin with the perspective from the center by following the way narratives of modernism in the museum produced an outside, only for it to cycle in and out again. The second chapter investigates Soleri's formation of a charismatic inside, or a cult, to organize the apprentices and volunteers who labored to build and support Arcosanti following the precedent set by Wright's Taliesin Fellowship. In the third chapter, I take up Soleri's practice of constructing his own designs as an outside to the profession of architecture. The following two chapters further unravel the existing methods and infrastructures that the architect employed to sustain the community necessary for his project's realization. His work on the amphitheater for Institute for American Indian Arts, itself an experiment in the outsider subjectivity, provided a pedagogical grounds for his laborious design-build workshops. Finally, the fourth and last chapter takes up Arcosanti's location in the wilderness as an outside of civilization.

Chapter 1

Vision: Outsiders inside the Museum

1970 was a big year for Paolo Soleri. MIT Press had just published his book, *Arcology: City in the Image of Man* and the Arcosanti project in Arizona broke ground over the summer. But the way that Soleri found his biggest audience and most exposure was the exhibition *The Architectural Vision of Paolo Soleri* at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington DC. Even negative reviews called the 1970 exhibition a "landmark" and "important." "If you believe in the human spirit at all," wrote the New York Times critic Ada Louise Huxtable, "go to the Corcoran."[20] People did go to the exhibition, the first ever on contemporary architecture at the museum, and in record numbers: 50,000 visitors came in the six weeks the exhibition was open. James Harithas, the director of the Corcoran at the time, claimed it set attendance records for an architectural exhibition and the staggering popularity of the show was a feature of nearly every review (fig. 1).[21] When it traveled to the Whitney Museum of American Art, its success as the museum's first architecture exhibition became the stimulus for a short-lived architecture program; subsequent shows did not measure up to the promise of *The Architectural of Paolo Soleri.*[22] Following its stop at the Chicago Museum of Contemporary Art, Spiro Kostof brought the exhibition to the Berkley Art Museum and wrote an accompanying exposition on the architect for *Art in America*,

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[20] Ada Louise Huxtable in "Prophet in the Desert." *New York Times.* 15 Mar. 1970.

[21] Some reviewers referred to the show as the most visited architecture exhibition, but Harithas provides only the figure of 50,000 visitors over the spring of 1970 figure in "Paolo Soleri, Genius." *Vogue,* Aug. 1970: 96-97.

[22] Other exhibitions were on Robert Venturi and American architectural drawings. The reason supplied for closing the architecture program in 1975 was that the Whitney could not "afford to be a little Museum of Modern Art." Reported by Paul Goldberger. "Whitney Museum Halts Architectural Displays." *New York Times* 5 Aug. 1975.

concluding that “to Soleri, the ultimate role of man is that of an artist; the ultimate character of a city is to be a work of art.”[23]

The city as a work of art, created and inhabited by artist citizens, was a configuration of architecture that allowed this exhibition to slip with little friction into the art museums it visited. But reviews of the show disclosed an uncertainty about how to negotiate it’s sensational content with its appeal to address something as banal as “an efficient plumbing system of contemporary society,” which the Corcoran called “a social relevance seldom attained by most museum exhibitions.”[24] The exhibition showed twelve projects that moved chronologically through the previous decade of Soleri’s work: the introduction came by way of the project “Mesa City,” a dense cluster of organic towers rendered on a 160-foot scroll (fig. 2). Moving further in, visitors found enormous models of Arcologies, sculptural cities with very high density meant to control a proliferating population’s impact on the environment.[25] Of the exhibition that spread across ten gallery rooms, the highlight was a 30-foot-long model of a bridge arcology (fig. 3). The drawings and models were spectacularly large, exquisitely detailed and formally novel. Huxtable wrote that Soleri’s productions were “a strongly seductive kind of art. One can take them that way, if no other.” Their immense scale gave them a monumental presence, the “3D Jersey” model filling a whole atrium space at nearly two stories high (fig. 4). Addressing the potentially overbearing quality of Arcologies, a ubiquitous criticism of Soleri’s work, a critic from *Craft Horizons*

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[23] Spiro Kostof "Soleri's Arcology: A New Design for the City?" *Art in America* 59.2 (1971): 94.

[24] See John Pastier quoting Soleri in the review “Mr. Soleri and His Better Plumbing.” *The National Observer*, 23 Mar. 1970 and the exhibition catalogue in Donald Wall’s. *Visionary Cities: the Arcology of Paolo Soleri.* New York, Praeger Publishers, 1971.

[25] Harithas, 97.

described the experience that the models produced: “You could stand under the three-dimensional structures or look down on them (from a platform built for that purpose) and see the huge areas of space—a fact which expelled any claustrophobic fears.”[26] Extreme as urban proposals, the exhibited designs attracted engagement as objects in themselves. Huxtable, like other reviewers, felt the public was unprepared to judge the material:

> “These clustered mushrooms and snorkeled megastructures are not to be taken literally, and that is where the public usually loses him. The professional dismisses them as non-architecture. The lay observer sees them as pictures of cities, not as abstract schematics, and has one of two reactions. He either bolts in horror of he falls in love with the vision.[27]

The Washington Post surveyed visitors, including one resigned man who liked the bridge but not the bleak future that the show projected, concluding, “I suppose it is what will have to be.”[28] Michael Webb wrote that, despite the seeming sincerity with which the Soleri proposed arcologies, “the exhibition failed adequately to interpret this radical solution and left many questions unanswered.”[29] Indeed, some of the audience left angry about the Department of

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[26] The sense that Soleri’s authorship was tyrannical, and that arcologies would rob residents of determination and creative expression could not be as easily dispelled. From Donna Lawson’s "Paolo Soleri." *Craft Horizons* Aug. 1970: 58-59.

[27] Huxtable, 118.

[28] Harry Naltchayan. "Comments on Soleri Exhibition." *The Washington Post* 9 Mar. 1970: B1.

[29] Webb raised this criticism in connection to Soleri’s ambitions to self-fund construction on an Arcology in "To Better the City or Escape It." Museum News May 1970: 13. Several of the earliest Arcosanti volunteers cited the exhibition as the catalyst for their participation. See Richard Register. Manuscript for Another Beginning Memoir. 1970. n.p. Paolo Soleri Archive, Cordes Junction.

Housing and Urban Development's sponsorship of the show because, clearly, "Soleri's megastructures are the least practical solution to the nation's housing problems!"[30]

Not quite art, which the exhibiting museums were accustomed, nor the projective plans of architect and planners, what Soleri and Corcoran presentation was his "architectural vision." With a small semantic inversion, this was a nearly identical couching to the designation under which Soleri exhibited for the first time at a major institution, in the 1960 *Visionary Architecture* at the Museum of Modern Art. At the moment in which museums at the center of architectural influence took interest in exhibiting Soleri, "vision" was how they understood Soleri's production and "visionary" was how they framed his authorship. In order to unpack the "visionary" as a condition of the outsider Soleri's access to the inside, this chapter follows the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in the museum. Museums became a crucial platform for Soleri, and for a time his presence in them was crucial to their mission as well. I argue that narratives of modernism relied on techniques of inclusion and exclusion, creating a limited moment where "vision" had currency, the conditions under which *The Architectural Vision of Paolo Soleri* became only possible but successful. This paper uses the Museum of Modern Art to track the dynamic of inside and outside because of the museum's explicit claims to authority on modernism for a popular audience.

Beginning with its first architecture exhibition, *Modern Architecture: the International Style*, the museum attempted to define modernism through exclusions. These exclusions generated categories of architects: "individualists" and the advancer of modern style. The

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[30] The reviewer Elaine Benvenuto did not discuss the exhibition's co-sponsorship by Prudential Insurance. "Soleri's Vision." *Women's Wear Daily*. Feb. 1970, pp. 18.

exhibition *Visionary Architecture* subverted these categories in search of a new interpretation of modernism, and *The Architectural Vision of Paolo Soleri* was one of several other exhibitions that carried on the category of the "visionary." However, because negotiations of inclusions and exclusions transform the terms by which exhibitions presented architecture, the architectural outside mutated accordingly. Exhibitions created outsiders like Soleri, only to absorb them as they move on to the next outside.

The Architectural Vision of Paolo Soleri was a one-man show, but the architect's status as an outsider was apparent nonetheless. The outsized ambition present in the arcology idea brought the circumspection of the public to bear on the sanity of the architect himself . In (what was ultimately a positive) review titled "The Apocalyptic Vision of Paolo Soleri," the historian of urbanism Dana White expected that "some will immediately dismiss Soleri as an outright fraud or a quixotic madman."[31] Others called him a prophet. In this capacity he was compared to architects and movements of the past. Ubiquitous in reviews were comparisons to Soleri's former mentor of Frank Lloyd Wright, who had died almost a decade before. His use of geometric form in the design of impossible structures had many reviewers comparing the Soleri exhibition to a previously touring show called *Visionary Architects* on the works of Boullée, Ledoux and Lequeu. Reviewers also invariably raised Antonio Gaudí, Expressionism and Futurism as

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[31] White anticipated that a dismissal of Soleri based on a cult of personality would be a political litmus test, continuing, "Some will revere him as a master builder of a coming urban utopia. Pragmatists will confront dreamers or—depending upon one's critical stance—"reactionaries" will resist "progressives" and the sides will become fixed: pro or con, for Soleri or against him." in "Review: The Apocalyptic Vision of Paolo Soleri." *Technology and Culture* 12.1 (1971): 80.

precedents for Soleri's work.[32] White suspected that these connections were a way of "placing him among the 'interesting' and 'imaginative' but unproductive and therefore unimportant architects" of the twentieth century.

The separation of Futurists and Expressionists from the mainstream of architectural modernism to which White referred was long standing. It appeared in the first generation of books on the origins of modernism. Sigfried Giedion's condemnation of the movement in *Time, Space and Architecture* was ruthless:

> "The expressionist influence could not perform any service for architecture. Nevertheless it touched almost every German worker in the arts. Men who were later to do grimly serious work in housing developments abandoned themselves to a romantic mysticism, dreamed of fairy castles to stand of the peak of Mount Rosa. Others built concrete towers as flaccid as jelly fish."[33]

Nicholas Pevsner was similarly disposed to Expressionism, and to the list of figures who were emphatically not "pioneers" to his book *Pioneers of the Modern Movement,* he added Sant'Elia and Gaudí. They appeared only the footnotes in the first edition, but Giedion elevated them to the body of the text in the 1960 edition for the dubious distinction of "Gaudí and Sant'Elia [being] freaks and their inventions fantastical rantings. Now we are surrounded once again by fantasy and freaks." In defending this position against the emerging popularity of Gaudí in particular, he conceded that the architect was a "genius," but that, as far as the formation of the modern

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[32] Sybil Moholy-Nagy most fully explicated Soleri's architectural precedents. She also compared him to contemporaries Doxiadis and Le Corbusier, whom she found similarly autocratic in "The Arcology of Paolo Soleri." *Architectural Forum* May (1970): 73. The revision of Emil Kaufmann's "Revolutionary Architects" into "Visionary" ones may also speak to the meaning of "Visionary" in this period.

[33] This passage is directed at Bruno Taut, one of the first architects to be called a "visionary" in English. See Herman George Scheffauer's "Bruno Taut: A Visionary in Practice." *Architectural Review* Dec. 1922, pp. 154. The critical passage comes from Sigfried Giedion. *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition,* 1967: 486.

movement was concerned, he was an "outsider." Bringing Gaudí into the text enabled the historian to better "show up the line" that kept Art Nouveau out.[34]

The first attempts in the United States to present modernism in the museum preceded the above books, but its approach towards Expressionist and Futurist work was nearly the same.[35] *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,* curated by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson at the Museum of Modern Art inaugurated modern architecture in the museum by presenting it as a style, flexible but unifying in its execution. The separate styles of Futurism, Expressionism and Art Nouveau did not make the cut. However, the catalogue briefly visited the "first generation of modern architects" that "revolt[ed] from stylistic discipline to extreme individualism at the beginning of the twentieth century" in order to break from the impasse of Beaux-Arts eclecticism.[36] But the architect whose marginal inclusion truly "showed the line" of the *International Exhibition* was Frank Lloyd Wright.

As Peter Reed and William Kaizen tell it, the organizers of that first exhibition had never intended to include Wright or Organicism. He fit the pioneer generation of individualists as far as they were concerned, and their didactic intentions for the exhibition precluded off-message

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[34] Nicholas Pevsner wrote in the introduction to the third edition of *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius* that the by including "freaks" in the body of the text helped to articulate the line between pioneers and others. Insert full footnote.

[35] Their approaches to modernism were in such harmony that the Museum of Modern Art published the second edition of the book. The treatment of Expressionist, Art Nouveau and Futurist architects became a point of contention between Pevsner and Philip Johnson. See Irene Sunwoo's "Whose Design? MoMA and Pevsner's Pioneers." *Getty Research Journal* 2 (2010): 69-82.

[36] From Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson's introduction to *The International Style*. New York: Norton, 1966: 35.

architecture.[37] When Lewis Mumford convinced them to invite him, the clarity of Wright's position as an outsider intensified. Angry correspondence and threats of reneging followed his inclusion in this crowd. Ultimately both sides embraced the controversy. After all, the architect could have as much to gain from, as Wright called it, "the shameless and selfish essence of promotion and propaganda," as the museum could.[38]

MoMA's 1941 attempt to feature Wright in an exhibition of his own magnified the problems of the outsider to such a degree that it altered the category: the "individualist" transformed into a "genius." Wright's expectation for the exhibition were so high that he called it "the show to end all shows." The exhibition did not live up to these expectations, partially because the architect crippled the museum's efforts to situate Wright by cancelling a catalogue that included criticism—in the vein of the museum's *International-Style*-era misgivings—of the architect's overly "personal style." The difficulty of working with Wright was so great that the curator John McAndrew quit.[39] This behavior undoubtedly informed Henry-Russell Hitchcock's 1947 claim that genius architects had "neither the taste nor executive talent" to work within large organizations. Wright anchored the "genius" side of Hitchcock's new schema "The Architecture of Bureaucracy and the Architecture of Genius," which he claimed represented the current state of the field. As he saw it, the early twentieth century had a "preoccupation with the pace of

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[37] Bernard Rudofsky in 1966 recalled that Phillip Goodwin, an architect and museum trustee in its earliest years, said "the American Public can only grasp one thing at a time." Found in Jennifer Tobias' *The Museum OF Modern Art's What Is Modern? Series, 1938–1969*. Diss. City U of New York, 2012.

[38] Peter Reed, William Kaizen, and Kathryn Smith. *The Show to End All Shows: Frank Lloyd Wright and the Museum of Modern Art, 1940*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2004: 46.

[39] *Ibid*, 28.

development." Now that modernism had become the law of the land, the question was no longer one of advancement but quality. Therefore, most architects would work as bureaucrats to produce useful buildings, and particularly creative individuals would create architecture that requires "special expressive power." This put the taboo of individualism on ice, ambivalently holding its architects at the margins of validity. Further, the new formulation left an opening for museums to take a different approach to exhibitions, because the work of genius architects "rais[ed] them out of the world of amenity into the world of art."[40]

The 1960 exhibition *Visionary Architecture* took the exclusions of Museum of Modern Art's segregations as its premise. Its curator, Arthur Drexler, had organized several architectural exhibitions for the museum since his arrival in 1951 and his appointment of the director of the department in 1956. He had organized exhibitions that featured unorthodox topics, such as one on Gaudí, and exhibitions that functioned as surveys of the field, like *Built in the USA: Postwar Architecture*. However, *Visionary Architecture* was the first exhibition to advance a claim on modernism by curating an ensemble of architects working throughout the twentieth century. The impetus for this exhibition, Drexler claimed in its introductory statement, was Frank Lloyd Wright, "who regularly commuted between vision and reality, often designed pointless but engaging fantasies." The poverty of reality was the premise of the exhibition. Drexler expanded the unifying quality of "impossible to realize" into a a platform for social criticism as well as a way to engage the architect's capacity for fantasy. Unbuildable projects were where "a second

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[40] Hitchcock's article informed his participation in the *What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?* symposium at the museum. Participants in the *International Style* exhibition concluded that the narrative they had composed of modernism was still essentially valid. "The Architecture of Bureaucracy and the Architecture of Genius." *Architectural Review* Jan. 1947.

history of architecture…unhampered by technical details and uncompromised by the whims of patrons, or the exigencies of finance, politics, and custom" existed. This alternative history would reveal that "architects share with other people the full complement of emotions."[41] No longer would a "strong personal preference for certain forms" render any architect backwards. Expressionists Hans Poelzig and Bruno Taut joined Le Corbusier and Louis Kahn to be counted among architects that were "not crackpots but reputable men" by the press.[42]

Instead of weeding out non-building architects who expressed individuality, Drexler used them to cultivate the idea that all architecture originates as private, solipsistic dreams. Huxtable's review of the show warned that "murky psychological undertones" were present amongst the architectural fantasies glowing in the darkened galleries. Buckminster Fuller debuted his "Partial Enclosure of Manhattan Island" dome proposal there, responding to Drexler's request that he exhibit something that "the uninitiated would call crazy." Drexler initially wanted Fuller to make "a model that would be so large the public can walk through it…It might create the illusion of enormous distances and give to even the most visionary projects a kind of Alice-in-Wonderland quality."[43] Ultimately Frederick Kiesler's nearly full-scale "Endless House" would serve that purpose. This visionary crowd included Soleri (fig. 5 and 6). Drexler displayed two drawings of

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[41] Museum of Modern Art. *Introductory Statement on the Visionary Architecture Exhibition*. MoMA. 29 Sept. 1960.

[42] In fact, the exhibition claimed the visionary architecture was the legacy Leonardo da Vinci. "The Dream Builders." *Time* 17 Oct. 1960: 88.

[43] Quotes from correspondence found in Maria Gough's "Backyard Landing: Three Structures by Buckminster Fuller." *New Views on R. Buckminster Fuller*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2009: 136.

his, one of which was an extraordinary long drawing of a bridge from 1948, the other a rendering of a "Theological Center of the Biotechnic City."[44]

The foregrounding of "vision" in architectural practice stimulated the elevation of the drawing in the museum. For the most part, Visionary Architecture exhibited drawings as back-lit, enlarged reproductions for immersive effect. However, the show's psychological approach to architecture pointed to the drawing as receptacle for innovation. Drexler explained to Huxtable: "The importance of this exhibition is that we show the architectural idea—the image—as it comes from the designer in its purist state…Here there is no gap between the idea and its realization. For the architect, this is the child's idea of bliss—a mountain of ice cream."[45] Drexler's new conviction in drawings continued in his next architecture exhibition, the 1962 *Drawings of Frank Lloyd Wright*, which functioned as an institutional eulogy for the recently deceased architect. Drexler capitalized on the intractable genius's inability to argue from the grave to focus on Wright's drawings. They were the "clue to the process of his thought," the only way to understand an architect who "spoke willingly of his principles and hardly at all of his practice."[46] During the first years of Drexler's curatorial interests in drawing, the Museum had a single inter-departmental acquisitions committee. Until *Visionary Architecture*, the committee

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[44] This was not, however, Soleri's debut at MoMA. Elizabeth Shaw (née Bauer, sister to housing advocate Catherine), encountered Soleri on a 1948 trip to Taliesin West as curator John McAndrew's assistant. She included a Soleri bridge design for the exhibition and book, which angered Wright and contributed to his expulsion of Soleri. She was the publicity director for the museum during *Visionary Architecture,* which also exhibited the bridge design. In Lissa McCullough's *Conversations with Paolo Soleri.* New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2012.

[45] Huxtable, Ada Louise. "The Architect as a Prophet." *New York Times* 2 Oct. 1960: X21.

[46] Drexler, Arthur. *The Drawings of Frank Lloyd Wright*. New York: Museum of Modern Art by Horizon, 1962: 15.

had chosen only original drawings with painterly qualities, like those of van Doesburg and Burle Marx, while focusing its attention on photographs and models. It was with *Visionary Architecture* that the museum began considering drawings as the primary site of architecture. The museum's collection of drawings grew from several dozen to several hundred over during the first decade of Drexler's tenure, and the number exponentially once the Department of Architecture and Design began its own acquisition program in 1967.[47] This emphasis on drawings is inextricable from the museum's renegotiation of the inside and outside.

The figure of the outsider attracted new kinds of institutional support. The Graham Foundation gave to Soleri one of its first grants, a program meant explicitly to support fellows who "put forward honest desires" and who "clearly had off-beat proposals." Soleri used the grant to develop the "Biotechnic City," which he exhibited in *Visionary Architecture,* into the "Mesa City" of the *Architectural Vision of Paolo Soleri.* The Graham Foundation presented Huxtable's rave review of the latter to its board as evidence of the grant's success.[48] Corporate sponsorship by Prudential Insurance and PPG followed the Graham, enabling the elaborate *Architectural Vision* to become the first exhibition on architecture in several of the museums through which it circulated. "Gratitude is due to PPG Industries of Pittsburgh," read the Whitney Museum's 1970 year-end report, "This is the first time that a corporation has underwritten the cost of one of our

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[47] Matilda McQuaid. *Envisioning Architecture: Drawings from the Museum of Modern Art*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2002: 22-32.

[48] In "Scheme" document for Graham Foundation Charter. 4 Jan. 1956. Catherine Bauer Papers, Berkeley, CA.

major exhibitions; it is a resource which must be explored further if we are to cope with the rising costs of such [sensational] exhibitions."[49]

But the recasting of modernism in the image of the outsider took on a sinister quality. As Felicity Scott has argued, Drexler became concerned about the totalizing ambitions of modernism: Where he had once seen social criticism in architects' fantasies, he now saw only ominous millenarianism. Speaking in 1975, Drexler admitted that to "write a history of modern architecture without really having a considerable background in theology," would not be possible because modernism had a "messianic fervor" to introduce "paradise on earth."[50] Drexler made these comments at a symposium he organized to correspond with *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts,* another exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art to make an ambitious assessment of modernism in architecture. The exhibition reached back beyond even the idiosyncratic "first generation" to bring the Beaux-Arts era to bear on all of modern architecture. Anthony Vidler, who presided over an *Oppositions* issue on the exhibition, considered this engagement with the nineteenth century an "auto-critical act" on the part of the museum, its coming to terms with its own role in the codification of modernism in the first place.[51] The exhibition, initiated in 1967, displayed only drawings.

The next exhibition to address architectural modernism as such was *Transformation in Modern Architecture* of 1979. To the chagrin of revivers, *Transformations* used neither drawings

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[49] John I H Baur "The Year At The Whitney." *The Whitney Review*, 1971.

[50] *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts* Symposium. Dec. 1975. Museum of Modern Art. Found in Felicity Scott's "When Systems Fail: Arthur Drexler and the Postmodern Turn." *Perspecta* 35 (2004): 134.

[51] Anthony Vidler. "Academicism: Modernism." *Oppositions* 8 (1977): 2

nor models but only photographs. The exhibition organized photographs of hundreds of buildings by the categories of form, structure, elements and vernacular. Glass-skinned buildings were so overrepresented that reviewers joked the show was a thinly-veiled advertisement for sponsor PPG Industries.[52] Reviewers found the exhibition unsettling in its cynicism. The relentlessness of photographs of glass cladding systems disturbed Kenneth Frampton, who warned that "reproduction in general would eventually reduce architecture to irrelevancy."[53] Drexler's response was, effectively, that late modern architecture did not deserve drawings: photographic bombardment was a faithful representation of the ways these buildings were produced and consumed.[54] In the catalogue Drexler addressed the withholding of information on individual buildings, explaining that the inundation of images allowed readers and visitors to "narrow the comparisons to similarities in aesthetic choice." By making formal comparisons, audiences could see that the buildings of big corporate firms and the smaller ateliers of "exalted academics…co-exist comfortably and even begin to merge, despite the intensity with which contending factions proclaim their uniqueness."[55] As new categories of architects began to emerge, the outsider lost his critical currency. But the relentless cycle of exhibitions meant that new outsides were always at hand, if different than expected. From the point of view of the curator, Drexler wrote,

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[52] In fact it was sponsored, like *The Architectural Vision of Paolo Soleri*, by both PPG and the Graham Foundation. *Transformations in Modern Architecture.* New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1979.

[53] The apocalyptic response was perhaps an appropriate objection to the passing of modernism. Kenneth Frampton. "Blow Up." *Skyline* Apr. 1979

[54] Arthur Drexler and Andrew MacNair, "Response: Arthur Drexler on Transformations," *Skyline* (Summer 1979), 6.

[55] Wall text as transcribed in "When Systems Fail," 140.

"reversals of judgment are seldom complete and never without ulterior motives. What was bad, for quite specific reasons, is declared good for the same reasons."[56]

[56] Arthur Drexler in *Transformations in Modern Architecture*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1979: 17.

Chapter 2

Work Hard and Teilhard: The Plasticity of Earth and People

"Telescoping the environmental experiences of the Baths of Caracalla and Club Mediterranée," described Reyner Banham of Arcosanti in 1982, "the general effect really is very like camping out in grand style in a great Roman ruin." And as one might expect of ancient Roman buildings, Arcosanti was inhabited by a cult—although Banham doesn't couch it so strongly. Instead, Soleri is a "guru" or "messiah" and the people working there are "flower children, giving freely their labor." Banham left his excursion to Soleri's utopia-in-progress dubious of its prospects but moved by the "belief that transcends disillusionment…a belief that still beamed from the cheerful faces of everybody [he] saw working there."[57]

The domination of Arcosanti by the countercultural moves away from of the city and into the mystical has made the project notorious. Banham drops titillating hints—the hedonism of the Club Mediterranée, the dominion of the master, the swindling of young converts, the religious irrationalism—that Arcosanti participates in the most sinister practices of the 1960s and 1970s wave of what sociologists post facto came to call New Religious Movements. The term "cult" is a charged one, and the phenomenon is acutely responsive to the relationship of inside and outside. Only the outside of a movement defines a cult as such, and the constitution of a cult is a matter of the constitution of an inside. I argue in this chapter that the formation of a cult enabled Soleri's realization of Arcosanti, and that Soleri's production of ceramics was a conduit of this formation both through its material properties and attendant cultural associations of craft.

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[57] Reyner Banham. *Scenes in America Deserta*. New York: MIT, 1982, pp. 83.

Paolo Soleri's introduction to America, the desert and the esoteric came at once with his arrival at Taliesin West in 1947. But before he graduated from the Politecnico di Torino, a spiritualism motivated him "to package ideas and graphics in certain ways that were a blessing," a skill that earned him his position with Wright.[58] Soleri's tenure at Taliesin was disappointing, but he learned a lot. Like Wright, he would start a community in the desert of artistic workers anchored by the family of the master. Through the influence of Wright's wife Olgivanna, Taliesin became an offshoot of the Theosophical movement that invested the architect with spiritual authority.[59] Soleri never officially took on Theosophy, but ceramics smuggled many of its creeds into his practice. Not only did the rhetoric around ceramics prime an audience for Soleri's work, it reinforced and developed a mysticism that subtended the social organization of Arcosanti's labor force.

Soleri describes his introduction to ceramics as an expedient accident. In Italy, where Soleri returned after his sojourn in the Arizona desert, the ascendance of peasant ceramics, pariculary the tin-glazed maiolica, was a symptom of postwar economic conditions. Like many other architects unable to find work in their discipline in the chaotic aftermath of the war, Soleri turned to the one corner of the creative landscape that was thriving: the small-scale ceramic production of the Italian south. These smaller operations avoided the annihilation that larger, more industrial producers faced with the destruction of national infrastructures.[60] Soleri found

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[58] Paolo Soleri and John Strohmeier. The Urban Ideal: Conversations with Paolo Soleri. Berkeley, CA, Berkeley Hills Books, 2001.

[59] Roger Friedland and Harold Zellman. *The Fellowship: The Untold Story of Frank Lloyd Wright & the Taliesin Fellowship.* New York: Regan, 2006, pp. 18.

[60]Lisa Hockemeyer. "Manufactured Identities: Ceramics and the Making of Italy." *Made in Italy: Rethinking a Century of Italian Design.* New York: Bloomsbury, 2014.

work with the ascending Solimene family, who in turn hired him to complete a factory for them in 1953. Soleri clad the factory in ceramics of the Solimene's own making, developing an integration of ceramics and architecture that would follow at his compound in Cosanti and Arcosanti (fig. 7). But just as the factory was finished, a flood destroyed the house that Soleri was building for his family in Vietri Sul Mare. Having exhausted his resources in precarious Italy, he and his American wife decided to try their newfound competence in ceramics in Santa Fe, an emerging capital of craft in the United States.

The craft economy of the Southwest had been developing since the since trans-continental trains first brought travelers in contact with indigenous communities in the late nineteenth century. The first archeological activity and attendant antiquity collections from the ancient American Southwest coincided with the progressive movement. In an attempt to redress the social ills of contemporary native communities, programs emerged to encourage Pueblo to make their "traditional" pottery as a means of productive employment. The Indian Arts Fund was an important instrument of these efforts**,** as was the Indian School of Santa Fe, which would later rank with the Solimenes as Soleri's only clients. At both these institutions, the craft workers were either encouraged or instructed to replicate ancient designs that were unearthed from archeological excavations. The rules were: "no modern white forms, no worthless trifles, only dignified pieces in the best traditional style**,"** in a paradoxical bid for authenticity.[61] By the time the Soleris arrived, New Mexico was brimming with southwestern kitsch as well as ancient and modern "authentic" Hopi and Zuni pottery. With the largest museum of international folk art in

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[61] Margaret D. Jacobs. "Shaping a New Way: White Women and the Movement to Promote Pueblo Indian Arts and Crafts, 1900-1935." *Journal of the Southwest,* vol. 40, no. 2, 1998.

the world, soon to be supplemented by the modernist Alexander Girard's influential collection of folk art, Santa Fe was the central market for primitive crafts, in particular ceramics, in the world.

Ceramics as a medium was reaching its own heights in the midcentury in the American West. Like for the Native Americans of the corner states, training in ceramics earned institutional support as a means of skilling, with the WPA during the depression and the GI bill in the 1940s encouraging education in crafts in academic settings. USC's Department of Architecture was one of the first to incorporate ceramics to its curriculum—alum Frank Gehry said, "I have a personal affinity for ceramics. Before I studied architecture, that was my first art class"—and many of the programs found homes in women's colleges and art schools.[62] Already rich in raw clay, California also had an abundance of postwar homes to house the pots and bowls proliferating in this era. The magazine *Craft Horizons* wrote in 1956:

> "There appears to be a tremendous and still growing interest in the use of crafts as the perfect complement to California contemporary architecture. With so many families living in new and modern houses, exhibitions showing how craft art can be used creatively as part of the home environment have had a great appeal to a broad segment of the populace."[63]

Meanwhile, the introduction to studio ceramics by way of academia opened the medium to a theorization. Enormously influential to the conception of ceramics as an intuitive, expressive medium of the exotic East was the tour that Shoji Hamada and Bernard Leach took of West-Coast academic ceramic departments in the late 1940s (fig. 8). Their cause, which Hamada proselytized at home in Japan and abroad with Leach, was "mingei," which roughly translated to folk craft. In folk craft, "untutored and unselfconscious," one could find beauty in modest,

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[62] Frank Gehry. Forward. *Ken Price Sculpture: A Retrospective*. Ed. Stephanie Barron. Los Angeles: Prestel USA, 2012. 12.

[63] Cecile Whiting. "Contemporary Art, Studio Ceramics and Clay Revolution in Los Angeles." *Color and Fire*. Los Angeles, CA: LACMA, 2000.

imperfect things. Their introduction of a spiritual basis for the exaltation of the unsophisticated opened up the possibility of a radically flattened cultural landscape.[64] Even the Viennese Natzlers, whose technique was painstakingly honed from old-world European and scientific expertise, began experimenting with Japanese forms and procedures (fig. 9).

The ceramic medium also found reception in amongst abstract expressionists. With the work of Peter Voulkos, founder of the ceramics departments at Otis College and Berkeley, ceramics moved beyond craft to fine art as his practice abandoned its functional dimension. As Los Angeles' art scene came into it's own in the 1960s, ceramics was one of the unique art practices that defined it with Voulkos' students well represented in Art Forum and the Ferus Galleries. For the most part, his students abandoned his abstract expressionism, but left intact his explorations of plasticity.[65]

It was in this milieu that Soleri's ceramics practice flourished. The first time he was published in *Domus*, in 1955, his work is displayed next to the work of a Scripps College instructor. His small vessel shows what would become hallmarks of his ceramic work—no painted ornament and no planes, only lines carved into crude surface (fig. 10). By then he had moved back to the desert of Scottsdale, where the weather was better than in Santa Fe for the earth-casting technique he used to make bells, a form he fell into through a request from one of his first retailers, a craft boutique in Santa Fe: the Korean War veteran who had imported the idea of the wind bells from Buddhist temples in Korea died unexpectedly, but consumer taste for the

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[64] Christy Johnson. *Common Ground: Ceramics in Southern California, 1945-1975*. Pomona, CA: American Museum of Ceramic Art, 2012.

[65] Whiting, 90.

bells he made lived on. Soleri tried his hand at them, but instead of grafting Korean or Buddhist imagery, he inscribed the bells with his own ornamental language.[66]

The other forum that sold Soleri's bells was the Kiva Craft Center in Scottsdale, a boutique that sold contemporary Native American craft helmed by Lloyd Kiva New, who was soon to be Soleri's client when he transformed the Indian School of Santa Fe into the Institute for American Indian Arts.[67] But, as discussed in the following chapter, the IAIA commission only further entrenched Soleri in an economy of nonspecific orientalism that replaced the trappings of professional architectural practice. But like the universe of folk traditions from which a midcentury ceramicist could pull, clay itself has the property of plasticity that extends to the motifs engraved (fig. 11). Indeed, while one finds preliminary sketches for the more elaborate bell compositions in Soleri's notebooks, these are forethought on their connective structure rather than plans for ornament to be engraved in the bells. Horst Bredekamps' analysis of the drawing of Frank Gehry, ceramics enthusiast, details the intellectual history of the animated line that buttresses the continuation of the cultural logic of Soleri's ceramic milieu into his use of the line to the exclusion of other graphic techniques. The curved line, he submits, in "moving along the border of abstraction and motif," is propelled by mind's navigation between revealing itself and revealing nature, "according to one's wishes." This essential quality of the line crosses historical and cultural differences, so, while "drawings, like every form of art, must be understood in terms of their historical period," they also have a "dense, almost anthropological proximity to the ideas

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[66] Soleri, *The Urban Ideal*, 32.

[67] Ryan S. Flahive *Celebrating Difference: Fifty Years of Contemporary Native Arts Education at IAIA, 1962-2012*, Sunstone Press, 2012.

that formed them, so they have an inherent, timeless modernity."[68] The motifs on the bells can also be found in the sketchbooks that Soleri kept throughout his career and in his executed architectural work. Concentric circles and the vector forms Soleri invested with theological-evolutionary content carry over to diagrams, renderings of his widely-published Mesa City project have the bells' same fungal lines, and abstract geometric motifs which conform to their structure can be found engraved into the buildings at Cosanti and Arcosanti (fig. 12 and 13).

By 1956, "what had been a pot became a roof," and "moving from functions of a square foot to many square feet and from liquid clay to concrete was simply an extrapolation" (fig. 14).[69] Soleri translated his ceramics process to an architectural scale: He piled the earth in his backyard into a mold, fit a chicken wire over the pile, poured concrete over the chicken wire reinforcement and invited his friends to help dig out the dirt. The resulting structure, the "Earth House," was Soleri's first of many earth-cast buildings on his property, which he called Cosanti (fig. 15). These buildings were, in contrast to his later buildings at Arcosanti, "handicraft" due to "the experimental nature of their design, the roughness of their execution," and the fact that they were "built using only rough sketches." This conception of his work at Cosanti was borne out by his 1963 award for craftsmanship at the American Institute of Architects. Soleri found that "the abstractness of working on the negative gave surprising results" and the students who attended summer workshops at Cosanti reported the same. "Working in continuous material" reported one

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[68] Horst Bredekamp. "Frank Gehry and the Art of Drawing." *Gehry Draws*. MIT in Association with Violette Editions, 2004, pp. 24.

[69] Paolo Soleri. *Paolo Soleri's Earth Casting: For Sculpture, Models, and Construction*. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1984, pp. 4.

student, “offers diversion from the post and beam spatial concepts so easily enhanced by T-square and triangle.”[70]

But while Cosanti’s ceramics practice took off, Soleri’s interests turned to the theological, galvanized by his introduction to the work of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. The Jesuit priest and paleontologist was the sole source of intellectual authority to which Soleri ever submitted. A popular and controversial author of books like the 1955 *Phenomenon of Man*, Teilhard reconciled evolution, his work, with his Catholicism, his faith. Evolution, he theorized, was the instrument by which matter advanced towards spirit to meet at the Omega Point, a state of transcendence. Human consciousness, the vehicle for spirit, Teilhard claimed, was the result of evolutionary-driven complexification of the brain.[71] The Catholic Church censored and rejected this squaring of evolution with God during Teilhard’s lifetime, but his writing became the basis for the Church’s stance on evolution at Vatican II.[72] Beyond Catholicism, the writing Teilhard de Chardin found considerable traction in the discourse of the New Age. A diffuse amalgamation of movements and ideas, the very integration of science and religion that Teilhard performed is one widely accepted criteria that scholars have used to fix the New Age. In fact, in a survey of self-

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[70] Joseph Nicholas Wills. "Siltpile at Scottsdale." *Journal of Architectural Education* vol. 18. no. 3, 1963, pp. 40.

[71] Pierre Teilhard de Chardin et al. *The Phenomenon of Man.* New York, Harper, 1959.

[72] Archeological and anthropological communities, however, has not accepted Teilhard’s claims. See Linda Sargent Wood, *More Perfect Union: Holistic Worldviews and the Transformation of American Culture after World War II.* Oxford UP, 2010., pp. 138.

identified Aquarians, Teilhard narrowly beat out Carl Jung as the most influential figure to them.[73]

Teilhard's influence on Soleri cannot be overstated: complexification and miniaturization motivated his work going forward. His interpretation of consciousness as the product of the complexity and density of the human brain was Soleri's impetus to compound consciousness by stuffing as many people as possible into compact, three-dimensional megastructures. The bulk of Soleri's published work—and the majority of individual production after 1973—are unillustrated books expanding on Teilhard's doctrines. The mysticism that Soleri took from Teilhard was analogous to the role that George Gurdjieff played at Taliesin through his acolyte Olgivanna. The mix of Eastern, indigenous, and folk culture of New Age enabled a kind of hierarchy and authority in the communication of knowledge. The guru-student relationship, wherein a truth is seems strange or absurd to the mainstream becomes accessible only to the initiated was a conspicuous feature of the mystically-charged landscape.[74] Of the New Age ideas that became movements, many concentrated in California, turning Arcosanti's backyard into the "burned-over district" of the twentieth century.

Soleri explicitly engaged in only a few conspicuously mystical practices, but his project relied on ground prepared by the ideological infrastructures of the New Age. Eastern religion attended the bells he sold even if they were stripped by Soleri of their religious function when extracted from the temple rafters of Korea. Similarly, Soleri's white bikini uniform read as a

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[73] Matthew Woods. *Possession, Power, and the New Age: Ambiguities of Authority in Neoliberal Societies*. Aldershot, England, Ashgate, 2007.

[74] Christopher Partridge. "Truth, Authority and Epistemological Individualism in New Age Thought." Ed. Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis. *Handbook of New Age*. Brill, 2007, pp. 87.

prototypical guru's dhoti. Further, Arcosanti's zealous orientation towards the sun—in both its reliance on the "apse effect" and in the repeated circular motif—suggests the neopagan. In fact, in a rare revelation of non-Teilhard sources, Soleri attributes "apse effect technology" to the example set by Native American cliff dwellings and pueblos, which face South to take advantage of the seasonal changes in the sun's positioning.[75] But the most exotic feature of Arcosanti may be its managerial structure, wherein entrance to the community was conditional of a nontrivial fee and months of unpaid labor.

It was the aspect of Arcosanti that most perplexed Banham, especially given the wide-scale rejection of megastructures for their totalitarianism decades earlier. "One has to wonder," he speculated, "if it is not the sheer physical exhaustion brought on by all that hand-labour that prevents his loyal students asking themselves what they are doing working for such a thoroughly old-fashioned and establishment figure."[76] A 1982 Architectural Forum article, "a Diary of an Arcosanti Experience," reads like an arcological catechism with questions about Arcosanti answered by various figures providing doctrinaire answers. For example, frustration with Soleri's neglect to engage debate of arcology is soothed by "Aki, a student from Japan," who helpfully explains to the diarist: "My friend studying in a Buddhist temple in Tokyo told me that when in the presence of a great person, one should not ask anxious questions…One profits from contact with a great person whether ones agrees or disagrees."[77]

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[75] Francesco Ranocchi. La ricerca di paolo soleri = paolo soleri's research. *Architettura: Cronache e Storia*, vol. 36, no. 12, 1990, pp. 874.

[76] Banham, Reyner. *Megastructure: Urban Futures of the Recent Past.* New York: Harper and Row, 1976: 202.

[77] *Ibid*. 39.

Unlike utopia, Soleri argued, evolution was in constant process, and he represented it as a vector. His sketchbooks from the late 1960s, before construction began, designate significant time to "seminar-debate" (fig. 16).[78] In one diagram, he introduces a second track for a self-governed group, a "conscience for Arcosanti, the 'non-compliance pill.'" Here, "radicals, mystics, anarchists, ethical advocate, black power, etc." that is, intersecting ideologies, would put "pressure on arcological concepts" but are not depicted looping back into the research (fig. 17). His treatment of pre-established disciplines is further developed on the next page, where they are divided into fundamentals ("they make man") and derivatives ("they are made by society") (fig. 18). These, like all conditions of the status quo, are represented in Soleri's notebook as ground or foundations contiguous with the negative space of the page. In the instance of established fields of inquiry, like "geology, politics, religions." Soleri represents them as tectonic plates traumatically breaking apart. Arcology or Arcosanti becomes the first vector emerging from the entropy of the ground, followed by stages from which final vectors, in the forked crest of the later ceramics apse, point up. Soleri's sketchbooks were his first line of thought. He carried them everywhere in cast-aluminum covers, sketching and writing about his impressions or working through problems. The right-rand side of every page has a column of stream-of-consciousness text written in imperfect English. These pages represent the only form of premeditation Soleri's governance of Arcosanti in the notebooks. They show him visualizing the community in the same diagrammatic language that he used in the exposition of the Arcology book, but also with the same vectors and swells that he carved into the bells (fig. 19). For Soleri, the political life at Arcosanti was as plastic as the concrete that contained it. When the intellectual demands of the

[78] *Arcology, the City in the Image of Man*, 13.

workshoppers exceeded their contributions to construction, he jettisoned the investment in discourse, chalking up dissent to the parochialism of the "village effect."[79] Working in the negative, it seemed, bore as unexpected results in people as it did in clay.

Soleri's vectors give form to the evolutionary model of Teilhard de Chardin's philosophy. Soleri's books expanding on the philosophy of Teilhard are nearly indeterminable in their sweeping language. They are riddled with the neologisms, a habit that Soleri picked up from his prophet. The neologisms, like the impenetrability of the text, are devices of the esoteric. To even begin to engage with the ideas therein, one must become immersed in the language. As a result, It is quite difficult to appraise "arcology" without submitting to the constellation of concepts in which Soleri conceived it. Full initiation meant following Soleri into the desert, where one would labor on a city whose purpose was to catalyze the end of the material world; Arcosanti would be the "omega seed" to Teilhard's prophesied "omega point."

Soleri titled his first book *The Bridge Between Matter and Spirit is Matter Becoming Spirit*, which effectively encapsulates this bright doom. Matter at its most basic is inert, entropic earth, Soleri's raw material. Like the ground plane in his diagrams, it represents the status quo. Human consciousness is the "bridge" between matter and spirit, and arcology is the vector. Soleri shaped Arcosanti as a millenarian vessel for his followers, and there was no way out (fig. 20).

[79] Arcology can only be understood in relation to the "urban effect." Skipsky, 39.

Chapter 3

Construction: The Institute of American Indian Art Amphitheater

"More 'body' and fewer 'mind' people are needed."[80]

Soleri designed; students built. As we saw in previous chapters, this arrangement raised several eyebrows over the half century that Paolo Soleri ran workshops in Arizona, even as the popularity of design-build educational programs rose and sustainable urbanism mainstreamed. Of course, the unapologetic reduction of students to their capacity for physical labor was only one of many idiosyncrasies that marked Soleri's practice. He seemed to do little like other architects, isolated in desert where he worked outside the the service of clients.

Because Soleri operated so far afield from the conventions of professional architecture, it is easy to consider his eccentric universe as independent from standard conditions. But this would be a mistake, and nowhere are those underlying conditions more exposed than when his program intersected with the agenda of others. The theater he designed for the Institute of American Indian Arts was such a case: for a summer, its students became his students. Simply as a client, the school strained Soleri's process. But beyond even the difficulty any conventional client might have posed, the school brought to bear the considerable burden of negotiating very thorny paradoxes of representation: the theater was to be a showcase of Native American drama, a theretofore nonexistent medium in an institution itself meant to be a showcase of the creative potential of tradition. By having architects (and fledgling creative workers, in the case of the art school students) move beyond design as the object of their work and on to the building itself,

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[80] James Shipksy. "Diary of an Arcosanti Experience." *AIA Journal* 7, no. 5, 1982, pp. 35.

Soleri undermined disciplinary conventions. I argue that his extensive photographic documentation of construction labor serves to redress the representational vacuum created by the removal of design work, a balance wrought by the pedagogical agenda of the Institute.

The not-too-distant origins of the Soleri Amphitheater (as it came to be called) in the Rockefellers' positioning of primitivism in modernism come into play with the transgression of the disciplinary specificity with which Soleri's program flirted. As far as he was concerned, his practice of putting architects to work on buildings and not drawings was simply the only conceivable way to approach in the present what was truly important: the summoning of the Omega Point. His educational program, as discussed in the previous chapter, was a means to recruit labor and money to that end.

Design-build's longer history has been frequently been tied to a social agenda: John Ruskin brought manual labor and direct engagement together when he brought his undergraduate students to build a road in a slum outside Oxford in 1874. A "real" architect always had a chisel as well as pencil on him, he insisted in a premonition of the discourse to come. On the other side of the Arts and Craft movement, and in striking similitude to the IAIA, Booker T. Washington had students at his Tuskegee Institute design and build their own campus. Paolo Soleri came to Arizona from Italy in the first place to work for Frank Lloyd Wright at Taliesin, where students and apprentices built many of the projects that they and Wright designed. The Cosanti workshop's most notable contemporary was the First Year Building Project at Yale, instituted by Charles Moore in 1966 after the example of the recent Yale graduates David Sellers and Will Gluck. It was here and in similarly institutionalized settings that the ideas behind design-build were best expressed. John Dewey—a contemporary of Wright's—was the primary touchstone for

this direct intervention, and both his 1916 *Democracy and Education* and *Art as Experience* insisted on the value of direct experience over received information: no skill, knowledge or aesthetic experience of any value could be acquired without the interactive struggle of direct participation.[81] Dewey's influence was perhaps most strongly traced through a genealogy of the 1950s and 1960s neo-avant-garde in art. John Cage wished to eliminate the opposition of performer and audience by transforming them into co-performers, an idea explored at Black Mountain College, where students also built their own facilities and Buckminster Fuller demonstrated the artlessness of the geodesic dome. Another direction of Cage's heirs, Alan Kaprow and Fluxus artists, explicitly embraced *Art as Experience* and strove to dissolve art into life with interactive, participatory performances.[82] Soleri's adherents in the 1960s—that is, even before the launch of idealistic Arcosanti—were frequently young people who felt stifled by the compartmentalization of modern life and described the opportunity to work with their hands as the appeal of a workshop on Soleri's compound at Cosanti in Scottsdale.[83]

The students of the Institute of American Indian Arts were a rather different group. In 1961, the year before the IAIA opened, only 66 Native Americans graduated from a four-year college in the United States.[84] Hand-in-hand with the widespread estrangement from higher

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[81] Richard W. Hayes, *Architecture School: Three Centuries of Educating Architects in North America*. Edited by Joan Ockman. MIT Press, 2012.

[82] Christian Kravagna. "Working on Community: Models of Participatory Practice." In *The 'Do-it-Yourself' Artwork: Participation from Fluxus to New Media*, by Anna Dezeuze. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2010: 242.

[83] Doug Lee. "Apprentice Interview." Telephone interview by author. May 30, 2015.

[84] For comparison, 25,000 Native Americans fought in WWII. Joy L Gritton. *The Institute of American Indian Arts: Modernism and U.S. Indian Policy*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000: 2.

education came poverty. In a progress report on the school delivered to Congress in 1968, the founder of the school, Lloyd Kiva New, did not mince words: "For almost five centuries the American Indian has been subjected to a process of relentless attrition which has slowly but surely eroded the roots of his cultural existence. His physical existence has been completely obliterated in many areas, and presently, his spiritual existence is in extreme jeopardy." The urgency of the situation laid out, New went on to describe inner trauma of cultural deracination, especially for young people. His school, a boarding high school and college preparation program for Native American teenagers, would use art to reconstruct what he described as a problem of a crushed self, saying that "while the institute does not label itself a psychotherapy center, it does core its program around the special psychological position of the individual and his identification with Indian culture." Concluding his pitch, he promised the federal government that the continued support for his school would not only transform talented American Indians into productive members of society, but also into a cultural resource: "Given the opportunity to draw on his own tradition, the Indian artist evolves art forms which are new to the cultural scene, thereby contributing uniquely to the society general…he learns to stand on his own feet, avoiding stultifying cliches applied to Indian art by the purist who sometimes unwittingly resents evolution in Indian art forms, techniques and technology."[85] The IAIA grant was renewed.

New was far from the first to argue for the connection between the Indian and the innovative on a national stage. In fact, despite New's passion for and experience in advocating for Native American craft (not to mention his skill as a textile artist), the Rockefeller Foundation,

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[85] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. *"The Role of the Institute of American Indian Arts in the Development of Indian Education and Its Potential as a Major Cultural Institution."* By Lloyd New. S. Rept. 1969: 142.

whose reach extended into both advocacy to and public policy, never fully committed to him. He was Cherokee, an experienced teacher with a degree from the Chicago Institute of Fine Arts, but New was at most a marginal figure in the 1950s conversation on Native American Art, which was at the time dominated by the enormous business of antiquities.[86] The center of the conversation on Native art—contemporary and otherwise—was Rene d'Harnoncourt, the chairman of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board (a government position), and vice president of both the Rockefeller's Museum of Primitive Art and of the Association of American Indian Affairs. Born an Austrian count but impoverished in the first World War, he rose through the ranks of the Rockefeller's various institutions through his expertise on non-Western art, eventually serving as the director of their Museum of Modern Art from 1944 to 1967. He had been instrumental in pulling off wildly popular exhibitions of South American antiquities in a massive public relations campaign for the Rockefeller's oil and mineral interests during the period in which South American countries were expropriating their natural resources.[87] But most critically for the IAIA, d'Harnoncourt effectively represented the red, "primitive" portions of Alfred Barr's famous diagram of the genealogy of modern art. These red "great grandparents"—Japanese prints, Near-Eastern art, Negro sculpture—surged in importance after World War II, when the battle lines of the cold war were shaking out: Unlike the black portions of the diagram, artistic movements with explicit left-leaning sympathies, non-Western art was understood to be free from communist subversion. While Native art didn't figure on the iconic diagram, movements from the Surrealists

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[86] Margaret Archuleta and Rennard Strickland. *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century*. New York, The New Press, 1993.

[87] Susan L. Meyn *More than Curiosities: a Grassroots History of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and Its Precursors, 1920-1942.* Lanham, MD, Lexington Books, 2001.

to Abstract Expressionism made overt references to the arts of American Indians, a fact that d'Harnoncourt heavily underlined in his twenty years of directorship. Best of all, Native American art was in d'Harnoncourt's words, "the most American of any we have in this country," and instilled American roots to the vanguard of contemporary arts (the figurative and non-figurative end points of Barr's diagram).[88] The Rockefellers used Native Art as a palliative for the more antagonistic elements of their modern art collection and international interests at home.

While modern art seemed to move aggressively forward, "primitive" art offered a narrative of historical continuity and tradition to abstraction. Critics, art administrators and artist themselves used the presence of abstraction in Indian antiquities as proof that non-figuration was not abstruse or intellectual, but intuitive and organic. "All primitive expression," said Barnett Newman, speaking on behalf of MoMA's *Indian Art of the United States* in 1943, "reveals the constant awareness of powerful forces, the immediate presence of terror and fear, a recognition of the brutality of the natural world as well as the eternal insecurities of life."[89] This kind of thought characterized the discourse of the time, and New's perspective on it was that the search for universal forms—those which could be found in both Native and modern art—should be the basis of a vital contemporary Native art. It was under these terms that New represented the ceramic work of Soleri—an architect with a PhD from Italy's industrial north, that is to say, not an American Indian—in his gallery for Native American Craft. The two had met through Frank

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[88] Joy L Gritton. *The Institute of American Indian Arts: Modernism and U.S. Indian Policy*. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico, 2000, pp. 29.

[89] Gritton, 37.

Lloyd Wright, whose Taliesin Fellowship of apprentices was the educational model New first proposed to Charles Fahs, the Director of Humanities for the Rockefeller Foundation in 1959.[90] D'Harnoncourt, worried that lack of patronage to living Native American culture represented a hypocritical hole in the Rockefeller's international humanitarian portfolio, sent Fahs on a fact-finding mission to Arizona, which had the largest American Indian population in the country. The foundation called a conference at the University of Arizona to discuss what such a program would look like, and while the notion that contemporary Indian art should be progressive and related to modernist art, disagreements over what exactly constituted "Indian" were never settled. Some thought that collective production characterized native art but that individual expression characterized modern art; some thought that any art an Indian made was Indian art; others argued that only the continuity of highly specific traditions constituted Indian Art. While New's "universal forms" were initially unimpressive to Fahs, the textile designer emerged from the resulting conference as the best candidate to lead a program in contemporary Native American arts. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, where d'Harnoncourt consulted, agreed to start the new institution on the campus of the Santa Fe Indian School with funds earmarked for a theater building.[91]

New chose Soleri for the theater, and the architect commenced on design when the school opened in 1962. The design was much like his other buildings in the sense that it was an apse, set deep in the ground with geometric crests (fig. 21). In this case the crests were initially symbols rendered in platonic geometries representing a range of Native cosmologies (fig. 22). Like the

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[90] Ryan S. Flahive. *Celebrating Difference: Fifty Years of Contemporary Native Arts Education at IAIA, 1962-2012*. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2012: 69.

[91] Gritton. *The Institute of American Indian Arts*. 67.

apses and earth-sheltered structures of his compound in Scottsdale, it was to be built in the same fashion: they would cast-in-place concrete on an earth mould with a silt bond breaker that gave the final texture to the surfaces. This technique became his signature and determined the range of forms available to his designs. The building is richly three-dimensional, distributing stage platforms across the structure in an attempt to undermine the strict formal dichotomy of performing space and receiving space in a gesture not unrelated to Cage's collapsing of performance and audience. The design for the amphitheater changed a few times before construction commenced in 1966, dropping the cosmological symbols in favor of an inter-penetrating inverse dome shape. The primitive geometries of the overlapping apses easily fit into New's language of the universal forms and in theory fulfilled the school's agenda of exposing students to creative careers by allowing students to participate in the construction.

Four apprentices from Cosanti accompanied Soleri to Santa Fe: two recent architecture school graduates, a surveyor, and a German carpenter. All four had completed a Cosanti earth-casting workshop and were considered competent enough to manage a construction site of roughly a dozen IAIA students (fig. 23).[92] New described the summer workshop on the theater as "an educational program using student labor. Working under supervision, students will gain invaluable experiences in actual design and construction," which he couched in the language of sculpture, or "shaping by hand the forms for walls and structural masses in a sculptural approach."[93] Doug Lee, a recent graduate who took on the role of managing the construction site,

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[92] Doug Lee. "Apprentice Interview." Telephone interview by author. May 30, 2015.

[93] Lloyd Kiva New. "Credo for American Indian Theater." Address, Santa Fe, July 1966.

remembers the students finding immense gratification in experiencing the process unfold.[94] Indeed, reflective accounts of the project focus on this psychological response to the participation on construction, which was not so different from how Lloyd New couched the therapeutic function of the school, in which personal growth would come from the students "reacting with pride and sometimes a shade of disbelief at having produced something of worth, and he equates this with his own personal worth."[95]

Personal development aside, the same problems that haunted the "Directions in Indian Art" conference became even more theoretically tricky on the matter of the Native theater. Because no Native American tribes had developed a formal theater, there was limited tradition from which to draw. The premise of the pedagogy of the school was the search for the universal, but this idea left obscure what it was exactly that was supposed to be specific to American Indians. For a medium without traditional precedent, theater presented at most half the necessary equation. Much of the performance tradition that did exist was religious or sacred, of which the instructors were "warned to keep our hands off." "Considering the IAIA's guiding goal of using traditional culture to produce contemporary art," questioned the theater instructor Rolland Meinholtz, "where did that leave us?"[96]

This question of what constitutes the meaningful use of Native tradition in modern practice intersected with the roughly contemporaneous discussion in architecture regarding the status of building traditions. In one of the surprisingly few canonical texts touching the subject of

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[94] Lee. "Apprentice Interview."

[95] New, "The Role of the Institute of American Indian Arts." 148.

[96] Rolland Meinholtz. "Coyote Transforming." Edited by Birgit Däwes. *In Indigenous North American Drama: A Multivocal History*, 45. SUNY Press, 2013.

construction in architecture, Kenneth Frampton confronted the difference between designing and building. He aligned the two with Hannah Ardent's categories of work and labor respectively: building was labor, or the "activity which corresponded to the biological process of the human body…and bound to the vital necessities." The "art or science of constructing edifices" was "work" or the "precondition for the reification of the world as the space of human appearance, providing the artificial world of things." Frampton, following Arendt, argued that these two had been in accordance until the emergence of modern capitalism, the same moment that regional and national traditions were sacrificed to "universal civilization."[97] Frampton's and Arendt's split is symmetrical to the cleaving of modern "Native" art, but it also maps onto Soleri's otherwise under-articulated split between "mind people" and "body people." Body people labor; mind people work and represent.

The students of the Institute and Soleri's apprentices were body people, laborers (fig. 24). They entered the building process many years after the architectural work concluded. Whether this amounted to an architectural educational experience was by no means clear-cut. The students and apprentices certainly gained exposure to the execution of construction technique, but not the "manipulation of representational abstractions," as Dewey described the activity of information workers. Meditating on the singularity of architecture as an art in the process of teaching, the architectural historian Robin Evans offered that "the displacement of effort and indirectness of access" seemed "the distinguishing features of conventional architecture." Despite the realization that architects operate sometimes on models but mostly on drawings—"never working directly

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[97] Kenneth Frampton. "The Status of Man and the Status of His Objects: A Reading of the Human Condition." I*n Architecture Theory since 1968*, ed. Hays, K. Michael. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1998.

on the object of their thought"—Evans argued in the article "Translations from Drawing to Building."[98] Of course, Soleri was at that point predominately known for his imaginative unbuildable drawings.The amphitheater was the sole building on which Soleri worked for a client over that same period, but he disowned the project when the enforcers of the federal government's standards of construction interfered with the construction site. He left the project right before the last pour, leaving Lee in charge of the conclusion. Unlicensed and without a trade, The Department of the Interior paid Lee the least of the team, but the job was also the most he had ever been paid on a Soleri project.[99]

The substantiation of Soleri's educational practice is in the documentary photography of the construction process. His wife Colly Soleri photographed him and the students working on the site, covering both smaller, intimate moments and the dynamic flow of shotcrete over the earth mould (fig, 25). There is beginning, middle and end, with points of focus and chaos throughout. In the photographs, the student's lack of professionalism as construction workers is belied by clothes. Soleri himself wears at most flip flops and shorts. The rumor amongst the faculty at the Institute was that he quit over the administration's insistence on hard hats on site, which indeed he does not wear in any of the photos (fig. 26 and 27).[100]

As it would turn out, the students at the Institute never had much opportunity to develop a Native theater in the building that was meant to inform it (although the drama Meinholtz developed with students did become the seeds of a modest genre). A few years after construction

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[98] Robin Evans. *Translations from Drawing to Building*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997: 156.

[99] Lee. "Apprentice Interview."

[100] James McGrath. "Administrator Interview." Telephone interview by author. June 2, 2015.

concluded, the Bureau of Indian Affairs moved the unraveling IAIA to a temporary campus (where it remained for decades), allowing a Pueblo-specific school to resume its place at the former Santa Fe campus. McGrath holds that the difficulty of the school's mandate responsible for its unravelling. Thriving students whose work was considered too traditional—or worse, kitsch—were discouraged by faculty. On the other hand, students that participated in dance, mostly the same students that would have been in the theater program, spent so much time touring at national and international celebrations of native cultures that their academics suffered.[101] The recently formed UNESCO commended the school for its preservation of indigenous cultures in 1966.[102] But more than the quality of contemporary Native art, on display was the United States' investment in humane cultural plurality. Indeed, as far as the Institute was concerned, the photographs show personal growth by interactive, unmediated engagement.

Busy working on the vast drawings of *Arcology: City in the Image of Man* and expanding his ceramic bell practice into bronze in the suburbs of Scottsdale, Soleri had an educational practice to maintain his standing as an architect. Rather than a team of construction workers, the social aims of the Institute for American Indian Art and of allowed the labor of construction to become the work of creative development. The photographs capture the performance of construction as a representation of building a whole self.

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[101] McGrath Interview.

[102] Gritton. The Institute of American Indian Arts. 245.

Chapter 4

One Does not Camp in the Monastery Cloister: Arcosanti's in the Wilderness

The topographic lines on the last page of the 1970 book *Arcology: City in the Image of Man* are asymmetric, interrupted by boulders, specific. The thirtieth and final Arcology in the book is a structure as unbelievably large and intricate as the preceding twenty-nine illustrated buildings containing whole cities. But unlike the other Arcologies, the ground of the megastructure "Arcosanti" is described, not projected. The site exists. A caption announces the intention to realize one of the seemingly-impossible arcologies on it (fig. 28).

The book is a collection of utopias. Soleri always bristled at the "utopia" designation, but his megastructures were improbable, if not impossible, to realize. Moreover, his stated motivation for megastructures was the conservation of the natural environment, an ambition that is perhaps even more idealistic and remote today than it was in 1970. But in making an attempt to realize utopia as such, to render it in concrete and on the ground, Soleri was unusal. This chapter endeavors to account for the approaches to the site within the methods and intellectual infrastructures of this exceptional project in an effort to delineate the material conditions of utopia. I argue Soleri realized Arcosanti in part by relying on the practice of camping: It was the means by which Arcosanti represented itself to the state and the project drew on the camping's ideological mediation of the wilderness to mobilize a would-be citizens. To illustrate how camping became an agent of this project, I trace its foundations and relationship to travel, leisure and technology. In so doing, I hope not only to supply the circumstances of Arcosanti, but suggest the utopianism latent in them.

One encounters Arcosanti—far from almost anything else at the geographic center of Arizona—by travel. Architects and their narrators have been crossing the desert like this for some time. Hans Hollein presents an example of this kind of tourism, having journeyed across the United States on a Harkness Fellowship from 1958 through 1960. The Harkness emphasized travel for its young fellows, a feature Hollein pursued enthusiastically. In updates he sent to his supervisor in 1960, he adjusted his itinerary to extend his exploration of American Southwest at the expense of cultivating academic contacts: "I do not worry too much about missing the technological heights of American architecture," he wrote, "because I think that most of the things I learned and many of the benefits I had from my stay in America are to at least the same degree derived from experiences."[103] Vincent Scully also emphasized "experience" in his 1974 book on Pueblo dances, in this case as a substitute for the photographic evidence that is proscribed from the ritual performances.[104] When Reyner Banham documented his travels through the American desert into the 1982 book *Scenes in American Deserta,* the construction site of Arcosanti appeared as a feature of western pilgrimage. Recounting the experience of his visit, Banham set the scene of his approach to the complex: "A nowhere place if there ever was one: some trailer homes, a filling station, a bar and precious little else but a dirt road leading off into, apparently, nothing."[105]

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[103] Caroline Maniaque writes on the travels of Hollein and of French architects documented in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* in her contribution "The American Travels of European Architects" to *Travel, Space and Architecture*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2009: 190.

[104] Scully's interest in the dances was for their relationship to their landscape as conceived culturally and naturally. *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance.* London: Thames & Hudson, 1975.

[105] Reyner Banham. "Frank Lloyd Wright Country." *Scenes in America Deserta*. Cambridge: MIT, 1982, pp. 84.

And what better place for utopia than a nowhere place? For an endeavor of limited means, the low cost of hinterland real estate made economic sense. Even better, it was beyond the influence of existing cities and their imposition of planning and other regulatory obstacles. In fact, Arcosanti's location in land zoned for agriculture in Yavapai County meant that the project was subject to no building code for its first several decades. But the mesa site was no legal tabula rasa: the land was not cheap because it was agricultural, but because the rancher who owned it took advantage of a 1967 Arizona law decoupling grazing rights from land ownership. He sold the 860 acres to Soleri's Cosanti Foundation at a discount in exchange for lifetime grazing use on the open land.[106] And, while Arcosanti avoided building codes, local land-use regulations required the Cosanti Foundation to make a case for its alternative use of ranching land. Soleri would have to justify his plan for a new city to fit the regulatory parameters of the Yavapai County Planing and Zoning Commission. In permit applications and the associated county meeting transcripts, Soleri submitted his plan as a camp.[107]

The first land-use permit granted for the construction of utopia was for "a structure to be used for camping," as were the next several submitted (fig. 29). Soleri sent a brief to the commission outlining his plans to build "a camp for summer sessions for architecture

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[106] The Cosanti Foundation has lost the documentation of the initial transaction but the oral history of Arcosanti matches the Arizona legislative record. Cattle (and now Buffalo) still roam the property as part of the transaction with the rancher George Elder. "Mary Hoadley." Personal interview. 14 Dec. 2015. For the Arizona law see George B Ruyle's "Commercial Livestock Operations in Arizona" in *Livestock Management in the American Southwest*: Ecology, Society, and Economics. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science, 2000.

[107] Yavapai Planning and Zoning Commission. 12 August 1970 Minutes. Prescott, AZ: Yavapai County Development Services.

students."[108] This wasn't mere dissimulation; the proposal to the county included his long-term plan of building a city: "Mr. Soleri said they do not want anything temporary for the long term," read the minutes of the commission's August 1970 meeting, eventually Cosanti would build "an experimental town." The commissioners unanimously approved the summer camp, asking only that the Cosanti Foundation continue to apply for permits as the city developed.[109]

Preparing for a megastructure may have been outside the experience of Yavapai's planning and zoning commission, but camps were an established feature of the Arizona landscape: the romance of Arizona's cowboy and ranching culture made the state an especially popular destination for organized wilderness recreation. In the early twentieth century, educational entrepreneurs founded several dozen "ranch schools" in Arizona and other western states that combined a boarding-school education with a working ranch in order to, as one brochure claimed, "develop physical and intellectual capacities untouched by the regulation of school routine through adventurous activities in boundless open country." Frank Lloyd Wright's Taliesin campus in Wisconsin adjoined a similar school with a farming focus that had been his aunts' called the Hillside School.[110] The director of the Orme school, one of the few remaining ranch schools in 1970, was a commissioner on the board that approved of Arcosanti as a camp. However, by the time of Arcosanti's land-use hearing, the popularity of ranch schools had fallen

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[108] Paolo Soleri. Letter to Yavapai County Planning Board. 16 February 1972. Planning Communications. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

[109] Yavapai Planning and Zoning Commission. 4 March 1972 Minutes. Prescott, AZ: Yavapai County Development Services.

[110] The Fellowship

precipitously in favor of summer camp's competing model of outdoor recreation as distinct from formal education.[111]

The separation between education and experience that characterized summer camps was fundamental to the protocols with which Soleri set out to realize his new city. The sessions in which students would labor on the construction of Arcosanti were called workshops, and the preparatory material that Soleri circulated before workshops insisted in no uncertain terms that "the workshop is not a class. It is construction experience."[112] This distinction allowed Soleri to deflect the kind of critical questioning of his project that an educational setting would invite, but that had no place in the stasis of a perfect city. Allegations of architectural tyranny in Soleri's singly-authored megastructures were so obvious to critics that on his visit to Arcosanti, Banham "wonder[ed] if it is not the sheer physical exhaustion brought on by all that hand labor that prevents his loyal students from asking themselves what they're doing."[113] The question was rhetorical, but summer camp and its history offer a framework for understanding the conditioning to and value of "experience" as such (fig. 30).

Summer camp formed in reaction to school as a space to fashion the subjectivity of young people. The first camps were coeval with other Victorian back-to-nature phenomena like

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[111] On the history of the and pedagogy of ranch schools see Melissa Bingmann's "Prep School Cowboys: Arizona Ranch Schools and Images of the Mythic West." *The Journal of Arizona History* 43.3 (2002): 205-36. Orme's interrogation of Soleri is in the March 4, 1972 Minutes of the Yavapai Planning and Zoning Commission record.

[112] This is a similar distinction to the one made by Hollein. Cosanti Foundation. 1972 Workshop Application. Ada Louise Huxtable papers, 1859–2013. The Getty Research Institute Special Collections, Los Angeles.

[113] *Scenes in America Deserta*. Cambridge: 86. For further criticism of Arcosanti's educational value, see Peter Plagen's "A Visit to Soleri's El Dorado." *Art in America* May-June 1979: 65.

urban parks and residential suburbs. At the turn of the century, the fear of the corrupting influence of the city intersected with the advent of adolescence as a stage of development to produce summer camp as a reprieve to the stultification of modern life for children: Along with the city and the oppressive domestication of the mother at home, school was a part of children's lives that disabled the development of strong character. But camp was set apart from the contaminating forces of modern life and designed only to form the perfect conditions of child development. Without "artificial restrictions of society to hamper him" wrote the education reformer Calvin Lewis in 1911, "camp is a boys paradise where he can get every good thing out of life and where he is removed from most of its evils."[114] Of course, as developmental psychology and attitudes towards the city as a social milieu transformed over the century, the rhetoric and organization of summer camps responded in kind. But the sequestration of young people from the routines of the year remained consistent and served to preserve the ideology of apart-ness as a premise of summer camp. By the time Arcosanti entered construction, summer camp was a form of utopia to which (middle-class) Americans had become accustomed for nearly a century.[115]

Where schools could not engineer the desired subjectivity of children, advocates of summer camp pointed to the instruction of nature. There was "knowledge which only nature can reveal" to be found in the wilderness, a philosophy that combined romanticism with pragmatic

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[114] M. B. Smith "'The Ego Ideal of the Good Camper' and the Nature of Summer Camp." *Environmental History* 11.1 (2006): 79.

[115] Both Arcosanti and summer camps, by Foucault's definition, might be more accurately designated heterotopias. Abigail Ayres van Slyck's book *A Manufactured Wilderness* uses the architecture of summer camps to register changes in conceptions of both childhood and nature from 1890 to 1960. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota, 2006.

philosophies of education. The lessons of nature were not be intellectualized or passively received. Instead, camping allows nature to "impress her lessons most effectively, stimulate and render child life a curious, aggressive campaign of wanting to know and learning to do."[116] The product of a wild education was not information, but an independence of mind. In this way, summer camp became an institutional expression of the 1893 "frontier thesis" of the historian Frederick Jackson Turner, in which "the American intellect" owed its "practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things" to the nation's expansion across a continent of wilderness.[117] Indeed, summer camps were an American phenomenon —"the most important step in education that America has given the world" according to 1922 President of Harvard University—and participated in the early history of environmentalism in the United States as a form of nationalism.[118]

As it did with the ranch schools, Arizona vigorously cultivated the romance of open country. In combination with boosters from other Western states, Arizona launched the first national mass-media advertising campaign to promote vacation in the wilderness. The "See America First" campaign advertised tourism that exposed Americans to the conditions of pioneers as more enriching and patriotic than cosmopolitan travel through Europe. This campaign, historian Marguerite Shaffer has argued, codified travel though the southwest as an "experience" distinct from the consumption of leisure. Prominent amongst the second generation

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[116] M. B. Smith, 95.

[117] Sometimes called the "Turner Hypothesis." See the republished *The Frontier in American History.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962: 37.

[118] Charles Eliot quote from Reynold E Carlson. "Organized Camping." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 313. (1957): 84.

of tourism entrepreneurs in Arizona and participant in the campaign was Alexander Chandler, the resort developer who first brought Frank Lloyd Wright to the desert.[119] It was through Wright's Taliesin camp in Arizona that Soleri arrived in the state.

As far as the workshoppers at Arcosanti were concerned, they did not model their conditions on pioneers; instead, they were real pioneers building the foundation of a new civilization in the wilderness. *The Arcology* book promoted the Arcosanti project as "the construction of a new complex that will break through the physical, cultural and ethical impasse" at which American culture lingered.[120] Volunteers responded seriously to the proposition of this new and correct city, sacrificing personal comfort to actualize a more perfect civilization. The first workshoppers began construction in a tent city, a sort of Roman castrum of the new world (fig. 31). Construction on the site began with building a storage structure for tools, a septic system and a compost pit. Volunteers removed ranching fences and unloaded trucks. Documenting the first days for posterity, the workshopper Richard Register wrote: "Thus for me ended July 23rd, 1970. It was the first day of a new age; I was absolutely certain of it. The rainbow assured me of it. I'd never helped start a whole new city, much less the first city of a new age."[121] Expectations were high and Register's writing was grandiose for the occasion, but the Cosanti Foundation embraced the pioneer characterization in its own messaging: "The main

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[119] Marguerite S. Shaffer. *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001.

[120] Paolo Soleri. *Arcology, the City in the Image of Man*. Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1969: 122.

[121] Richard Register. Manuscript for *Another Beginning* Memoir. 1970. n.p. Paolo Soleri Archive, Cordes Junction.

goal of the workshop is years away," warns the 1972 workshop information pamphlet. So for the time being, "participants are pioneers in the wilderness" (fig. 32).

Eventually Soleri and volunteers would build "cube city," a complex of sleeping shelters at the base of Arcosanti's mesa (fig. 33). But at the peak of summer, workshoppers outnumbered cubes, so the introductory pamphlets urged volunteers that "if you have a tent, you are advised to bring it. Participants with vans or campers may use these as shelters."[122] Tents and campers, the equipment of camping as practiced outside the institution of summer camp, have their own architectural lineage. Rudolph Schindler, an émigré Wright apprentice like Soleri, conceived of his influential home as a campsite.[123] Reyner Banham even suggested them as a distinctly American alternative to architecture in his buoyant 1965 "A Home is Not a House" in Arts in America (fig. 34). The hero of that provocation was Buckminster Fuller, whose "standard of living package" of the late 1940s served as the model for Banham's unhouse homes.[124] Fuller had in fact been preoccupied with mobile and demountable shelters for transient conditions since the 1920s, working within the same forces which saw the growth of the use of campers amongst American vacationers and migrants. In fact, Fuller has fingerprints all over camping: Jay Baldwin—a life-long acolyte and collaborator of Fuller's—sharpened his teeth as designer under Bill Moss, the inventor of the Pop-Up tent (fig. 35). Originally an auto engineer, Moss patented

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[122] 1972 Workshop Application.

[123] Marco de Michelis. "Rudolf M. Schindler: The Invention of an American Tradition." *CCA Mellon Lectures*. Montreal. 1 Mar. 2005. Academia.edu.

[124] Reyner Banham with illustration by Fraçois Dallegret. "A Home Is Not a House." *Art in America* 2 (1965): 78.

in 1955 a tent that sprung into place, allegedly marking the first true development in tent design since the mass production of tent kits in the Civil War.[125]

The pop-up tent, portable and self-contained, reflected an approach to wilderness recreation that the environmental historian James Morton Turner calls “Leave no Trace,” after the entreaties to campers posted in state and federal parks following the 1964 Wilderness Act. That legislation set the official definition of wilderness as “an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain.”[126] In order to “leave no trace,” campers imported into the wilderness technology like ultralight tents and stoves. This highly insulated mode of inhabiting nature implies an attitude towards it and the camper: he or she is no longer part of nature’s “community”, but a scientist and steward, hyperaware of the fragile cycles and systems of the ecologies vulnerable to disruption. But the “Leave no Trace” approach also launched the market for camping gear as it is exists today.[127] At the same moment of “Leave no Trace,” while touring to back-to-the-land communes across the American west, it occurred to Stewart Brand, soon-to-be counterculture figurehead, to create a catalogue that offered the equipment (material and otherwise) for holistic living in the same way that the L.L. Bean catalogue served the outdoorsman community.[128]

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[125] Matthew De Abaitua. *The Art of Camping: The History and Practice of Sleeping under the Stars*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 2011: 40.

[126] The Wilderness Act, Nps.gov § 88-577 (1964).

[127] James Morton Turner. "From Woodcraft to 'Leave No Trace': Wilderness, Consumerism, and Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America." *Environmental History* 7.3 (2002): 462.

[128] Jay Baldwin then edited the “Nomadics” section of The Whole Earth Catalogue on camping, hiking and mountaineering. Katherine Fulton in "How Stewart Brand Learns" *Los Angeles Times* 30 Oct. 1994.

When The Whole Earth Catalogue arrived in 1968, it appropriated the mania for gear and the gear that camping culture had evolved (fig. 36).

Despite the sensitivity to the terrain fostered by “Leave no Trace,” the gadgetry of wilderness recreation was equally suited to the martial inheritance of the pioneers: “Wild places in trackless country" could also be “hostile environments,” and indeed gadgets like ones Fuller designed were as responsive to the United States’ many military exploits as they were to the camper.[129] Obsessed with the Navy, one of his Fuller’s first collaborations with the military was prefabricated military housing called the Dymaxion Deployment Unit for WWII. Even better for the pioneer was the Geodesic Dome, which was notoriously light and simple to construct. The US Air Force was an enthusiastic early adopter of the dome, sending domes by helicopters to be used as storage and long-range radar-systems in remote locations. The domes were also popular for non-military expressions of nationalism, such as shelters for US pavilions in fairs and expos abroad. Fuller even extended his rhetorical horizons to outer space, America’s final frontier.[130] The conservation of nature through the condensation of the cities into a network of megastructures was “Leave no Trace” writ large, but the distance from the camps of the summer workshoppers to the new civilization remained vast. The pioneers took the Roman Empire as a model for the realization of their ambitions. Register, transcribing the campfire talk of the first night on the mesa, wrote that “we were as much citizens in our dozen perhaps as Romulus and

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[129] “A Home is not House,” 74.

[130] The literature on Fuller, including on the paradoxes of his counter-culture and military following, is extensive. Peder Anker’s "Buckminster Fuller as Captain of Spaceship Earth” focuses on Fuller’s assimilation of environmental and military systems in *Minerva* 45.4 (2007): 417-34.

Remus were together the lonely first citizens of Rome. Faith that it would be a city made it one from the start."[131]

An imperial tendency underlaid the projects of Fuller and Soleri, whose careers often intersected: Both eccentric and verbose, the two were frequently paired in exhibitions and lecture series as future-oriented visionaries. They met for the first time as contributors to the Museum of Modern Art's *Visionary Architecture* exhibition, where Fuller showed his "Dome over Manhattan" and Soleri exhibited drawings of his "Theological Center of Biotechnic City," an overtly spiritual precursor to Arcosanti. When Fuller's home institution of the University of Illinois held a "seminar" of public intellectuals to discuss the launch of a new kind of campus in 1961, Fuller invited Soleri to speak. The Environmental Planning/ Edwardsville Campus, or "EPEC," event was one of Soleri's first public platforms. The "aesthetic integration" in higher education object of the seminar allowed Soleri to consider and form his pedagogical point of view [Image x]. Responding to Fuller's proposal for a series of domes for the Edwardsville Campus, Soleri insisted that a place of education demanded special architectural decorum. Soleri protested: "One does not camp in a monastery cloister!"[132] One only camps, it would seem, in order to construct one.

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[131] Register, *Another Beginning*.

[132] Paolo Soleri "Answers for the EPEC Seminar." Proc. of EPEC Seminar, St. Louis. 1961. Paolo Soleri Archives.

Figure 1. James Harithas, "Paolo Soleri, Genius." *Vogue*, Aug. 1970, pp. 96–97.

Figure 2. Ivan Pintar. Photograph of crowd viewing one segment of Paolo Soleri's "Mesa City." 1970. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

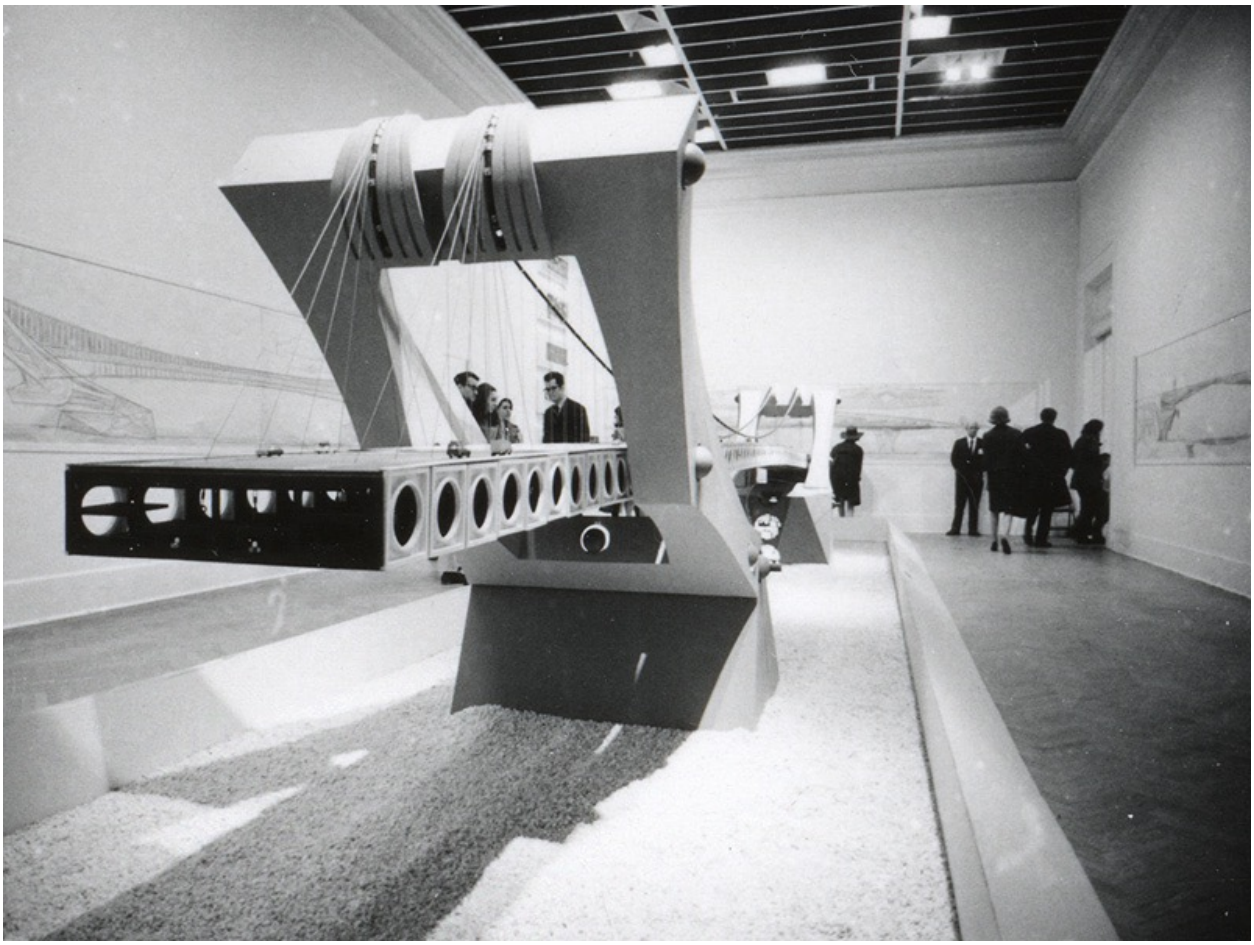


Figure 3. Ivan Pintar. Photograph of "Suspension Bridge" model by Paolo Soleri. 1970. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

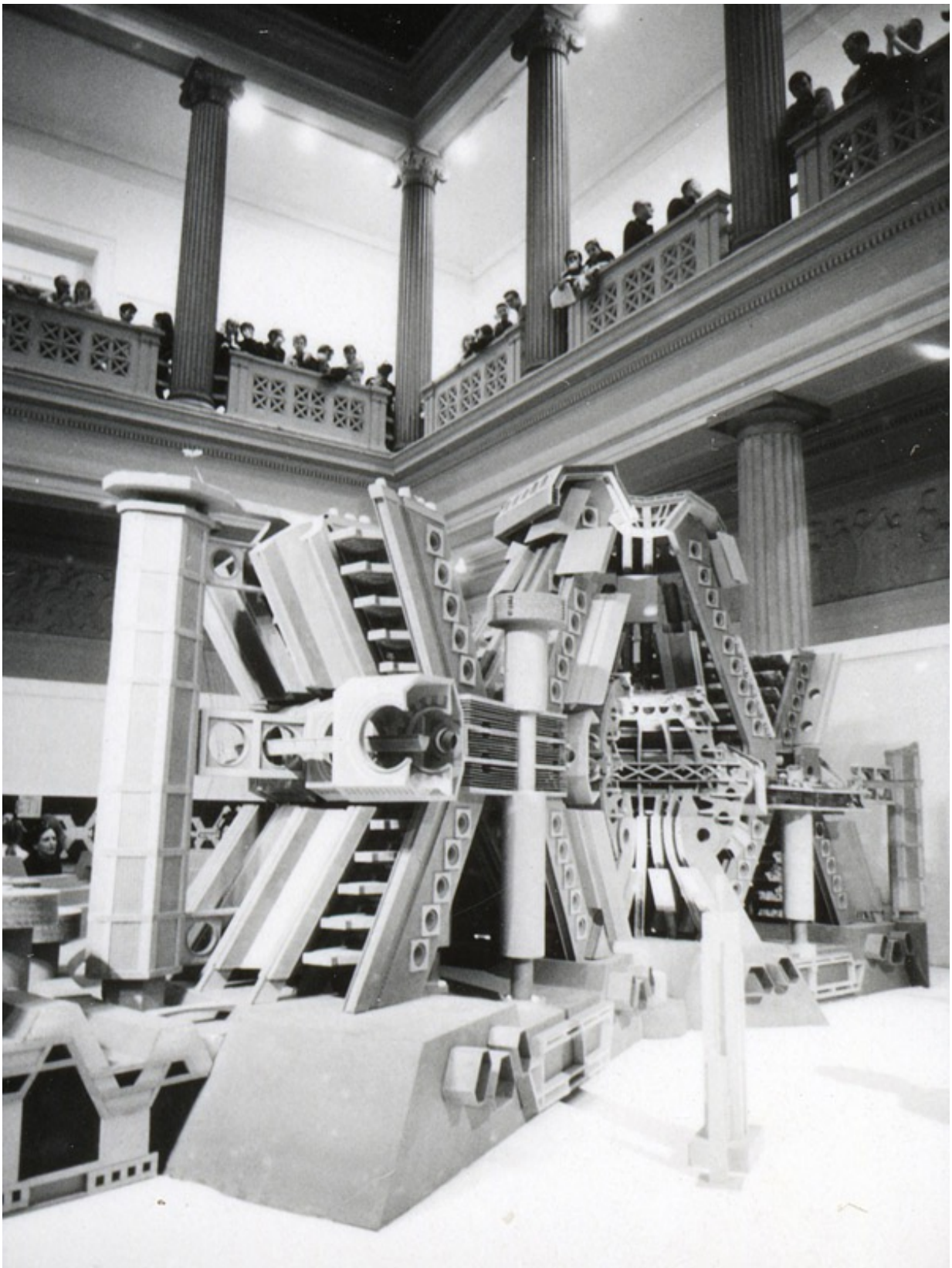


Figure 4. Ivan Pintar. Photograph of viewers overlooking the model of “3D Jersey” by Paolo Soleri. 1970. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

Figures 5 and 6. Installation photographs of *Visionary Architecure* at the Museum of Modern Art. 1960. Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

Figure 7. Construction of the Ceramica Solimene, where company ceramicists made the cylinders that clad the spiral-ramp factory. 1952. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

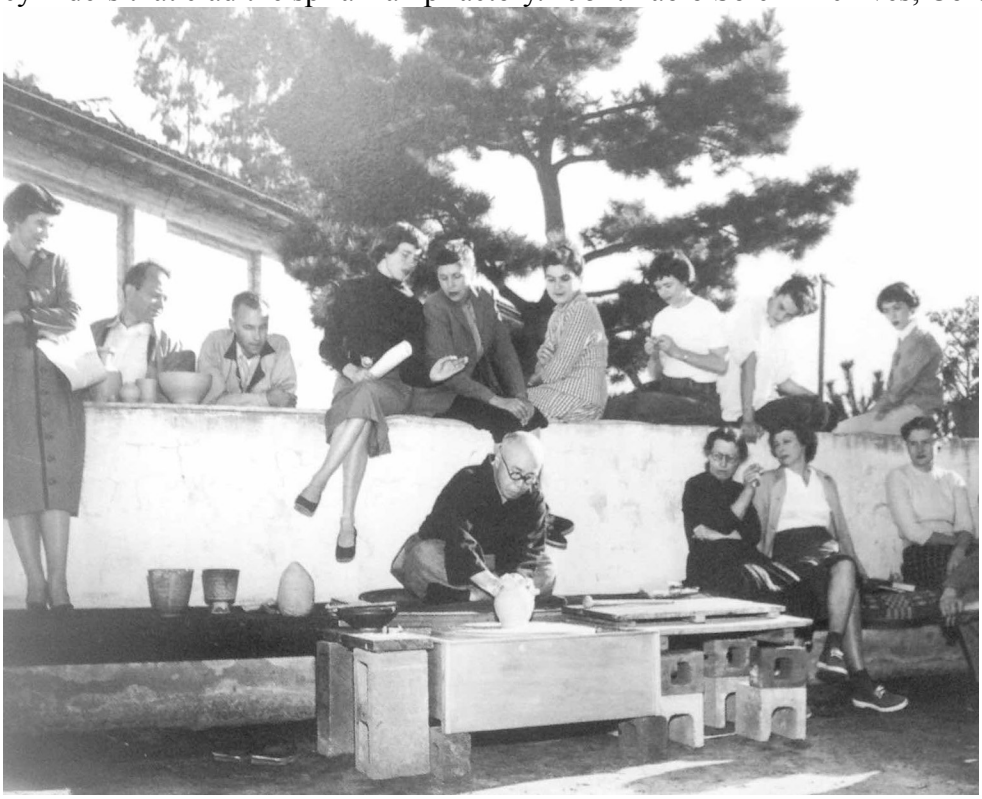
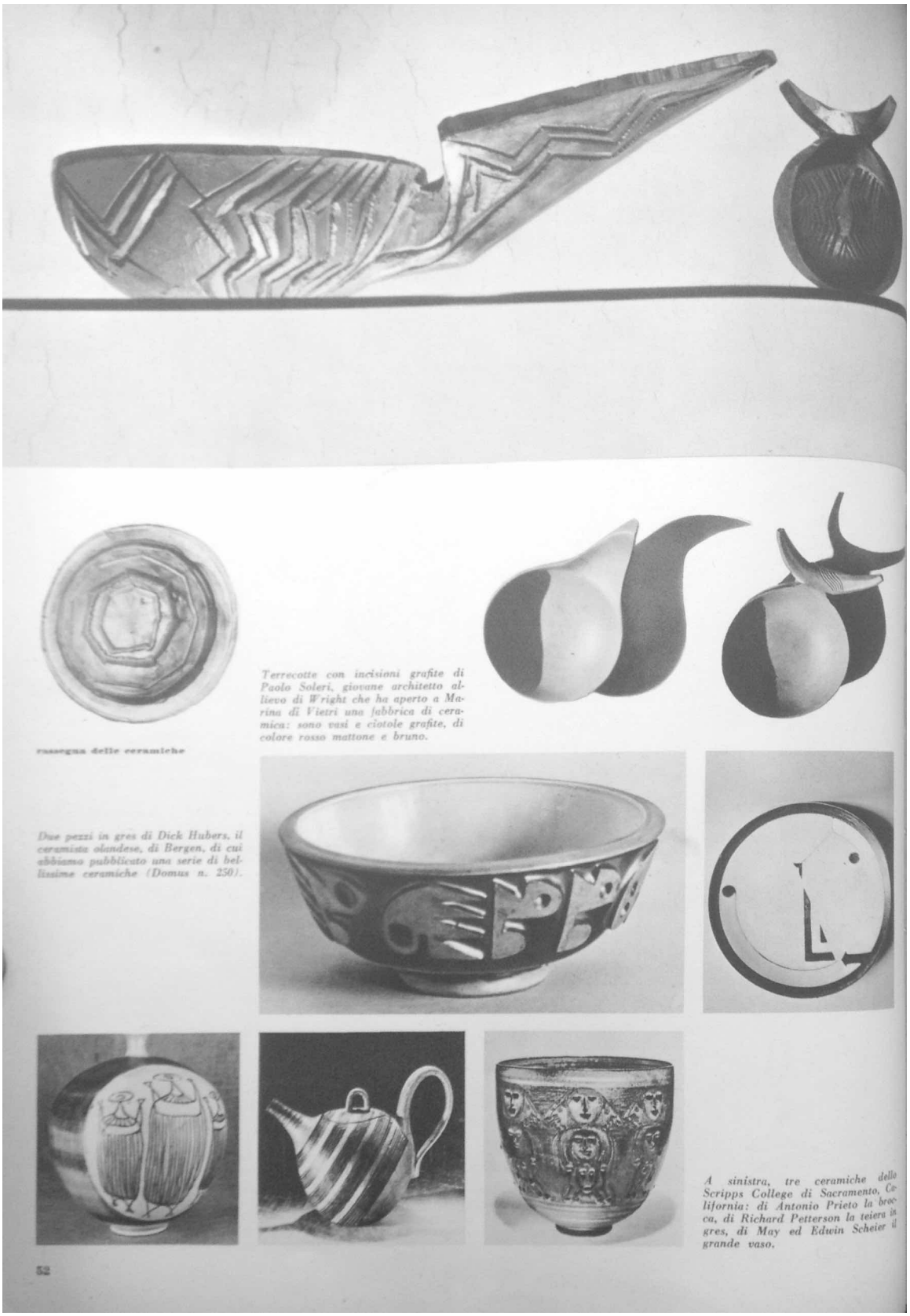


Figure 8. Shoji Hamada demonstration at Scripps College. Photograph by Margret Schnaidt in *Common Ground: Ceramics in Southern California, 1945-1975.* Pomona, CA, American Museum of Ceramic Art, 2012.

Figure 9. Gertrude and Otto Natzler with ceramic bells in 1962. Photograph by Julius Schulman in *Common Ground: Ceramics in Southern California, 1945-1975.* Pomona, CA, American Museum of Ceramic Art, 2012.



rassegna delle ceramiche

Terrecotte con incisioni grafite di Paolo Soleri, giovane architetto allievo di Wright che ha aperto a Marina di Vietri una fabbrica di ceramica: sono vasi e ciotole grafite, di colore rosso mattone e bruno.

Due pezzi in gres di Dick Hubers, il ceramista olandese, di Bergen, di cui abbiamo pubblicato una serie di bellissime ceramiche (Domus n. 250).

A sinistra, tre ceramiche dello Scripps College di Sacramento, California: di Antonio Prieto la brocca, di Richard Petterson la teiera in gres, di May ed Edwin Scheier il grande vaso.

52

Figure 10. Soleri in "Ceramica" *Domus*, no. 307, 1955., pp. 9.

Figure 11. Soleri Bells, Cosanti, 1955, Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

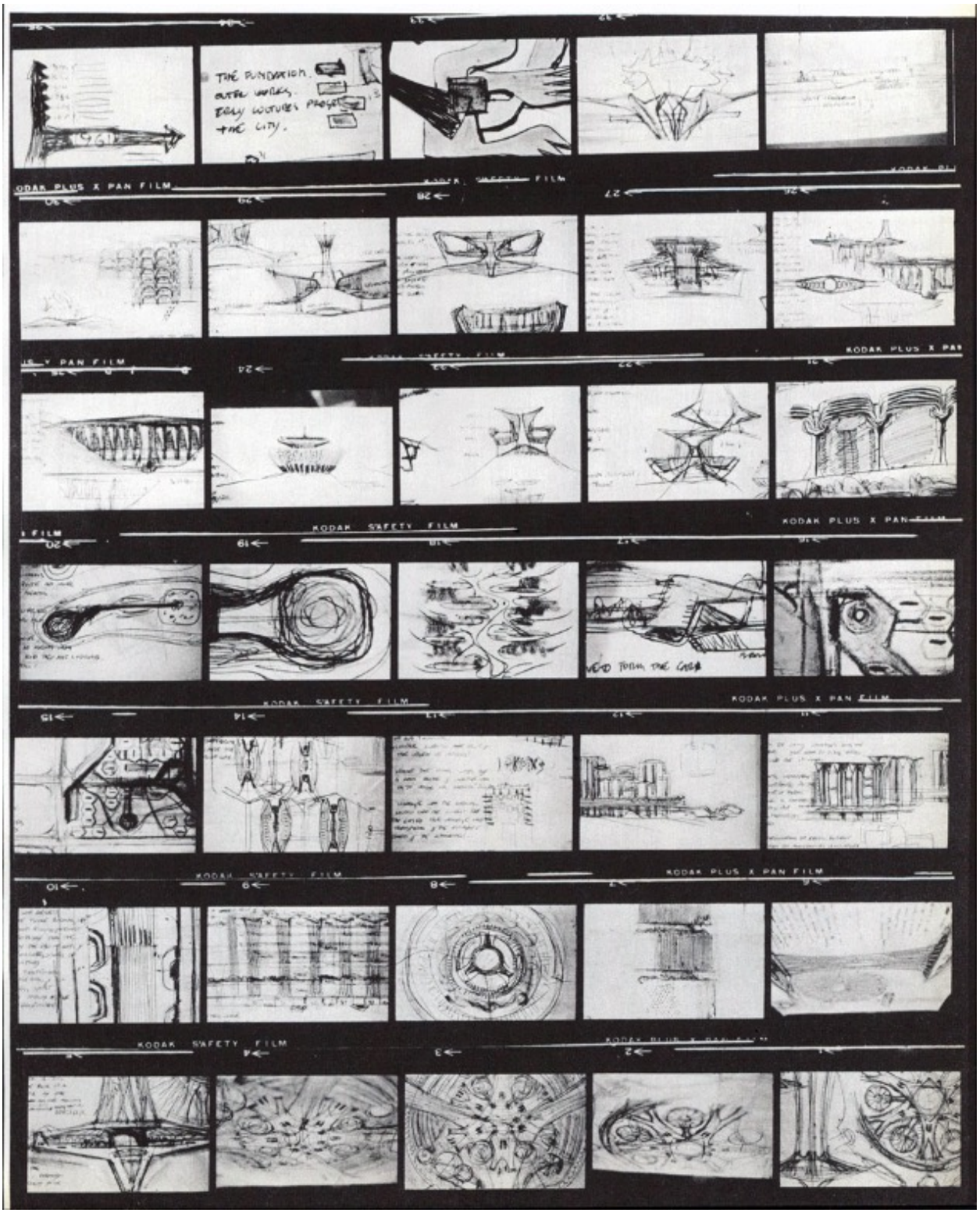


Figure 12. Charles Eames. Slide sheet of sketches of Mesa City by Paolo Soleri in "Disegni e Un'Idea Di Paolo Soleri, Un Italiano in America." *Domus*, no. 402, 1963, pp. 3.

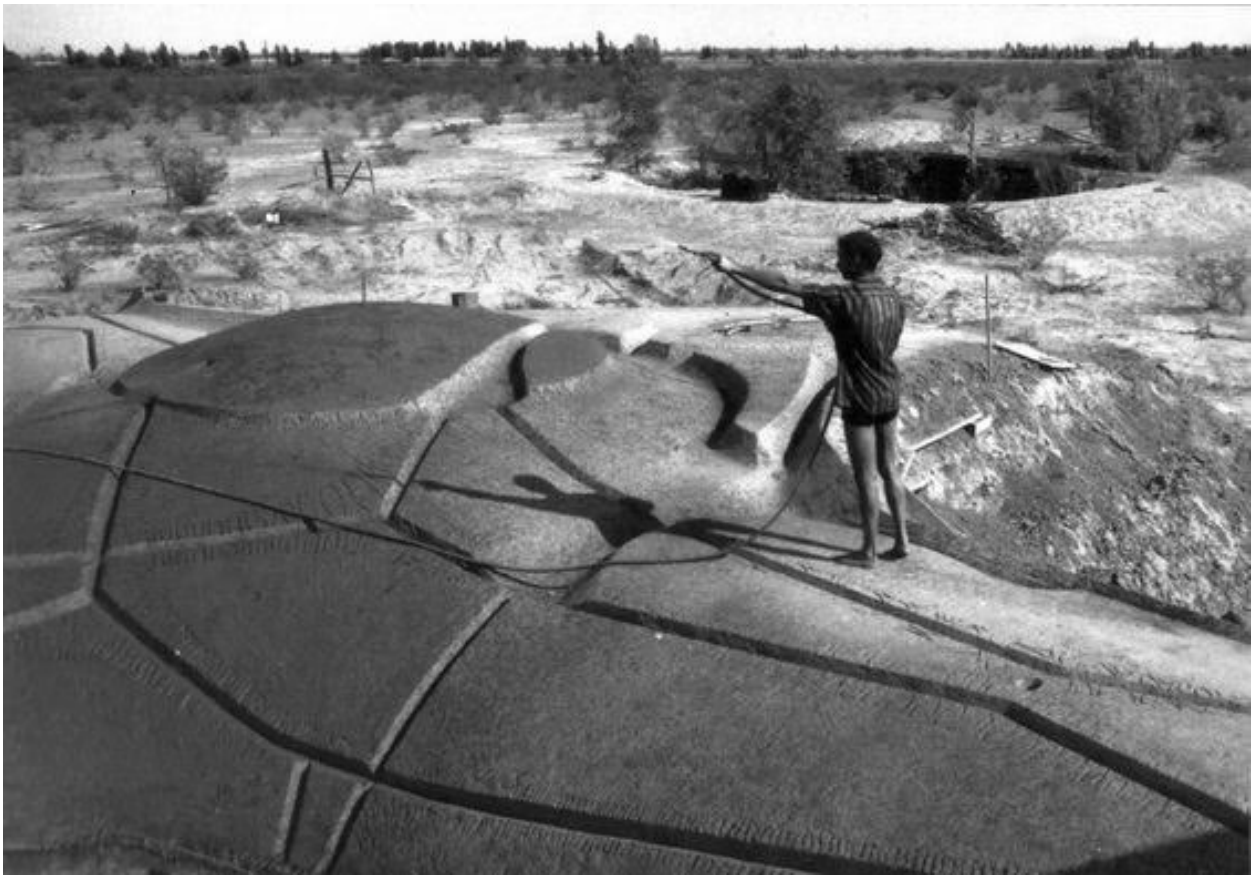


Figure 13. Photograph of Soleri preparing his Earth House at Cosanti in Scottsdale. 1956. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

Figure 14. Paolo Soleri casting bells. Cosanti. 1955. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

Figure 15. Soleri with Earth House, Cosanti. Photographer unknown, 1956. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

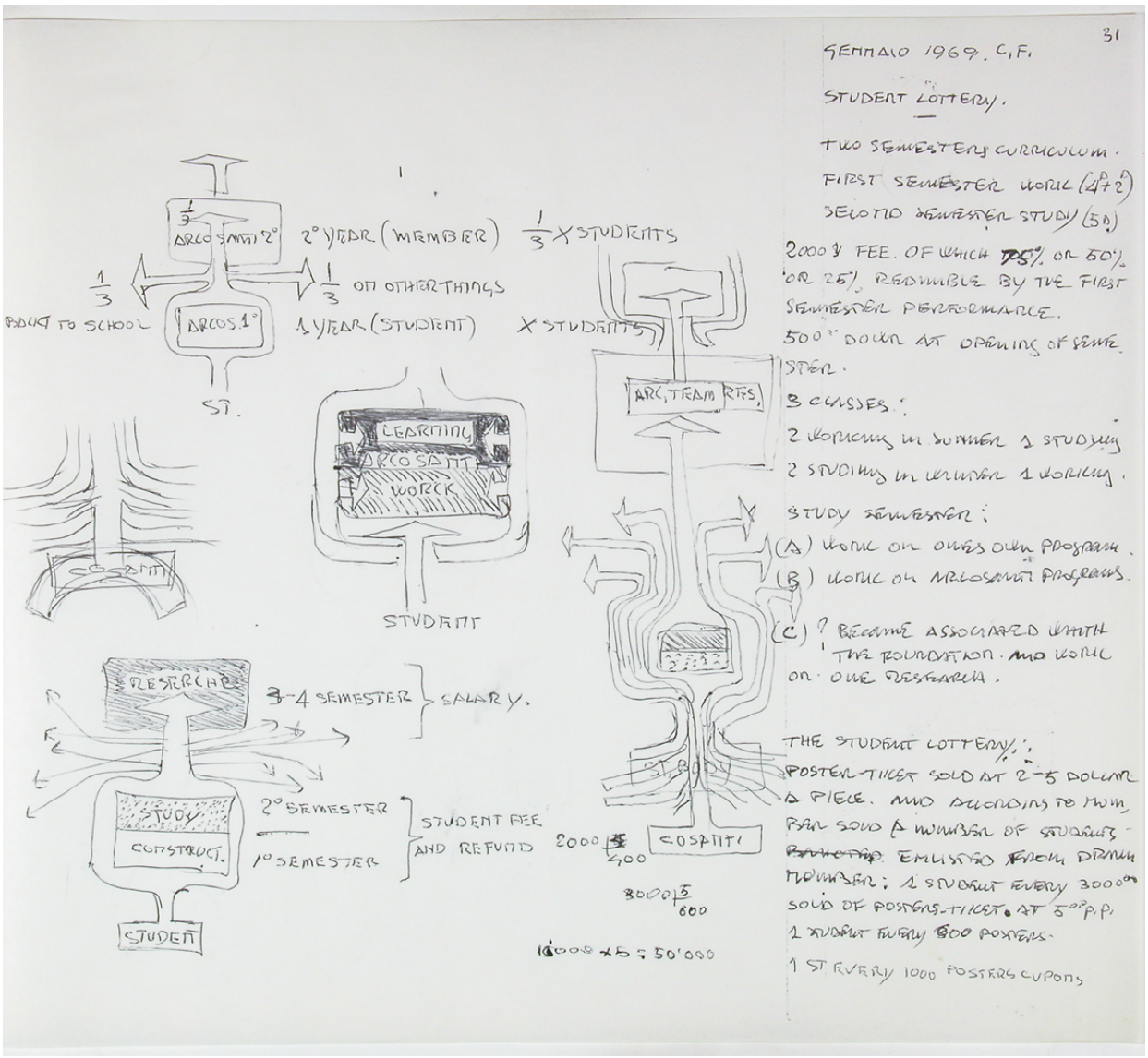


Figure 16. Page 31 of Soleri sketchbook 7. 1967-1968. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

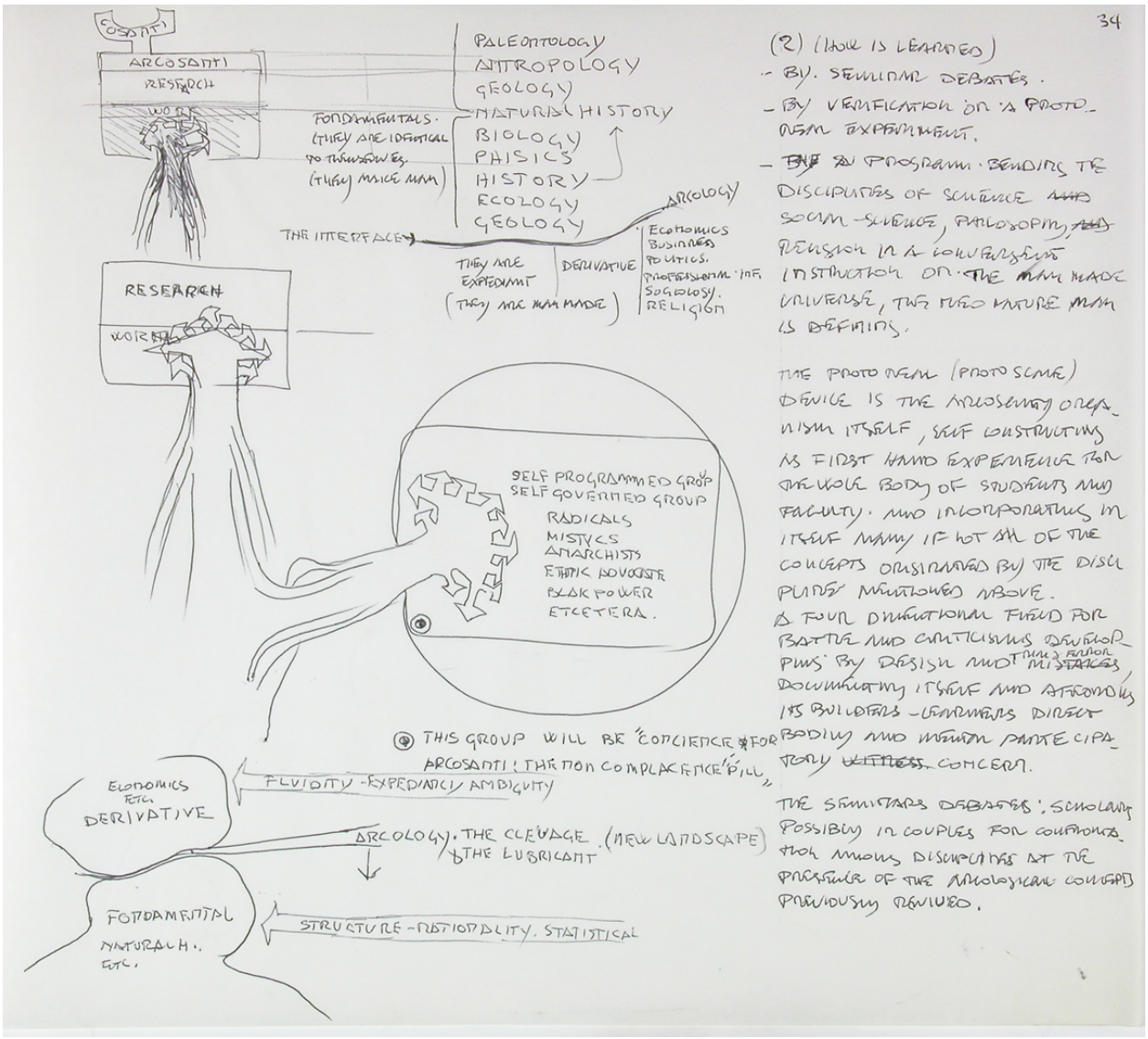


Figure 17. Page 32 of Soleri sketchbook 7, 1967-1968. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

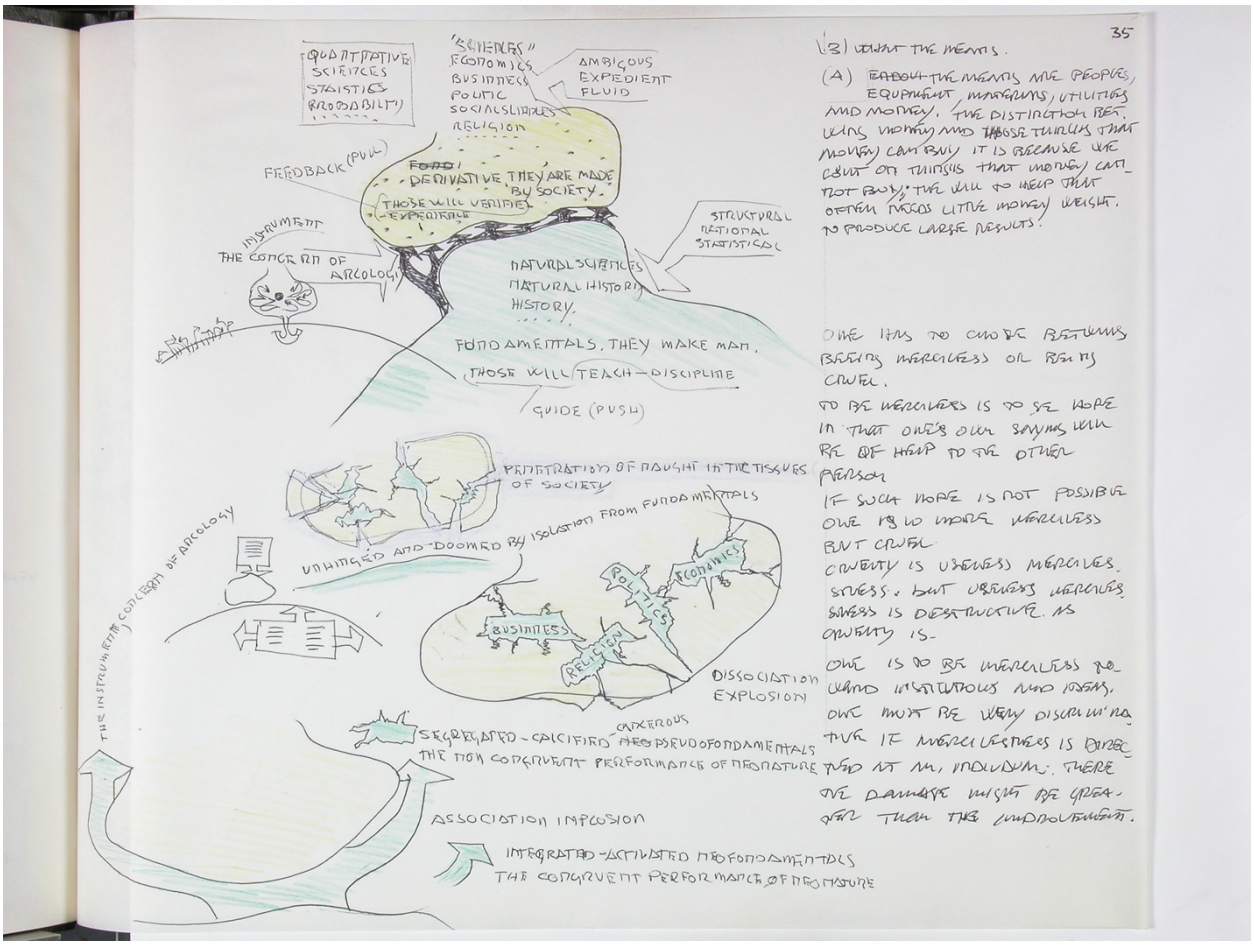


Figure 18. Page 33 of Soleri sketchbook 7. 1967-1968. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

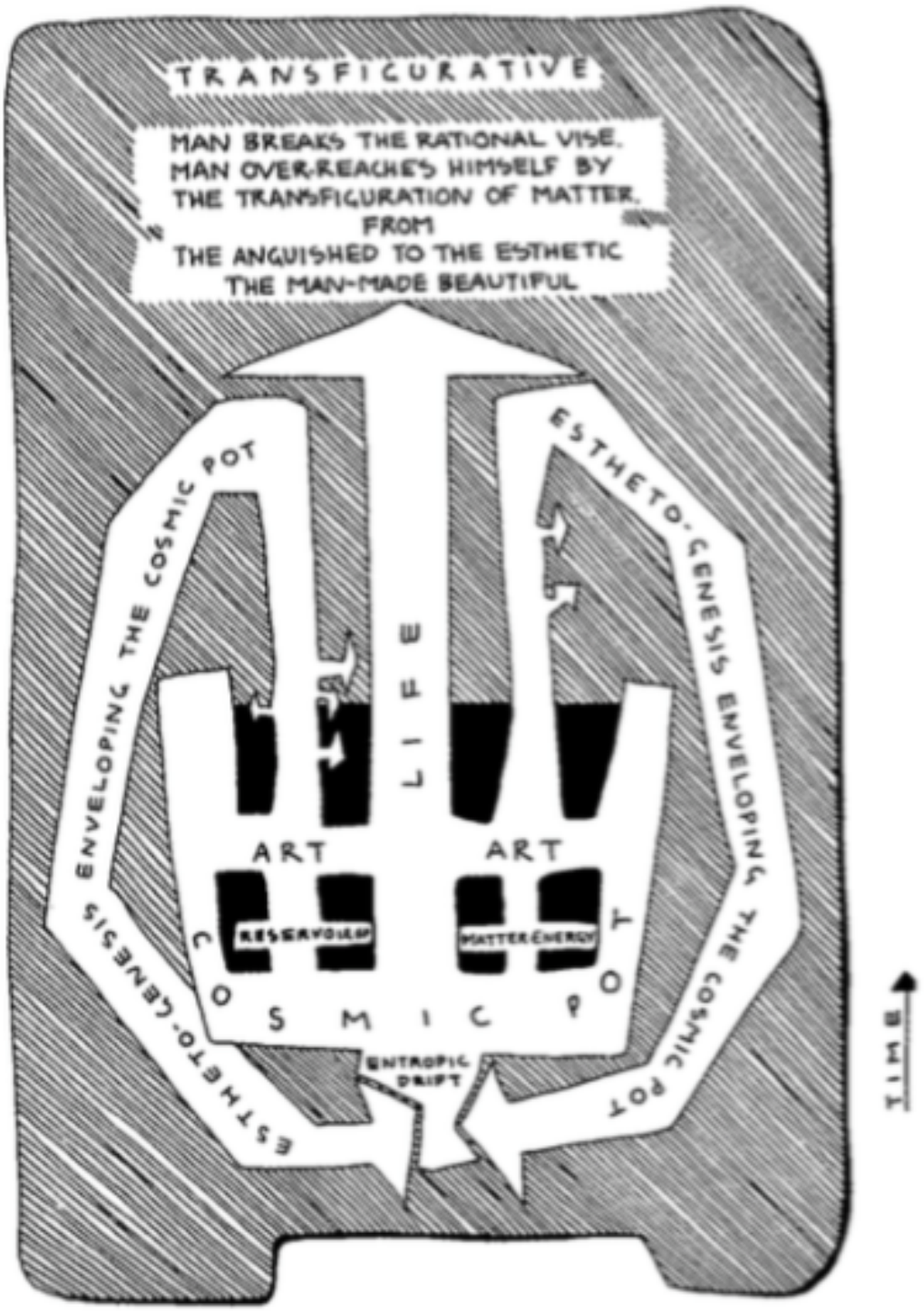


Figure 19. Diagram of Aesthetogenesis in *Arcology, the City in the Image of Man*. Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press, 1969.

Figure 20. Soleri with audience at Arcosanti. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

Figure 21. Photograph of amphitheater at Institute for American Indian Arts, 1966 in Antonietta I. Lima, *Soleri: Architecture As Human Ecology*. New York, N.Y: Monacelli Press, 2003.

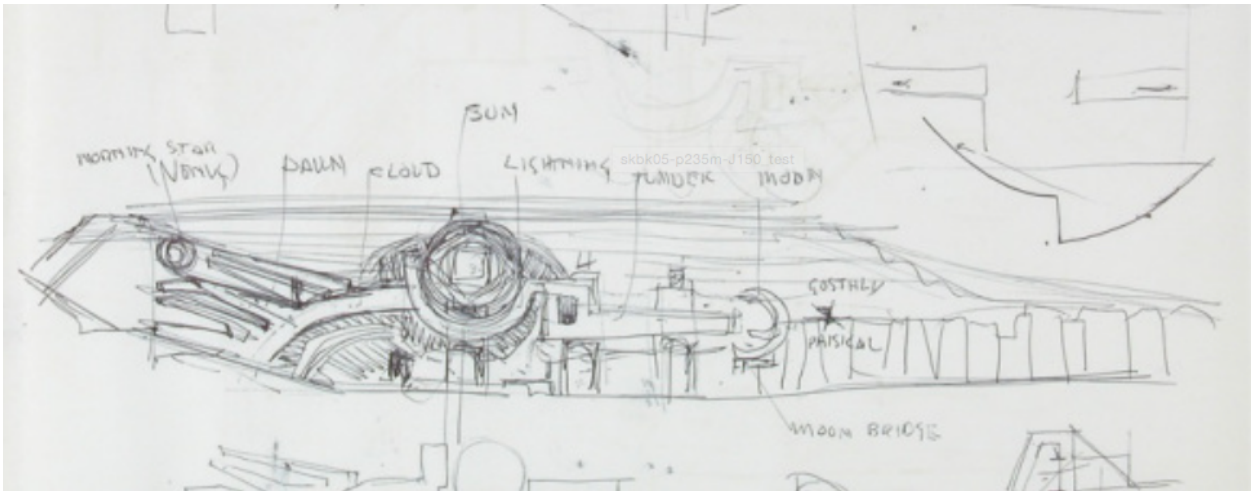


Figure 22. Early sketch of amphitheater. 1966. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.


Figure 23. Apprentices photographing a model of the early design at Cosanti. 1965. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

Figure 24. Soleri, Colly. Photograph of Soleri with apprentices and students on first pour. Santa Fe. June 1966. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

Figure 25. Soleri, Colly. Concrete pour on IAIA amphitheater. Santa Fe. June 1966. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

Figures 26 and 27. Colly Soleri. Paolo Soleri with apprentices and without proper construction attire. Santa Fe. June 1966. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

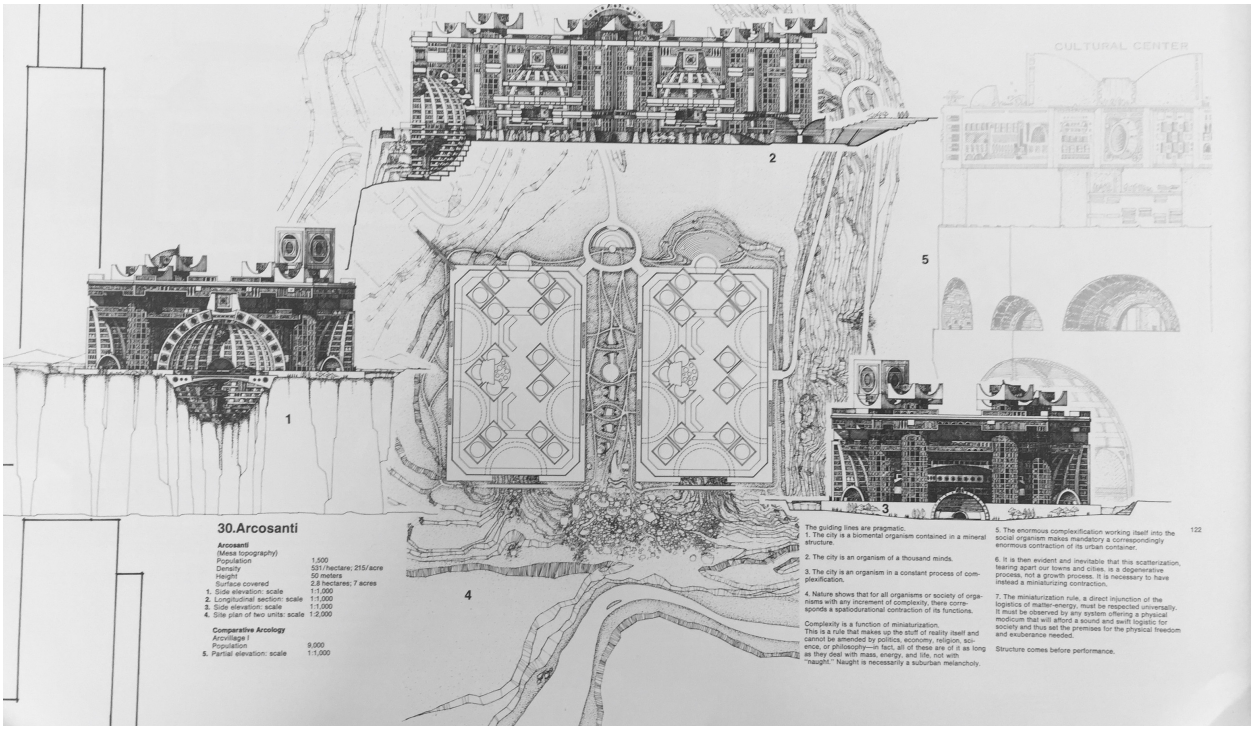
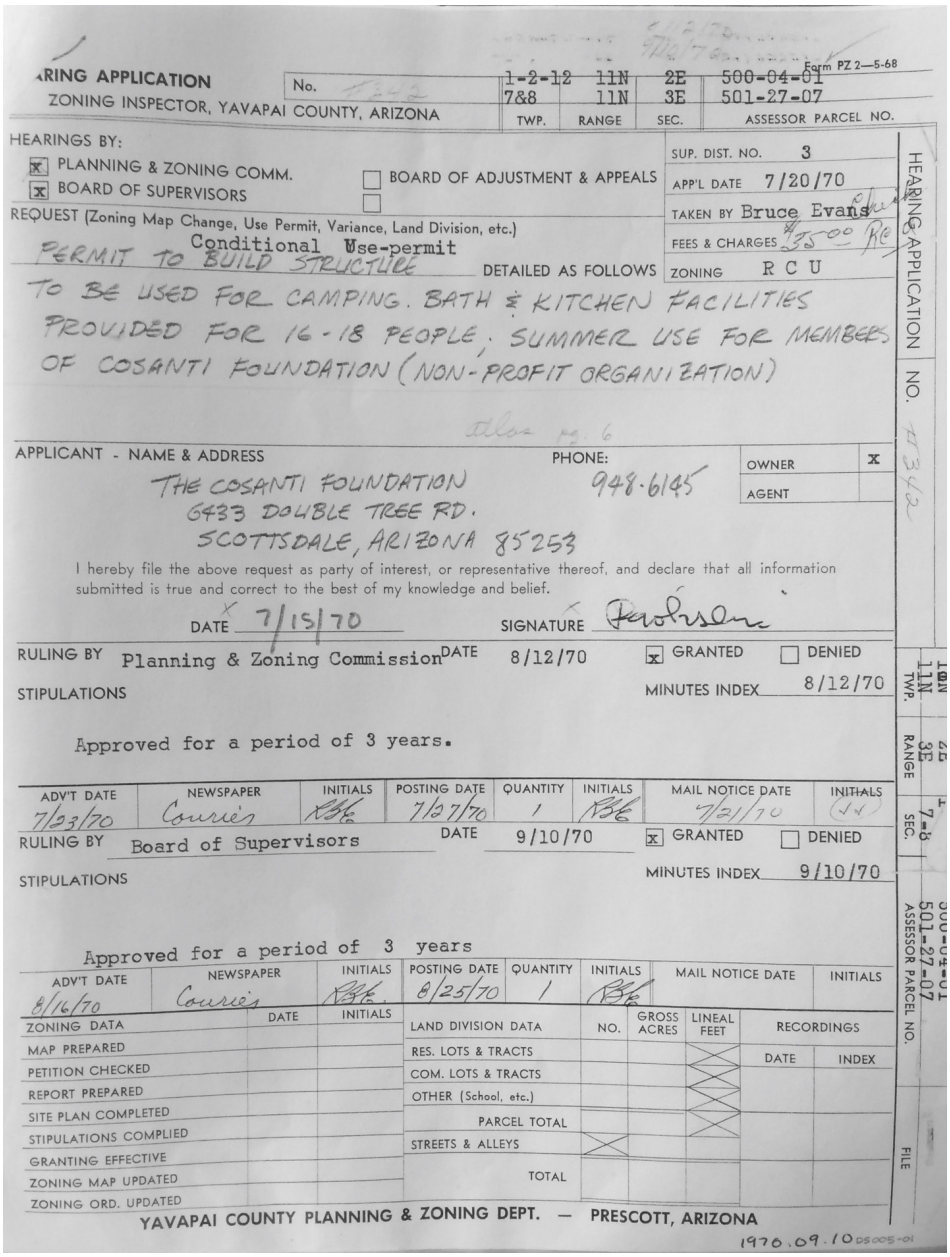


Figure 28. Soleri, Paolo. Proposition for Arcosanti in *Arcology: City in the Image of Man*. Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press, 1969.



RING APPLICATION — Form PZ 2—5-68
No. #342
ZONING INSPECTOR, YAVAPAI COUNTY, ARIZONA

TWP.	RANGE	SEC.	ASSESSOR PARCEL NO.
1-2-12	11N	2E	500-04-01
7&8	11N	3E	501-27-07

HEARINGS BY:
[x] PLANNING & ZONING COMM. [x] BOARD OF SUPERVISORS [ ] BOARD OF ADJUSTMENT & APPEALS

SUP. DIST. NO. 3
APP'L DATE 7/20/70
TAKEN BY Bruce Evans
FEES & CHARGES $25.00 RC
ZONING R C U

REQUEST (Zoning Map Change, Use Permit, Variance, Land Division, etc.)
Conditional Use-permit
PERMIT TO BUILD STRUCTURE DETAILED AS FOLLOWS
TO BE USED FOR CAMPING. BATH & KITCHEN FACILITIES PROVIDED FOR 16-18 PEOPLE. SUMMER USE FOR MEMBERS OF COSANTI FOUNDATION (NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION)

Atlas pg. 6

APPLICANT - NAME & ADDRESS
THE COSANTI FOUNDATION
6433 DOUBLE TREE RD.
SCOTTSDALE, ARIZONA 85253
PHONE: 948-6145
OWNER x
AGENT

I hereby file the above request as party of interest, or representative thereof, and declare that all information submitted is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.
DATE 7/15/70 SIGNATURE [signature]

RULING BY Planning & Zoning Commission DATE 8/12/70 [x] GRANTED [ ] DENIED
STIPULATIONS
MINUTES INDEX 8/12/70

Approved for a period of 3 years.

ADV'T DATE	NEWSPAPER	INITIALS	POSTING DATE	QUANTITY	INITIALS	MAIL NOTICE DATE	INITIALS
7/23/70	Courier	RBE	7/27/70	1	RBE	7/21/70	(illegible)

RULING BY Board of Supervisors DATE 9/10/70 [x] GRANTED [ ] DENIED
STIPULATIONS
MINUTES INDEX 9/10/70

Approved for a period of 3 years

ADV'T DATE	NEWSPAPER	INITIALS	POSTING DATE	QUANTITY	INITIALS	MAIL NOTICE DATE	INITIALS
8/16/70	Courier	RBE	8/25/70	1	RBE		

ZONING DATA	DATE	INITIALS
MAP PREPARED		
PETITION CHECKED		
REPORT PREPARED		
SITE PLAN COMPLETED		
STIPULATIONS COMPLIED		
GRANTING EFFECTIVE		
ZONING MAP UPDATED		
ZONING ORD. UPDATED		

LAND DIVISION DATA	NO.	GROSS ACRES	LINEAL FEET
RES. LOTS & TRACTS			X
COM. LOTS & TRACTS			X
OTHER (School, etc.)			X
PARCEL TOTAL			X
STREETS & ALLEYS	X		
TOTAL			

RECORDINGS: DATE | INDEX

YAVAPAI COUNTY PLANNING & ZONING DEPT. — PRESCOTT, ARIZONA
1970.09.10 DS005-01

HEARING APPLICATION NO. #342
TWP. 11N RANGE 3E SEC. 7-8 ASSESSOR PARCEL NO. 501-27-07
FILE

Figure 29. Hearing application for camp by Cosanti Foundation. Yavapai County Development. 1970. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

Figure 30. Photograph of Arcosanti workshopper, 1974. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

Figure 31. Photograph of Arcosanti with cube city camp at bottom right, 1972. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

PARTICIPANT WORKSHOP INFORMATION • APPLICATION • 1972

PLEASE READ VERY CAREFULLY

The program of Arcosanti is the phased execution of the Arcosanti project in central Arizona, a structure in concrete and steel that will eventually serve about 3,000 people. The structure, conceived and designed by Paolo Soleri, will be the result of long years of work and dedication.

As participant, you implicitly accept for the time of your presence, the authority and decisions of the Foundation. It might be important to understand that the degree of decision-making is proportional to the amount of responsibility assumed and by the intensity of the involvement. Knowledge, skill, energy, conviction, and time are the ingredients of the involvement, that is to say, the credentials for responsibility and authority.

You will not find a city to work in, nor a society to be part of. The participants are pioneers in the wilderness. The guiding trust will be the conviction that the urban dilemma must be faced positively, optimistically, radically. You must understand, however, that unless the new pattern is not only conceptually defined, but also concretely built, its beneficial action can neither exist nor be enjoyed.

The main goal of the workshop is then years away. The central tenet of arcology is that the city is the necessary instrument for the evolution of man. You are, thus, working for something that will come about only if enough effort is expended for its construction (the pioneer position). Therefore,

1) The workshop is not building a community. It is building a structure that will eventually host a community.

2) The workshop is not a class. It is a construction experience. Learning is by doing, but there will be one or two seminar-discussions per week on the arcological implications. We hope that you will actively participate in the discussions.

3) Social work is not part of the workshop. It is contingent to its success. 'Social' initiatives will have to originate from the participants and will be welcome as much as they do not interfere with the construction activities.

4) The intensity of the experience will depend very much on your ability to adapt to the environmental and work conditions.

5) You will spend the first 3 days acquainting yourself with the Cosanti Foundation at 6433 Doubletree Road, Scottsdale, and at Arcosanti with the arcological concept, with the activities going on and with tools, equipment and techniques used. In the remaining 27 working days, you will work 7½ hours per day. The starting time and schedule will vary according to the season and the structure of the work.

6) Plan to be at the Doubletree address the Monday morning of your workshop.

We must repeat. You are coming to a construction site to participate in the construction of Arcosanti. That remains the all-important purpose of the workshop.

We suggest that you get as much information as you can about the arcological concept. The best sources for this are the M.I.T. Press books — ARCOLOGY, The City in The Image of Man, and SKETCHBOOKS of Paolo Soleri. By purchasing these books from the Cosanti Foundation you are making a contribution to its program. There is also a very large exhibit and three smaller ones travelling in museums and schools throughout the U.S.A. and Canada.

ARCOSANTI 4 • • • • • • • • continued on page 2

Figure 32. Arcosanti workshop application for 1972. Ada Louise Huxtable papers, 1859-2013, bulk 1954-2012, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Accession no. 2013.M.9.

Figure 33. Annette Del Zoppo. Photo of volunteers constructing sleeping cubes for camping, 1972. Paolo Soleri Archives, Cordes Junction.

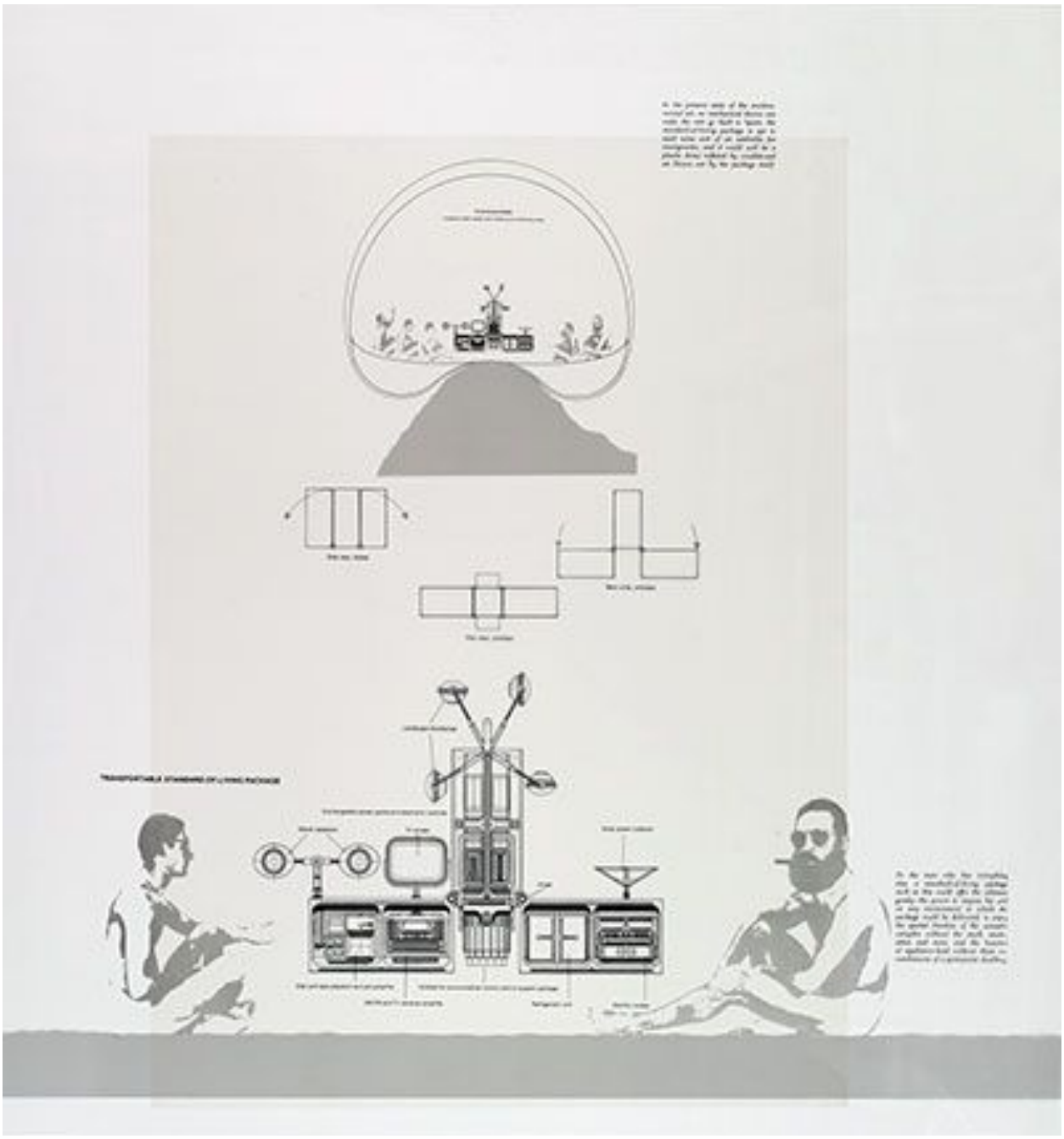


Figure 34. Illustration of Banham's Un-House by Francois Dallegret in "A Home Is Not a House." *Art in America* vol. 2. 1965.

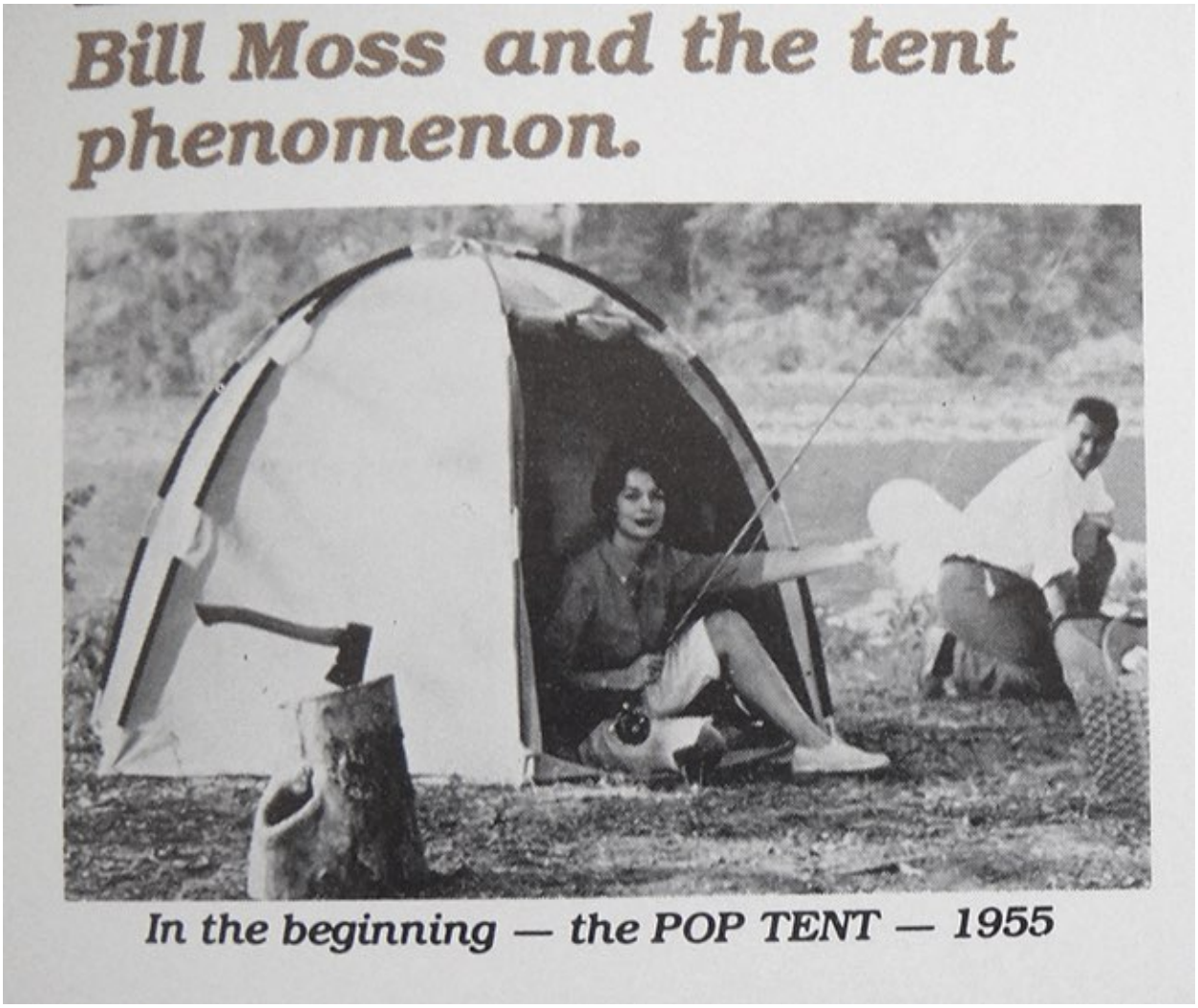


Figure 35. Pop Tent published in *Field and Stream*. vol. 82, no. 8. December 1977.

Light Weight Camping Equipment and How to Make It

It's all here: design, patterns, assembly techniques, lightweight materials, and sources of the materials. Because of good information on what's needed for various environments, it's a useful book even if you aren't making your own stuff. An indispensable book if you are. —SB

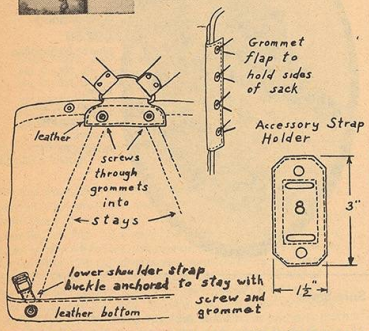
[Suggested by Roland Jacopetti]

Light Weight Camping Equipment
Gerry Cunningham, Margaret Hansson
1959; 130 pp.

$2.50 postpaid

from:
Local Gerry Dealer

or WHOLE EARTH CATALOG



Sleeping Bag Materials

Since you're finishing up I guess I'd better add something now.
About making sleeping bags---

Light Weight Camping Eq. and How to Make It is instructive but careful not to give you a design for anything that would compete with their own gerry's line. You have to make your own adaptations. The basic book is still helpful.

Goose down costs a fortune from the sources listed. Most feather suppliers don't want to see you unless you can buy about 100 lbs. of down. Sometimes quilt makers will sell however. I got mine at $14 per lb. plus $.75 postage from:

J. Schachter Co.
115 Allen St.
New York, N.Y. 10002

CHECK MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER

Nylon material is very hard to find. I was astonished to find that almost all of the fabric centers in Syracuse had no idea of what type of fiber went into their fabrics, which were strong set. All they cared about was color! After scouring the Garmet distict of N.Y.C. I happened upon a dark little store which sold "Mill Ends" or remnants. I found just what I wanted at half price--with a smile!

Fabric Export Co.
45 Walker St.
New York, N.Y. 10013

Long zippers are hard to find--long zippers which are nylon and which open at both ends such as the Waldes zipper are extremely hard if not impossible to find. Waldes does not sell retail. I still haven't found a zipper but the sleeping bag (?) is so warm that I haven't needed one yet.

David Briars
Syracuse, N.Y.

Antarctic Products

The Antarctic Products mailorder brochure contains an assortment of very high quality but low cost cold weather items made in New Zealand such as sleeping bags, parkas, sweaters, sheep skin rugs, raw wool yarn, etc. The down filled products are by the makers of the bag Hillary and Tensing used on Everest and have been chosen for dozens of world expeditions.

The prices of the items are exceptionally low for the reasons mainly that they are either high in labor or raw materials both of which are very low in cost here by U.S. standards. Mailorder also cuts out the retail markup, the import agents fees and costs, also the New Zealand government subsidizes exports (The identical sleeping bag costs $14.50 more to buy in N.Z. than the U.S. mailorder price.

[Reviewed by Warren Hayward. Suggested by Dr. Henry Mayer]

Frostline Outdoor Equipment

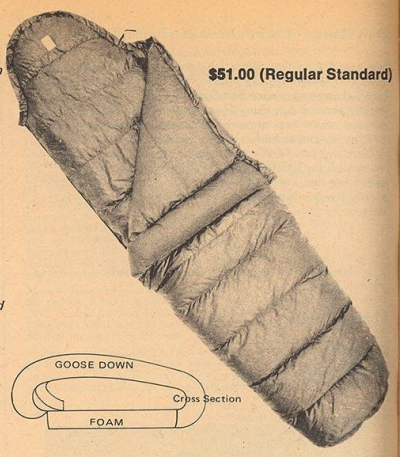
Frostline Outdoor Equipment is the manufacturer of do-it-yourself kits of lightweight camping equipment: tents, down sleeping bags and clothing. They also sell the raw materials for making such equipment (pre-packaged down; zippers; nylon fabrics; velcro self-sticking nylon tape fastener; Dacron thread; etc. The company's service by mail has proven prompt and dependable, all of this reviewer's orders having been filled correctly.

This reviewer has made Frostline's "Big Horn" ("Winter") sleeping bag (2¾ lb. down filled overlapping tube design with no stitched through seams), stuff sack and poncho. She found each kit to be all that the manufacturer had claimed, the catalog description scrupulously accurate.

Frostline kits are complete; all they require is assembly with a sewing machine. This reviewer used a Singer Featherweight for the purpose.

Before deciding on the Frostline kits, this reviewer compared Frostline prices and specifications with those of other companies. (The Ski Hut, Recreational Equipment Inc., Thomas Black and Sons Inc., etc.) She concluded that the Frostline kits were the most economical product without any compromise in quality.

[Reviewed by Roberta Becker Marshall. Suggested by many]



$51.00 (Regular Standard)

Catalog
free

from:
Frostline Kits
P.O. Box 589
Broomfield, CO 80020

$22.95

Regular
Weight: 16 oz.**
No. W-10, $8.95

Large
Weight: 20 oz.**
No. W-11, $10.95

Weight 13 oz., No. P-2, $9.95**

Total Weight 6 lb.**
No. T-11L, $69.95
with lightweight floor

SOUTH POLAR 2 PARKA — PRICE $43.00
Down Filled — Duty 7%

A pure goose down filled ski and sporting parka with dacron filled sleeves to reduce bulk. Quilted down compartments prevent down drift. Heavy duty front zipper is two way. Pockets are zip closed. Ribbed wool cuffs and belt provide good heat loss stops. Jacket weight average 1 pound 10 ounces. Please give height, chest circumference and underarm to wrist dimensions when ordering men's and women's sizes. Colors black and light blue.

Catalog
free

from:
Antarctic Products Co.
Box 223
Nelson, New Zealand

Barbour

Here in California, Barbour all-weather gear looks hopelessly exotic. Appropriate dress for leaning against the straining helm or sneaking into East Germany in November and other romances. Outstanding for motorcyclists. Waterproof without condensation. —SB

[Suggested by Jerome Skuba]

Racing oversuit about $31

Catalog
free

from:
J. Barbour and Sons, Ltd.
Simonside, South Shields
Co. Durham, ENGLAND

Figure 36. Page from *Whole Earth Catalogue* "Nomadics" section. Spring 1970.

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