

WestminsterResearch

<http://www.westminster.ac.uk/research/westminsterresearch>

Frank Lloyd Wright beyond America

Gwyn Lloyd Jones

School of Architecture and the Built Environment

This is an electronic version of a PhD thesis awarded by the University of Westminster. © The Author, 2013.

This is an exact reproduction of the paper copy held by the University of Westminster library.

The WestminsterResearch online digital archive at the University of Westminster aims to make the research output of the University available to a wider audience. Copyright and Moral Rights remain with the authors and/or copyright owners.

Users are permitted to download and/or print one copy for non-commercial private study or research. Further distribution and any use of material from within this archive for profit-making enterprises or for commercial gain is strictly forbidden.

Whilst further distribution of specific materials from within this archive is forbidden, you may freely distribute the URL of WestminsterResearch:
(<http://westminsterresearch.wmin.ac.uk/>).

In case of abuse or copyright appearing without permission e-mail
repository@westminster.ac.uk

Frank Lloyd Wright beyond America – Abstract

By Gwyn Lloyd Jones

This thesis is a cultural study of the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright's (1867-1959) beyond his homeland of America. It explores Wright's travels as a means of unravelling his global ambitions and legacy. Wright was born in the age of the horse and cart and died in the age of commercial jet travel; he not only experienced the rapid compression of space and time in methods of travel, but also participated in this globalising movement. His journeys beyond the USA were undertaken to promote his own global philosophy of 'organic architecture'. Such cross-cultural dialogues are an important part of architectural history and theory, as well as of notions of 'change' and 'progress', and so within the thesis I re-enact six of Wright's journeys to these different sites. In addition, I also rethink the traditional academic division of Wright's career into his 'Prairie House' and 'Usonian' eras by proposing a third, final epoch constructed around his 'Legacy'.

My methodology for the thesis is based on the concept of gaining 'situated knowledge' from direct engagement with 'Wrightian' sites to deconstruct his ideas and projects. I also consider how Wright's global 'organic' doctrine is actually now being experienced, and how people are living with his legacy in the early twenty-first century. The thesis adopts an experimental writing-as-design approach to research and as such I use a narrative mode of writing to negotiate between 'creative' and 'critical' perspectives of research. This method allows my experience to inform my analysis of Wright's sites of influence to generate a better understanding of his architecture. Consequently, my layered narrative provides an alternative reading of Frank Lloyd Wright's globalising ambitions by offsetting with tales of contemporary resistance that reclaim the term 'organic architecture' from being a bland global phenomenon to a highly articulated local expression of difference.

Frank Lloyd Wright beyond America

by Gwyn Lloyd Jones

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the University of Westminster
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August 2013

Contents:

Page:

Acknowledgements	5
Route Finder	7
1. Unusual Views of Outstanding Sites	31
2. Vanity Fair	95
3. Egor'evek Cultural Club	159
4. Whatever Happened to Frank Lloyd Wright?	215
5. When Frank met Francesco	281
6. A Short Taxi Ride around the Persian Gulf	343
Minority Reports	401
References	415
Bibliography	479
List of Illustrations	497

Acknowledgements:

Professor Murray Fraser,
Dr Tanis Hinchcliffe,
LKE Ozolins Studentship,
RIBA,
Giles Worsley Travel Fellowship,
British School in Rome,
Stock Woolstencroft,
Weston Williamson,
All the home owners, guides and
friends that have helped me along
the journey to all my sites.

Dedicated to:
Amanda, Joshua and Olivia.

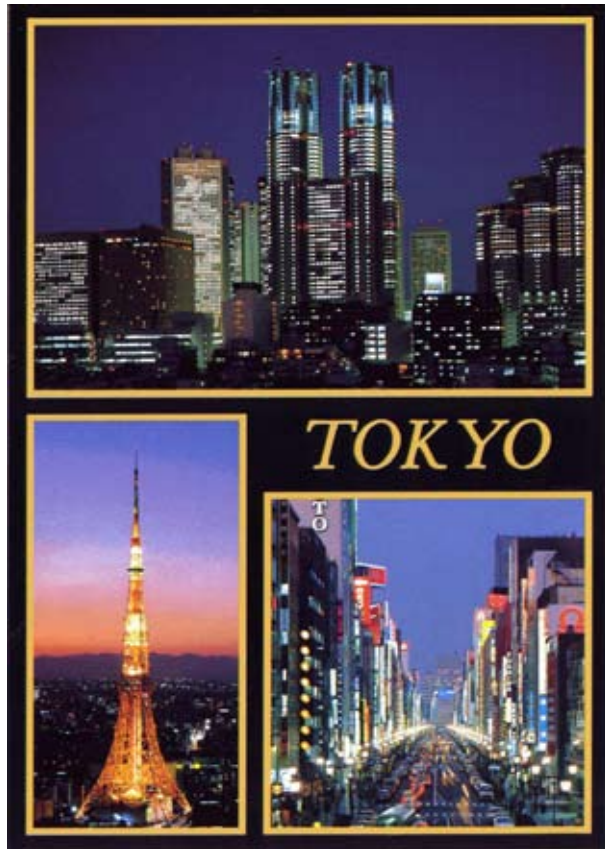
Route Finder

Destinations and Dates:

A: Japan	31 st October to 11 th November 2005
B: Germany	12 th June to 15 th June 2005, and 27 th July to 8 th August 2006
C: Russia	18 th June to 30 th June 2007
D: Britain	8 th May 2008 to 28 th August 2011
E: Italy	6 th October to 18 th October 2008 and 1 st October to 23 rd December 2009
F: Kuwait	9 th September to 14 th September 2009



0.001 Route map (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk)



0.002 Postcard Tokyo



0.003 Postcard Berlin



0.004 Postcard Moscow



0.005 Postcard Portmeirion



0.006 Postcard Venice



0.007 Postcard Kuwait

This thesis is a cultural study of Frank Lloyd Wright's architecture beyond his homeland of America. As such, it explores Wright travels and sites outside America as a means of unravelling his global ambitions and his lasting legacies beyond his native USA. Wright (1867-1959) was born in Richland Centre, Wisconsin, just two years after the end of the American Civil War (1861-65), in the age of the horse and cart; he died nine decades later in the age of commercial jet travel. Wright therefore not only experienced the rapid compression of space and time that such revolutions in methods of travel offered, but was also a participant in this globalising movement. By considering Wright's concept of 'organic' architecture as, in effect, a product of early-globalisation, new connections and influences will be revealed in this thesis and will contribute to a broader understanding of his architecture. Wright's journeys beyond his homeland of the USA were all to countries that lay beyond his personal cultural experience, which in turn seemed to compel him into becoming an outspoken promoter of his own globalising 'organic' philosophy. Such cross-cultural dialogues are an important part of architectural history and theory, as well as of notions of 'progress' throughout history, and so within the thesis I have chosen to re-enact six of Wright's journeys to these very different sites. It is a study that consciously adopts an experimental writing-as-design approach to research by actively recording and engaging with each place and its cultural context. In addition to Wright's own writings and designs, a range of critical views from his contemporaries and current scholars are brought into the study. Thus my thesis blends both the academic and personal perspectives, such that more objective research and site analysis are juxtaposed within a wider and discursive reading of Wright's legacy.

Hence my research combines analytical and creative writing to form a new mode of architectural text as part of an expansion of approaches to architecture in recent years. The *Journal of Architecture* in June 2006 published an issue that focused on 'practice-based-research' in PhDs by Design and outlined the need for new methods of architectural writing to produce and disseminate architectural history and theory.¹ Furthermore, Jane Rendell's paper on *Site Writing* in 2007,² and her subsequent 2010 book of the same title,³ acted as particular sources of inspiration for my thesis, providing theoretical and practical examples of how to carry out architectural research in a very different way. Other diverse spatial narratives that have motivated my writing include texts by Reyner Banham, Iain Sinclair, Georges Perec and Italo Calvino. My own earlier Graduate Diploma dissertation on '12 Part Narrative' had

been based on recreating Frank Lloyd Wright's annual migration route between Taliesin North in Wisconsin and Taliesin West in Arizona, and in doing so it combined my personal narrative with more traditional academic research; it was awarded the inaugural RIBA Dissertation Medal in 2001. In this sense, my PhD thesis continues my exploration into making new forms of architectural expression by focusing on the different countries visited by Wright.

As a frame for this study, I created an academic armature based on the idea of the 'Latin bi-square' suggested by Perec⁴, whereby I recreated six visits that were made by Wright and developed six cultural themes to help to unravel his architecture. These trips embraced both 'Western' and 'Eastern' contexts, although they were all within the northern hemisphere (Wright's influence in the southern half of the globe was negligible and so is not investigated in this thesis). I revisit also the traditional academic division of Wright's career into his 'Prairie House' and 'Usonian' eras by proposing a third, and later, epoch which was constructed around what I term his 'Legacy'. As an example of the traditional view, Kenneth Frampton is typical of scholarly writers in his two chapters on Wright in his classic study, *Modern Architecture: A critical history*.⁵ His first chapter was tellingly titled 'Frank Lloyd Wright and the myth of the Prairie (1890-1916)'⁶ and described Wright's emergence as a regional practitioner in his native Mid-West through his participation in the 'Prairie School' in Chicago. Frampton's other chapter, on 'Frank Lloyd Wright and the Disappearing City (1929-63)'⁷ documented how Wright extended his regional basis to embrace the whole of the USA, which he renamed 'Usonia'. But this is at best only a partial reading of Wright's career. Indeed, as Wright advanced in years, his projects became increasingly extravagant and erratic. 'The Boldest Buildings of his Career (1946-59)',⁸ is how Twombly refers to the last stage of Wright's work, whilst Levine considers Wright's last decade (1949-59) to have involved a search for 'Signs of Identity'.⁹ Wright was already 79 years old in 1946, and as a result many authors have questioned the value of these later eccentric designs with their variable quality and questionable intentions. For my thesis, however, I treat this third period, that of Wright's 'Legacy', as part of a cultivation of an image that responded to his growing global celebrity – and to the numerous offers to erect what were in effect grandiloquent 'memorial' projects in places outside America.

In organisational terms, this thesis follows a broadly chronological sequence which is anchored around Wright's visits to different countries at critical junctures in his career. Thus, the first two chapters follow Wright's visits to Japan and Germany in the way they informed and framed his early 'Prairie House' period. In turn, Chapter Three and Chapter Four recreate Wright's visits to Russia and Britain as part of his efforts promote his global 'Usonian' manifesto, based on what had already become in the USA a highly dispersed society. The final two chapters pursue Wright to Italy and the Middle East in the locus of Kuwait (a trip to Iraq had originally been proposed but it remained too dangerous to visit) as part of his 'Legacy' period. In addition, my text also makes reference to Wright's architecture in America and in doing so acknowledges a continuous dialogue between what was happening at his home and what he discovered on his travels. Each of my chapters investigates a different theme that together contributes to a meta-narrative of Wright as the prototypical globalised architect. Whilst the three main periods of Wright's career provide the framework for this thesis, my research themes often overlap across different periods in order to find new ways to evaluate Wright's architectural ideas and projects. The outcome is therefore an entirely original reading of Frank Lloyd Wright's global impact, as well as an innovative method of writing about canonical figures of his kind.

Wright's transformation of 'organic' architecture from a site-specific mantra to a global manifesto

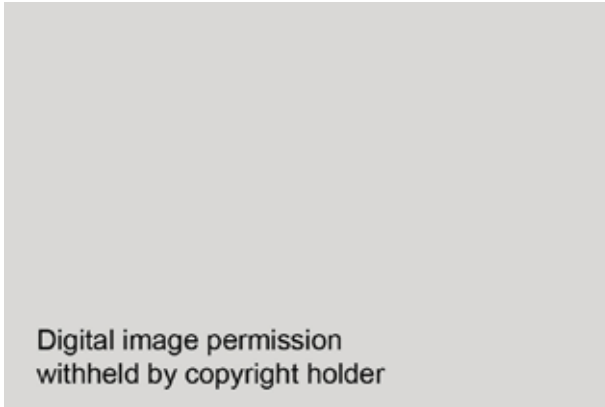
Here it is worth pointing out that my research into Wright's work beyond America negotiates a paradox which has not yet been properly addressed by architectural historians or theorists. This paradox is that Wright extolled his own ideal of 'organic' architecture – which was purportedly founded on close personal responses to different sites which the architect knew well – and yet he also practised a brand of generic architecture that appeared to travel seamlessly across the globe, with little real understanding of the cultures being affected. Another problem is that Wright never fully explained what 'organic' architecture was; it seemed at once to be obvious and yet elusive, and as a consequence not many authors have sat down and tried to deconstruct the concept in all its multi-faceted glory. Twombly¹⁰ attempted to map its many characteristics into a coherent philosophy, but manifestly failed, whilst Zevi¹¹ put forward a dialectical model which defined 'organic' simply in opposition to the equally

vague category of 'inorganic' architecture. Wright's own mentor, Louis Sullivan, had long ago proclaimed that the term 'organic' referred to a "searching for realities – a word I love because I love the sense of life it stands for, the ten-fingered grasp of things it implies."¹² Wright himself did not initially use the term 'organic' architecture at the start of his career. Indeed, one of the first instances was to conclude his Prairie-Style manifesto essay, 'In the Cause of Architecture' (1908), with a tantalising phrase about his future aspirations:

"As for the future – the work shall grow more truly simple; more expressive with fewer lines, few forms; more articulate with less labour; more plastic; more fluent, although more coherent; more organic."¹³

Interestingly, Twombly argues that a coherent philosophy for 'organic' architecture was only developed in the last three decades of Wright's life, i.e. from 1930 to 1959, and as such he describes it as a "cumulative, approach [that became] universality as time passed."¹⁴ Twombly relies heavily on Wright's 1954 essay on 'The Natural House' to summarise that 'nature' and 'unity' were the key components to understanding 'organic' architecture. He notes that, for Wright, 'external' nature was expressed in four interrelated components: the response to the nature of the site; taking one's inspiration from natural forms; displaying natural materials honestly; and being responsive to local climate.¹⁵ Furthermore, Wright had contemplated the 'internal' character of nature in his essay on the 'Japanese Print' (1912), in which he saw inherent abstract geometries as self-defining and self-propagating features.¹⁶ Wright also believed there existed an internal pre-disposed logic that allowed nature to grow into new forms in balance with external natural forces. Wright, thus, in effect rephrased Louis Sullivan famous declaration, "form follows function," so that it became the holistic concept of "form and function as one."¹⁷ Twombly, therefore offers an emergent definition for 'organic' architecture:

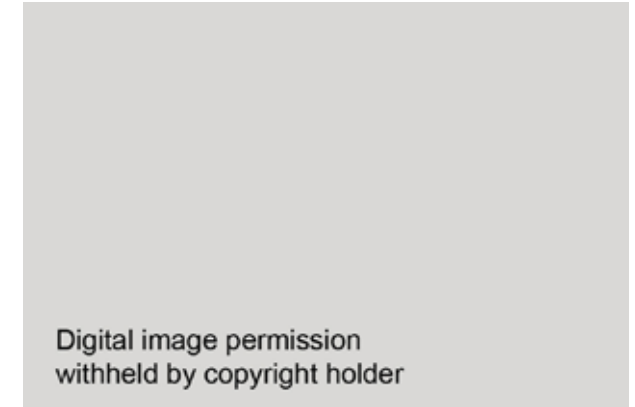
"An organic structure is built according to nature's principles: harmonious in all its parts and with the environment, it expresses and unifies all the factors that call it into being – site, materials, client needs and architect's philosophy, construction methods, its culture, and the nature of the problems."¹⁸



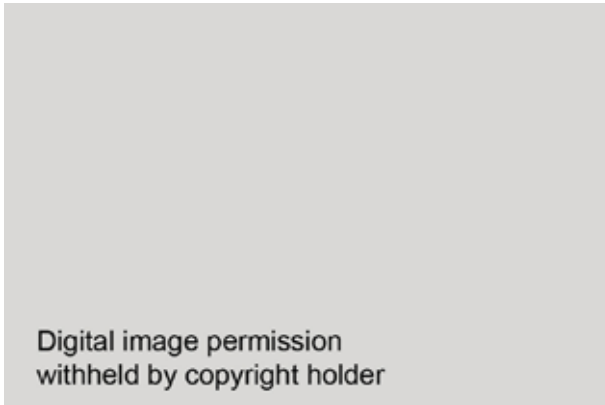
0.008 Street view, Ward Willits House (1902-3) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982)



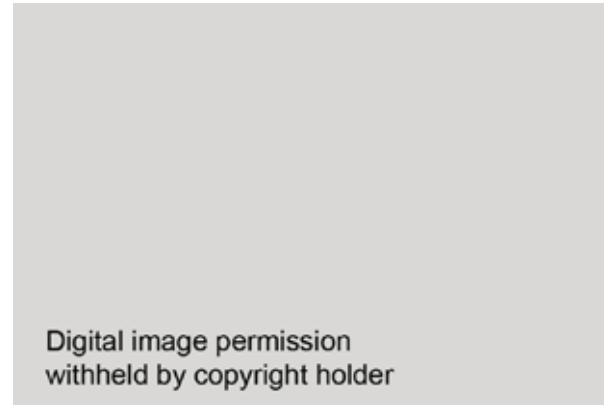
0.009 Garden view, Herbert Jacob House (1936) by Frank Lloyd Wright



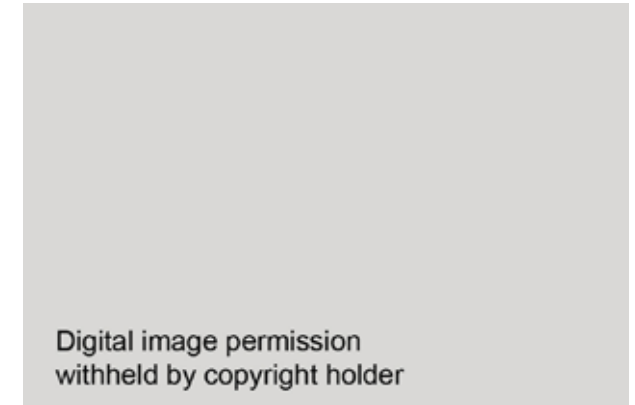
0.010 Perspective, Opera House, Baghdad (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



0.011 Plan, Ward Willits House (1902-3) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982)



0.012 Plan, Herbert Jacob House (1936) by Frank Lloyd Wright image from Sergeant, J. (1984)



0.013 Plan, Opera House, Baghdad (1957-8) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)

Notably, in the introduction to his 1910 book titled *Studies and Executed Buildings*, Wright referred to 'organic' architecture by reflecting upon the vernacular architecture of Italy in opposition to that country's classical tradition – in effect he was calling for the renewal of a 'Gothic' spirit. He proposed that "the true basis for any serious study of the art of architecture is in those indigenous structures, which are to architecture what folklore is to literature or folksongs to music".¹⁹ His call for a 'Gothic spirit' reflected Wright's admiration of Ruskin, Viollet-le-Duc and Hugo, in whose writings the 'honesty' of medieval Gothic construction became a moral crusade against the 'corrupted' neo-Classical architecture of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Wright concluded: "I have called this feeling for the organic character of form and treatment the Gothic spirit, for it was more completely realized in the forms of that architecture, perhaps, than any other."²⁰ Wright thought he could identify a universal 'folk' culture that had existed prior to the Renaissance, offset by the individual spirit of the medieval architect who could interpret the needs of the user to generate forms that were independent of any fixed stylistic framework.²¹ Levine claims that thereafter Wright elevated himself from being simply a regional Chicago architect to one who "aligned himself with the folk-hero poet whose special persona gives voice to universal cultural meanings and values."²² Essentially, Wright had begun to adopt a self-conscious global persona, viewing himself as the new international folk-hero of 'organic' architecture.

It is an important point for this study. Within the thesis I embrace the concept of early-globalisation as a means to re-evaluate Wright's architectural work within different national and regional contexts. This is possible because Wright's notion of 'organic' architecture had itself been developed from a number of mediated global encounters – for example, his 'Prairie Houses' were in fact derived from a bold combination of traditional Japanese architecture, Free-Style English Vernacular Revival, and the American Shingle Style. Globalization is particularly relevant in this sense because it is a process that disturbs the traditional notion that "culture has long had connotations tying it to the idea of a fixed locality."²³ Furthermore, globalisation offers a contemporary method to re-read Wright's 'organic' architecture from a multi-perspective view that can embrace economic, political, cultural and technological dimensions – and it can do so without "pursuing one dimension in the self-conscious recognition of multidimensionality ... making us sensitive to the points at which different dimensions are interconnected and interact."²⁴ As noted earlier, Frank Lloyd Wright experienced

a lifetime of rapid compression in the space-time created by new means of transport, but even more importantly, I would contest that Wright also instinctively realised, what Tomlinson has since noted, which is that "the transformation of culture is not grasped by the trope of travel but in the idea of deterritorialisation."²⁵

Hence by the 1930s, Wright's idea of 'organic' architecture now embraced the whole of human society. For him, 'organic' architecture was more relevant than the two prevalent theories of organising society in the twentieth century – i.e. capitalism and communism. 'Organic' architecture was destined to become a global deterritorialised manifesto, as he proclaimed in his lecture at the RIBA in London in 1939:

"I bring you a new Declaration of Independence ... An Organic Architecture means more or less an organic society. Organic ideals of integral building reject rules imposed by exterior aestheticism or mere taste, and so would the people to whom such architecture would belong reject such external impositions upon life as were not in accord with the nature and character of the man who had found his work and the place where he could be happy and useful because of it ... In this modern era Art, Science, Religion – these three will unite and be one, unity achieved with organic architecture as centre."²⁶

Bruno Zevi was one of the most ardent supporters, and he worked tirelessly to explain Wright to a wider audience. In Zevi's book, *Towards an Organic Architecture* (1950), he tried to offer historical depth by citing Alberti and Goethe as two scholars who had contemplated the nature of 'organic' architecture.²⁷ Zevi also quoted Vasari previously, who, when he saw the Farnesina Palace "praised it in these terms: 'NON MURATO, MA VERAMENTE NATO' (not built, but born)."²⁸ It is not actually a helpful definition of 'organic' architecture, but it does illuminate the commonly held belief (and one that Wright himself promoted) that 'organic' architecture had to be conceived and delivered as a complete work of art, and thus as an act of genius – a typically Wrightian idea, of course! Zevi went on to develop an argument that considered the inner inhabitation of dynamic 'organic' spaces, and in doing so he suggested his own definition:

"Architecture is organic when the spatial arrangement of room, house and city is planned for human happiness, material, psychological and spiritual.

The organic is based therefore on a social idea and not on a figurative idea. We can only call architecture organic when it aims at being human before it is humanist.”²⁹

As part of promoting his ‘organic’ ideas, Wright travelled extensively across the globe, publishing numerous books and articles and lecturing internationally. Furthermore, he invented his own Taliesin Fellowship to attract international students – in effect, foreign disciples – who would in turn help with the worldwide dissemination of his ideas. Wright therefore took his global ‘organic’ architecture rhetoric solution around with him for the remainder of his career, including when he travelled to other countries looking for suitable sites to establish his ideal architecture. And, the architectural practice he founded during his ‘Legacy’ period – Taliesin Associate Architects – has ever since responded to the global fascination with Wright’s architectural celebrity. To this day, they reproduce or rework a scheme in the Wrightian idiom, in the manner of ‘here’s one that I prepared earlier!’ Whether this approach is ‘organic’ is entirely debatable but it also demonstrates what was a worldwide messianic vision. My thesis therefore proposes that Frank Lloyd Wright manipulated the concept of ‘deteritorialisation’, firstly in developing his early ‘Prairie Houses’ as a fusion of American, Japanese and English precedents, and then in the later ‘Usonian’ period by actively promoting the idea of a ‘globalised’ architecture that he claimed was “everywhere and nowhere.”³⁰ In the re-reading that I am suggesting, the ambitions in his final ‘Legacy’ period were an expansion and aggrandisement of a pre-existing global strategy which was based upon his theory of ‘organic’ architecture.

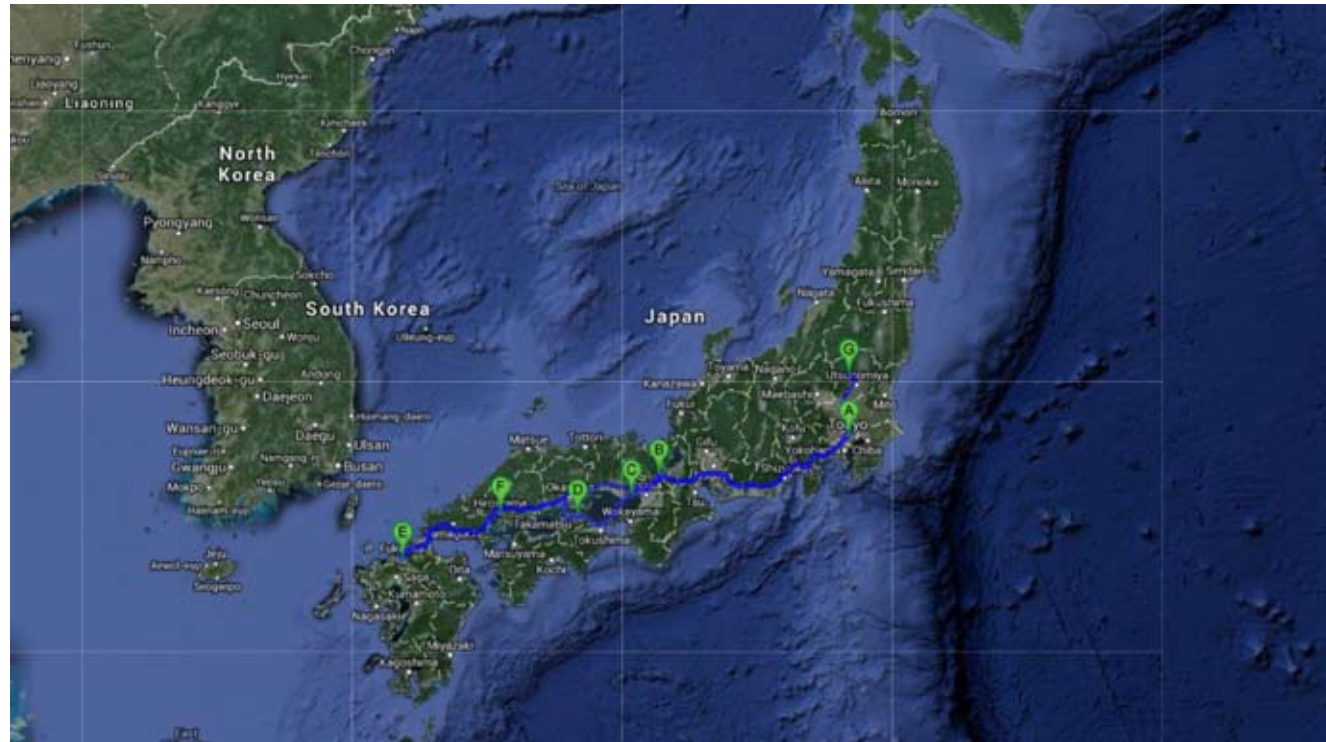
A brief history of Frank Lloyd Wright

It is worth in this introductory section, to give an outline of Wright’s life as the background to the six chapters that follow. Franklin Lincoln Wright, as he was christened, was born to a Welsh mother and an American father of English descent, and he was named after the victorious Civil War president. Wright’s father was an itinerant preacher and solicitor, and the family moved several times along the eastern seaboard of America to pursue new opportunities to preach or to practice law. His parents then separated and Wright and his mother went to join some of their family, of Welsh stock, in rural Wisconsin. There he changed his name to become Frank Lloyd

Wright, showing an early capacity for self-reinvention. Wright’s first architectural position in Chicago was with Joseph L. Silsbee, an architect who practiced in the American ‘Shingle Style’ of the period, and who had worked for the Lloyd Jones family in Spring Green, Wisconsin. Silsbee was also an avid collector of Japanese artefacts and was familiar with the Boston ‘Orientalist’ set – indeed, he may well have exposed Wright to the fashionable Japanese arts of the period. Wright was always highly ambitious, and so in 1888 he began working for the progressive and innovative practice of Sullivan and Adler. There he immediately struck up a close rapport with Louis Sullivan, who is said to have been equally smitten by the youthful Wright.

Wright married Catherine Tobin in 1889 and built a new home in the affluent Oak Park suburb of Chicago with money he borrowed from Sullivan. To support his growing family in Oak Park, Wright began to moonlight on private jobs. When Sullivan found this out, they quarrelled, and – depending on rival accounts – Wright was either fired or else left in anger. In 1893, Wright set up his own practice and subsequently decided to add on a studio to his house in Oak Park. In doing so, he experimented both with the internal spatial order of his home and with the external manifestations of a freer layout. Indeed all of his early domestic work shows a desire to ‘deconstruct the box’, as he termed it, in search for more fluid forms of spatial continuity. There were of course many other cultural ideas involved in his early architectural development, and Nute points out the numerous instances when Wright turned to Japan for architectural ideas.³¹ Frampton has likewise pointed out how much the Ho-o-den house exhibited in the famous Chicago Exposition of 1893 came to influence Wright’s ideas about a single spatial configuration.³² Wright was in effect in the process of merging the house with the temple – as Nute has put it succinctly, the Ho-o-den house showed him the potential of breaking down the “load-bearing box” of Western architecture into something far more expressive.³³

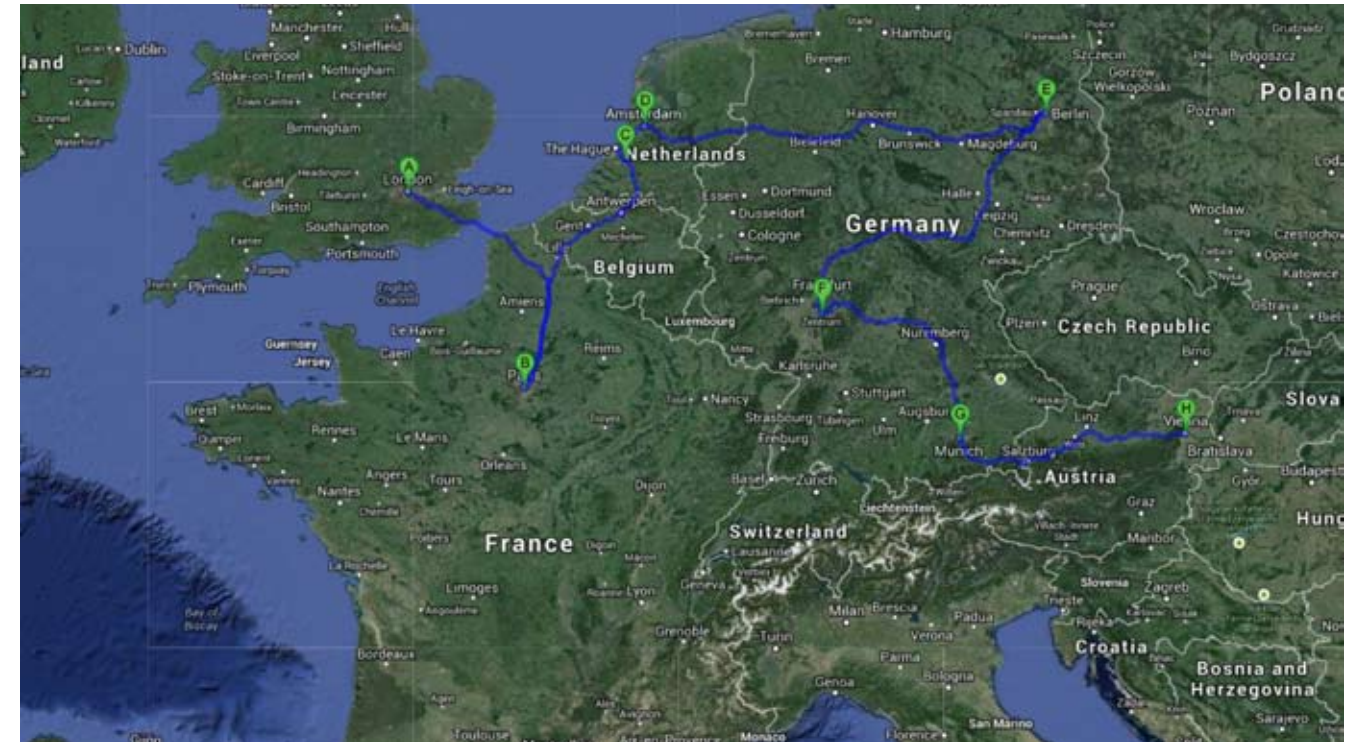
Perhaps not surprisingly, Wright’s first venture outside America was to travel to Japan with some former clients, the Willits, in 1905; it has also been suggested that the trip was intended to save his floundering marriage to Catherine. A century later, in 2005, I retraced Wright’s initial visit to Japan by following a very similar itinerary to the one that Wright recorded in a remarkable set of photographs. Wright returned several times again to Japan, such as to design the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo (1913-23), a building that was conceived as much to contain foreign visitors as to give



0.014 Japan route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk)

Route:

- A: Tokyo 31st October 2005
- B: Kyoto 4th November 2005
- C: Kobe 6th November 2005
- D: Okayama 7th November 2005
- E: Fukouka 8th November 2005
- F: Hiroshima 9th November 2005
- G: Nikko 10th November 2005



0.015 Germany route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk)

Route:

- A: London 27th July 2006
- B: Paris 28th July 2006
- C: Rotterdam 12th June 2005 (earlier journey)
- D: Amsterdam 14th June 2005 (earlier journey)
- E: Berlin 30th July 2006
- F: Darmstadt 3rd August 2006
- G: Munich 5th August 2006
- H: Vienna 6th August 2006

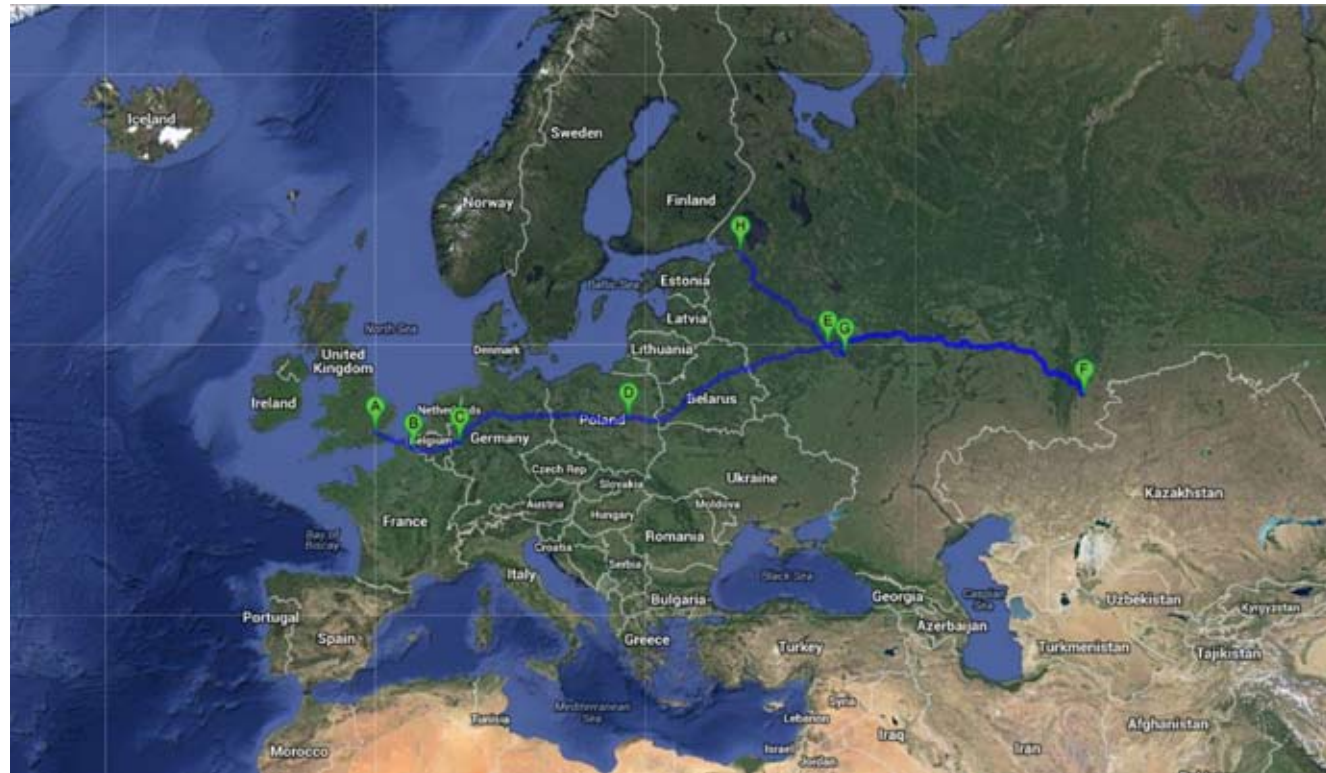
additional leverage to the Japanese government against unfair international treaties. In addition, Wright undertook a number of residential commissions in Japan and he also continued to trade – as he had done by then for many years – in Japanese woodblock prints. His built projects in Japan therefore provide a unique insight into an early global encounter in which Wright, who was so clearly inspired by Japanese architecture and woodblock prints, got an opportunity to build his own interpretation of that culture. However, Arata Isozaki has since claimed that Wright never properly understood Japanese space or architecture, and that the objectification of space in Wright's projects there was an example of "cross-cultural confusion."³⁴ I made one significant detour from his 1905 tourist route, so as to visit the Yamamura Villa (1918) that was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright in nearby Kobe – a site of a cultural translation and global hybridity where Wright's western-style villa encloses a sequence of Japanese-inspired interior spaces.

By the time that Frank Lloyd Wright designed the seminal Robie House in south Chicago in 1909, he seemed to have sensed already that he was coming to the end of his 'Prairie Style' era. He even appears psychologically to have been seeking out a new form of challenge. In 1909, Wright dramatically left his wife and six children – along with his friends and unfinished projects – and travelled to Europe with the wife of a former client, (Martha) Mamah Cheney. They went to Germany, where he published the two famous Wasmuth folios as effectively a summary of his 'Prairie House' career. The folios were in truth a vanity-publishing venture that was aimed largely at the American market, and their reception in Europe was at most incidental. For my Chapter Two I also extended Wright's journey of 1909-10 to include visits to the old Imperial capitals of Paris, Amsterdam, Berlin and Vienna, so as to situate Wright's ideas and work as part of the early ferment of architectural modernism prior to the First World War. Despite having produced a series of designs and ideas that were clearly more progressive than those of his European colleagues at this time, Wright seemed however unable to disseminate his thoughts beyond the Wasmuth folios – there were, for instance, no lecture tours, journal articles, architectural gatherings, public exhibitions or designs for houses linked to this trip. Wright's influence on European modernism is still very much questioned today, but he clearly played a role in setting the scene for the new architecture. But what was his role? His work was openly embraced in Holland both by the rationalist De Stijl School and the far more expressionist Amsterdam School. However, the renowned Dutch architect, Hendrick

Petrus Berlage (1856-1934), came to doubt Wright's "cultural significance" to European modernism, asking "whether his work represents a general rather than a particular value. And then I believe I must regard Wright's as typical of the latter and to honour him most as the endowed artist."³⁵ This chapter hence treats Wright as operating on the margins of European modernity on either side of the First World War, viewing him as an outside contributor. Ironically, this was a distanced role that Wright later even came to embrace as his destiny, in turn causing him to become one of the most trenchant critics of what became called 'International Style' modernism.

After the scandal of leaving his wife and children had died down, Wright returned to America in 1911 along with Mamah Cheney to a life of notoriety and frequent press intrusion – provoking him to build the personal sanctuary of Taliesin out in rural Wisconsin. Wright turned to his Welsh ancestry to name his new home, and to re-invent himself again, claiming that "Taliesin was the name of a Welsh poet, a druid-bard who sang to Wales the glories of fine art."³⁶ Shunned by the public because of his affair, his practice in Chicago declined notably. But soon his life was disturbed by greater tragedy. A deliberate fire at Taliesin in 1914, plus the massacre of Mamah Cheney and her children, by a deranged servant destroyed the dream of rural contentment. Needing to move on once more, Wright began another relationship with Miriam Noel, whom he eventually married in 1923. Towards the end of this 'middle' period, he had also begun to work on many residential commissions across America, such as the 'Textile Block' houses in California during the 1920s. When his second wife left him there was bitter wrangling over the divorce settlement, amidst accusations of desertion and cruelty. Then in 1925, Wright met Olgivanna Milanov, a Montenegrin divorcee and mystic. They soon moved in together to the recently repaired Taliesin in Wisconsin. Twombly argues that each of Wright's romantic relationships fulfilled different needs: Catherine gave the young Wright civility and a solid family; Mamah Cheney remained his true love, tragically lost; Miriam gave him emotional and financial support at a vital moment; and, finally, Olgivanna provided a deeper spiritual dimension that appealed to and fuelled his ego.³⁷

Despite these emotional trials, Wright had from the 1920s begun to engage in alternative design approaches, and as such foreign publications from Holland and Germany started to reframe his career. The lavish 1925 publication by the Dutch Expressionist journal, *Wendigen*, acted as a critical reappraisal of his work for those



0.016 Russia route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk)

Route:

A: London	17 th June 2007
B: Lille	17 th June 2007
C: Cologne	17 th June 2007
D: Warsaw	18 th June 2007
E: Moscow	19 th June 2007
F: Magnitogorsk	24 th June 2007
G: Egor'evsk	27 th June 2007
H: St Petersburg	28 th June 2007



0.017 Britain route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk)

Route:

A: London	13 th February 2008
B: Chipping Campden	9 th May 2008
C: Brynmawr	26 th April 2010
E: Portmeirion	27 th August 2011
F: Bangor	28 th August 2011

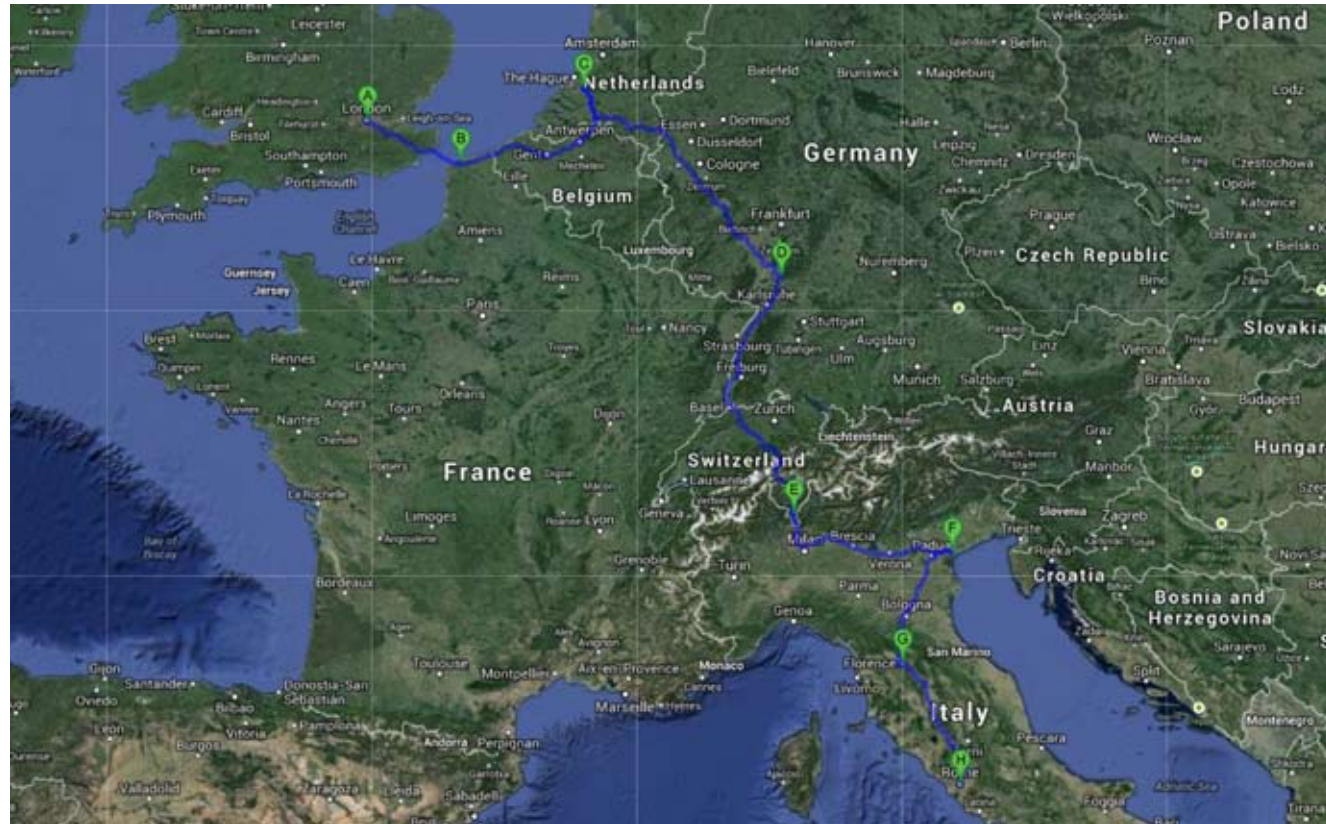
in Europe. Now a number of leading European modernist architects went to pay homage to Wright at Taliesin; he loved the adulation. Wright began lecturing regularly around 1930 and he published the first version of his own life-story, simply called *An Autobiography*, in 1932. However, it was the launching of the Taliesin Fellowships in that same year which finally eased Wright's financial problems – after all, his young tutees had to pay handsomely to study with the 'master' at Taliesin, providing him with a new impetus and source of income. Wright duly proceeded to reinvent himself yet again as the grand architect of the new American car-based suburban landscape, and in this way his 'Usonian' period emerged. Wright's Broadacre City concept was clearly inspired by Roosevelt's 'New Deal', plus it responded to other alternative ideas about reforming American society in the wake of the 1929 Stock Market Crash and subsequent 'Great Depression'. Broadacre City was based on a decentralised and purportedly democratic redistribution of land and electricity and other basic resources. It relied on a cohesive transportation infrastructure for the motor car, and came to serve as the collectivised expression of Wright's global ambition for 'organic' architecture – i.e. it was his idealised vision of community, democracy, society, and architecture all rolled up into one.

Yet Wright still remained outside the architectural and political mainstream, and from that stance he was not afraid to criticise the American government and its institutions during the 'Great Depression'. This brought Wright a degree of admiration from the Soviet Union and in 1937 he was invited to attend the First Soviet Congress of Architects in Moscow. Ever looking for a chance for self-promotion, he took Broadacre City – his answer to dispersed agrarian society – over to Russia as a globalising force. Wright like many disaffected intellectuals in the West in the late 1930s viewed the Soviet Union as a means of establishing a better society; in Wright's case, it was his own democratic 'organic' ideal that he believed transcended both capitalism and communism. Curiously the Russian architectural avant-garde had also by then embraced a dis-urbanist alternative to centralised cities, meaning that two conflicting ideologies identified similar plans for the new society. But by the point when Wright actually visited in 1937, Stalin had begun persecuting intellectuals, especially those in the avant-garde, in his infamous purges. Seventy years later, I arrived in Moscow in the search for any traces of Wright's 'organic' architecture. I also extended my trip to include Magnitogorsk in the Russian Urals, a Stalinist steel-producing city that was planned in the 1930s by the dis-urbanists, so that I could compare it with Wright's

Broadacre vision. Magnitogorsk reflected the changing and often muddled political machinations during the Soviet period, with Russian centralised bureaucracy struggling to impose its will on an emerging city, meaning that its realisation was very different from its conception.

Wright's notable architectural successes in the 1930s with Fallingwater (1934-7), Johnson Wax Administration Building (1936-9) and his new second home, Taliesin West (1938) in the Arizona desert, confirmed him as a leading architectural practitioner. He was invited to edit a full edition of the *Architectural Forum* in January 1938, which further consolidated his global reputation. Later that year, Wright was asked to occupy the Sir George Watson Chair on behalf of Sulgrave Manor, an Anglo-American institution seeking to bind the USA to Britain. As part of this honour, Wright was required to give a number of public lectures in London; he duly presented four unrehearsed and provocative talks at the RIBA in mid-1939. Chapter Four traces his influence in Britain, and above all considers Wright's engagement with the concept of 'social justice' through his early engagement with the 'settlement movement' at Hull House and his idealised plans for Broadacre City. In Britain, I visited sites that reflect Wright's engagement with the idea of social justice, including the utopian community of Ashbee's Guild of Handiwork in Chipping Campden and the post-war Welfare State creation of Brynmawr Rubber Factory in Wales. At his RIBA lectures, Wright was confronted by young socially engaged British modernists who were worried about the implications of his Broadacre scheme; they viewed it as a regressive 'back to the land' impulse. Wright responded by questioning whether urban life was ever really civilised. It was yet another case of cross-cultural confusion in that Wright's 'organic' ideas seemed to confront the urban values of European modernism, nor could he understand the point of view of his young British accusers, resulting in both sides being mutually misunderstood. In addition, I managed to visit a number of homes that claimed to have been influenced by Wright's 'organic' ideals, in order to question their actual engagement with values of social justice.

Wright's late career proved to be relatively prosperous, with the Guggenheim Museum in New York (1943-59) acting as the spatial and professional crescendo. However, the value of what I term his final 'Legacy' period remains contested. At the end of his career, Wright's celebrity found itself called upon for a variety of architectural projects, with perhaps the single most intriguing example being the Wright retrospec-



0.018 Italy route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk)

Route:

- A: London 6th October 2008
- B: Calais 6th October 2008
- C: Rotterdam 7th October 2008
- D: Heidelberg 8th October 2008
- E: Lugano 9th October 2008
- F: Venice 10th October 2008
- G: Florence 15th October 2008
- H: Rome 16th October 2008 and
1st October to 23rd December 2009



0.019 Kuwait route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk)

Route:

- A: Kuwait 9th September 2009
- B: Dubai 12th September 2009
- C: Abu Dhabi 13th October 2008

tive entitled 'Sixty Years of Living Architecture' and held in Florence in Italy in 1951. The exhibition was conceived by the US government as a subliminal piece of Cold War cultural propaganda, with Wright's ongoing creative virility being portrayed as a bulwark against the collectivist values being proposed by Italian communists. From Florence, Wright was also taken to see the Venice School of Architecture – then under the joint stewardship of its head, Giuseppe Samona, the design professor, Carlo Scarpa, and the architectural historian, Bruno Zevi. Wright's 'organic' architecture was strongly supported by these eminent Italian figures. Hence in Venice he was lionised as a true star and received a number of awards. For my Chapter Five, I undertook a contemporary 'Grand Tour' to Italy by car as part of questioning the usual format of architectural history, which is based on static readings of texts and images. I adopted Zevi's call in *The Modern Language of Architecture* (1978) to embrace "the heresies and dissonances of history, those countless 'exceptions to the rule' which have finally been emancipated and which can provide the back bone of an alternative language."³⁸ In addition, and as the recipient of the Giles Worsley Travel Fellowship in 2009, I was able to research into Zevi's delirious proposal of juxtaposing Baroque and 'organic' Wrightian architecture. Thus this fifth chapter locates Wright within a much broader historical tradition, as Zevi advocated, yet also notes how the traditional approach of defining things by epoch is being supplanted by more fluid and networked processes of globalisation.

One last hurrah was offered to Wright in 1957 when he was invited to Iraq to design a new opera house for Baghdad. This scheme also carried elements of Cold-War intrigue, plus many regional tensions, since the ruling Hashemite monarchy was seeking to forge links with America to bolster their vulnerable position against emergent Arab nationalism. As a young boy in Wisconsin, Wright had read the fantastical *Arabian Nights* tales and now he was being given the opportunity to prove that he really could be Aladdin, just as he had imagined during his childhood. His opera house design was duly expanded into the Greater Baghdad Plan and Cultural Centre, a full-scale 'Arabic' fantasy but also prophetic of our contemporary search for cultural identity. In Chapter Six I visited Kuwait, Dubai and Abu Dhabi along the Persian Gulf to analyse Wright's architectural fantasies within the Middle East, especially in the way they seem to seek to project a new modern identity. The recently completed Burj Khalifa in Dubai tries to echo Wright's Mile High Tower (1957), and indeed possess a similar triangulated plan and dramatic stepped profile. While there, I also visited an

exhibition at the Emirates Hotel in Abu Dhabi on the Saadiyat Island Cultural Quarter development, this being a scheme that replicates Wright's proposal for the Baghdad Cultural Centre, and with a similarly depressing array of western cultural forms, art galleries, museums and opera houses – albeit with these now designed by the latest 'masters of the universe' in globalised architectural practice. Wright's pioneer status as the prototype for the global architect appears to be being given reality by later and equally egotistical designers.

Writings about Frank Lloyd Wright

For a long time, Wright claimed the privilege of creating and maintaining his own legacy, and as such the Taliesin Fellowship attempted to control and manipulate his image. It was only after the death of his third wife, Olgivanna, in 1985 that the archive at Taliesin West in Scottsdale, Arizona, was opened up for rigorous and critical research. Today there is a wealth of academic and personal analysis of Wright's ideas and architectural projects. Levine (1996),³⁹ McCarter (1997),⁴⁰ and Twombly (1979)⁴¹ have between them produced authoritative architectural studies of Wright's work in the United States. In addition, Gill (1988)⁴² and Secret (1992)⁴³ have written biographies that cover the personal aspects of Wright's life, as well as often highlighting his architectural contradictions. Other authors such as Scully (1960)⁴⁴ and Trebier (2008)⁴⁵ have offered individual observations which help to explain Wright's work. Furthermore, as mentioned, the promotion of Wright's work in Bruno Zevi's⁴⁶ lively historical narratives was a relief from his stultified treatment in the narrowly mainstream modernist texts of those like Pevsner or Giedion. For certain, Zevi served as Wright's most persistent advocate, presenting 'organic' architecture in an innovative way that was frankly beyond what Wright had intended himself. Also of particular relevance to my thesis was the 1999 book on *Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond*, as edited by Alofsin,⁴⁷ which was a summary of a symposium in 1994 that touched on Wright's work outside America. Alofsin's book contains ten essays prepared by eminent academics which began to evaluate Wright's influence in eight different countries, including the South American continent. However, equally apparent is that there is no meta-narrative to tie the book together, other than a somewhat dry academic discussion dealing with the finer points of what constitutes 'influence' within architecture. In contrast, my research relies upon a much broader engagement with the ideas of architecture, culture and globalisation, as well as with specific



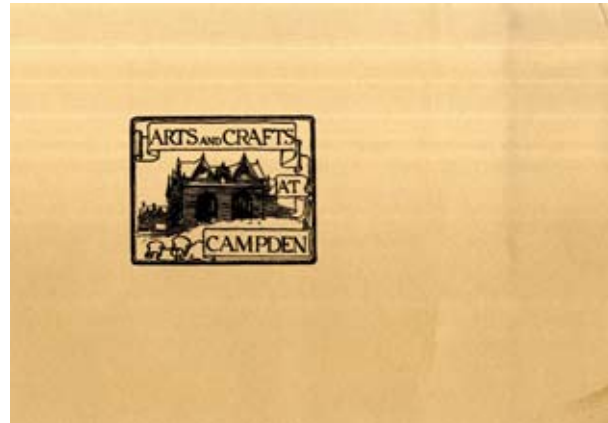
0.020 Souvenir - Old Imperial Bar, Tokyo



0.021 Souvenir - Secession Building, Vienna



0.022 Souvenir - Building Blocks, Moscow



0.023 Souvenir - Chipping Campden, Britain



0.024 Souvenir - Villa Emo, Veneto



0.025 Souvenir - Dates, Dubai

direct encounters with the main sites related to Wright's global travels. My thesis can thus claim to be entirely original in that it draws upon a number of disciplinary fields and genres, including that of travel writing, to provide a multi-perspectival analysis of Wright's global influence.

There are also a few other noteworthy publications that focus on particular periods in Wright's career that proved useful to this study, these being *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Lost Years 1910-1922*, again by Alofsin (1993),⁴⁸ *Frank Lloyd Wright versus America* by Johnson (1990),⁴⁹ and *Frank Lloyd Wright's Usonian Houses* by Sergeant (1984).⁵⁰ These fascinating studies situate Wright at important junctions in his career – the first book noting his first crisis as the 'Prairie House' period came to a close, and the last two articulating his Usonian and Broadacre City visions. The aforementioned *Wendigen* (1925)⁵¹ issue contains useful critical essays on Wright's work within the European modernist context by eminent architects of that time. Similarly, McCarter's volume *On and By Frank Lloyd Wright: A Primer of Architectural Principles*,⁵² published in 2005, collects together a set of interesting essays on Wright's architecture, even if overall it lacks a real critical perspective. Frank Lloyd Wright's own published work has itself been compiled into various useful collections. For example, the Taliesin Foundation published five volumes of *Frank Lloyd Wright: Collected Writings*⁵³ which were edited by Pfeiffer (1992–93) with a preface by Frampton. These have been followed up by two recent condensed volumes by Pfeiffer (2008)⁵⁴ and Twombly (2009)⁵⁵, both of which attempt to distill Wright's extensive (and often repetitive) writing into single volumes. These books reveal how Wright used the act of writing more extensively at the end of his career, as a key constituent of the 'Legacy' era. Yet, as Twombly observes, Wright's writings became ever more self-referential: "[prior] to 1914 his prose had served to explain his work in a reasonably straightforward manner, but by the late 1920s clear explanation gave way to a kind of solipsism."⁵⁶

Despite this weakness, Frank Lloyd Wright's *An Autobiography* acted as an invaluable reference to my thesis by providing background information and numerous quotations. Wright was first encouraged by Olgivanna to write his autobiography back in 1926; it proved to be a cathartic experience, according to Levine.⁵⁷ The original 1932 version consisted of three books: 'Family Fellowship' documented his Wisconsin roots, his first marriage to Catherine, and his apprenticeship to Sullivan and Adler; the

next book, 'Work', began with him setting up his solo practice, eloping to Europe, and then related his troubled life with Miriam Noel; then 'Freedom' started with his work in the Arizona desert and the Usonian concept, all backed up by the redoubtable third Mrs Wright!⁵⁸ In the first version of his autobiography, in the early 1930s, "Wright presented ... a heroic story of overcoming all odds, of winning out in the face of extreme adversity..." – yet it also had an accessible narrative (discounting the flowery prose), which Levine calls "a pretext rather than a postscript."⁵⁹ An updated version of *An Autobiography* was published in 1943, now with five books ('Family' and 'Fellowship' were divided into two sections and a fifth chapter on 'Form' was added). However, the text remained broadly chronological in its effort to unite Wright's life and 'organic' architecture into a grand meta-narrative of a genius architect fulfilling his manifest destiny. In the fifth book, 'Form', Wright openly referred to his strategy for global networking by expanding upon his journeys to Japan, Russia and England. The first British edition of *An Autobiography* came out in 1945, and it was this version that forms the basis of my research. A sixth book on Broadacre City was also planned to complete the vision. Wright admitted that his "autobiography is written between the lines", thus acknowledging – and even encouraging – multiple readings.⁶⁰ The narrative structure in *An Autobiography* is also significant, since it allowed Wright to bring in many strands of knowledge and experience together. However, his use of very short chapters within each book never fully explained Wright's architectural work, and instead the sections remained as fragments of recollections of his life.

Situated Knowledge: On the Road with Frank Lloyd Wright

As one of its conditions, globalisation recognises that "we need to see 'root and routes' as always coexistent in culture, and both the subject to transformation in global modernity."⁶¹ Thus my thesis considers both the site and the journey as two methods with which to explore the impact of Wright's 'organic' architecture abroad. There is a clear intention in adopting this alternative reading of the subject. Donna Haraway, in a well-known feminist deconstruction of science, examines the basis and relevance of 'objective' knowledge; she instead advocates 'situated knowledge' as a means to reveal new kinds of learning.⁶² In reviewing the state of scientific knowledge, Haraway questions its objectivity: "science has been about a search for translation, covert ability, mobility of meanings, and universality – which I call reduc-



0.026 Newspaper - *The Japan Times*, 10.10.2005



0.027 Newspaper - *The Hauge, Rotterdam, Amsterdam Times*, 10.06.2005



0.028 Newspaper - *The St Petersburg Times*, 26.06.2007



0.029 Newspaper - *Cotswold Journal*, 8.05.2008



0.030 Newspaper - *International Herald Tribune*, 11.10.2008



0.031 Newspaper - *The Nation*, 13.09.2009

tionism...”⁶³ The totalising vision that science offers, Haraway equates to a “god-trick promising vision from everywhere and nowhere.”⁶⁴ Likewise, concepts of ‘objectivity’ – and the universalising vision it implies – can be applied to Wright’s pseudo-scientific understanding of nature, or indeed to his global concept of ‘organic’ architecture. It is interesting that Haraway deconstructs the ‘universal’ claim of science with the same decontextualised expression – “everywhere and nowhere” – that Wright used to describe his own deterritorialised idea of ‘organic’ architecture.

Haraway considers situated knowledge to offer a means of addressing the “politics and epistemologies of location, positioning, and situating, where partiality and not universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims.”⁶⁵ Rather than pursuing a false ideal of abstract objective knowledge, Haraway makes claims for subjective responses: “the view from a body, always a complex, contradictory, structuring and structured body, versus the view from above, from nowhere, from simplicity.”⁶⁶ Furthermore, rather than treat relativism merely as a means of questioning scientific authority, Haraway considers ‘location’ to be a negotiation between “universal rationality and ethnophilosophies; world system and local knowledge; master theory and webbed accounts.”⁶⁷ Thus, for Haraway, “situated knowledge requires that the object of knowledge be pictured as an actor or an agent”,⁶⁸ such that things like architectural sites become the agents for generating new insights. This concept of gaining knowledge from direct engagement with the site has been particularly valid for deconstructing the ideas and projects of Frank Lloyd Wright in my thesis, in that I consider how Wright’s global ‘organic’ doctrine is actually being experienced – i.e. how people might be living in and coping with Wright’s architectural and urbanistic legacy in the early-twenty-first century. Joan Ockman also considers the encounter with the site to be an act of negotiation. She paraphrases Foucault by noting “the reciprocity between the gaze and experience,” hence acknowledging that a “transfigurative” relationship is established as the observer is affected by the site, and the site is equally “transformed” by the observer.⁶⁹ In addition, Jane Rendell describes how different architectural sites can generate new kinds of what she terms ‘site-writing’: “Rather than write about the work, I am interested in how the critic constructs his or her writing in relation to and in dialogue with the work.”⁷⁰

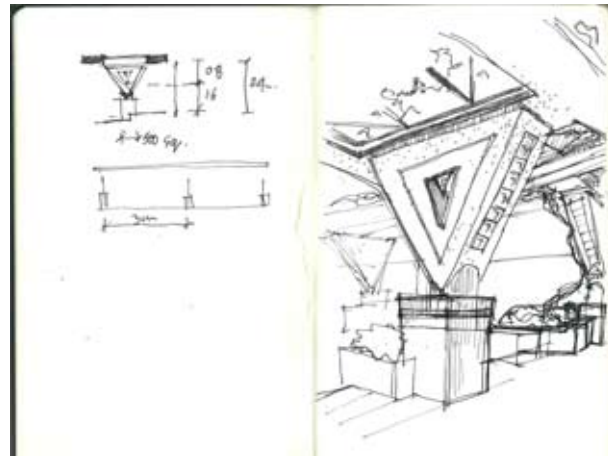
The act of journeying has of course for centuries been an inherent method for inspiring architectural thought, and in his later writings even Wright acknowledged the role

of travel in conceptualising ‘organic’ architecture. In *A Testament* (1957), he stated: “I have learned about architecture by root, by world-wide travel and by incessant experiment and experience in the study of nature.”⁷¹ However, Wright adopted a rather detached and impersonal view of travel as an experience, and thus implies that the study of decontextualised and abstracted ‘nature’ was equally important. Ockman questions Wright’s apparent indifference, noting that architects on their tourist-y trips can never be the removed figures they might claim to be, in the sense that they are both critical observers and generators of new cultural forms:

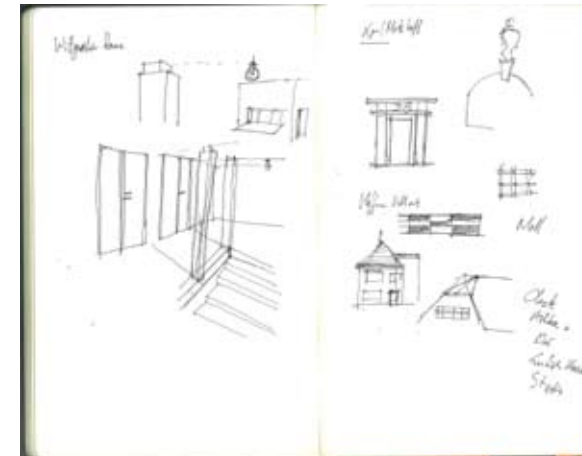
“[M]ost distinctively, architects are also aesthetic producers. They are not just engaged in mastering what they see by theorizing it (like social scientist, for example), but ultimately in remastering it as new architecture and planning ... From the Grand Tour to the present, whether motivated by a scientific search for knowledge, colonizing ambitions, romantic desires, or other impulses, architect-tourists have both reflected the worldview of their time and literally constructed it.”⁷²

Traganou similarly argues that the “valorisation of travel to the “other” as a means of theorizing and renewing architecture”⁷³ is the prime motivation for architects to make their trips. This view considers the architect to be a distant observer who reflects upon the condition of the cultural ‘other’, in foreign countries, without ever including them in developing their architectural ideas and theories.⁷⁴ Wright was rather typical of this behaviour, claiming that he only ever saw ‘confirmation’ of his ideas when travelling overseas: “as for the Incas, the Mayans, even the Japanese – all were to me but splendid confirmation”, he wrote dismissively.⁷⁵ It was a typically defensive position taken by Wright, not wanting to be seen to dilute his own creative powers, and it cannot be allowed to stand. Instead, this thesis aims to operate between, and in dialogue with, different academic fields of study – history, politics, economic, etc. – so that Wright’s architecture can be viewed within a larger context, and multiple issues can be researched and embraced. My aim always is to research the specific national and regional characteristics of his global travels so that we can see how Wright’s ‘organic’ manifesto became situated in different contexts.

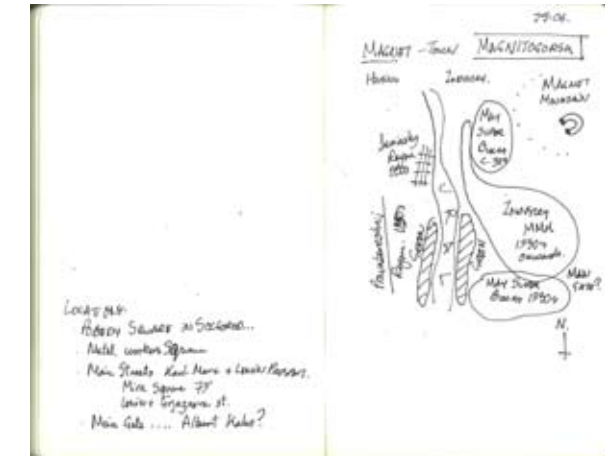
For this study I have used a similar approach to constructing the journeys in each of the six chapters, even if the results are very different. From some initial research,



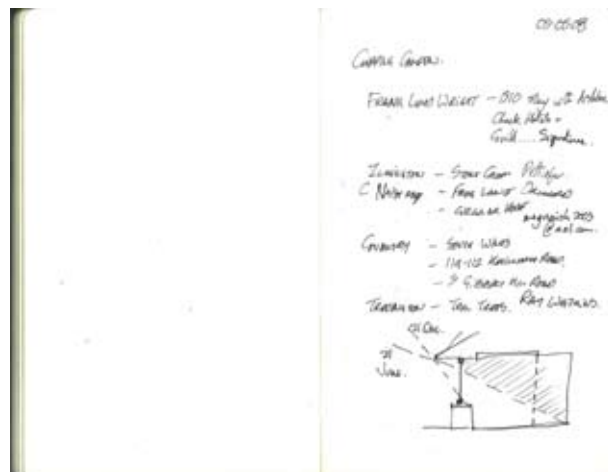
0.032 Sketchbook - Setagaya Museum, Tokyo



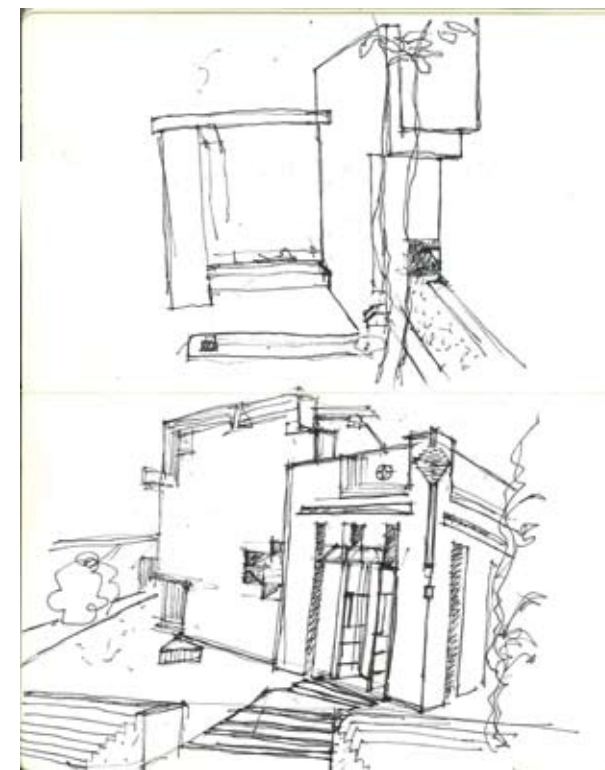
0.033 Sketchbook - Wittgenstein House, Vienna



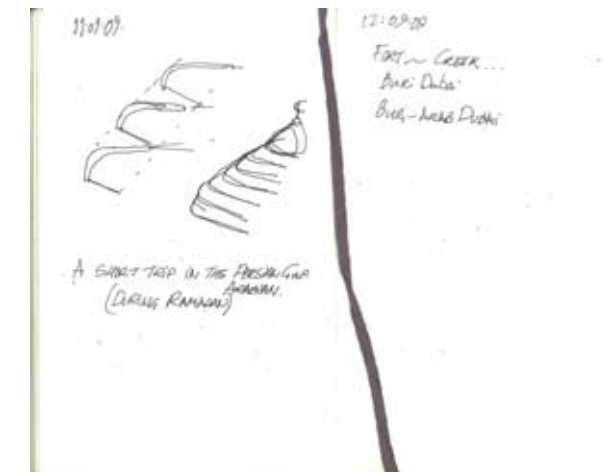
0.034 Sketchbook - Magnitogorsk



0.035 Sketchbook - Orchard House, Illington



0.036 Sketchbook - Brion Tomb, Veneto



0.037 Sketchbook - Mosque, Kuwait

I planned a route and itinerary for each trip. Whenever possible, I tried to follow the same routes and method of travel as Wright, although that of course was not always possible. In the case of Japan, the route had already been established by Wright's 1905 tour, whereas for Germany I needed to invent my own route from Wright's fragmentary accounts and my own themes. For the Russian chapter, I embarked on a three-day train journey from London to Moscow so as to recapture some of the essence of Wright's rail trip, as well as experiencing the landscape and sense of distance across the European continent. My travel investigations are intended to emphasise the importance of the experiential journey. Often the key Wrightian sites are located far beyond the centres of the main cities in their respective countries, and hence undertaking a journey to the 'periphery' proved to be demanding and revealing – without a car, any trip to a distant suburb becomes an odyssey in itself! Furthermore, as part of my research journeys, I always allow myself to be vulnerable to distractions and to take diversions to visit any kind of site that might have been influenced by Wright – or to follow a recommendation from colleagues and friends, or a particular interest which was 'organically' revealed during my initial research investigations. I used my friends and academic contacts to network, and out of this web of connections I was able to get together with former Taliesin Associates staff in Tokyo, and to meet up with academics in Kuwait and Dubai, and such like.

In acknowledging these contemporary travel experiences, my aim is to adopt a conscious tourist persona. Hence I always collect souvenirs, write postcards, buy local newspapers, compile photographs, pick up maps, and aim to meet other people who are similarly affected by Wright's work. These form an important aspect of my site recordings that in turn may reappear within my written text. As noted by Landasky: "The on-site visit – and the idea of either reporting home about what was seen through drawings, travel accounts, and purchased souvenirs. In this process, the tourist emerges as discoverers ... Invariably, the study of tourism complicates the practices of architectural history"⁷⁶ I thus embrace the compromised role of being a contemporary tourist, noting the commodification and the packaging of architecture and history as part of the tourist experience. This has also informed my critical positioning for the thesis by embracing the pattern of everyday life and the mundane experience of travel. I wish to travel as an 'open' passenger who others can approach, so that I can start a conversation without necessarily imposing an academic and research perspective. As a white male, I am fortunate to be able to travel around easily, while on

other occasions I have undertaken journeys with my wife and young children so that I can also gain other perspectives from being within a small intimate grouping. These different roles allow me to interact freely wherever I travel in search of sites of Wrightian influence.

When possible, I attempted to walk as much as possible to each site. This I feel enabled me to absorb more of the character of the surrounding environment, and as such became a useful technique for questioning the assumptions of the isolated architectural 'masterpiece.' By navigating and walking around each site, one can get a sense of its present situation, its actual condition and its temporal circumstances. This kind of walking of course acknowledges the precedence of psycho-geographers such as Iain Sinclair, who was a particular inspiration for my methodology. I also always map the characteristics of the site by taking notes and making sketches. I take photographs as I approach the site and from a variety of perspectives; plus I collect souvenirs and engage in conversation with occupants whenever possible. I record my responses to every specific site that I encounter, along with other stories and informal conversations that I glean from other travellers, residents, and owners, and these become valuable insights and part of my thesis.

Re-reading Frank Lloyd Wright

As mentioned before, the different sites offer particular knowledge that is highly specific, partial, localised and personal – yet they also illuminate new connections and complex relationships that situate Wright's concept of global 'organic' architecture within a particular environment at a particular time. Thus, my own presence in the journeys to these sites establishes a critical framework for reconsidering Wright's architecture beyond America. My aim is to negotiate the travel experiences and situated narratives that are often unremarked or forgotten, or else are omitted as being too untidy or disruptive to the usual narratives of architectural history and theory. Jane Rendell claims that "the critic is a travel writer," and she questions the traditional static role of architectural writing as a distant objective analysis.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Rendell advocates a dynamic negotiated dialogue for site-writing, between a distant objective analysis and close subjective encounter.⁷⁸ Likewise, Rolf Hughes has openly advocated "new writing practices that challenge conventions of objectivity and judge-



0.038 With former Taliesin Associates, Tokyo



0.039 At Einsteinurm, Potsdam



0.040 At Panorama, Magnitogorsk



0.041 With Joshua, Milton Keynes



0.042 At Service Station, near Milan



0.043 At Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait

ment in research writing.”⁹² With this in mind, my thesis adopts a more experimental writing-as-design approach as my own specific approach to the principle of research by design. On this topic, Katja Grillner notes that:

“... to experiment and explore different modes of writing may be “one of the most crucial ingredients in the development of research by design”, affecting “what we may in fact both think and communicate, offering tools to develop critical counterpoints” to one’s own reasoning, and allowing us to “jump between positions” by incorporating the role of the critic into our own project(s).”⁸⁰

Hence, to facilitate and record the research embodied in this thesis, a different model of architectural discourse is put forward – one that allows the journey and the site itself to inform the research. I have thus employed a narrative mode for the writing to manage this negotiation between the ‘creative’ and ‘critical’ perspectives of research, as a flexible and contingent method, in order that my analysis of Wright – and my experiences of his sites of influence – can inform a greater understanding of his architecture. My narrative approach also chimes well with Wright’s own writings on architecture, given that Levine claims that “Wright’s architecture is embedded in narrative,”⁸¹ and as such embraces various “shades of meaning”⁸² during its telling and re-telling. Notably, Wright’s texts tended to be in contrast to the more detached ‘pseudo-scientific’ language used by European modernists such as Le Corbusier.⁸³ Levine postulates that Wright’s narratives were derived from “fairy tales whose heroes were Taliesin and Aladdin,”⁸⁴ so that Wright became the hero of his own ‘organic’ world. Levine even portrays Wright as an exponent of ‘The Storyteller’, in the general sense described by Benjamin, whereby “his gift ... is the ability to relate his life; his distinction is to be able to tell his entire life.”⁸⁵

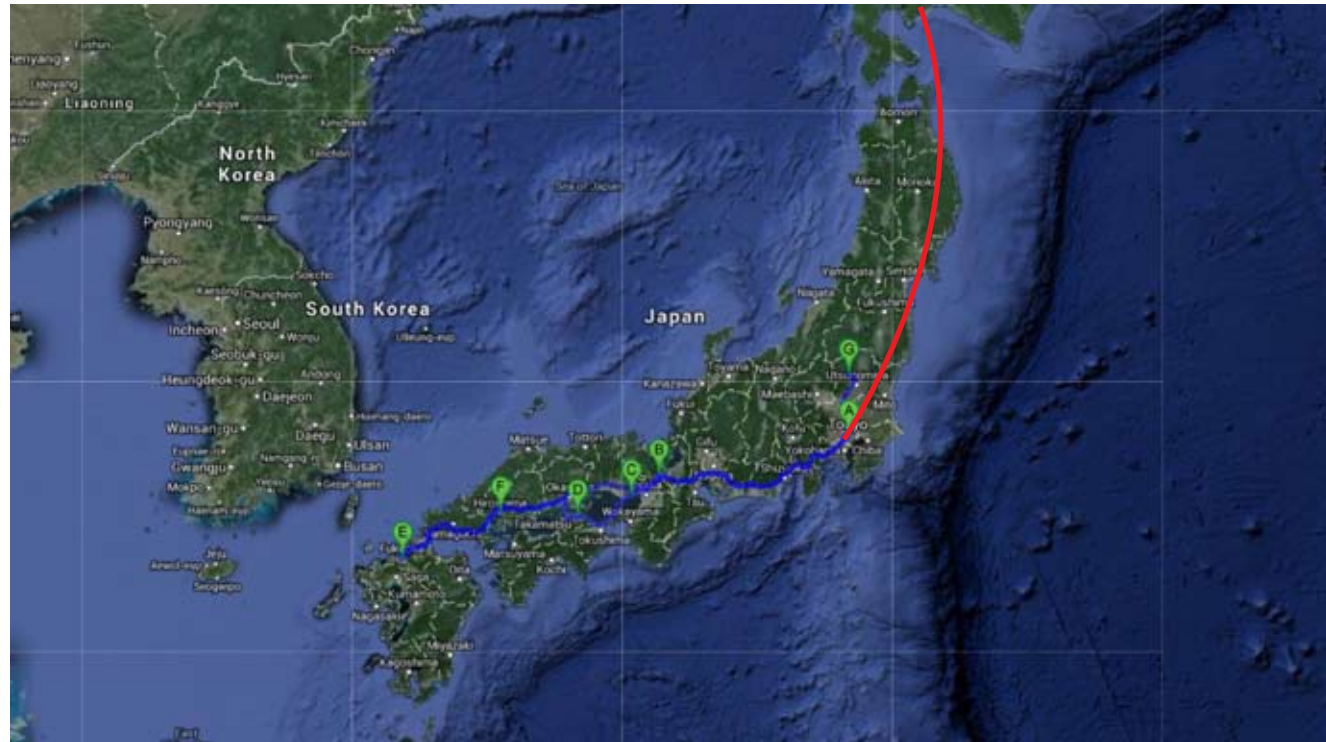
My own personal travelogue thus immerses the reader within a spatial narrative that is related to Wright’s own journeys and the sites he visited, while the cumulatively generated narrative in this thesis serves to reflect critically upon Wright’s work and its present conditions of occupation. Within my text a number of themes are layered with a critical analysis of Wright’s influence and filtered by my personal reflection.

Hence the multi-perspectival text in the thesis serves to construct new cultural linkages between Wright and his overseas journeys, illuminated by the situated knowledge of the many sites that I encountered. Furthermore, the ability to embrace this situated knowledge, and the ‘shades of meaning’ contained within these Wrightian sites, offers a highly original means to question the global aspirations of architecture – especially in terms of showing how people are still coping today with the legacy of ‘organic’ architecture. As such, this thesis is in the fullest sense the story of Frank Lloyd Wright, the first globalised architect.

1. Unusual Views of Outstanding Sites



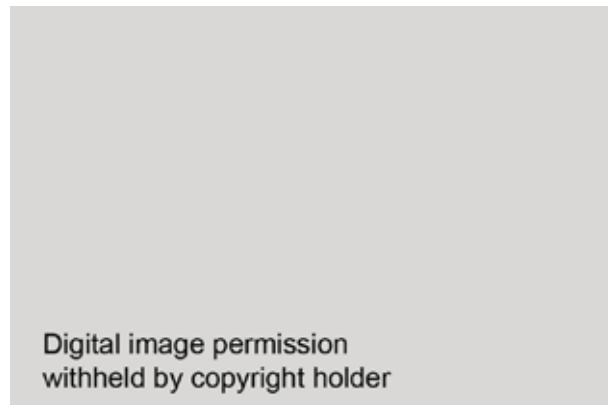
1.000 Interior view, Kashima Hoka, Fukuoka



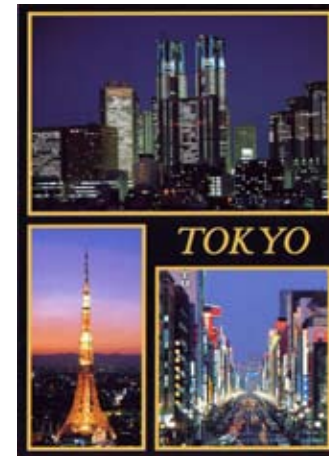
1.001 Japan route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk)

Route:

- A: Tokyo 31st October 2005
- B: Kyoto 4th November 2005
- C: Kobe 6th November 2005
- D: Okayama 7th November 2005
- E: Fukuoka 8th November 2005
- F: Hiroshima 9th November 2005
- G: Nikko 10th November 2005



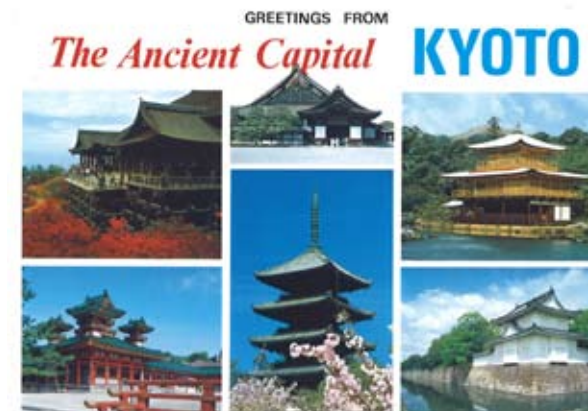
1.006 Wright route, image from Tanigawa, M. (1996) in Birk, M. (1996)



1.002 Postcard Tokyo



1.003 Postcard Tokyo - school



1.004 Postcard Kyoto



1.005 Postcard Yamamura, Kobe



1.007 Postcard Kohrakuen
Unusual Views of Outstanding Sites



1.008 Postcard Fukuoka

This chapter unravels Frank Lloyd Wright's cultural impact in Tokyo and other Japanese sites by retracing his famous 1905 journey to Japan. Wright called Japan the "most romantic, artistic, nature-inspired country on earth... [its] art and architecture really did have organic character".¹ Contrary to most other architects in America at the time, who traditionally sought their education in Europe, Wright's first journey outside the United States was to Japan to purchase woodblock prints with his wife, Catherine, and two of his former clients, the Willits. They left Vancouver by boat on 21st February and arrived in Yokohama on 7th March 1905. The party broke up on arrival, leaving Wright to pursue his own agenda, purchasing woodblock prints and visiting a number of tourist sites. I arrived in Japan on 29th October 2005 to retrace Wright's journey. My itinerary was based on the book, *Fifty Views of Japan*, a photographic record of that trip, in which Masami Tanigawa provides also the likely route; indeed a number of hotel records were found to justify his proposition.² The original photographs show Wright's concern with Japanese temples and with vernacular architecture, ornamental gardens, and landscape.

As Said has noted, "the Orient was almost a European invention, and has since antiquity been a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences."³ It was in the mid-nineteenth century, with the Meiji restoration of 1853 that a number of Japanese artefacts flowing to the west gave substance to the 'Oriental' ideal. These artworks provided the impetus to a number of artists who included the French Impressionists, James Whistler, and Frank Lloyd Wright. In a rare piece of lucidity in *An Autobiography*, Wright acknowledged that his collection of Japanese woodblock prints were an inspiration to his architecture, writing convincingly that their aesthetic composition had genuine significance.⁴ Isozaki has described the first exchange of Japanese art and western tourists as an oppressive "external gaze" that stifled Japan's own progress and identity.⁵ The exotic allure of Japonisme led to a number of artisans having to turn out reproductions of their own culture simply to satisfy western tastes. As early as 1909, Charles Ashbee in his introduction to *Frank Lloyd Wright: Ausgeführte Bauten* (1910-11) (part of the *Wasmuth folios*) identified Japan as a clear influence on Wright's work – an observation that Wright was however keen to suppress – and so he changed the wording of this introduction on subsequent reprinting.⁶ Wright also often quoted the Chinese philosopher Lao-Tse: "the reality of a room.... was found in the vacant space enclosed by the roof and walls, not in the roof and walls

themselves."⁷ Wright used this saying as a starting point to deconstructing the box of his Prairie Houses, but his objectification of space needs to be seen as a piece of "cross-cultural confusion" according to Isozaki: "[Wright] collapsed an ontology based upon nothingness into the process of designing a specified space."⁸

Wright was just one of many tourists to Japan in the early-twentieth century, with Said later noting that "in the Orient one suddenly confronted unimaginable antiquity, inhuman beauty, boundless distance."⁹ In total, Wright went to Japan seven times, each trip responding to a different emotional, financial and professional need. When Wright arrived in Japan in early 1905, it was locked in a territorial dispute with Russia, gaining an international reputation for exercising its newly acquired military power against one of the oldest European empires. Wright incorrectly noted the date of his first visit as 1906, in *An Autobiography*¹⁰ and claimed that he went to Japan "in pursuit of the [woodblock] print" and that he wanted to "rest after building the Larkin building."¹¹ Yet, it has been alleged that the visit to Japan was a last-ditch attempt to save his faltering marriage to Catherine;¹² perhaps even more troubling was that Wright had to borrow \$5,000 from his pupil Walter Burley Griffin, to finance the trip.¹³ He describes his first view of Japanese archipelago in March 1905, from on board the *Empress of China*, a Canadian steamer:

"Imagine, if you have not seen it, a mountainous, abrupt land, the sea everywhere apparently risen too high upon it, so that all gentle slopes to the water's edge are lost. All shore lines abrupt. It is morning. Pure golden skies are seen over far stretches of blue sea dotted in the distance by flocks of white sampan sails-white birds at rest on the blue water."¹⁴

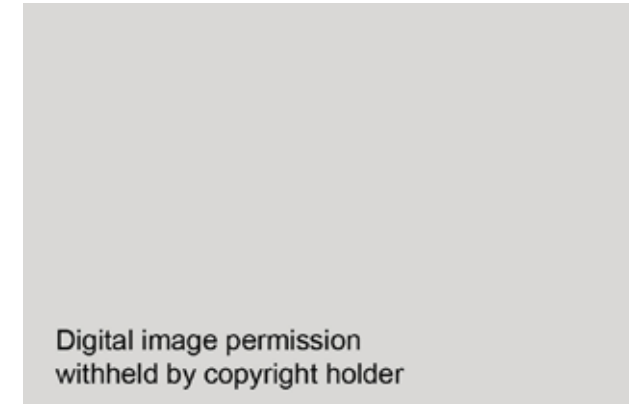
Nute makes a connection between Wright's first employer, Joseph Silsbee, and his first exposure to Japanese art.¹⁵ Wright began working for Silsbee in 1887, and it is known that Silsbee was a keen collector of Japanese art and artefacts.¹⁶ Furthermore, Silsbee was the first cousin of Ernest Fenollosa, a member of the Boston Orientalist group who had studied and taught in Japan from 1877 onwards. Other members of the Orientalists were Edward Morse, Kakuzo Okakura and Arthur Dow. They saw that the rapid westernisation of Japan under the Meiji restoration posed a threat to its artistic legacy, and so sought to promote Japanese cultural and artistic credentials by publishing books and organising public lectures. Edward



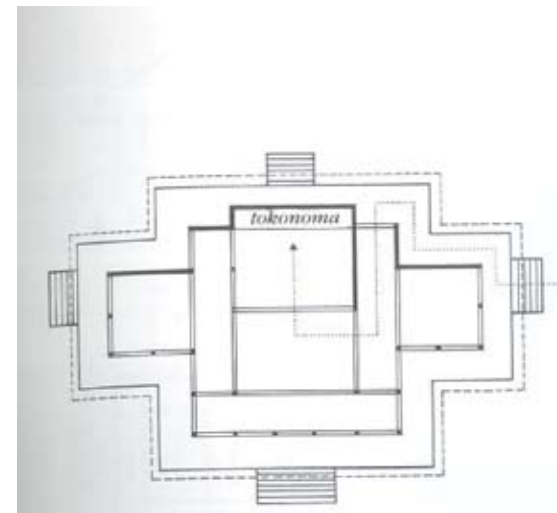
1.010 Chicago Columbia Exposition, Chicago (1893) with Ho-o-den pavilion in the fore-ground, image from Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 3.1, p.47)



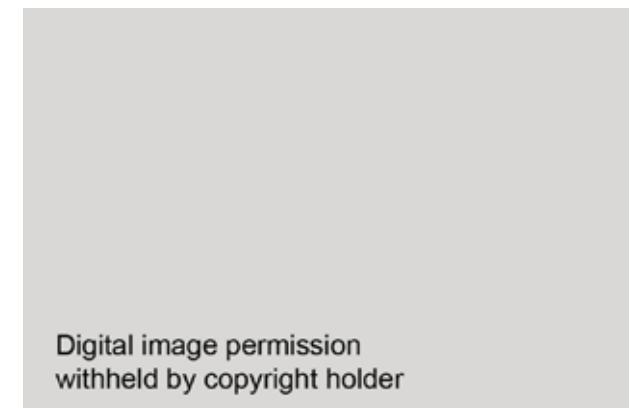
1.011 Ho-o-den from the South East(1893) image from Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 3.6, p.52)



1.012 Street view, Willits House, Chicago (1903) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982)



1.013 Plan analysis by Nute, comparing the main pavilion to the Ho-o-den with the Willits House noting; the entry sequence and path to the Tokonoma / Hearth, image from Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 3.33, p.63)



1.014 Plan, Willits House, image from Wright, F. L. (1982) and Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 3.33, p.63)

Morse wrote *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings* (1886), Arthur Dow published *Composition* (1899), and Okakura wrote *The Book of Tea* (1906) – all these works were to have an influence on Wright. Nute dissects Morse's book, making a valid comparison between Morse's observations about Japanese homes and Wright's own writing on the Prairie Houses.¹⁷ The use of the standard planning module, the open plan, the central hearth, the concealed entry and the absence of ornament were all ideas contained in Morse's book and later developed by Wright.¹⁸ Reading the *The Book of Tea*, I was surprised that the ancient rites, ceremonies and architecture of the tea house carried so many modern resonances.¹⁹ The asymmetric composition of the Japanese tea house, and plain aesthetic confirmed many of Wright's early architectural ideas and his later notion of 'organic' architecture.

In 1893 Chicago hosted the World's Columbia Exposition. In one of its exhibits, Wright was first exposed to a key example of Japanese architecture, the Ho-o-den pavilion. The Chicago exposition is regarded as a triumph of the academic Beaux-Arts tradition, as favoured by the likes of Daniel Burnham, and was widely acclaimed by East Coast architects. However, Wright called it "a fateful year in the culture of these United States."²⁰ The Japanese pavilion was given a prominent location in the centre of the Chicago Columbia Exposition, and followed a historicist theme, as noted by Nute:

"The *Ho-o-do*, an Amida Hall of the Pure Land Buddhist sect, was built as part of the Byodo-in, a residential temple complex which had originally been the private villa of the imperial regent Yorimichi Fujiwara (990-1074) until it was converted into the Fujiwara family temple in 1052 in preparation for Yorimichi's priestly retirement in 1068. The Ho-o-den is generally considered one of the defining works of Japan's classical architectural tradition, and the adoption of its highly symmetrical "phoenix" parti – albeit in a reduced and modified form – as the basis of the Japanese pavilion at the World's Fair was in its own way quite in keeping with the general architectural theme of the Exposition."²¹

Hence, this was Japan's own view of itself, a neo-Japanese representation in the west. Within the pavilion the interiors were of a mixed legacy, with an aristocratic residential theme from the Heian or Fujiwara period in the north wing, and a library and tea room from the Muromachi period in the south wing. The central pavilion

contained a recreation of opulent Edo period interiors based on a room in the old Edo castle. Although its decoration was overwhelming, the underlying cruciform of the central space was of more interest to Wright, with Nute observing that many of the Prairie Houses were given a version of this spatial layout.²² David Stewart contends that the Nippon Tea House at the exposition also had a simple construction with perpendicular intersecting roofs, and was another plausible inspiration to the Prairie House type.²³

The Willits House (1902-3) was a typical Prairie House, built for a self-made businessman in fashionable Highland Park in Chicago, and it was he who went to Japan with Wright. The house extends in all four directions from its site, around a formal and symmetrical central axis. The plan was based on an eccentric pin-wheel arrangement and its internal spaces overlap with one another thus generating an open plan that radiates from the central hearth and is articulated by a number of different screens. Furthermore, the internal spaces reach out to the landscape with a number of enclosing porches and balconies. The whole composition is united under a series of overlapping and interpenetrating roofs that give a real sense of dynamism.

Tokyo

Wright recorded his impressions in *An Autobiography*, providing a valuable insight into the period of rapid change in Japan. He recalled his first view of Tokyo:

"This teeming, enormous area is fascinating Yedo [new Tokyo]. A vast city channelled but with wide bare earth streets swarming with humanity their undeterminable length, beaten down hard by traffic, lined both sides with blue-grey tiled roofed two storey wooden buildings. A great city that is a gigantic village. One of the largest cities in the world. Several millions of people are already there."²⁴

Wright was notably well prepared for the artistic adventure to the land that had intrigued him for many years – "it all looks – just like the prints" he remarked.²⁵ In contrast, German modernist architect Bruno Taut arrived in 1933, and was traumatised by the chaotic architectural styles he saw in Ginza, "the spectacle which had already offended, now positively assaulted the eye."²⁶ More recently still, Rem



1.015 Tokyo Subway Map (2005)



1.016 Plaza of Metropolitan Government Building (1995) by Kenzo Tange



1.017 Tokyo city view towards Imperial Palace A



1.018 Tokyo city view towards Imperial Palace B



1.019 Passengers on Tokyo Subway



1.020 Elevation, Metropolitan Government Building (1995)



1.021 Viewing gallery, Metropolitan Government Building (1995)

Koolhaas noted in cynical mood: “First Impression: the vastness and shamelessness of its ugliness ... when beauty happens it is absolutely surprising.”²⁷ A century after Wright, I arrived at the green idyll of Narita International Airport in the rice fields, and travelled by train to Ueno before switching to the metro system. The train passed above the modern metropolitan city – the scale and modernity of Tokyo was a revelation, juxtaposing searing corporate skyscrapers next to intimate two-storey family homes. I weaved in and out around the city fabric, everything seemed contingent and subject to change. I could find no references to the past but only the present – was this perhaps a vision of the future?

On my first day I negotiated the city by using the metro system, using only the bilingual stations for navigation. I dropped into the tourist information office within the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Building (1988-91) by Kenzo Tange (1913-2005) to get some maps. I emerged from Tochomae metro station in the Shinjuku business district to be confronted by three drunks lounging in an empty and windy semi-circular stone-paved plaza. Behind them was an elevated roadway and the twin towers of Tange’s post-modern Tokyo Government Building – a combination of Gothic cathedral and Japanese tracery. Was the facade based on Notre Dame, I speculated, with a similar open plaza in front to appreciate its elevation? Some claim that the profile of the towers resembles Himeji Castle, while Tange claims that the lattice patterns invoke the geometric timber-framed buildings of Edo.²⁸ The Government Building was constructed with a conscious modern western visual language although its architect happened to be Japanese, as Isozaki notes of Tange’s career generally.²⁹ The overall scale of the project was breathtaking and it occupied three city blocks; Tower 1 was 243 meters tall, Tower 2 was 163 meters high, and the modest five-storey Assembly Building completed the scene. Governor Shun’ichi Suzuki upped the cultural significance of the scheme as a manifestation of Tokyo as “My Town,” drawing historical parallels to the 400th anniversary of Tokugawa Ieyasu’s march into the Kanto plain in 1590.³⁰ The building was completed in April 1991, and Suzuki - who was then 80, stood for re-election to ensure that he was able to occupy his own edifice complex.

I pass beneath the elevated road and enter a small, animated foyer. At the tourist office I was offered a guided tour of the building by an elderly volunteer. I was also his first-ever customer, and we got lost between the identical floors and corridors.

On the third floor we crossed the plaza to view the egg-shaped debating chamber and then returned to the entry foyer to go up to the 45th floor of the south tower. The quality of the building was impressive in its muted palette of hard corporate finishes, glass and polished stone – a sure indicator of megalomania. There was a cursory search of my bag by a number of young white-gloved assistants, and then in the lift there was a further attendant. At the 45th floor we were ushered out by another white-gloved assistant; it all felt strangely sanitised. At the top of the tower there were great views over the city and my guide attempted to point out some local landmarks, which was hard since the city was incredibly dense with a number of concentrated peaks. It was a vast panorama of orthogonal blocks, urbanism gone native – the heart of greyness. We peered through the haze looking for Mount Fuji; we could not see it but did sense a large shadowy presence. I was in a privileged position looking down on Tokyo, and there seemed to be no sense of visual coherency, form, structure or landmarks. Ken-ichi Sasaki argues that Tokyo does not meet any of Kevin Lynch’s five points needed to define “a legible city,”³¹ and therefore Tokyo should not be judged on visual legibility alone; the character of the city is more hidden and tactile.

The city was formerly known as Edo meaning “estuary,” and had been established as a fortified town by a local warlord in the fifteenth century. The estuary possessed natural features suitable for defence, agriculture and trade, with the Sumida River and its various tributaries ensuring clean water, and the surrounding seven hills providing natural protection. In 1590 Odawara Castle in the town was captured and destroyed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and there he later met the rival warlord, Tokugawa Ieyasu. Hideyoshi offered the eight provinces of Kanto to Ieyasu at the end of the war. Both agreed, and as Richie states they sealed the deal in an unusual manner: ““Good, let’s piss on it”. This they did, side by side, on the battlements of the fallen Odawara Castle.”³² Ieyasu consolidated his power base in *Edo* by building a new castle on the summit of the Mushashino plateau. The castle was completed in 1640 and rose to five storeys high, with three concentric protective walls making it the largest in the world at that time. Through his military prowess, Ieyasu managed to unify the nation under his leadership and he made Edo capital of his Shogunate rule. To control and dominate his rivals a complex web of allegiances and rituals were established. The engineered peace made the central fort less of a military institution and it adopted a more secular role. Furthermore, the castle became too crowded to



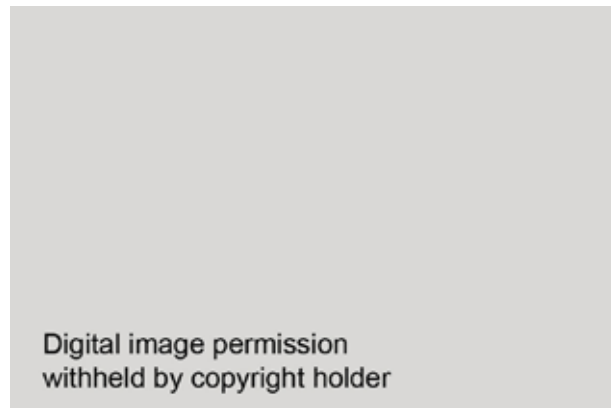
1.022 High City - Akasaka view A



1.023 High City - Akasaka view B



1.024 High City - Akasaka view C



1.025 Yoshiwara view (c. 1900), image from Stewart, D. (1988)



1.026 Low City - Asakusa views view A



1.027 Low City - Asakusa views view B



1.028 Low City - Asakusa views view C

accommodate all of Ieyasu's standard bearers, Samurai and regional Daimyos, and consequently the city expanded to the west to the surrounding hills.

Seidensticker notes how Edo was stratified by geography and social hierarchy into a "High City" and a "Low City".³³ The political associations and rituals within the court were directly related to the geography of Edo and were reflected in its infrastructure. All the roads led to the centre and followed the contours of the hills. More significant still were the orbital roads that defined the feudal hierarchy of the Shogunate system, with the various castle moats and roads rippling out from the centre. The Low City, or lowlands, were reclaimed marshes to the east of the castle next to the small rivers, tributaries and canals, and were the preserve of artisans and merchants. It was planned on a more formal system with localised grids, walled enclosures and gates. Local districts had their own distinctive characters, or trades, with the most infamous being the entertainment district of Yoshiwara with its tea houses, theatres and brothels. Such activities were recorded in the famous woodblock prints that Wright collected. Furthermore, in *An Autobiography*, Wright mentions visiting one of the gated communities:

"Ahead of us looms a great black gate. Directly in front a great cherry tree is in bloom, like drifted pink snow in the light of innumerable red and white lanterns. Just inside the gate came upon the Orian or Yoshiwara procession. The prints have prepared us for that. The procession is now prepared for us. In the centre of each group of the elaborate pageant is a gorgeous feminine creature exaggerated by resplendent robes and extravagant head-dress. She is moving with feminine traits deliberately exaggerated, undulating with stately artificiality on white-clad feet thrust into high black clogs. Her face is plastered dead-white, her lips painted the limit of scarlet..."³⁴

Whilst the aesthetic captivated Wright, he was painfully naive about the life of the courtesan and the subjugation of Japanese women generally.

Wright's 'village' analogy for Tokyo was later shared by Seidensticker: "it is hard to realize that Tokio is a city ... It looks like a series of villages, with bits of green and open spaces ... breaking up the continuity of the town."³⁵ Even today, Richie notes these fragments are related back to the rich heritage of the old castle town: "Tokyo

is filled with (or composed of) such small, self-contained communities."³⁶ Shelton's analysis of the Japanese city reveals there were a number of overlapping centres that were both concentrated and dispersed, each having their own identity.³⁷ The older street patterns and ordering systems were retained in Tokyo despite many earthquakes, fires, carpet-bombing and occupation. The city districts are known as *machi* and they are made up of a smaller set of units known as *chome*. In the 1980s Roland Barthes reflected on the organisation of Tokyo:

"The streets of this city have no names ... the largest city in the world is practically unclassified, the spaces which compose it in details are unnamed ... Tokyo meanwhile reminds us that the rational is merely one system among others."³⁸

From the observation level of the Government Building, I could see parks reflecting the changing seasons, and I attempted to spot the Imperial Palace within a thick covering of foliage. When the capital was moved again to Tokyo during the Meiji restoration in the mid-nineteenth century, the former castle of the Tokugawa Shogunate in the High City was adopted by the Imperial household. As the official residence of the Emperor, the Imperial Palace became the holiest site in Japan. The present Emperor was inaugurated in 1990 and began the Heisei (accomplished peace) era. He lays claim to the longest royal lineage in the world, since according to legend the first Emperor (Jimmu-tenno) was descended from the sun-god. The Imperial residence intrigued Barthes:

"The city I am talking about (Tokyo) offers this precious paradox: it does possess as center, [sic] but this center [sic] is empty. The entire city turns around a site both forbidden and indifferent, a residence concealed beneath foliage, protected by moats, inhabited by an emperor who is never seen, which is to say, literally, by now knows who."³⁹

The spatial and political void at the heart of the city may be read on a number of levels, but the occidental interpretation of it as being empty is clearly flawed.

My friend's Japanese wife had booked me into the Asia Centre Hotel in Asksaka district of Tokyo; he said that a western hotel in the High City would be reassuring for



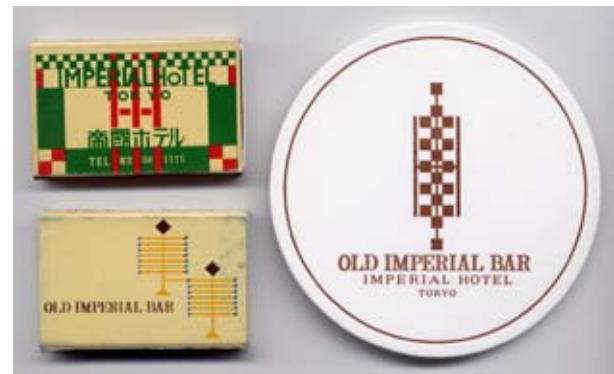
1.029 Dance Party (c.1920), image from Anon, (2003)



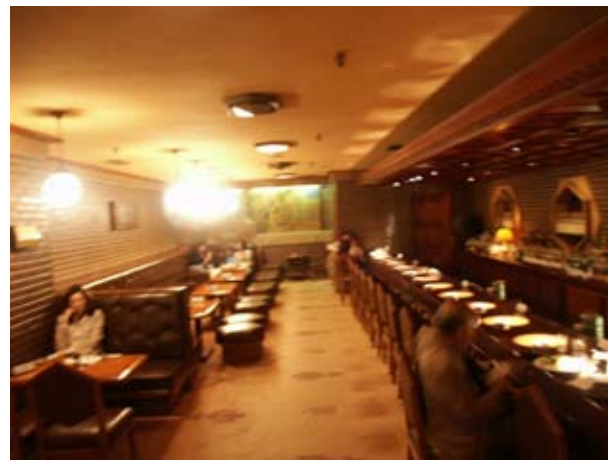
1.030 Babe Ruth with young fans (1934), image from Anon, (2003)



1.031 Marilyn Monroe and Joe DiMaggio (1954), image from Anon, (2003)



1.032 Souvenir, Old Imperial Bar (2005)



1.033 Long Bar, Old Imperial Bar, Imperial Hotel (2005)



1.034 Bar Booth, Old Imperial Bar, Imperial Hotel (2005)



1.035 Oya screen, Old Imperial Bar, Imperial Hotel (2005)

my first experience of Japan. Emerging from the subway beneath the twin Ayomae towers, the district was distinctly commercial, Americanised and dull. The hotel had a generous long lobby, but my room was small with the bed just fitting between the window and the bathroom pod. This fibreglass pod was a strange green colour with matching sanitaryware and, most curiously, a heated and cleansing toilet seat with a number of graphically illustrated water settings. Intrigued I went through a number of options!

Having read so much about the Imperial Hotel I was keen to find its latest reincarnation. The third version of the Imperial Hotel (1970) is a giant four-storey flat slab topped by a vertical seventeen-storey cruciform tower. As I walk into the polished lobby I am approached by a porter, and directed towards a concierge. Then a manager appears. There was no time to become alienated in the corporate lobby, as the Japanese make any space or situation animated and loud. The manager showed me a book *The Imperial Hotel - A Legend in Photos*, which records all the important guests, including Babe Ruth and the All American Baseball Team, Marilyn Monroe and Joe DiMaggio, John Wayne and Jodie Foster.⁴⁰ He tells me about the Old Imperial Bar that was designed by Wright and says it is “still standing.” He asks another porter to escort me upstairs. The Old Imperial Bar with its dark interior takes on a frontier aspect. It was only a quarter-full in the afternoon with a group of Japanese ladies lunching and some business people drinking at the bar. The space is L-shaped, with the bar running down the long edge. It was built as Wright would have intended with a low intimate ceiling that contains octagonal recessed lights and dark brick walls. Oya stone screens divide the space into intimate gatherings, and there are still a number of the original (uncomfortable) chairs. I recognised a wall fresco, a relic that was once in the main hotel foyer was now in this ‘last-chance’ saloon. I order a beer and a waiter brings over a couple of books about the hotel for me to look over. I get nostalgic for those heady days of “*Designing against doomsday*.”⁴¹

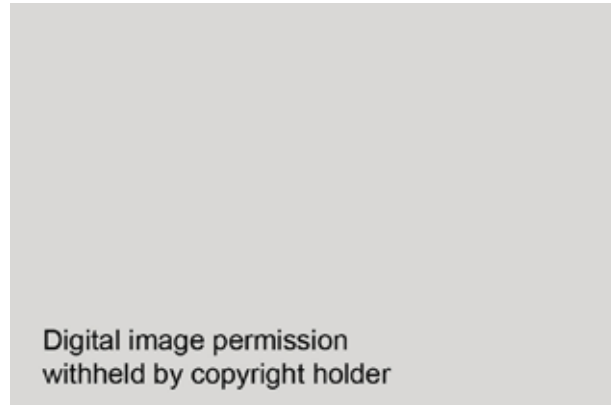
Japan has long had an uneasy relationship with the west. The first western explorers were the Portuguese Christian Missionaries in the 1540s and they were tolerated by the ruling Muromachi Shogunate because of their firearms. However, the more domestically orientated Tokugawa Shogunate became suspicious of Europeans, and by 1638 Japan became a closed country. The Americans famously sent

Commodore Perry in 1853 to negotiate whaling routes and sanctuary for sailors, and this – coupled with the British victory against China in the Boxer War – unsettled the Shogunate. In 1866 the final Shogun called for full imperial power to be reinstated to deal with the external threat. The battlecry that had brought in the Meiji restoration was *Sonno joi* – “restore the Emperor and expel the barbarian.”⁴² It was a confused sentiment, as the new administration sought to reinstate the Emperor but also began trading with foreigners. On 13th September 1868, Edo became – Tokyo meaning ‘the capital of the east,’ – and it proved a symbolic end to the Shogunate rule. The young emperor, Meiji, shifted his court from Kyoto to Tokyo to consolidate this shift in official, administrative and commercial power, and in the Imperial Charter Oath of April 1868, the objectives of the new government were stated: “[all our actions] shall follow the accepted practices of the world ... Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to broaden and strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.”⁴³ The Oath was a clear statement of intent to embrace westernisation as a survival strategy against the potential encroachment of foreign powers, a policy that would in turn lead Japan to international recognition and its acceptance as a fully modern nation.

To transform itself into a modern state, Japan required assistance. Whereas in the past it had embraced teachings from mainland China, it now looked even further westwards for guidance: “During the Meiji period some 3000 specialists (*oyatoi*) in many fields from Europe and the United States came to Japan at the invitation of the of the government to provide the Meiji state with knowledge and guidance.”⁴⁴ The state sought to redefine the image of Japan to itself and to the outside world. Having undertaken to move from the medieval to the modern, it now had to give this new regime an identity:

“Japan progressed quickly to embrace a western economic model and to develop an industrial base. This created a need for new architectural forms for government, commerce, industry and education. Architecture became an essential tool of state for convincing the flood of foreign visitors entering Japan of its reincarnation as an urban and urbane civilisation.”⁴⁵

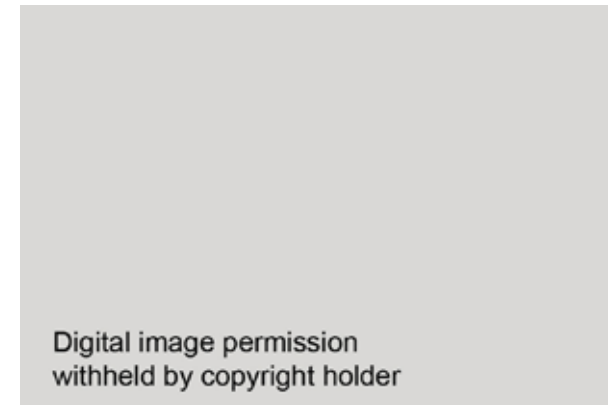
One of the consequences of this top-down approach to creating a new cultural identity was that all the state apparatus had to have a western architectural language, even though most of the people still lived in traditional Japanese dwellings. To



1.036 Hoterukan, Tokyo (1867-68), image from Stewart, D. (1988)



1.037 Rokumeikan, Tokyo (1883) image from Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 8.32, p.158)



1.038 Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1890) by Yuzuru Watanabe, image from Stewart, D. (1988)



1.039 Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1923-67) by Frank Lloyd Wright, drawing by Farey, C. A. (1929) RIBA12143.



1.040 Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1970-83)

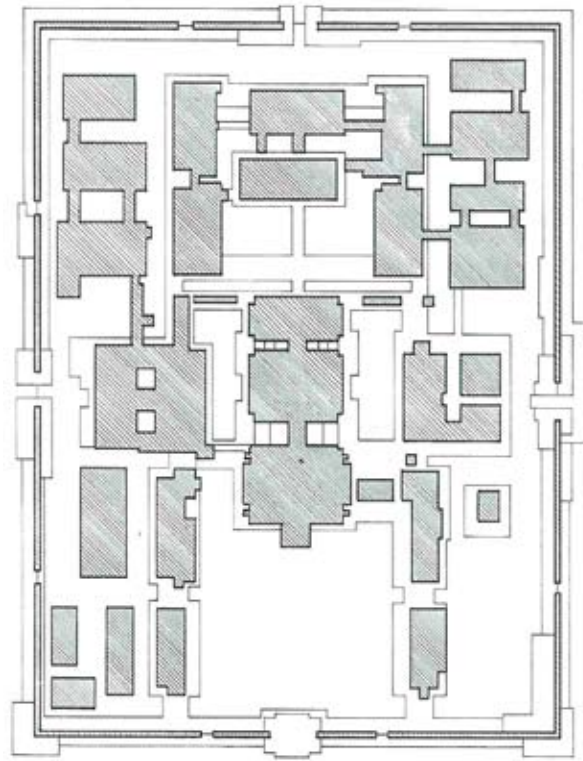
citizens at the time it must have seemed that Japan had been taken over by a foreign power. The definition of Japan-ness in architecture was being swamped by occidental forms:

“Government policy was to establish in Japan the profession of “architect”, as defined in contemporary Europe and America, in order to take charge of the building or western style buildings. The logic seemed impeccable: western-style architects were needed to make western-style buildings.”⁴⁶

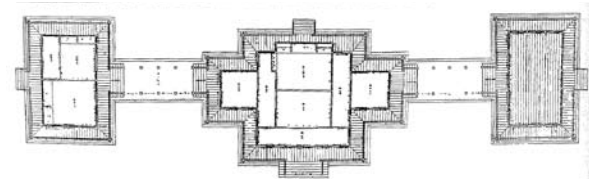
One of the architectural innovations of the Meiji period was the *Hoterukan* (1867-68) in Tsukiji district. “Both the name and the building tell of the first meetings between Meiji Japan and the West. *Hoteru* is hotel, and *kan* is a Sino-Japanese term of roughly the same meaning.”⁴⁷ So, a hotel-hotel! It followed earlier examples of containing the ‘large nosed, pink skin invaders’ by isolating them within gates and canals from the rest of the city. As noted, the *Hoterukan* was “an original, a western building unlike any building in the west. The structure, like its name had a mongrel air – foreign details applied to a traditional base or frame.”⁴⁸ It had an elongated U-form, up to 60 meters in length and with more than 200 rooms over three floors. The exterior had a mock sixteenth-century tower and the walls were finished in traditional dark diagonal tiles, but now contained sash-window openings. Inside the building was plastered and finished in a western style. The *Hoterukan* was hence prophetic of “*giyofu* (pseudo-Western style)”⁴⁹ buildings that were based on traditional Japanese forms and construction, but given an occidental feel. It was replaced by one of the legends of the Meiji era, the Italianate *Rokumeikan* (1883), a government lodge inspired by the foreign minister, Inoue Kaoru, and conceived to impress foreigners and to act as leverage against “unfair treaties”. The architect was an Englishman, Josiah Conder, a Victorian eclectic who had trained under Burges in London and was commissioned by Japan’s Ministry of Engineering as an academic tutor and “to produce commemorative buildings.”⁵⁰ Indeed, his immediate influence on Japanese architecture was greater than Wright’s.⁵¹ Extravagant parties by the ruling elite for foreign visitors were planned and western dress and dancing were encouraged. However, most of the dancing was done by the westerners and Japanese women, if coaxed onto the floor, were reported to be “correct but wooden.”⁵²

The Imperial Hotel was yet another idea from Kaoru to replace the outdated *Rokumeikan*, in Tokyo’s High City. It was built in the Hibya district – an important commercial centre next to the Imperial Residence – and was a joint venture between the Imperial Household and leading industrialists. The first iteration of the hotel was built in 1890 by Yuzuru Watanabe, beside the *Rokumeikan*, and consisted of a three-storey timber construction in a western German-meets-French Second Empire style with 100 guest rooms. The interior of the hotel was finished in a decidedly European style and its restaurant served western food. In 1910 *The Times* reported that the Imperial Hotel “still remains the only first class European hotel” in the city, noting that it “is in fact the centre of European life in Tokyo, and while it takes place in a hotel, it is in reality a set of large public assembly rooms with an excellent restaurant attached.”⁵³ But as Japan prospered, a second and larger version of the Imperial Hotel was required, and so Aisaku Hayashi was appointed as manager.

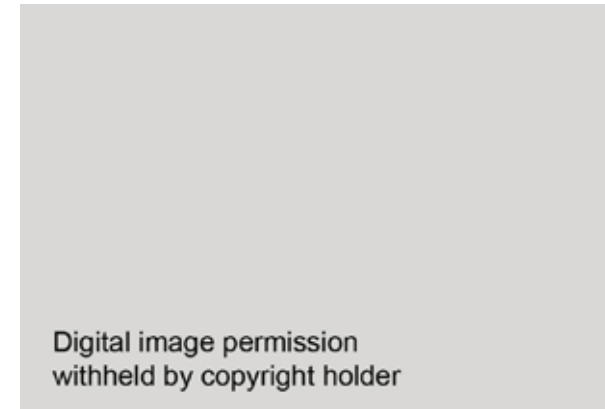
There are a number of intriguing theories about how Wright won the commission for the second Imperial Hotel, with the aim of showing how Wright used his connections and networking to the full. Wright claimed that he was “called to build” the hotel,⁵⁴ while other scholars cite the Chicago banker and print collector, Frederick Gookin, who recommended Wright to Hayashi.⁵⁵ Tanigawa provides yet another theory by firstly making a connection between the hotel’s manager, Hayashi, who was also a New York art dealer and who met Wright personally.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Isozaki claims that the hotel design may even have been plagiarised from Kikurato Shimoda, who pioneered the symbolic Japanese roof on a masonry base,⁵⁷ and Tanigawa confirms that Shimoda had been summarily removed from the project at some point in 1914-15.⁵⁸ Wright talked of a former draughtsman named “Shimoda” in *An Autobiography*, who he dismissed with “[a] well directed intimate kick landed him well down the half-flight on the main public stair.”⁵⁹ Was this perhaps a metaphor for displacing Shimoda from the Imperial Hotel commission!? Wright visited Japan with his mistress, Mamah Cheney in 1913, to secure the commission and to buy more woodblock prints. After the inauguration of Emperor Taisho in 1914, Hayashi visited Taliesin in February 1916 to instruct Wright to complete the design, and in the winter of 1917 Wright travelled once more to Japan with his new female companion, Miriam Noel, to start the work on site.



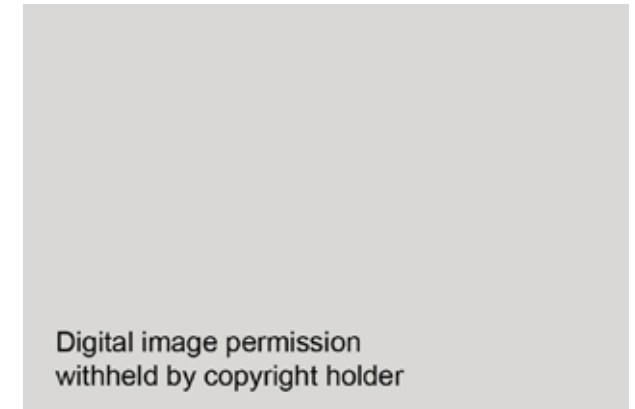
1.041 Ground floor plan, Imperial Palace, Kyoto (c.1855), Delineation by Charles Jos Biviano, Fine Artist, image in Stipe, M. (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999)



1.042 Ground floor plan, Ho-o-den, Chicago (1893) in Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 3.10, p.54)



1.043 Ground floor plan, symmetrical classical plan form derived from Japanese and Beaux Arts precedents, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1913-23), image from Wright, F. L (1992)



1.044 Ground floor plan, Midway Gardens, Chicago (1913-14) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1992)

Wright elaborated on his brief to accentuate the wider aims and themes of his Imperial Hotel design:

“The hotel is not a hotel at all in the accepted sense of the term. It is a delightful place of sojourn for travellers and a place of varied entertainment for the social functions of the life of Tokyo, the Japanese capital.”⁶⁰

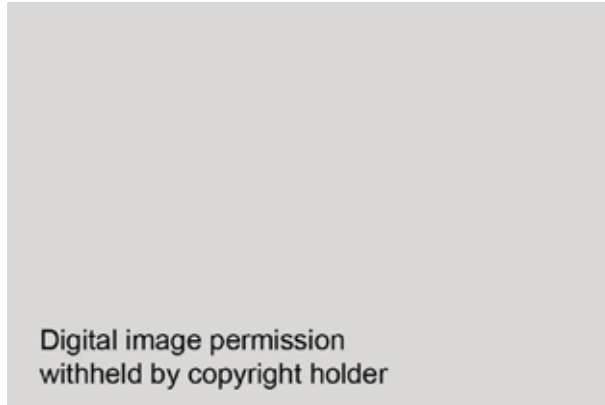
He claimed it “was laid out as a group of buildings in a system of gardens and terraces and not as an “office building hotel” along American lines.”⁶¹ The garden was the aesthetic motif for the project: “The Imperial Hotel is designed as a system of gardens and sunken gardens and terraced gardens – of balconies that are gardens and loggias that are also gardens – and roofs that are gardens – until the whole arrangement becomes an interpretation of gardens. Japan is Garden-land.”⁶²

The design of the second Imperial Hotel was almost concurrent with Midway Gardens (1913-14) in Chicago, and indeed there were a number of similarities in their formal planning. Wright preferred a ‘classical’ symmetrical and axial plan for his institutional commissions, whilst his residential schemes were more playful. The *parti* adopted by Wright for the hotel was related to many traditional Japanese temple forms, Nute notes that the form was similar to the Ho-o-den pavilion at the Chicago exposition of 1893,⁶³ and Stipe makes reference to the Imperial Palace in Kyoto as another plausible inspiration.⁶⁴ Wright also seemed to project another layer of meaning: “the hotel is so remarkably stylistically similar to the Imperial Palace in Tokyo that it was logical that Wright’s building would be highly decorated.”⁶⁵ In his later writings, Wright observed that “across the moat was ... the Emperor’s Palace ... I felt impelled to devise ways and means not far removed from what would be becoming to that place of his across the moat.”⁶⁶ However, Isozaki relates the composition to the Western external gaze and the Beaux-Arts tradition because the spatial articulation used western devices such as graduated perspective.⁶⁷ Stewart concurs that the hotel represented an adoption of the classical idiom for Wright, with the spatial hierarchy of the spaces requiring a hierarchy of ornamentation.⁶⁸ For me, the plan of Imperial Hotel was inspired by the original *Hotelrukan*, with its original U-form being embraced and updated with a central core by Wright – the latest *giyofu* architect.

Levine writes that “the *parti* he adopted for his 1913-14 plan reflects the distinction

between the functional “hotel” and the representational “social centre,”⁶⁹ thus differentiating between the walls and the core. The two defensive three-storey walls contained 285 guest rooms which reflected the efficiency and compactness of the Pullman railway cars and the luxury cabins on ocean liners. Wright argued that these small rooms satisfied the needs of “high-class hotel on costly ground.”⁷⁰ And rather than making the rooms a standard dimension with standard fittings, Wright succeeded in making almost each room different, in direct opposition to a ‘rational’ American hotel. Blake agrees that “in its scale, and in its play with surprise elements, the Imperial Hotel [room] is completely Japanese.”⁷¹ Between the hotel rooms were located the social functions, beginning with the constrained entrance door leading to a three-storey open lobby, and extending to the seven-storey and more monumental reception rooms, theatre and cinema. Intersecting with these formal spaces were a number of bridges and promenades that allowed guests to meet outside the formal rooms. In the internal organisation, Wright demonstrated his mastery of spatial manipulation, with interpenetrating vertical spaces as well as horizontal spaces interlocking with one another.

In *An Autobiography*, Wright devotes a chapter to ‘Designing against Doomsday,’ in the sense of anti-earthquake measures, describing in great detail the shallow foundations, and cantilevered floor design, which were in reality of limited structural benefit.⁷² However, Wright’s other ideas for out-witting “the temblor” were to have a lasting effect on earthquake design. These included massing the building so it had a very low centre of gravity, tapering its solid concrete-core wall construction, dividing the building into a number of parts, isolating the services in trenches, using lightweight copper roof cladding, and introducing a water pool for fire-fighting purposes.⁷³ The Imperial Hotel duly survived the Kanto Earthquake on 1st September 1923 with only minor damage, as did other modern buildings in Tokyo. Within Tokyo as a whole, however, there were 90,000 deaths and over 75% of the city was destroyed.⁷⁴ The famous telegram stated: “following wireless received from Tokio today hotel stands undamaged as monument of your genius hundreds of homeless provided by perfectly maintained service congratulations signed Okua Impeho.”⁷⁵ The authenticity of this telegram was later questioned by Gill, with no proof of the original telegram ever being sent from Japan.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, Wright revelled in the adulation and proof of his own ‘organic’ design and his divine ability to overcome natural catastrophes.



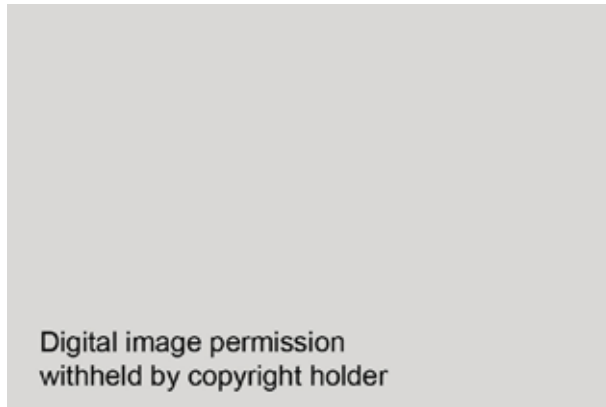
1.045 Street view with pool, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1923-67) image from Anon (1991).



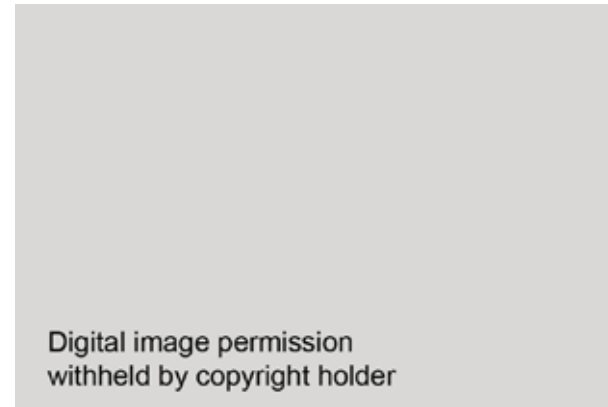
1.046 Street view of entry (2005)



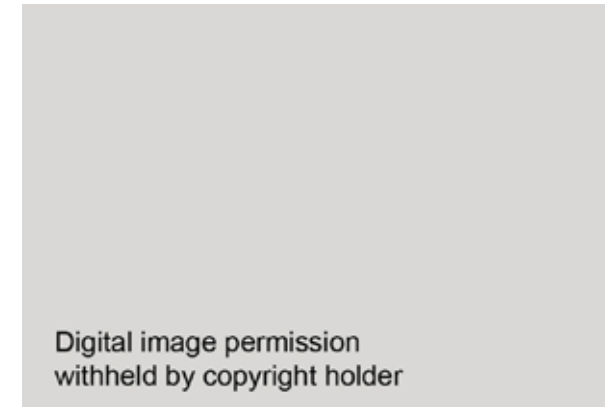
1.047 Inner garden looking onto banquet hall and theatre Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1923-67) image from Anon (1991)



1.048 Circulating promenade, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1923-67), image from Anon (1991)



1.049 Banqueting 'Peacock' Hall, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1923-67), image from Anon (1991)



1.050 Lobby, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1923-67) image from Cary, J. (1988)



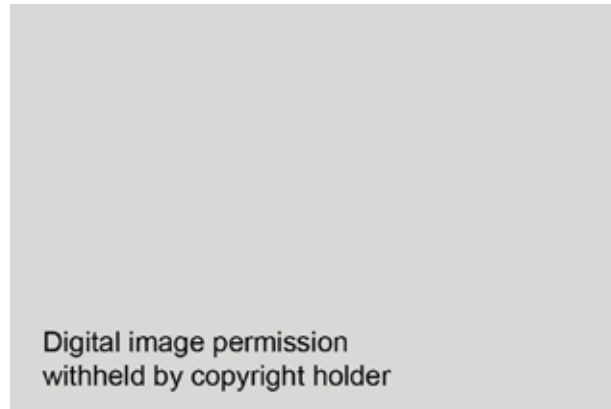
1.051 Corridor, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (2005)



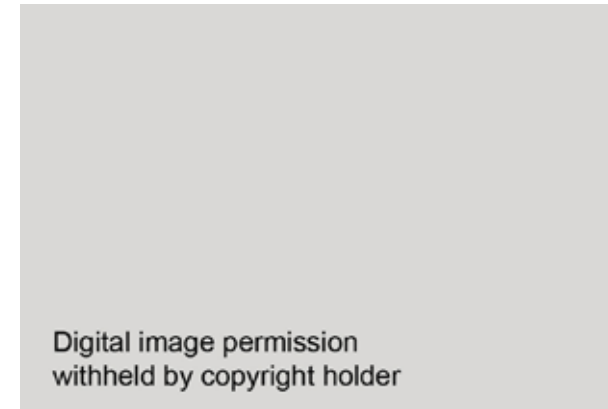
1.052 Multi-use Functional Suite Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (2005)



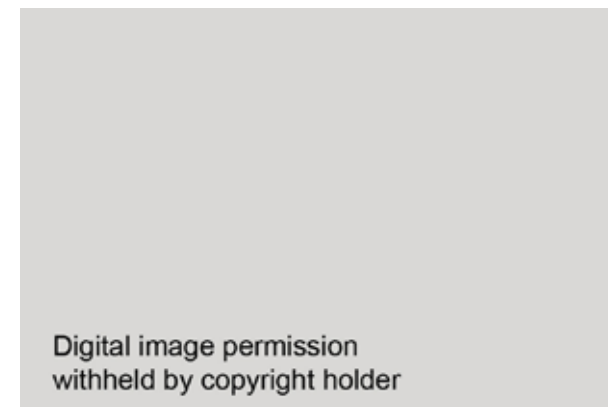
1.053 Lobby, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (2005)



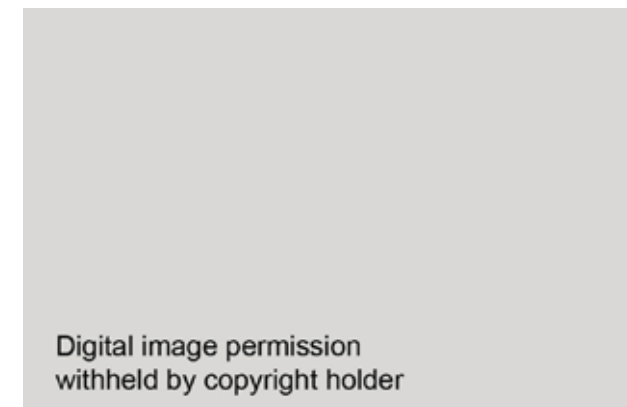
1.054 Yarakucho after the earthquake (1923)
Imperial Hotel, top right of image, image from
Quinan, J. (2008)



1.055 Front view, Imperial Hotel Demolition (1967-8),
image from Spinelli, L. (2009)



1.056 Top view of Imperial Hotel Demolition
(1967-8), image from Spinelli, L. (2009)
Unusual Views of Outstanding Sites



1.057 Side view, Imperial Hotel Demolition
(1967-8), image from Spinelli, L. (2009)

The Second Imperial Hotel was very much of its time, and Wright took advantage of the scarce knowledge of modern building techniques to make one of the last major hand-crafted buildings. Armed with an army of forced labour, Wright devised an individual and personal form of abstract ornamentation that dominated the whole composition. There were in the order of 500 labourers working on the project, as well as 100 stone masons:

“How skilful they were! What craftsmen! How patient and clever. So instead of wasting them by vainly trying to make them come our way – we went their way. I modified many original intentions to make the most of what I now saw was naturally theirs...”⁷⁷

Antonin Raymond (1888-1976) was Wright’s assistant on the project, and later exposed the various compromises required to complete the scheme.⁷⁸ For instance, without any background in porcelain sanitaryware in Japan, Wright had the toilet pans hand-made from copper, and the baths made from mosaic tiles, which resulted in a number of complaints from delicate westerners.⁷⁹ Critics at the time acknowledged Wright’s design as a one-off, and “that not another structure in the world could be compared to the new hotel, for the architect has worked both ancient and modern types of expression into the great mass of brick, stone and steel.”⁸⁰ Others, like Raymond were disappointed. He stated that the “design had nothing in common with Japan, its climate, its traditions, its people or its culture. It was Wright’s own view of Japan based on his imagination.”⁸¹ Condescendingly, Wright retorted:

“This building – the new Imperial Hotel of Tokyo – is not designed to be a Japanese building: its an artist’s tribute to Japan, modern and universal in character.

While there is something Japanese, Chinese, and of other ancient forms living in this structure as all may see, there is neither form, idea, nor pattern copied from any, ancient or modern. It is reverent to old Japan, that is all.”⁸²

According to Hiroyasu Fujioka, the second Imperial Hotel was regarded at the time as being original and artistic, yet many in Japan questioned building such a low structure at the centre of a dense city and were unsure about its foundation design.⁸³ Yet, Wright had an immediate impact on the architectural scene in Japan with many

students and young architects following his ideas – with a national architectural journal in 1922 acknowledging that, “recently, among young architects, the influence of Wright seems to be a major phenomenon.”⁸⁴ His surface decorations were copied extensively, but without deriving it from any deeper spatial intent. Two Japanese publications in 1926 and 1928 focused on Wright’s work, with the 1926 book derived from the 1925 Dutch *Wendigen* publication. But then, around 1929 according to Fujioka, the theories of Le Corbusier became the dominant force, and “architecture became a science not an art.”⁸⁵ Wright’s artistic tendencies were thus now thought to belong to the past, even as his work remained in the architectural domain with many design competitions in the 1930s making references to Wright’s Imperial Hotel, as it was generally believed that the second Imperial Hotel contained some characteristics of the Japan-ness.⁸⁶ The *Showa* era of ‘enlightened peace’ under the new Emperor Hirohito sought to re-define a nationalist architecture in opposition to the imported western forms of previous eras. The architect, Shimoda, advocated the traditional roof on a masonry building as an example of *teikan-heigo-shiki* (crown-topped style). In addition, he attempted to reclaim the Imperial Hotel as his own, “Shimoda argued that the manner of placing such a roof on stone or concrete was his own invention, and Wright’s design, therefore, an appropriation.”⁸⁷ The *teikan* style of the 1930’s was perhaps a forerunner of Venturi’s “decorated shed,” but without the ‘irony,’ and it came to represent a dark chapter in Japanese history.⁸⁸ Wright cannot possibly be culpable for this nationalist style, yet he was unwittingly part of its sinister development. In *An Autobiography*, Wright continued to advocate his pacifist credentials in 1942, meaning that he supported Japan and its “great Emancipation,” and as such was unwilling to condemn its expansionist aggression in China and elsewhere.⁸⁹

Critics have given a number of readings of the second Imperial Hotel, Blake claims that Wright’s ideas on ornament were learned from Louis Sullivan, and that “the ornament was plastic and it suggested continuity.”⁹⁰ Alofsin explains the complex decoration in terms of abstraction and a combination of primary forms that attempted to unite disparate cultures: the hotel represented: “the originary of the Americas as a tribute to the originary culture of Japan.”⁹¹ Nute however, notes that the decoration of the hotel was based on a universal aesthetic that could have been equally suited to any culture.⁹² Frampton in his essay on ‘The Text-Tile Tectonic’ notes its universal character.⁹³ More critically, Isozaki claims that “[t]o the Westerner, the Imperial Hotel



1.058 Ikebukuro railway station,
Tobu Department Store



1.059 Ikebukuro railway
station, street view



1.060 Ikebukuro, street view



1.061 Ikebukuro, shop

may have appeared Asian or Japanese, but not to the Japanese eye.”⁵⁸ The spaces were derived using the Renaissance tool of perspective, consequently there was a “lack of “flatness” in the design, and the ‘common’ Oya stone was not used in traditional Japanese architecture.⁹⁴ The history and the legacy of the second Imperial Hotel is thus still contested, but faced with an early global crisis of representation, Wright created an original icon – a destination that placed Tokyo, and Japan, firmly on the international architectural map.

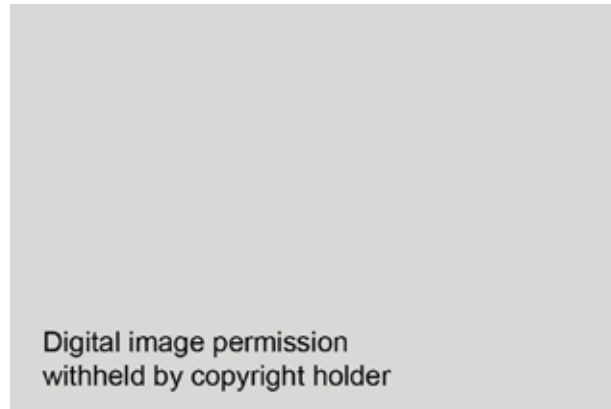
The Imperial Hotel’s quirky earthquake-resistant construction on soft mud piles was not altogether resistant to differential settlements, and during the Great Kanto earthquake in 1923 the heavier central portion sank by 0.6 metre. By 1968 the rear of the central portion had settled by 1 metre, which must have made working in the hotel quite a challenge. Ogilvanna Wright visited the hotel in the late-1960s as a last ditch attempt to save the Imperial Hotel.⁹⁶ Despite an international campaign, the Imperial Hotel was demolished in 1968 and the lobby relocated to the *Meiji Mara* theme-park outside Nagoya. It would have been great to see the Imperial Hotel being gradually consumed by the soft mud, like an old ocean liner buckling and sinking gradually – a ready-made modernist ruin, and a warning to all others attempting to outwit ‘the temblor.’

Arata Endo (1889-1951) was another of Wright’s assistants on the Imperial Hotel. He was a Christian and introduced Wright to a new client, Motoko Hani, a fellow Christian journalist, who was seeking to establish a new secular school in Tokyo. She saw education as the means “to create truly free people,”⁹⁷ and these western-style liberal values were supported by Wright, who had of course built Hillside Home School (1887) in Wisconsin for his equally independent aunts. Wright sketched out the design for the main building and west wing of the school, leaving the final drafting to his assistant, Endo, with both architects signing off the drawings. The school was subsequently named Jiyu Gauken (1921-26), which means Freedom School. After a short journey on the metro I emerged at Ikebukuro station to be confronted by the never-ending Tobu / Seibu department store, and without any other noticeable landmarks. My map was useless, so I decided to aim for the nearest natural daylight where I glimpsed a power station, a second railway station, and a shopper on a stretcher being pulled towards an ambulance. I hasten back into the mall and then finally recognised the Metropolitan Hotel, which allowed me to escape the vortex

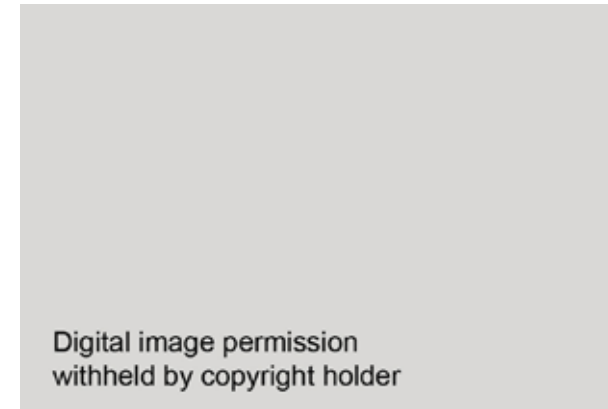
of consumption. After crossing the road, the scale of the city collapsed into two- or three-storey homes. Then, two streets later, and down a very narrow lane, I found the school. The scale of the building was low and intimate, based around the children, or Wright himself, I speculated. The classically inspired spatial arrangement could be easily grasped from the street, with a recessed central communal block and two classroom wings. Uniting the composition was a dual-pitched roof that appeared very Japanese, yet Wright was inventive in using a copper covering instead of tiles – he had also reduced the pitch so that even this quintessential Japanese element was given an inventive twist.

There was no tour on offer in English, but they had a few photocopied papers and an old copy of *Frank Lloyd Wright Quarterly* magazine that described the renovation of the school.⁹⁸ I followed a number of direction arrows, and bowed beneath the low doors to view a reconstructed classroom and an exhibition of old photos. There was a compressed entrance into the south-facing main hall, and a woman sat in the darkness offering small but delicious coffee and cakes. Beyond was the spatial release of the main hall, with its child-friendly furniture and a captivating window of abstract geometries and oblique angles. During the restoration, a mural painted by the class of 1931 had been revealed: it was based on Exodus 13 and depicted a Biblical migration. Behind the main hall and up a number of steps was a dining room with a communal hearth, along with a number of ante-rooms and other side spaces. The whole was knitted together with the use of a dark trim, and the light fittings again showed Wright at his most playful, with lamps hanging from abstracted diamond trusses. Up a number of steps again was a gallery with brick remnants from the Imperial Hotel and an exhibition of Wright’s Japanese designs, plus projects of other architects who had been inspired by him.

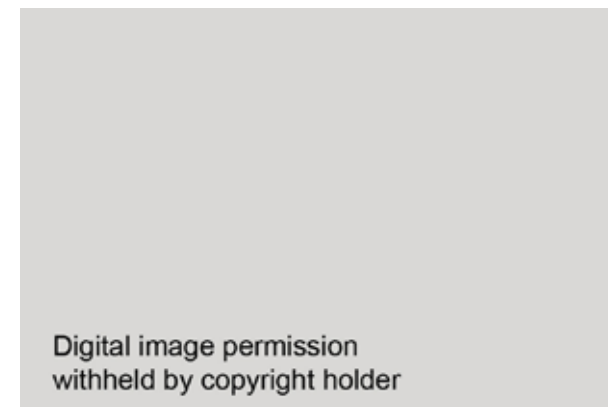
In total, Wright designed twelve schemes in Japan, and all possessed intriguing tales highlighting his opportunist character. They included the (unbuilt) American Embassy (1914), the Imperial Hotel Annex (1916), the Odawara Hotel (1917), the (also unbuilt) Ginza Theatre (1918), Jiyu Gauken School, the main Imperial Hotel itself, and six private villas. The American Embassy scheme had been drawn up before Wright was given the formal appointment for the Imperial Hotel. Wright’s reputation as a residential designer was already well established by this date, but to secure the hotel commission he needed to demonstrate a more rounded portfolio – hence he came



1.062 US Embassy Project, Tokyo (1914) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon, (1991)

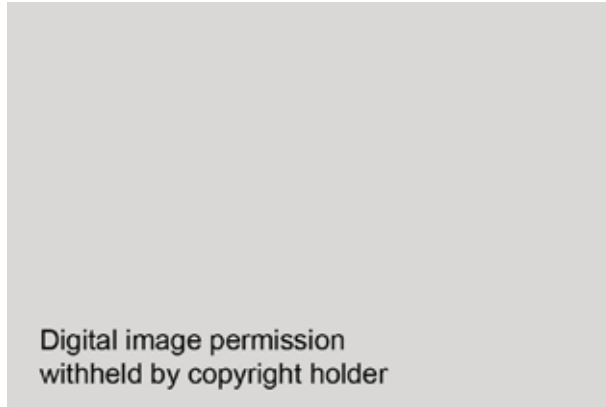


1.063 Wright's Apartment, Imperial Hotel Annex, Tokyo (1916) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Smith, K. (1988)

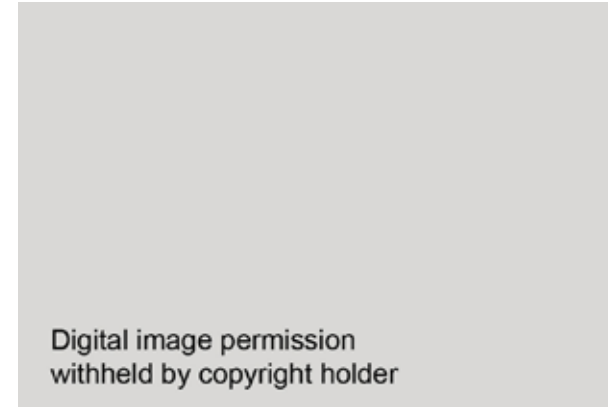


1.064 Elevations, Imperial Hotel Annex, Tokyo (1916), image from Smith, K. (1988)

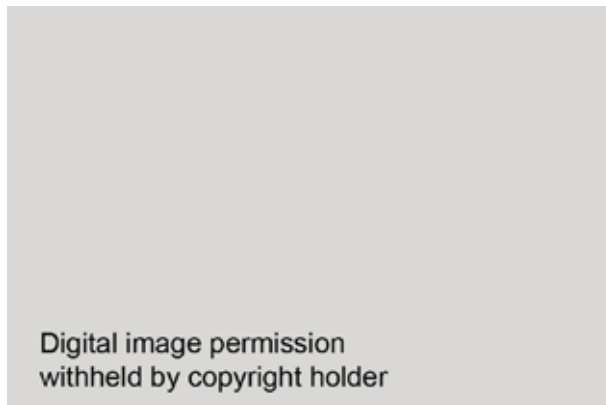
Unusual Views of Outstanding Sites



1.065 Perspective, Odawara Hotel Project (1918),
by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon, (1991)



1.066 Perspective, Tokyo Theatre Project (1918)
by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon, (1991)



1.067 Elevation, Odawara Hotel Project (1918),
image from Anon, (1991)



1.068 Elevation, Tokyo Theatre Project
(1918), image from Anon, (1991)

1.069 Plan, Tokyo Theatre Project
(1918), image from Anon, (1991)



1.070 Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921) by Frank Lloyd Wright



1.071 Lounge Hall, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921)



1.072 Lounge Hall looking back towards the Gallery, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921)



1.073 Original *Myonichikan* pottery, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921)



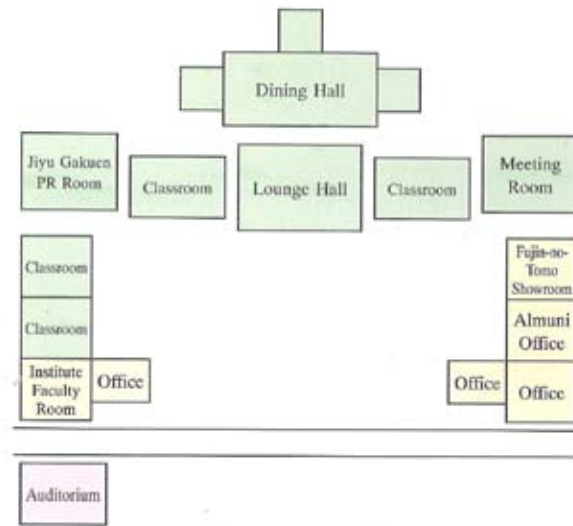
1.074 Lobby into Lounge Hall, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921)



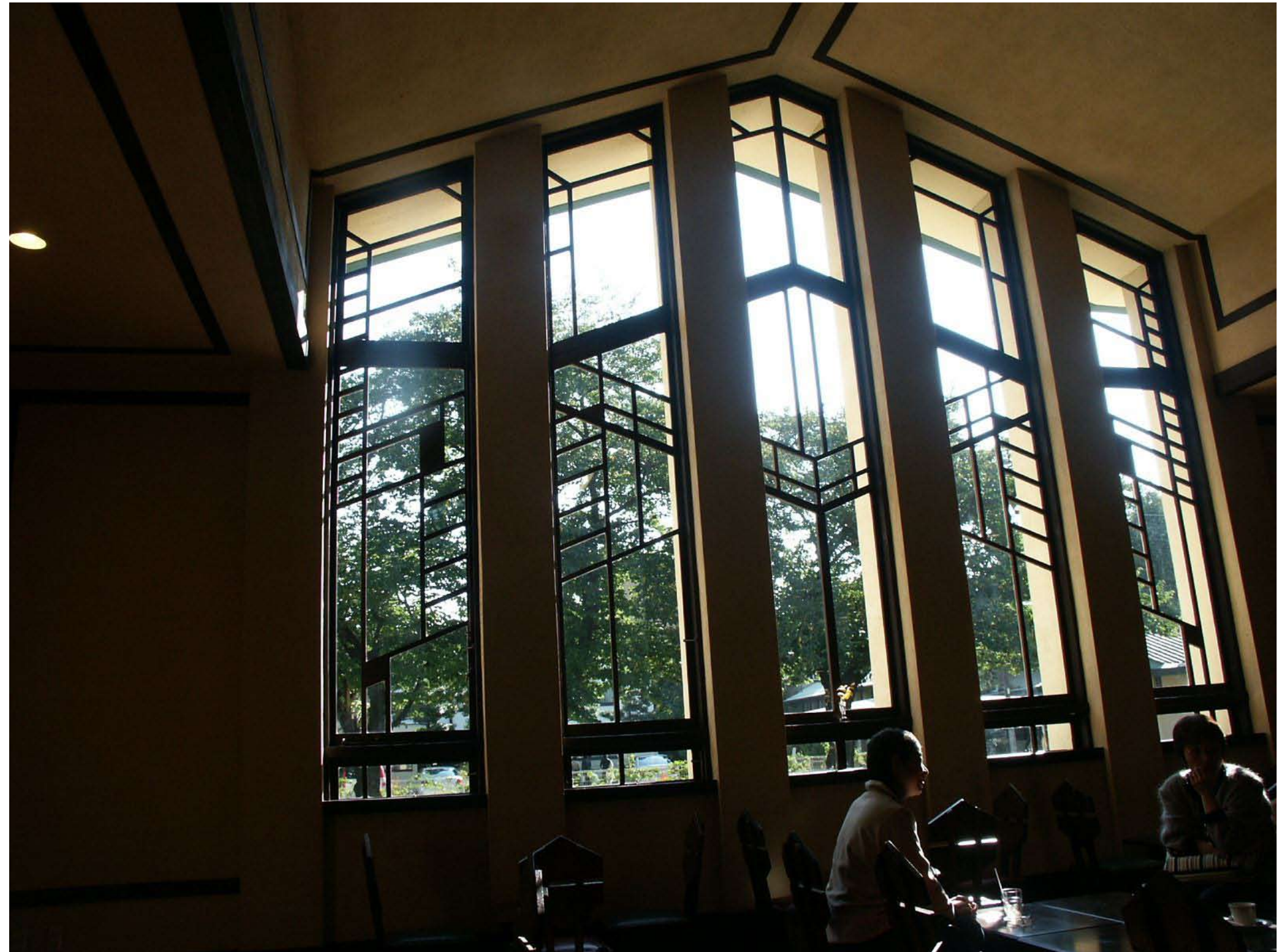
1.075 Lounge Hall with Gallery above, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921)



1.076 Main Dining Room, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921)



1.077 Site Plan, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921), image from tourist leaflet



1.078 Lounge Hall, main window, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921)



1.079 Auditorium (1927) by Arata Endo



1.080 Interior, Auditorium (1927)



1.081 Interior, Auditorium (1927)



1.082 Publishing Buildings by Raku Endo



1.083 Exterior, Publishing Buildings.



1.084 Entry, Publishing Buildings.

up with the American Embassy scheme, which was curiously based on a previous residential design he had done in Canada! The symmetrical U-form of the American Embassy responded to Wright's notion of institutional planning, and its language was indeed an extension of his Prairie House approach; it would have been a fascinating cultural export. Yet above all, Wright was desperate to win the second Imperial Hotel commission and so called in the might of the American state for assistance. The Imperial Hotel Annex had been built quickly as a temporary measure after the first Imperial Hotel had burnt down, it was a plain building with none of Wright's trademark details. The Odawara Hotel, close to Hakone, was intended as a resort hotel, but it was never opened, because the rights of access to a nearby hot spring were not secured; the building was subsequently demolished around 1932. The unbuilt Ginza Theatre was a speculative scheme without a client. It was to have a central octagonal stage so that the performance could be viewed from all around, with an octagonal pyramid roof overhead.

Following its opening on 14th April 1921, the Jiyu Gauken school prospered and found a number of parents who shared Hani's educational vision. By 1929 a second and much larger campus was added, and then in 1934 a new consolidated campus for 300 students was designed by Endo in the western suburb of Minamisawa. The original Wright school then became a graduate school and was renamed by Hani as Myonichikan – the building of tomorrow. The school's expansion occurred despite the fact that it was not officially recognised by Japan's Educational Authority, and students' qualifications were thus not validated by the state. In the nationalist climate of the 1930s the term *jiyu* (freedom) was considered to be subversive, and so Hani was asked to change it. She of course resisted. After the war, the school was viewed as a beacon of progressive democratic education and was finally given official recognition. Today it continues to prosper with over 1,000 students. However, Wright's part of the school was threatened when the 1980s building boom in downtown Tokyo reached the suburbs. At that point, the 0.27 hectare site was valued at a staggering US\$30 million dollars.⁹⁹ In addition, the school was in bad condition and facing a potential restoration cost of US\$5million, so a strategy was needed to conserve the the building.¹⁰⁰ An article in the *New York Times* in February 1992 alerted the international community to the possible redevelopment of the site.¹⁰¹ To preserve the school and to claim a grant for its restoration, it was designated as an 'Important Cultural Property,' and hence they are now obliged to allow visitors such

as myself – plus they could earn a secondary income by letting it out for conferences and weddings.

Across the road from the school was the Auditorium (1927), designed by Endo. It was openly inspired by Unity Temple (1905-8), with a grey textured exterior render and a magnificent cantilevered porch. The auditorium was used to hold large school meetings, and it has a small stage, a gallery, and two ante-rooms. The dark space, with wood panelling up to the window heads and wooden seats, reminded me of a chapel vestry – was this Endo's tribute to Wright's Welsh Non-Conformist heritage? Beside the auditorium, the Myonichikan Publishing Buildings were also distinctly Usonian in their language. I discovered that they were in fact built by Raku Endo (1924-2003), the son of Arata who had followed his father's footsteps to study at Taliesin. The whole composition therefore formed a "Wright Court" with a school by the master, an auditorium by his assistant, and a publishing office by one of his apprentices. It is a rare concentration of 'organic' design over three generations.

Antonin Raymond noted that Wright always attracted "artistic types," and Arata Endo was so smitten by his mentor that he even began to follow his dress sense.¹⁰² Endo proved to be pivotal to Wright's legacy in Japan: all of the architects who travelled to Taliesin, or practiced in the Wright idiom, were connected to him. In addition to the school, Endo designed a number of villas in Japan that displayed his ability to continue Wright's philosophy, and were dominated by Wrightian forms, thus making them seem mere reproductions. It was interesting to note that Endo travelled to Manchuria during the Japanese occupation, and it so tantalising to consider that Wright might have influenced an outpost of Japanese colonial architecture in China. Endo found himself unable to leave China after the end of the Second World War and became ill; he died shortly after returning to Japan in 1951. His sons, Raku and Tou, continued the family tradition in that they were schooled at Jiyu Gakuen and went on to assist their father, with Raku eventually joining the Taliesin Fellowship in 1957. As such he was the last Japanese apprentice to work under Wright. After returning to Japan, Raku found commissions for up to 400 Wrightian residential designs, along with further works for the Jiyu Gakuen campus. Later on he joined the efforts to save the Imperial Hotel, as well as taking guided tours of Wright sites in America. In 1997 he was awarded a Wright Spirit Award by the Taliesin Fellowship for promoting Wright's legacy in Japan. Beyond the Endo family, other early practitioners and



1.085 Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy (1999) by Kenzo Kuma



1.086 Prada store (2003) by Herzog and DeMeuron,



1.087 Dior (2003) by SANAA



1.088 Tods shop (2003) by Toyo Ito.



1.089 Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy (1999), street view



1.090 Prada store (2003), window detail



1.091 Dior (2003), entrance



1.092 Tods shop (2003), window opening

apprentices are listed on the “Wrightian Architectural Archives in Japan” (WAAJ) and include Makoto Minami (1892-1951), Kameki Tsuchiura (1897-1996), and Nobu Tsuchiura (1900-98), Takehiko Okami (1898-1972), and Taro Amano (1918-90).¹⁰³ This archive views its role in the broadest sense, embracing Wright wholly, and “is committed to protecting and promoting the legacies of the many architects who have kept Wright’s spirit alive through their work.”¹⁰⁴ In addition, a DVD was released in 2005 which documented Wright’s work in Japan, entitled “Magnificent Obsession.”¹⁰⁵ Whilst a very worthy cause and a good source for my research, the architectural output of these named architects was never prolific, and cannot really be said to make a coherent ‘organic’ school in Japan.

Later that evening I meet up with my friend Junko for dinner, whom I knew from my brief time studying architecture in Washington DC. I had lost contact with her, but luckily re-established it with an e-mail link via our mutual friend, Uli, in Germany. We meet up at Omotesando metro station, which has a reputation for trendy shops and great modern architecture. Nearby were the international stores by global architectural practices: the Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy (1999) building by Kenzo Kuma, the Prada Store (2003) by Herzog and De Meuron, the Dior shop (2003) by SANAA, and Tods shop (2003) by Toyo Ito. The woven façade of Tods was derived from overlapping tree silhouettes, and I recalled Wright observing that Japanese innate knowledge of ‘organic’ and nature was found in words such as “*edaburi*”.. [which] means the formative arrangement of branches of a tree.”¹⁰⁶ Ito’s façade was a playful interpretation of *edaburi* as inspired from the tree-lined street it sits on. The street was very busy in the evening, with the shops still open and in full bloom of the artificial lighting of their corporate branded architecture. We turn away from the consumer delights down a small alleyway to an intimate restaurant, my first fully traditional Japanese encounter. I take off my shoes and place them in a shoe repository, and step up onto the dining level. Junko has kindly spread the word about my research work, and has contacted a friend of hers, called Yohei. He luckily works for an ex-Taliesin apprentice, Handa, and used to work for Erku Endo. Yohei joins us and gives me a CD with some images of the Jiyu Gauken School refurbishment, and he also tells me of his plans to get married there. We talk about my proposed itinerary around Japan:

Gwyn: What do you think of the itinerary for my trip? Should I perhaps add some more destinations?

Junko: Its very exciting to go travelling to the west.

Nagoya is a get-rich-quick kind of town, I would recommend going to the Katsura Palace instead. Uli went there when she came over. It is easier to get in if you are a foreigner.

I have not been to Fukuoka, but it looks like good fun.

I always thought I was going to be travelling south, but going to the west of Japan is also good. What do you think of Wright’s work? Does it seem at all Japanese?

Junko: I was surprised when I visited Meiji-Mura as a schoolgirl and saw the Imperial Hotel lobby. The scale of the building was very small. I found it quite Japanese in character. But I am not an expert in Wright’s work like Yohei.

What about the dual-pitched roof at the Jiyu Gakuen School?

Yohei: Yes, the prominent roof is another Japanese feature that Wright definitely borrowed from Japan – and the scale again was low, which was quite Japanese.

I pass over a small gift that I bought from the school to give to Junko – it is an origami model of the building that opens up to reveal the front façade.

Junko: This would be a good invitation card to your wedding, Yohei.

Yohei’s fiancé comes from the island of Fukuoka, a feisty lot you know.

Gwyn: When is your wedding going to be at the school?

Yohei: It will be in April 2006.

What kind of work are you doing for Handa?

Yohei: It is mostly traditional timber construction homes, and usually in the suburbs.

Are there any good examples of new suburban developments here in Tokyo?

Yohei: There are new suburbs being developed all the time to the west, but there is really not that much to see if you go out there.

Junko: There is new island city being planned near Fukuoka, with a pavilion by Toyo Ito. I will email some details for you.¹⁰⁷



1.093 Mild Breeze on a Fine Day From Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji by Hokusai



1.094 Mount Fuji beyond the Water Treatment Plant by the author (2005)



1.095 Mount Fuji behind the Industrial Units by the author (2005)



1.096 Two women in traditional garment at Holly's Bar, Kyoto (2005)

Unusual Views of Outstanding Sites

Kyoto

Today it is Culture Day – a public holiday – and so I needed to get up early to validate my train pass at Ueno railway station and begin my westward journey. The *Shinkansen* (Bullet Train) platform was high above the street, and from there you can get a clear view across the city, although I could not recognise a single landmark. As the train pulls in a number of whistles sound, and platform staff make some ritual moves to announce its arrival. The train stops and a troupe of women in pink overalls and visors board the train to prepare it for the next journey. I dutifully wait my turn outside the unreserved non-smoking carriage and try to get a window seat, but end up sharing with a young man who sleeps for most of the journey. As the train gets ready for departure there was the usual commotion before it glides effortlessly out of the dense heart of Tokyo. Beyond were miles of never-ending urban greyness. I had guessed that my only actual view of Mount Fuji would be on this train, so I tried to keep awake with a keen eye on the window. The day is overcast and I am not sure that a clear sighting will be possible. My fellow passenger however, alerts me to the national landmark, and so I photograph two blurred views – Mount Fuji beside the industrial park, and Mount Fuji over the sewage works. Hokusai would hopefully have approved. My journey from Tokyo to Kyoto followed the old route of the Tokaido Road that was the subject of Ando Hiroshige famous wood-block series, *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido*, which recorded daily life on the road. Whilst it took me three hours to cover the 514 km it had taken up to fifty-four days for Hiroshige and his companions.

On his return to Chicago after his first Japanese visit, Wright organised an exhibition of Japanese prints by Hiroshige at the Art Institute of Chicago in March 1906. This was the first display of *ukiyo-e* prints in the gallery, and also the first retrospective of Hiroshige's work: "the word "*ukiyo-e*" means pictures of the floating world, or brothel district."¹⁰⁸ It was an art form that became popular during the Edo period, and was supported by affluent merchants who could identify with a number of the subjects being portrayed. Wright began collecting Japanese woodblock prints sometime around 1890, and in *An Autobiography*, he acknowledged the influence of Japanese prints on his architecture, "Japanese prints had intrigued me and taught me much. The elimination of the insignificant, a process of simplification in art in which I was myself already engaged ... found much collateral evidence in the print."¹⁰⁹ In Wright's view "the print lies at the bottom of all this so-called modernism."¹¹⁰ Furthermore, Nute notes that "the print was organic in at least three quite different

senses: as an independently pleasing aesthetic whole; as an honest use of materials toward appropriate ends; and as democratic expression of ordinary life."¹¹¹ Wright's fascination with the Japanese woodblock print culminated in his book, *The Japanese Print: An Interpretation* (1912).¹¹² In this book, Wright illuminates both the print and his own architecture:

The most important fact to realise in a study of this subject is that, with all its informal grace, Japanese art is a thoroughly structural art ... The word structure is here used to designate an organic form, an organization in a very definite manner of the parts or elements into a larger unity – a vital whole. So, in design, that element which we call its structure is primarily the pure form, an organisation in a very definite manner of parts or elements into a larger unity – a vital whole. So, in design, that element which we call its structure is primarily the pure form, as arranged or fashioned and grouped to "build" the Idea; an idea which must always persuade us of its reasonableness. Geometry is the grammar, so to speak, of the form. It is its architectural principle. But there is a psychic correlation between the geometry of form and our associated ideas, which constitutes its symbolic value. There resides always a certain "spell power" in any geometric form which seems more or less a mystery, as is, as we say, the soul of the thing ... A Japanese artist grasps form always by reaching underneath for its geometry ... A Japanese artist's power of geometrical analysis seems little short of miraculous."¹¹³

Nute agrees with Wright aesthetic deconstruction of the Japanese print and also cites the twin idealist philosophies of Plato and Hegel.¹¹⁴ The underlying geometry demonstrated Plato's eternal idea of beauty, and the 'spell power' of the composition concurs within Hegel's analysis of aesthetics. These idealised views of Japan as portrayed in the *ukiyo-e* print supported Wright's idealised view of 'organic' architecture being based upon an 'internal' and 'eternal' geometry. Stewart agrees that the abstraction of nature was an important idea that Wright was able to articulate convincingly, but he debunks the notion of "spell power" as mere aesthetic lathering.¹¹⁵ Instead for Stewart, the main lesson to be learnt from the woodblock print is about the flatness of its rendering, as a break from Renaissance preoccupation with perspective.¹¹⁶



1.097 Back Street, Kyoto



1.098 Ryoken Front Elevation, Kyoto



1.099 Ryoken Owners, Kyoto



1.100 Bedroom, Kyoto

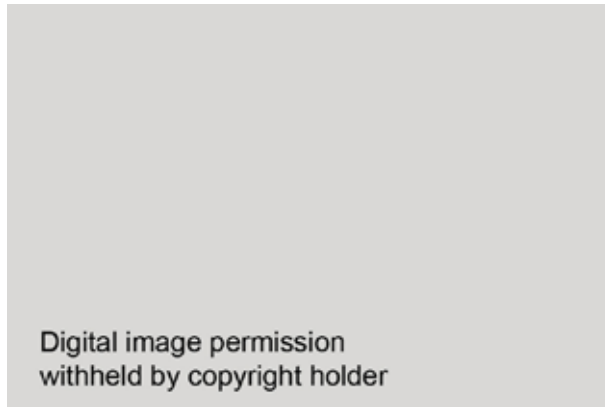
Stewart described the prints as the “means to an end,” in that they were both a means for Wright to articulate his ideas of architectural truth and they became a financial end.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, Meech reveals the double-life of Frank Lloyd Wright as a dealer in woodblock prints, noting that by 1910 Wright was generating a useful income from buying and selling them.¹¹⁸ His 1913 trip was thus not only to secure the Imperial Hotel commission, but also to purchase a number of prints for the Spaulding brothers. Later whilst working on the construction of the hotel, Wright’s son John noted that there was a queue of merchants waiting each day to sell prints and other artefacts to Wright.¹¹⁹ In 1919 Wright thought he had secured a private print collection, for one of his clients, and sensing a financial opportunity, exported it back to the US. The prints however were not originals, but were “re-vamped” – “old prints re coloured to look more valuable.”¹²⁰ To placate his angry clients, Wright was forced to replace the prints with some items out of his own collection, and so by the end of the affair his reputation as a print collector was over. Wright was a promoter of Orientalism by dealing in Japanese prints: he was an agent of the ‘external gaze,’ and exported cultural artefacts for his own financial gain. Yet Wright never saw any contradiction in that, whilst complaining about the ‘lost art’ of Japan, he himself was commodifying and speculating in it. Wright continued to amass prints and other artefacts from Japan, and used them as collateral to secure loans during his leaner periods in practice during the inter-war era.

After passing through the turnstiles at Kyoto, the visible spatial order collapses. Thereafter the complexity of Japan begins: three differently owned railway lines and a subway, not to mention various bus interchanges. Within the station there was a twelve-storey department store, a hotel, a theatre and a small museum. The tourist information desk was situated within the department store, where I was offered a choice of western or traditional accommodation. I opt for a Japanese *ryoken* (guest house) with shared facilities. It was close to the centre of town, and so I could walk there from the subway station. As I left the station however, I lost my way – after Tokyo I had not been expecting to have to learn another city! I noticed that the urban landscape was very American, with a grid-street plan and a cluster of grey corporate buildings. Kyoto’s rectilinear city plan was based in fact on the Chinese city of Xi’an, with the Imperial Palace in the middle. Ross notes it was an early example of Japanese adoption of Chinese influences, or “Japanese spirit with Chinese learning.”¹²¹ Kyoto was Japan’s capital from 795 to 1867, and its history makes it

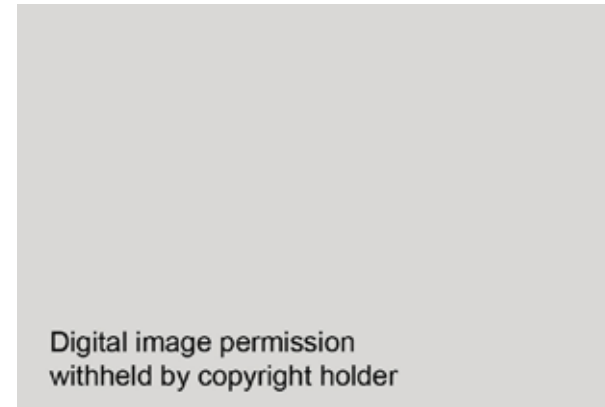
also the capital of traditional Japanese arts. My *ryoken* was situated two blocks down from the main street. The houses here were all two-storey and made out of timber or other lightweight construction, and they possessed large doors that open out to the street. In between the houses were restaurants, cafes, schools, garages and grocery stores. Overhead was a tangle of electricity and telephone services, secured in case of possible earthquakes. These houses were based on the traditional Japanese townhouse – *machiya* – which were the homes of merchants under the old feudal system. As such, they were usually placed on long thin plots with a simple façade, and the plainest spaces addressing the street. The finest rooms were located at the centre, or else towards the back. Often there was a small courtyard garden. Both Wright¹²² and Taut¹²³ had noted the typology of these house and marvelled at their sense of animation during the day and yet their silent repose at night.

The façade of my *ryoken* consisted of one sliding door and two small windows above, I pressed the bell and was welcomed again by a low-level shoe repository, and by two women who smiled through their trepidation – Oh dear, another westerner! I take off my shoes and step up onto a tatami mat floor that was more like a large lobby, with a vending machine in one corner and some left luggage in another. They show me upstairs and try to help with my heavy luggage. My bedroom was at the front of the house. The bed was already rolled out on the tatami mat floor with was a flask of hot water next to it. Before leaving, my host took great care to make sure that my luggage was packed away and did not clutter.

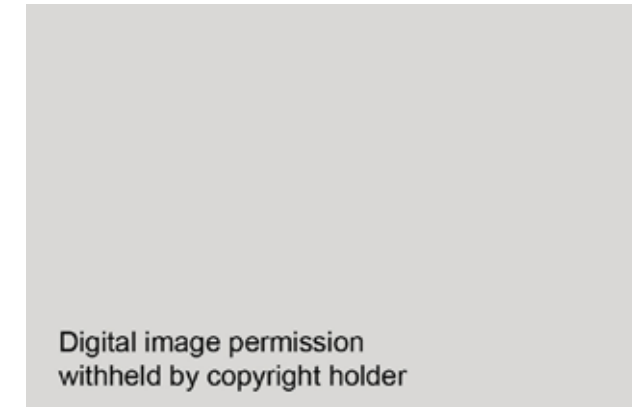
The tatami mat first appeared in Japan about a thousand years ago and was used widely in dwellings from the fifteenth century onwards, such that by the time that Wright arrived it was used in all homes. The mats are arranged in a pattern that denies any possible axial connection between rooms, “mats are rarely placed in patterns that emphasize perspective but rather accentuate area: mats are commonly placed in a spiral formation.”¹²⁴ Wright identified the “native home ... as a supreme study in the elimination – not only dirt but the elimination of the insignificant.”¹²⁵ He linked this idea of cleanliness to the Shinto religion.¹²⁶ With this identification of the sacred multi-functional floor plane, Wright claimed he found “one country where simplicity, as natural, is supreme.”¹²⁷ He continued by noting that each dwelling is “a perfect example of the modern standardizing I had myself been working out.”¹²⁸ Wright’s standardisation – or more accurately, his use of the planning module – was



1.101 Main Hall, Chion-in Temple, Kyoto (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996)



1.102 Garden of Sanpoh-in, Daigoji Temple, Kyoto (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996)



1.103 Garden of Sanpoh-in, Daigoji Temple, Kyoto (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996)



1.104 Plan of Garden of Sanpoh-in, Plan (2005), image from tourist leaflet



1.105 Main Hall, Chion-in Temple, Kyoto (2005)



1.106 Garden of Sanpoh-in, Daigoji Temple, Kyoto (2005)



1.107 Garden of Sanpoh-in, Daigoji Temple, Kyoto (2005)

hence derived from the tatami mat system that defines most internal spaces in Japan. He used the module in planning each internal space, and also its relation to other rooms and the overall composition, thereby forming an innovative open-plan environment. Wright claimed therefore, that he saw a reconfirmation of his own theories in Japan – a view that has been discredited by Nute, who points out that Wright had developed a number of these ideas far earlier, when he read Morse's *Japanese Homes* (1886).¹²⁹

Kyoto's train station had confounded me, and so I decided to stay above ground and visit the first temple by bus. The Chion-in Gate, Temple and Belfry had been constructed in the twelfth century by the Jodo Buddhist (Pure Land) sect, and were on a monumental scale. The thick roof construction was supported by a number of slender timber posts that defined a well-proportioned space for worship. This worshipping space was raised off the floor by a number of steps, and had doors to shut out much of the light, giving the interior a dark yet intimate quality. In traditional Japanese timber construction, the interior space was defined by the intervals between posts, with Isozaki making the observation that: "Japanese architectural texts were based on *kenmen-ho*, the interstitial method developed from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries that counts the number of interstices (*ma*)."¹³⁰ Within this environment, an architect was not really required, since carpenters could articulate and construct any given requirement. This ties in well with the idea of the medieval stonemasons in Europe, but this tradition was lost during the Renaissance, when the role of the architect became that of an artist and an arbiter of taste, not the controller of construction. Being unable to participate in the prayers inside, I looked out from the sheltered walkways onto a gravel plane on which were located a number of other imposing temples, shrines and belfry, all loosely connected to one another, but without any formal axis or path. I got some guidance to these shrines, which Wright had photographed on his 1905 trip, from a visitors booth, and even had my sketchbook stamped as a pilgrim!

Outside of Kyoto was the celebrated Katsura Detached Palace, which had met international acclaim through the writing of Bruno Taut (1880-1938) who lived in Japan from 1933 to 1936. Taut was a teacher at the Bauhaus and had left Nazi Germany to seek work in Soviet Russia before travelling across Siberia to Japan. Upon his arrival, a member of the Japan International Architectural Association

(JIAA) took him to Katsura. The palace possessed three pavilions that are joined and set within a garden facing a pond. The site was an accumulation of pavilions that had been integrated to form a coherent grouping: the original central hall, called Old Shoin, faces the main pond, then steps back to form a diagonal composition were Middle Shoin and finally the New Palace. In addition, there were a number of tea pavilions and a mausoleum set within the landscape. Consequently, with its varied history, "Katsura is a text rich in ambiguity, where architectural language of quite different formal and temporal inspiration are juxtaposed."¹³¹ Taut was deeply impressed, stating that "in Katsura I found in ancient building the absolute proof of my theory, which I regarded as valid base for modern architecture."¹³² Taut then visited the Ise Shrine, which was patronised by the Imperial family, comparing it to the Acropolis in Greece and thus also acclaiming it as an example of modernism's pre-history.¹³³ With these two observations, Isozaki notes:

Taut went so far as to introduce the standard whereby soon all Japanese historical architecture would be evaluated in terms of binary oppositions: *honmono* (authentic) – meaning imperial, i.e., Ise and Katsura – versus *ikamono* (kitsch) – represented by the Tokugawa shogunate and Nikko Toshogu, their cluster of mausolea. *Honmono* and *ikamono* were terms used originally for the appraisal of antiques."¹³⁴

Isozaki argues that Taut was in fact set up by the modernist JIAA to promote their own view of modernism, which was at that point struggling against the nationalist *teikan* style.¹³⁵ Subsequent western visitors have followed Taut's reading, with Reyner Banham noting that Katsura provided a stern reminder of what modernism was meant to be like: hence it was used to chide architects who deviated from the modernist cause.¹³⁶ Likewise, Walter Gropius and Kenzo Tange in their 1960 book about Katsura, emphasised this by now standard modernist reading to "express the compositional beauty," and to thereby to dismiss any contradictory or unsightly elements.¹³⁷ Whilst Le Corbusier remained indifferent to the Katsura Palace as a 'sacred' site of re-discovered modernism, he sketched one of its swastika stools, noting that his museum in Ueno had a similar plan.¹³⁸

The Dion-ji Temple complex was a metro journey away but luckily there was a shuttle bus that made the journey easy. I was dropped off outside a ceremonial



1.108 Roof Pylon, Koshein Hotel (1930) by Arata Endo



1.109 Rear View, Koshein Hotel (1930)



1.110 Garden Elevation, Koshein Hotel (1930)



1.111 Tea House in Garden, Koshein Hotel (1930)



1.112 Back of Banqueting Hall, Koshein Hotel (1930)



1.113 Front of Banqueting Hall, Koshein Hotel (1930)



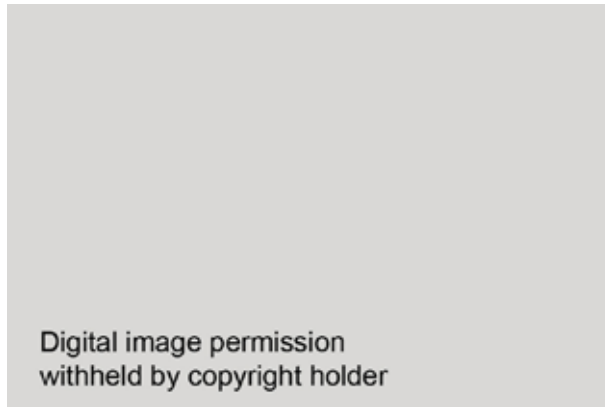
1.114 Traditional Hotel Room, Koshein Hotel (1930)

gate with a walled enclosure. The first compound on the left, off the central axis, was the sixteenth-century Sambo-in walled garden. Inside pilgrims in white were gathering beneath a sacred tree. There was a small model in the entry space, and the plan reminded me of a Wright composition with a free arrangement of pavilions around a simple garden set within a perimeter wall. The actual pavilions themselves were a revelation. Their internal spaces were defined by the tatami mat module and by paper screens that revealed or hid inner courts and gardens. Overhanging roofs provided shelter for circulating between the different spaces. There were two pavilions that directly engaged with the garden and so I sat down at the lower pavilion to sketch Wright's 1905 views, since no photographs were allowed. The garden was unchanged over the last century, except that one cypress tree has been lost. The Sambo-in garden is an example from the Momoyama period (1569 – 1603) and its restoration came about because of a chance meeting between the main priest and Japan's Regent, Hideyoshi. The latter saw the garden during one blossom-viewing excursion, and commissioned its restoration. It is claimed that the first restoration took only six weeks, but in fact it took another 20 years to arrive at its final form. Apparently Hideyoshi provided too much material, making the design difficult to resolve; the garden possesses over seven hundred stones and the most famous cost 5,000 bushels of rice. It also has a pond with an island and a number of earth bridges.¹³⁹ Hideyoshi's patronage resulted in a 'golden era' of artistic work in Kyoto, and Wright claimed that "all phases of art expression in the Momoyama period were organic."¹⁴⁰ Then, confusingly, he praises the artists Tawaraya Sotatsu, Ogata Korin, and Ogata Kenzan,¹⁴¹ all of whom practiced in the later Edo period! The seemingly unplanned arrangement and affluence of Sambo-in garden was a reaction to previous eras of austerity, and led to the Edo period stroll garden.¹⁴² The influences of Zen, tea consumption and indigenous beliefs were reconfigured to arrive at a 'sophisticated order,' one where formal axes were removed and the composition took on a carefully unplanned aspect. The aim of the garden was hence to appear natural, where the hand of man was underplayed, and was yet another representation of the idealized landscape.

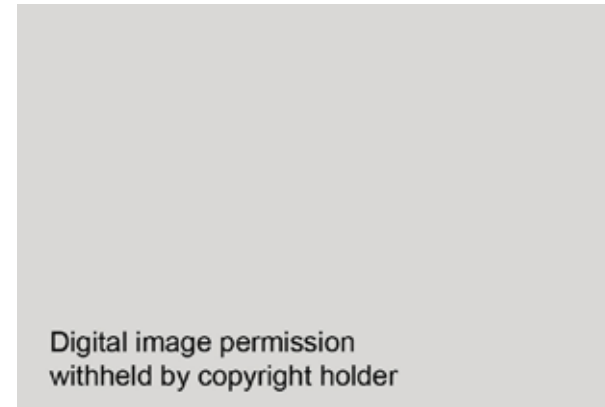
Later that afternoon I headed for the Koshein Hotel by Arata Endo (1930), outside Osaka. From the train window, there was a dreary basin of never-ending urban sprawl without an edge: Kyoto became Osaka. In the distance I spotted the world's longest suspension bridge and a product of the inefficient Japanese public works

programme, whereby large infrastructure projects were badly managed by the government. Koshien Kaikan, the hotel's present name under the ownership of the Women's University, resembled Wright's 'textile block' architecture, but with a definite sense of symmetry from the Imperial Hotel. The form was broken down into a two-storey central entry block, with two projecting four-storey wings animated by projecting canopies and terraces, textured brickwork, and traditional tiled roofs. There is a distinctive horizontal banding to the parapets, canopies and pergola which unites the whole composition. It was a lively elevation with lots of interesting details and textures that kept the eye moving from one feature to another. In the context of 1930s Japan, the design would undoubtedly have been modern but also easily identified as derivative of Wright's decorative style.

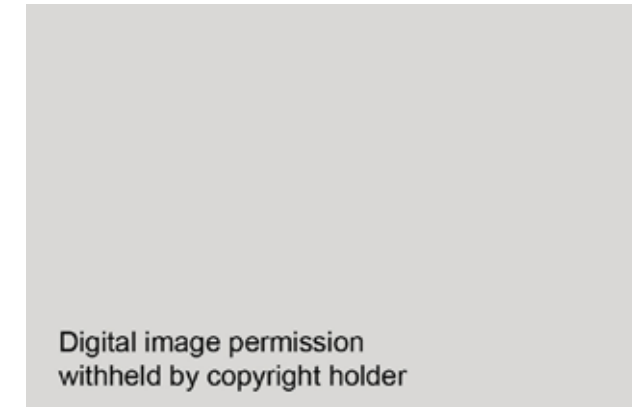
I was welcomed at the reception by a woman from the university and she offered to be my guide. Only half the building was open for visitors, as the other side is part of the Women's University. She led me through the hotel lobby past a small fountain which was an example of the hotel's design motif, "magical musical hammer" I acknowledged its beauty, and smiled.¹⁴³ We entered the banqueting suite, which was a long open space divided into a seating area and a stage at the far end. Rows of chairs faced the stage with side views to the garden, and there was a translucent ceiling above reminiscent of shoji screens. The stage was ornately detailed with balls and prisms hung from the ceiling and finished in gold, I imagined that the Imperial Hotel's original decoration would have looked equally otherworldly – indeed, this was 'Imperial Hotel Lite.' The banqueting suite is often used for weddings, but I fear that the architecture might steal the show. On the second floor roof, over the entrance were two futuristic pagoda towers topped with a Japanese flag. The textile-block inspired walls provided an animated relief at sunset with deep shadows, and hiding within the patterns were even more "magical musical hammer" motifs. Again, I smiled politely. We returned inside and went up to the fourth floor to visit the 'Japanese' rooms laid out using *tatami* mats and movable *shoji* screens. Behind the sleeping space, and down a number of steps there was a room for preparing tea. We continued the tour to look at the front façade and garden. Two wings embraced the garden and were reduced in scale with each setback being topped by a hipped roof. The front garden was serene, an idealised landscape with a pool, small hill and tea pavilion. We walked to a rustic tea house along a winding path and looked back to the hotel as a reverential scene of Wrightian 'organic' architecture.



1.115 Unidentified man and woman on a mountain pass (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996)



1.116 Hyogo-Daibutsu, Nofukuji Temple (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996)



1.117 Main Shrine, Ikuta Shrine, Kobe (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996)



1.118 Mono-rail and traffic junction, Kobe (2005)



1.119 Hyogo-Daibutsu, Nofukuji Temple (2005)



1.120 Main Shrine, Ikuta Shrine, Kobe (2005)

Kobe

I caught a late train for Kobe and I was not expecting too much having heard of the disastrous Great Hanshin-Awaji earthquake in 1995, some ten years previously. I searched around the station for the tourist information service, and stumbled across a help desk in a department store. There they said the tourist information was closed, but kindly helped to find me a hotel across the road. My western-style hotel was functional and I got a room opposite a ten-pin bowling alley, with a corner in the form of a skittle – it looked like fun! Having recently been given a second chance to construct a city, I was surprised to see that its narrow alleys had been preserved, and that the road, rail, and monorail links all seemed to cut across one another in an almost arbitrary manner. It felt very dynamic and seemingly unplanned. I tried to find the temples that Wright had visited on his 1905 trip. Unfortunately, due to the 1995 earthquake much of Kobe has been destroyed, and so most of the temples were badly damaged. I got some excellent maps from the tourist information and found the temple with the large Buddha easily – but it was disappointing, being a modern replica of the original. I wondered about its construction. Was it rebuilt in fibreglass, ferro-cement, or maybe stone? The Ikuta shrine and temple were meshed into the dense city fabric, so it took a lot of questioning to find the complex. There was a festival at the temple, and even a panda at the entry greeting small children with balloons. At the entry booth I asked about the old temple. A young woman who spoke English led me away to a small administration building where a senior monk showed some old photographs of the temple before the earthquake. I attempted a small conversation, but he could only bow politely and give me a book on Shinto. This book gave an overview of the religion:

“Shinto is a general term for the activities of the Japanese people to worship all the deities of heaven and earth, and its origin is as old as the history of the Japanese. It was towards the end of the 6th century when the Japanese were conscious of these activities and called them “Way of Kami (the deity or the deities)”. It coincides the time when the 31st Emperor Yomei prayed before an image of the Buddha for the first time as and an emperor for recovery of his illness. Thus accepting Buddhism, a foreign religion, the Japanese realized existence of a tradition of their own faith.”¹⁴⁵

Many architectural discourses mention that temples and shrines form the key to understanding Japanese culture and architecture. By virtue of worshiping more than

one god, Shinto is polytheist, and hence it supports a plural set – or a relative set – of values. The first shrines consisted of a piece of unpolluted land that was roped off simply then a tree or stone was placed within the square area where different gods (*kami*) were invited to inhabit the space. Jencks views Buddhism as the heart of Japanese architecture, noting that its inclusiveness allowed modernist architecture to be accepted, since it supports mixed uses and aesthetic contradictions without ever being self-conscious.¹⁴⁵

Outside Kobe is the Yamamura Villa (1918) that Wright designed as a second home for a local sake brewer, and which was constructed by his assistant, Arata Endo. The house was later bought by a steel company and used as a guest house until 1974 when it was designated as a Cultural Landmark and renovated. My usual navigation technique involved a number of detours and requests for direction, and in Kobe this was made doubly tiring by having to go up and down a number of hills. The area around the villa are now built up in a suburban form with seismically-resistant detached dwellings within walled enclosures with garages and private gardens. This suburban form was a development of the traditional *Buke-Yashiki* dwelling for the warrior class. The main feature of this house type was the all-enveloping high wall, with the house either situated at the centre of the plot or towards the front. Again the least decorated and utilitarian rooms were placed closest to the street, emphasizing the inward orientation of the home in preference to the street. Nowadays the suburban equivalent has an opening gate for the car, with the homes remaining aloof from the street and their neighbours.

From the images I had seen of the Yamamura House, I was excited to see how far Wright had taken his Japanese-influenced residential designs back to their origin. In 1918 Wright’s house designs were in advance of typical dwellings in Japan. Wright’s first house design in 1917 was for the Imperial Hotel manager Aisaku Hayashi in the Komazawa district of Tokyo, and was still very much in the Prairie House idiom; it has been altered significantly over the years such that only the living space remains as Wright designed it. In 1918 it is thought that Wright designed four residences: the Fukuhara House, Yamamura House, Viscount Inoue House, and Count Immu House.¹⁴⁶ The Fukuhara House was a country retreat in Hakone for the founder of the Shiseido Company, and was an innovative design with a central courtyard which contained a pool fed by a hot spring. Unfortunately, the house was destroyed



1.121 Suburban home within walled compound, Kobe



1.122 Final direction for Yamamura Villa



1.123 Car entry for Yamamura Villa (1918) by Frank Lloyd Wright



1.124 Ground floor entry lobby, payment and new slippers, Yamamura Villa (1918)
Unusual Views of Outstanding Sites



1.125 First floor, breakfast room with abstract hearth and window seat, Yamamura Villa (1918)



1.126 Second floor, galleried landing, Yamamura Villa (1918)



1.127 Second floor, sequence of three Japanese rooms, Yamamura Villa (1918)



1.128 View from Japanese rooms to external terrace, Yamamura Villa (1918)



1.129 Inset window detail with four interlocking copper squares Yamamura Villa (1918)



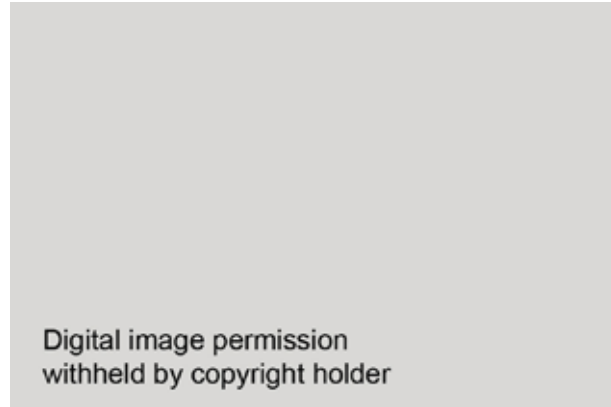
1.130 Second floor, gift shop, Yamamura Villa (1918)



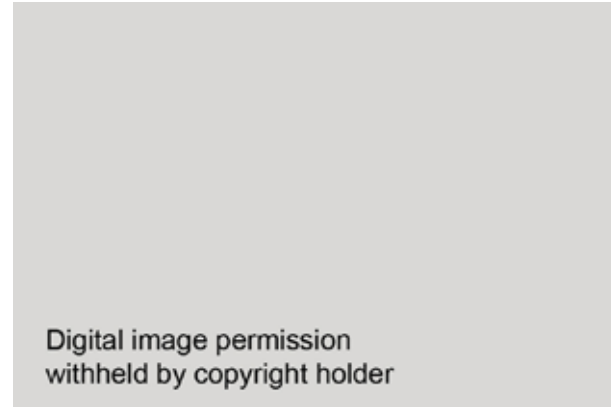
1.131 Third floor dining room, Yamamura Villa (1918)



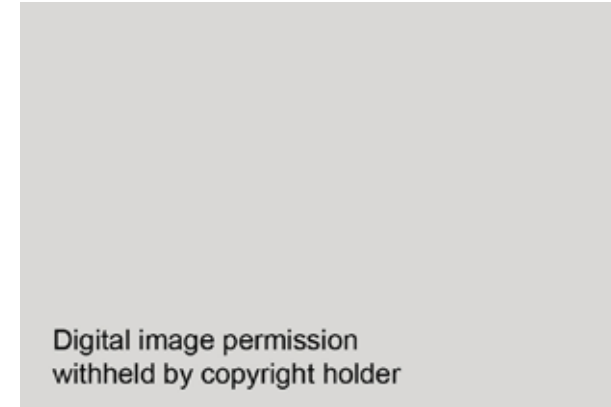
1.132 Third floor, external terrace, Yamamura Villa (1918)



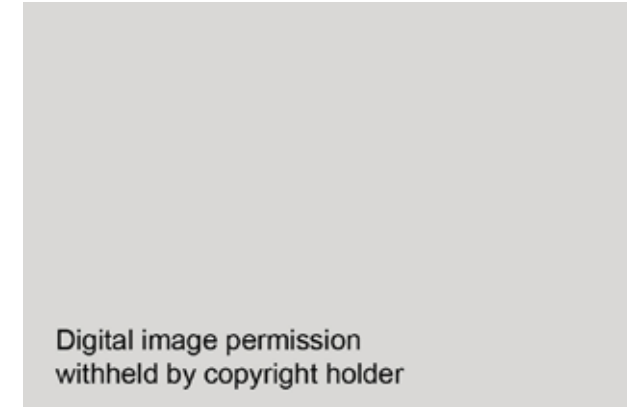
1.133 Aisaku Hayashi House, Tokyo (1917) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon (1991)



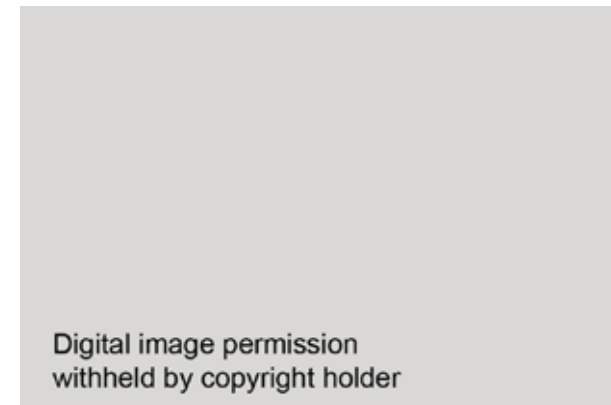
1.134 Fukuhara House (1918) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon (1991)



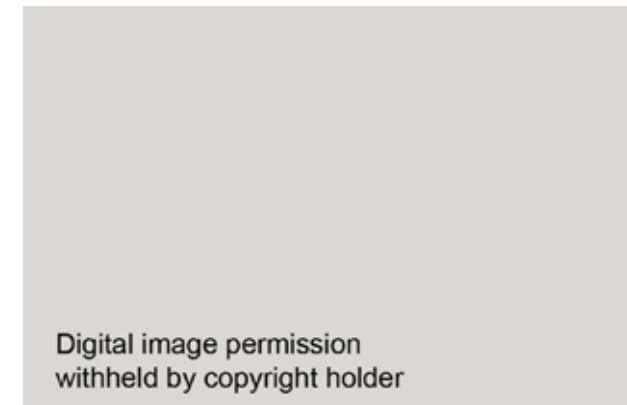
1.135 Viscount Inoue House (1918) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon (1991)



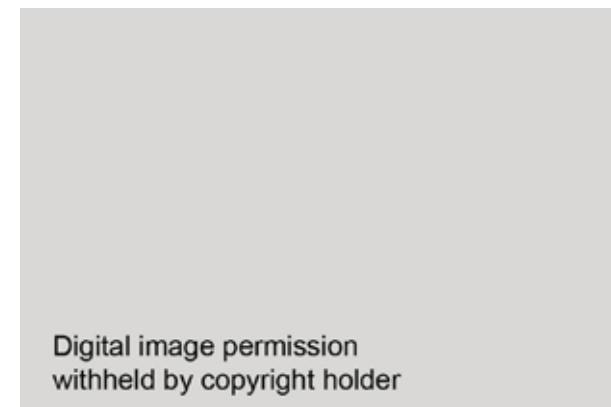
1.136 Elevation, Fujiyama Mansion (1932-33) an example of a *wayo-kongo jutaku* house, image from Stewart, D. (1988)



1.137 Count Goto House (1920) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon (1991)



1.138 Plan, Fujiyama Mansion (1932-33), image from Stewart, D. (1988)



1.139 Count Goto House (1923) by Antonin Raymond, image from Raymond, A. (1973)
Unusual Views of Outstanding Sites

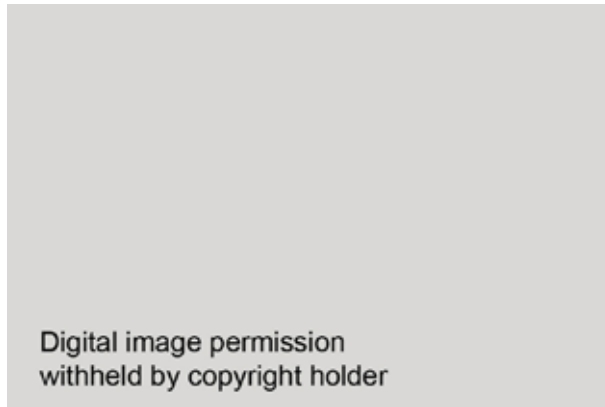
during the Great Kanto earthquake of 1923 and was never reconstructed – so much for Wright’s “designing against doomsday!”¹⁴⁷ The Viscount Inoue House was to be a large mansion with an elongated form similar to the Robie House in Chicago, but never got beyond some outline drawings by Wright. After some investigation, Tanigawa has revealed that Count Innu did not actually exist, and that Wright was rather tardy in his knowledge of Japanese social hierarchy, in that the Count should have been called the Viscount!¹⁴⁸ The last residential design by Wright in Japan was for Count Goto, and again only a few sketches were ever made (although Count Goto later commissioned Raymond to design a house for him).

Therefore only the Yamamura Villa survives as an example of Wright’s domestic design in Japan. My final direction for the Yamamura Villa was from a police booth at the foot of a hill below the house. The villa follows the Taliesin mantra, in being “of the hill,”¹⁴⁹ stepping back with the receding contours. Overall it rises to four stories high, yet is only two-storeys high at any point, and in plan it has a slight turn at its centre. The walls are canted and finished in a mixture of natural coloured render, with Oya stone bands and features. The Yamamura Villa was concurrent with the Barnsdall House (Hollyhock House) in Los Angeles (1916-8) and they share similarities in a number of elements particularly the canted walls, horizontal banding, bridging feature, and their internal decoration. The walls of the Yamamura Villa hide a reinforced concrete frame construction which provided good seismic resistance and also allowed Wright to deliver his trademark spatial continuity. As I approached, a set of ornamental urns greeted me, and I entered the house beneath the first-floor breakfast room that formed a sheltered carport. At the door, an elderly Japanese man sold tickets and I picked up some slippers. On the first floor there was the breakfast room that commanded great views on three sides, overlooking the entrance, the adjacent hill, and a prow that addressed Osaka Bay. At the back of the room was a hearth with an abstract expressionist design. There were recessed window seats and ornately detailed clerestory lights that were detailed like individual lanterns. Wright had developed an intricate design of four patinated copper squares for the house, and used them extensively to diffuse the natural light and for internal screening.

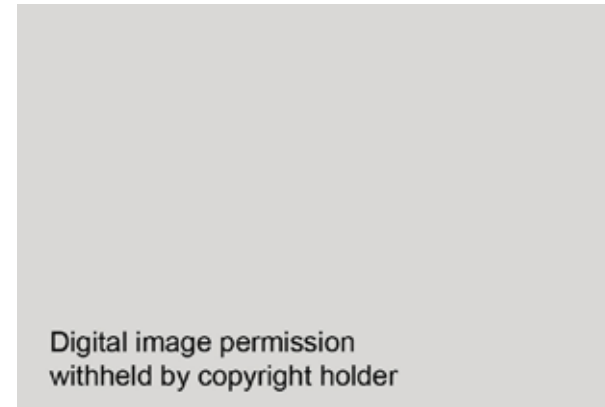
Up on the second floor was a stunning galleried landing that directly engaged with the spectacular autumn colours, and behind the landing were three bedrooms featuring

tatami floor mats, retractable screens and built-in cupboards. The wall decorations and cupboards were however muted in comparison to Wright’s typical western rooms. Was this perhaps Wright’s tribute to Japanese architecture? Unfortunately not, as these rooms were a late addition by the client and were designed by Endo. Beyond the landing are the servant quarters, now converted into a small gift shop with a number of Wright’s details turned into jewellery, key-rings, and T-shirts. In the background *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Film*¹⁵⁰ was playing, and every so often the voice of the ‘master’ could be heard promoting his own reputation. The square dining room on the third floor was a reversion back to a western style, with a hearth by the door and a ceiling feature that gave the space a peculiar centrality of a medieval hall. It was detailed with intricate clerestory lights, integrated electrical light fittings, vertical timber prisms and horizontal dark trims – these interiors were clearly derived from the Prairie House period but with a hint of Secession boldness. The dining room opened out onto an Oya stone porch and a terrace with an expressionist arch around the first-floor chimney framing a view towards the bay. Looking back at the house with its long drawn-out form it was reminiscent of a ship with its bow towards Osaka Bay, and the tall chimneys seeming to add two funnels to the composition.

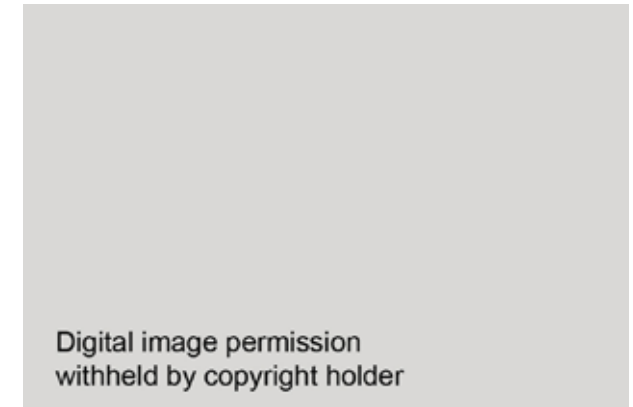
Despite such early tastes of modernism, Japanese clients tended to be reluctant to embrace western values and architecture whole-heartedly. From the 1920s this meant that there were “three house types, namely, *wafu-jutaku* (the Japanese-style house), *yofu-jutaku* (the Western-style house), and the so-called *wayo-kongo jutaku* (combined Western- and Japanese-style dwelling).”^{151a} Often the brief for a private dwelling in Japan required up to three different entrances – for the occupants, guests and servants – as well as a number of public reception rooms for social events. It was also traditional for most Japanese houses to be orientated towards the south. One of the most intriguing and bizarre *wayo-kongo jutaku* houses must be the Fujiyama Mansion in Shiba, Tokyo; it had two separate facades, one a western mock-Tudor construction with half-timbered gables, the other in a Japanese style based on a late-Muromachi period nobleman’s dwelling. On plan they were joined together around a western central courtyard or a Japanese *tsubo*, as a device that was used in a number of inter-war homes to unite the two conflicting needs of western and eastern architectural traditions.



1.140 Dr Reid House (1924) by Antonin Raymond, image from Raymond, A. (1973)



1.141 Reinanzaka House (1923-4) by Raymond, image from Raymond, A. (1973)



1.142 Adachi House (1965) by Raymond, image from Raymond, A. (1973)

Reflecting upon the *wayo-kongo jataku* typology, the Yamamura Villa was hence a successful integration of two traditions without resorting to a dual identity. Was this perhaps because it had two architects, Wright and Endo? Its interiors articulate the conflict between two approaches: Prairie House versus the Japanese Dwelling. Its internal spaces are thus dissimilar. Wright's rooms are constructed around a focused perspective that is familiar and legible for westerners, whilst Endo's Japanese sequence of rooms are flat and exist in a self-contained void. The loudness of Wright's ornamentation was tempered by the stillness and simplicity of Endo's rooms. Yet juxtaposed together, it offers an inventive example of cultural translation and integration. Analysis of its interior revealed that the floors were laid out according to western feet-and-inches, whereas the height of the building was based on a Japanese module.^{151b} The external language throughout was Hollywood Hills meets Osaka. So was the Yamamura House a trans-national house embracing both sides of the Pacific Ocean, uniting the *Buke-Yashiki* Japanese home and the California textile-block construction? It shows that Wright was already forming a global attitude to architecture, one that could stride over the vast Pacific Ocean.

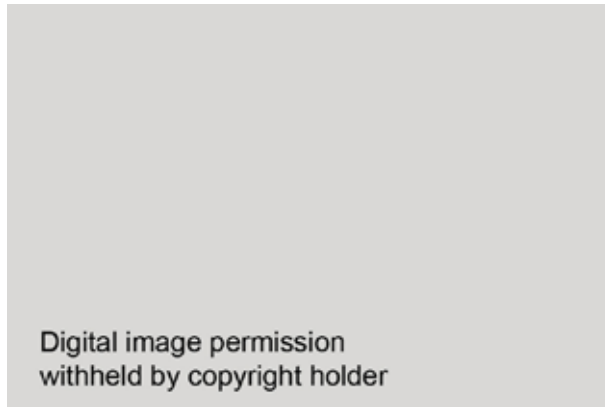
A near-contemporary of Wright was Antonin Raymond, a Czech-American architect who had worked briefly at Taliesin in 1916 on the American System Ready-Cut Housing (1911-17), and then met Wright by chance in New York in 1918. Wright offered him a job as his assistant in Japan, but after a year on the Imperial Hotel project he grew tired of drawing endless renderings, and questioned Wright's over-elaborate design. Raymond left the Imperial Hotel project in 1920, he set up his own practice. In 1924 he exorcised himself completely from Wright by producing the Reinanzaka House (1923-4), a stark Cubist-inspired house finished in white painted concrete. It was informed by European modernist designs that Raymond had distilled from magazines and photographs, Stewart notes that its "its stark rectilinear silhouette and rejection of all ornament, is spiritually part of this 'international style' idiom – or rogues gallery of contemporary design..."¹⁵² Frampton called the house "remarkable" for possessing a concrete frame which also recalled Japanese detailing, yet with other modern elements such as steel fenestration, and an open-plan interior.¹⁵³ Yet, the house design was not fully resolved by Raymond; he was not a theoretician, or ideologically-minded, and he was just content to experiment with new forms.¹⁵⁴ His villa designs reflected current architectural trends, displaying an 'International Style' aesthetic after the war, before returning to a more inventive

combination of Wright and Japanese precedents in the 1960s. Raymond returned after the Second World War to become a successful modern architect in Japan, with the Readers Digest Building (1950) being a particular innovative design.

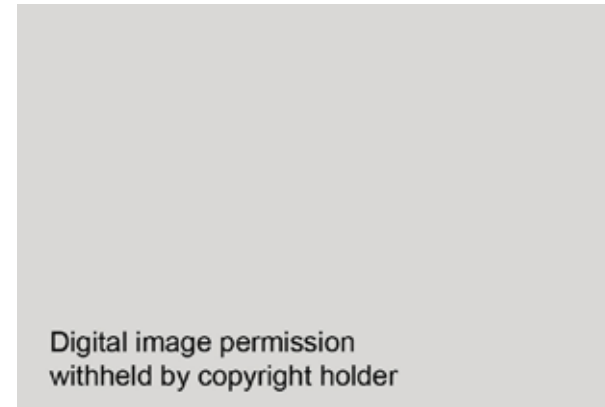
Okayama and Yashima

I arrived in Okayama just in time to make a hotel booking using the Nippon travel agency. The agent asked if I would like a modern hotel, and she was surprised when I said that I preferred a traditional *ryokan*. She pointed out in that great understated Japanese way that the hotel was "not modern"¹⁵⁵ – I think she meant not good. Hotel Matsunoki certainly wasn't modern. It was a bit tired and grim, with long dimly-lit corridors and steel doors. The rooms however were generous, simple, smoky and came with pre-worn slippers. I ventured back into the city for some dinner, and as ever was unable to follow any of the recommendations in my guide book, so I walked down the main road and took a detour down a back street. There I came across a seafood restaurant that looked promising. It had a bar down one side, benches in the middle, and a raised platform on the other side for traditional seating. It seemed lively and there were a few flush-looking Japanese diners around the place. Later on, I was joined at my table by Steve, an elderly Japanese man who asked about my journey.¹⁵⁶ We chatted about my itinerary, and Steve impressed upon me to visit Hiroshima. It was a diversion that I had not planned, I felt uneasy about visiting the site of the first atomic bomb. Yet, I was also curious to visit a city that had survived such a trauma, I made a mental note to call if I could extend my train ticket.

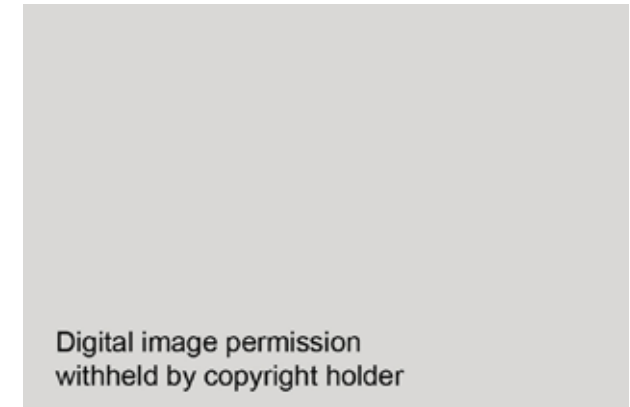
Scholars have guessed that Wright travelled to Okayama to visit the famous garden and he then went on to Takamatsu to visit an "industrial arts school."¹⁵⁷ The Korakuen was established in the seventeenth century by Ikeda Tsunamasa, a local *daimyo*, on an island in the Asahi River with Okayama Castle (1573) to the south towering over the site. The garden was originally called *Koen*, meaning that the garden was built 'later' (after the castle). Construction originally began in 1687 and was completed in 1700, and thus it may be considered an example of an *Edo* period 'stroll garden.' The underlying themes and ideas of the Japanese garden were still present: "the path through the garden was contrived in accordance with the principles of "hide and reveal." It turned the attention of the kimono-clad courtier or household member to a series of sequential focal points that heighten the sense of both space and arrival."¹⁵⁸



1.143 Main Hall, Kohrakuen, Okayama (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996)



1.144 Main Hall, Kohrakuen, Okayama (1905), by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996)



1.145 Distant view of the city of Takamatsu from Yashmina, over the Inland Sea (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996)



1.146 Plan, Kohrakuen, Okayama, image from tourist leaflet



1.147 Main Hall, Kohrakuen, Okayama (2005)



1.148 Main Hall, Kohrakuen, Okayama (2005)



1.149 Distant view of the city of Takamatsu from Yashmina, over the Inland Sea (2005)

In his book *Japanese Gardens*, Conder noted that it was typical of “the many gardens for which the provincial towns of Japan are famous ...”¹⁵⁹ – and he went on to give a detailed account of picturesque qualities of its arrangement, although not making a direct comparison with an English garden. Another principle that was used in Edo period gardens was that of *Shakkei* or borrowed scenery: “the garden is created in the foreground of a vista. Planting, hedges, or walls block out undesirable visual elements in the middle ground, such as neighbouring house or inappropriate natural features, and effect a smooth transition from the foreground and background of the vista. A distant scene is thus incorporated as part of the view.”¹⁶⁰ Wright used *Shakkei* extensively at Taliesin, and within his studio he framed views of the distant landscape and below he displayed his Japanese prints. When Wright visited Korakuen in 1905 he took photographs of the Enyo-tei pavilion, which led some scholars to think mistakenly that Wright had visited Katsura. There were indeed a number of similarities with Katsura, with simple elevated pavilions arranged in a flying “V” configuration, and they possessed white retractable screens that were framed with dark weathered wood.

The train to Takamatsu proved to be a great spectacle, culminating in crossing the Inland Sea to Shikoku. Here there was finally a definite break from the city, and I could see rice fields with small farmsteads before the bridge crossing. When we crossed the Inland Sea, the train was beneath the causeway and could see the large tankers and boats pass underneath, whilst overhead slip-roads intersected the main carriageway - it was a dynamic futurist reality. There were small islands with gleaming sands like jewels, then beyond a gigantic oil refinery. At Takamatsu, it was good to rest my senses, and I caught a local train and a taxi to the eighth-century temple at Yashima which was part of a traditional pilgrimage route. I enjoyed the luxury of the taxi ride with high-tech self-opening doors and homely lace around the back seat. We circulated the small peninsula to the hilltop where the shrine was located. It was out of season and there was an air of lethargy around the place. I walked around the shrine and past more souvenir shops, and again caught a small glimpse of the views which Wright had photographed. But it was getting late and the sun was directly in front of me, so my images were a shallow impression of Wright's. From the plateau I noted that the salt plains of the last century had been replaced by industry and suburban sprawl.

At the base of the hill was Shikoyku-Mura Folk House Open-Air Museum and Gallery. “Thirty three traditional buildings from all over Shikoku and have been reconstructed in their original forms, and are placed here and there throughout the village,”¹⁶¹ it claimed. Wright also recalled a similar experience: “look at the clusters of straw-thatched villages nesting in the nooks of the mountainous land naturally as birds nesting in trees.”¹⁶² I walked through this architectural theme-park in the twilight, and noted that the Japanese agrarian settlements gained in complexity and refinement, before there was a step-change as new buildings were imported. All the domestic houses had thick earth walls and thatched roofs and a raised floor internal feature, which was common in the southern islands of Japan. These small dwellings were built for an extended family and needed to withstand the harsh seasonal changes. The imported masonry technology after the Meiji Restoration was expressed through modern warehouses and, curiously, a stone lighthouse now located on a green hillside! Rather depressingly, the folk museum ends with an imported red Victorian post-box and a Dutch merchant's house from Kobe that was built in 1906 for Wasa Down, the first manifestations of an encroaching global economy, I felt like shouting ‘*Sonno joi!*’ – “Restore the Emperor and expel the barbarian.”

Fukuoka

I booked my room ahead to the Kashima Hokan through my good friend at the Nippon travel agency. Again she was very helpful and fearful of my bad taste in hotels: “You like traditional hotels?!”¹⁶³ She wished me good luck, and drew a small map with directions and a listing in Japanese for a taxi driver if I got lost. The 80-year-old *ryoken* was clean but crooked with sloping walls and floors. I was given a big room off a central garden. Even though it was late I obtained some quick directions and went out for some noodles. Nighttime in Japan is magical with the array of multi-coloured neon and plasma screens that animate whole facades. Daytime has sunlight and nighttime was neon light. Next to the canal I saw some *ramen* shacks with red lanterns outside and just some simple seats around a camp-burner. I managed to get some noodles and enjoyed the communal eating.

I had extended my journey west to include Fukuoka as my friend in Tokyo had told me about a new planned settlement called Island City which has a new garden and a greenhouse by Toyo Ito, known as Grin-Grin. I was interested in modern place-



1.150 Landscape view from Okayama to Takamatsu



1.151 Crossing the Inland Sea



1.152 View looking up to Yashima



1.153 Taxi ride to Yashima



1.154 Flour mill at Shikoyku-Mura Folk House Open-Air Museum



1.155 Storage barn at Shikoyku-Mura Folk House Open-Air Museum



1.156 Displaced Lighthouse at Shikoyku-Mura Folk House Open-Air Museum



1.157 Was Down House, originally from Kobe at Shikoyku-Mura Folk House Open-Air Museum

making in Japan, without the Western impetuosity of the Meiji Restoration. What would be the cultural manifestation in the age of Enlightened Peace? Would these brand new forms possess any traces of 'organic' design? The 40-hectare Island City site was on reclaimed land to the north of Fukuoka and was more or less L-shaped in plan. Over half the area was to be for industry, related to shipping; a quarter was for a garden; with the remaining portion for residential use. A train line connects Huis ten Bosch, the recreated Dutch town with the new Island City – from fake town to new town. It was a short bus trip through the dormitory blocks and over a bridge to Island City and the garden festival. The new garden was meant to be the focal point for the development, with the residential zone and industrial sector to follow. The Japanese garden tradition was now replaced by zonal planning and themed experiences: fire, water and wind. A small rounded elf was the motif for the garden and it seemed to be popular with families and elderly people.

Grin-Grin was 185m long by 50m wide, and had three 'pavilions' that formed a new landscape with tilted walls, planted roofs and walkways. The pavilions were generated from a "single surface twisting twice to form three blocks."¹⁶⁴ This was certainly an inventive twist on the traditional pavilion roof, and a "shape design (Sensitivity Analysis)" CAD method was used to modify the initial form imagined by Toyo Ito and then generate the optimum structural shape "with the least possible bending stress and a minimum of strain energy and deformation."¹⁶⁵ The ground was drawn up to the roof, with green lawn turning into walls, and the garden path was extended into the roof decks. This new 'borrowed landscape' had to be from the *Teletubbies*,¹⁶⁶ I concluded. It was an interpretation of an 'organic' landscape, a re-creation of nature that united the ancient garden traditions of Japan and touched on Wright's 'organic'. As ever in Japan the finished form was executed with an honest expression of materiality, precision, and great workmanship. The pavilions were busy, inside with a number of exhibitions – botanical prints from the Royal Horticultural Society of London; an idealised rose wedding-garden; a hydroponic test tube garden; and, a genetically engineered blue rose. There were other pavilions for refreshments and trade exhibits. The wild flower plantation was colourful, although its recent cultivation made me sceptical about its indigenous credentials. Behind the wild flowers was a miniature golf course. The Japanese garden in the twenty-first century certainly reflects the society's contemporary cultural concerns.

On my way out, I called into the marketing suite for the new residential zone. The context of Japanese housing raises interesting issues. Timber homes in Japan usually last about 25 years, fire-resistant structured dwellings last around 35 years, and so there is a constant process of renewal in housing. Traditional Japanese housing types are being replaced by western homes with a front and rear garden. The houses were marketed according to gross internal area and each had a different material and colour treatment. These were standard suburban western housing units placed around meandering roads, without any redeeming feature or unique identity. There was no idea of being in Japan, or even on an island, and there was no cultural signage or place making in evidence. Within this middle-class suburban environment, the Mitsui Home Group has developed a house based on Wright's early Prairie 'Heurtley' House.¹⁶⁷ This can now be purchased and sited anywhere in Japan, thus enhancing Wright's global outreach but compromising Wright's early proclamation that "there should be as many kinds (styles) of houses as there are kinds (styles) of people."¹⁶⁸

Nearby was another exercise in urban housing. The Nexus World Kashii building exhibition was a continuation of the nineteenth-century European model and the modernist 1927 Stuttgart Weissenhof exhibition. Nexus however, reflects the diverse 1990s, housing for the consumer age. Arata Isozaki was the master-planner and coordinator for the project. He favoured an open approach that would allow each architect to interpret each site differently: "Renga is a form of Japanese poetry in which the given subject continually elicits a response from several poets, resulting in a chain of individual expressions of the participants. As a master planner I wanted to contribute toward the realisation of a form renga in this project."¹⁶⁹ The development was to cover a full block and six architects were selected to work on their own perimeter sites.

Rem Koolhaas reflected upon his part of the brief, by stating: "Dilemma of European architect building in Japan. Should the project be "as Western as possible"? Is it just another export like van Gogh, a Mercedes, or a Vuitton bag? Or should it reflect the fact that it exists in Japan?"¹⁷⁰ He designed 24 individual houses that were orientated around a void with a continuous staircase joining the different spaces together, finishing on the third floor with a living space. Koolhaas describes the houses as "a suite of living, dining open air, and "Japanese" rooms where screens and curtains



1.158 Garden Festival at Island City, Fukuoka (2005)



1.159 Grin-Grin (2005) by Toyo Ito



1.160 View from roof, Grin-Grin (2005)



1.161 Internal view, Grin-Grin (2005)



1.162 Tourist Map of Garden Festival at Island City



1.163 Overlapping roof forms, Grin-Grin (2005)

generate different configurations.”¹⁷¹ Interestingly, Koolhaas uses another traditional Japanese idea for the perimeter by using a rustic ‘cyclopic’ wall to wrap around the exterior of the blocks (similar to a *Buke-Yashiki* warrior class home). This ensures privacy but removes any interaction between the occupants and the city. Steven Holl took the developer’s desire to introduce Japanese home-buyers to new living patterns as an invitation to “bring the poetic dimension into the everyday life of the modern apartment house.”¹⁷² To achieve this aim, he designed his 28 apartments each with a hinged wall what would allow for daily changes in the apartment – from sleeping to living, and for longer term expansion and contractions in family life. The hinged wall was a clever reinterpretation of the flexible screens used in traditional Japanese homes, yet it seems heavy and solid in contrast to the lightness of traditional architecture. The other blocks designs were even more over-laboured and caught out by the rapidly changing styles in architecture. If the intention was to disrupt the existing order in residential design in Japan, then Nexus was a success, as its contrast to the surrounding conditions could not have been greater. The housing blocks by Koolhaas and Holl responded differently to the Japanese context; they were the best-crafted poems within Isozaki’s disjointed *renga* of post-modernist architecture.

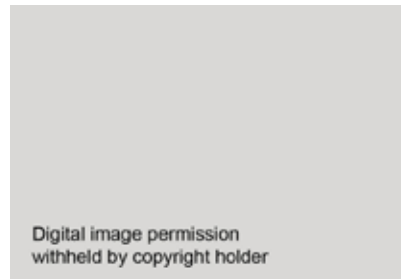
Hiroshima and Nagoya

It was daybreak when I caught the early *Shinkansen* to make it all the way across the country to Nikko and to see Hiroshima on the way. The early morning light cast a long shadow over the emerging landscape as my train accelerated towards the east and the rising sun. Leaving Fukoka there was the welcome relief of some green hills, fields and trees. Small villages stretched out along the roads. From the railway station I caught a local tram to ‘A-Bomb Dome.’ It was announced electronically in American – all the other stops were in Japanese. It was eight in the morning and the A-Bomb Dome building at the epicentre of the Hiroshima blast cast a long eerie shadow. Still, there was life all around with people cycling to work, whilst others like me sat and attempted to comprehend the events of 60 years previously. Hiroshima proved to be an attractive town with modern buildings all around and two rivers running through the middle of the city. I cross the river to the Peace Park, which is a long linear park with broad tree lined paths and well maintained lawns. At the

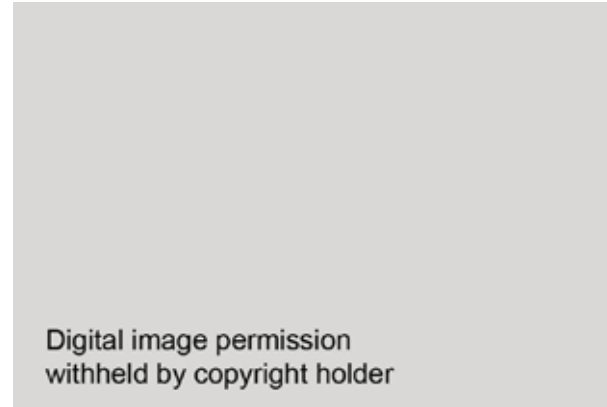
bottom of the park I recognise the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and follow the early-morning visitors inside. There were a number of displays to describe the routine and events at 8.15am on 6th August 1945: they also quantify and name the victims. There were maps, models and films showing the location of the explosion and its effect on the surrounding environment. The severity of the blast was recorded by human shadows cast on stone, molten metal lunch-boxes, and disfigured glass bottles. Most harrowing still were the slow deaths that followed.

Kenzo Tange won the 1946 competition to design the Hiroshima Peace Centre Complex (1949-52). The complex has a number of sites that commemorate the bombing within a planned park. A 100-metre wide ‘axis of peace’ begins at the A-Bomb Dome and continues south across the river linking the peace cairn, eternal flame, peace pond, cenotaph for the A-Bomb victims, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Building (West), fountain of prayer, and statue of ‘Mother and Child in a Storm.’ It was ironic that such an ambitious planning statement was only made possible by the intervention of the atomic bomb, the ultimate modern technology. At the Cenotaph two elderly women were arranging new flowers, and a steady stream of tourists passed them when going into the museum. The central pavilion was understated, touching the ground lightly with a simple repetitive façade: a vessel for memories. It was based on a number of traditional Imperial precedents. Its form was taken from the Heian Ho-o-do (Phoenix Hall) from Kyoto, and the pavilion was raised up and the spacing of the vertical mullions were taken from Katsura,¹⁷³ and the horizontal roof line symbolised a new direction from the 1930s nationalists. It was also a design by a famous Japanese architect which was fully legible to the west.

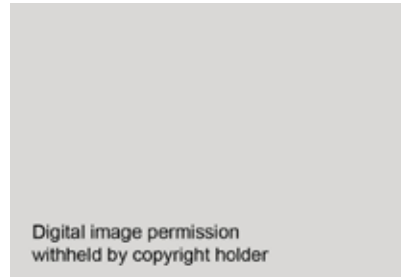
Ross’s family tree of modern Japanese architecture places Kenzo Tange at its centre, with a lineage to both Le Corbusier and Wright.¹⁷⁴ However, there were a number of intermediaries between Tange and those two great architects that included; Antonin Raymond and Kunio Maekawa. Having worked for two years with Le Corbusier and then five years with Raymond before beginning his own practice in 1935, Maekawa was perhaps the best placed in Japan to distil the twin influences of rationalist and ‘organic’ design. His housing in Harumi, Tokyo (1957-8) was a cultural awakening, according to Banham, with its monumental western reinforced concrete frame and interchangeable interiors or cultural spaces. Was it a Japanese unification of both modernist traditions?



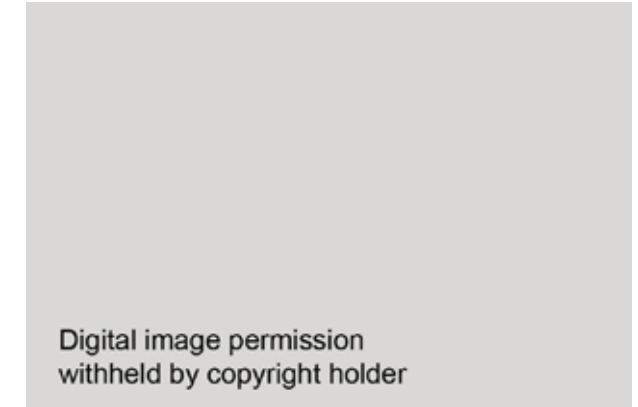
1.164 First Floor Plan, Heurtley House (1901), , image from Wright, F. L. (1982)



1.165 Heurtley House, Oak Park (1901) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F.L. (1982)



1.166 Ground Floor Plan, Heurtley House (1901), , image from Wright, F. L. (1982)



1.167 Rear facade, Heurtley House (1901), image from Wright, F. L. (1982)



1.168 Typical House in Island City (2005)



1.169 Heurtley House (2005) by Mitsui Home Group, image from www.mitsuihome.co.jp.



1.170 Standard plans, by Mitsui Home Group, image from www.mitsuihome.co.jp.



1.171 Internal views, by Mitsui Home Group, image from www.mitsuihome.co.jp.



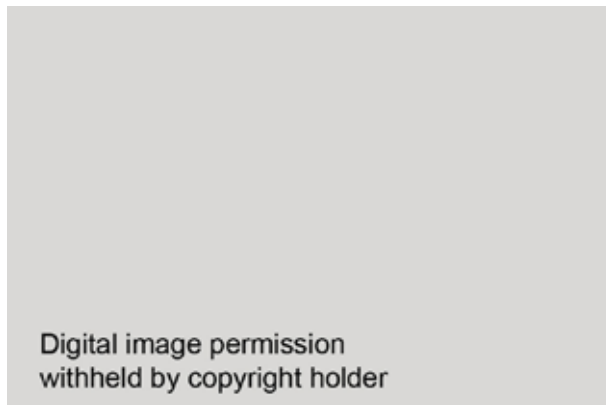
1.172 Apartments by Steven Holl, Nexus World Kashii



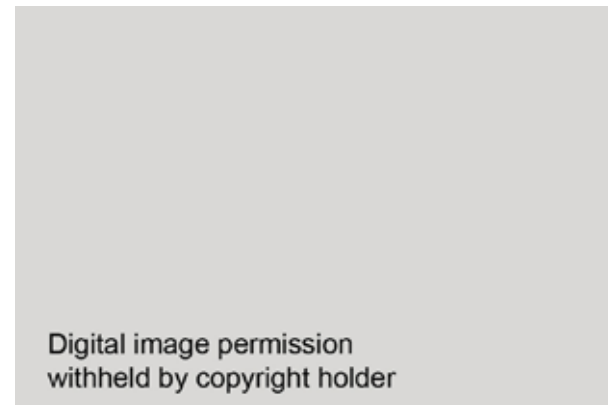
1.173 Apartments by Rem Koolhaas, Nexus World Kashii



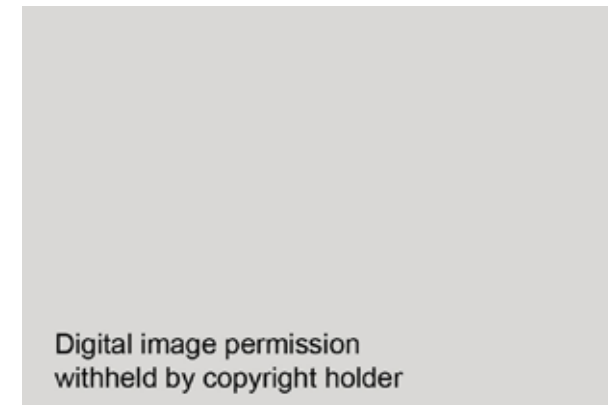
1.174 Internal landscape, Nexus World Kashii



1.175 Internal view of Holl's hinged wall, Nexus World Kashii, image from Derossi, P. (1992)



1.176 Section thru Koolhaas' apartments, Nexus World Kashii, image from Koolhaas, R. (1995)



1.177 Site plan with participants, Nexus World Kashii, image from Koolhaas, R. (1995)



1.178 Journey start from Fukouka to Nikko



1.179 A-bomb Dome, Hiroshima



1.180 Axis of Peace, Hiroshima Peace Centre Complex (1949-52) by Kenzo Tange



1.181 Eternal Flame, Hiroshima Peace Centre Complex (1949-52)



1.182 Tourist Plan, Hiroshima Peace Centre Complex (1949-52)



1.183 Elevation, Hiroshima Peace Centre Complex (1949-52)



1.184 Entrance, Hiroshima Peace Centre Complex (1949-52)

“..here was a totally unexpected synthesis of Eastern and Western themes, full of profound suggestions that seemed to promise more for the West than for Japan. Here, almost certainly, is the point from which the Japonization of Western modern architecture was to begin...

The block's huge, rhetorically overweight concrete frame of structure and services already foretells the massive sculptural concrete-work that was to dominate world architecture in the next decade – and foretells it more accurately than any late work of Le Corbusier (who had been Maekawa's master long before).

... the Harumi apartment block introduces an entirely new theme into the history of world architecture; it is no longer traditional Japanese construction and craftsmanship exercising a marginal influence on Western architecture, but a modern Japanese version of Western architecture which will exercise a central, not marginal, influence on the world at large.”¹⁷⁵

Maekawa's building not only foretold the ideas of the Metabolist megastructures, but served as a meditation on the Japanese *wayo-kongo jataku* home, yet built within a rationalist concrete frame.

Tange took up architecture after seeing a rendering of Le Corbusier's Palace of the Soviets (1931) competition entry in a magazine. He had competition wins against Maekawa for the Greater Asia Co-prosperity Sphere Memorial Building (1942), Japan Cultural Centre in Bangkok (1943) and Atomic Bomb Memorial Park, Hiroshima (1950). These projects were to represent Japan as a colonial power, an occupier and a victim, and took on Imperial architectural precedent as its starting point coupled with a heavy *Teikan* roof to please the nationalists. Within the context of Japan's expanding post-war population, supported by economic prosperity, two parallel models for urban growth were presented at the Tokyo Design Conference (1960). These were the Tokyo Plan and Metabolism. The Tokyo Plan by Tange was a proposal for the structural reorganisation of the city for 10 million inhabitants that would have entailed a transformation of the existing radial structure into a linear form. Stewart suggests that Tange sought to project the ancient grid from Kyoto onto the plan of Edo/Tokyo.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, Tange the arch-modernist was questioning Wright's work claiming it was; “an individual statement, bringing the irrational part of

a man to the surface quite individualistically, rather than having a firm methodology and using form based on it with mutually agreed-upon foundation. From an objective viewpoint, his designs are rather arbitrary.”¹⁷⁷

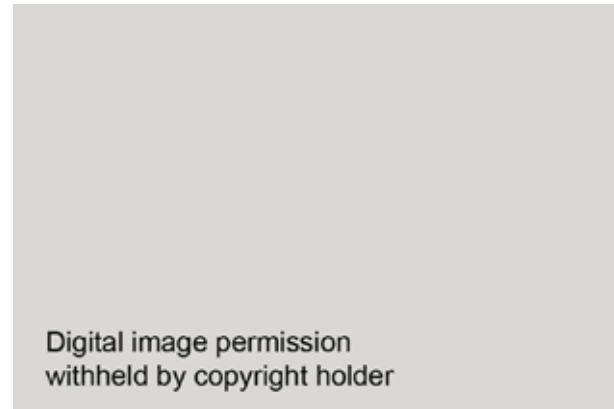
Another indigenous group published the manifesto on Metabolism, which promoted a biological analogy to describe cities and their buildings, especially for how they might adapt and mutate over time:

“The image Metabolism deployed comprised a permanent core supplemented by a shorter-term growth module. The former was a megastructure that may be likened to a tree trunk or a spinal cord; the latter resembled the branches of a tree or organs of the body, constantly renewing its cellular metabolism...”¹⁷⁸

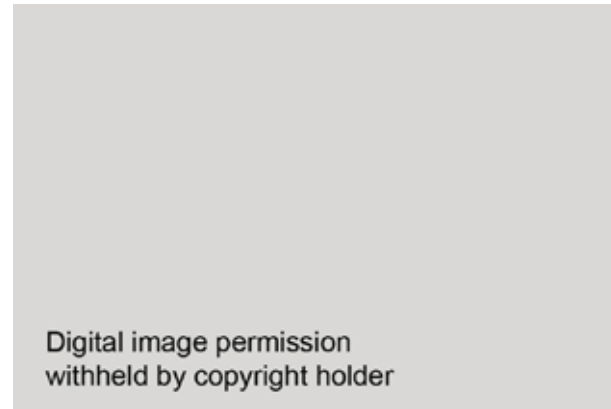
Despite the use of a biological, or cellular, metaphor the scale was truly ambitious: “as with so much Metabolist architecture the emphasis on change has been actually rationalised a monumentality that appears to be inflexible.”¹⁷⁹ Boyd optimistically identified an emerging hybrid culture that was being displayed by the Metabolists:

“The style which Japanese architects have so rapidly evolved is also something of an in-between. It is not a compromise, but it is equidistant from Functionalism and Formalism, from Technocracy and Humanism. It is halfway between the integrated, unified “organic” architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright (as experienced firsthand in the master's Imperial Hotel) and the cool, hard, geometrically abstracted forms of Le Corbusier (as experienced firsthand in the master's museum at Ueno Park.)”¹⁸⁰

Yet, Wright's ideas were only reappraised in Japan by the imminent demolition of the Imperial Hotel in 1968, with Fujioka claiming that his innovative manipulation of spaces as source of inspiration,¹⁸¹ whilst Kurokawa noted that his contemporary designers were more concerned with a “living in symbiosis with nature.”¹⁸² Isozaki was a contemporary of the Metabolists and worked for Tange, and went on to become a master of adopting current architectural trends and enhancing them beyond their original meaning – Jencks has called him a “neo-mannerist.”¹⁸³ Isozaki explains his eclectic approach to architecture in these terms:



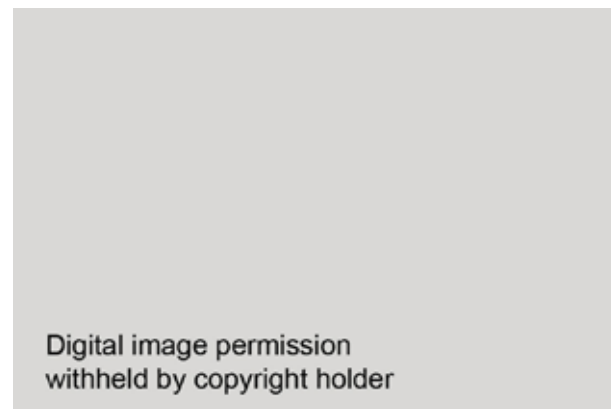
1.185 Family tree of Japanese architects, image from Ross, M. (1978)



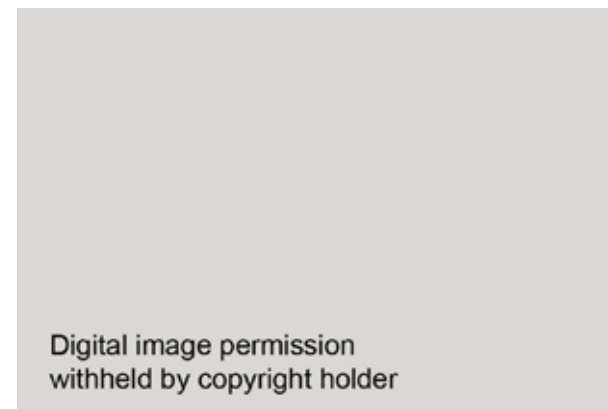
1.186 Harumi Apartments, Tokyo (1957-8) by Kunio Maekawa, image from Stewart, D. (1988)



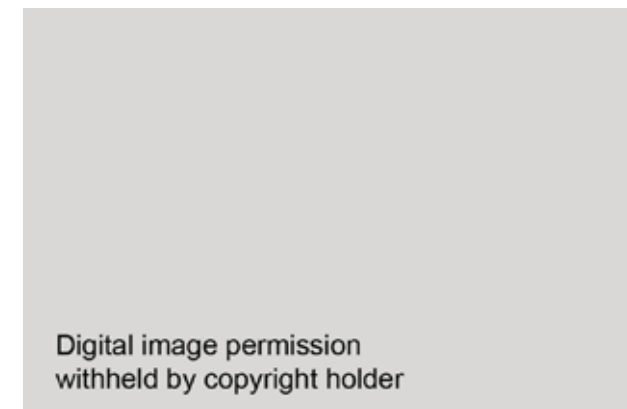
1.187 Festival Hall by Kunio Maekawa



1.188 Tokyo Plan (1960) by Kenzo Tange, image from Ross, M. (1978)



1.189 Marine Civilization Scheme (1960) by Kiyonari Kikutake, image from Ross, M. (1978)



1.190 Nakagin Apartment Tower, Tokyo (1972) by Kisho Kurokawa, image from Stewart, D. (1988)

“All that is left for us to do is to manipulate already existing multifarious and extremely accurately worked out visual vocabulary items... mix in a disconnected fashion the many layers of historical fact, multiple styles, and regional visual vocabularies... One may trace elements [in my buildings] borrowed from the works of many great architects: Le Corbusier’s concrete, Mies van der Rohe’s steel sashes, Nervi’s precast concrete, Wright’s sense of fluidity, Alto’s plastic surfaces.. Louis Kahn, Robert Venturi, Charles Moore, James Sterling.”¹⁸⁴

From being a follower of western architectural precedents, Japan is now a leading participant on the global architectural scene, with a number of architects that are invited to build across the globe, or are invited to preside over international design competitions. Their mastery of spatial manipulation and the honest use of materials are qualities that define their designs – elements that also respond to a culturally nuanced understanding of ‘organic’ architecture.

Nikko

I made full use of my Japan rail pass by making it all the way to Nikko on the other, eastern side of Tokyo. There was a chill in the air and at the *ryoken* I was given a mobile space-heater and was reminded again about ‘slipper’ etiquette. I switched off my heater and went to sleep in the company of some late-night chat in the next room. From the photographs that Wright had kept from the 1905 trip, he had gone waterfall crazy in Nikko, taking about ten pictures at different sites. It is thought that he bought some of these images, but anyway I decided to visit the Keggon waterfall. The autumn colours were receding, and the clear sky had a cool chill.

The mausoleums and shrines around Nikko were erected by the Tokugawa Shogunate as means to consolidate their military power and to gain posthumous authority by elevating their leader to the realm of a deity. The architectural expression of these mausoleums was therefore critical to support their rule and authority.

“The Tokugawa were able to exploit fully the political advantages of paying pious homage to the deceased in order to sanctify the power of the living by

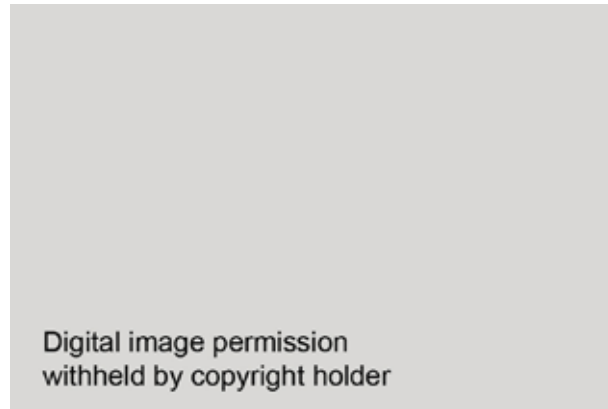
an unprecedented programme of mausoleum construction. The Tokugawa mausolea, or *reibyo*, created an aura of divine authority around the Tokugawa shogunate, in particular the founding shogun Ieyasu who was now elevated to the status of a Shinto deity and worshipped at a special shrine dedicated to his spirit ..”¹⁸⁵

Within the complex there are about five different sites, each set at a different level with a distinctive shrine or feature. To assist in recognising the different sites my ticket had a small map with each feature noted graphically but orientated around the entry path, so that the map had to be rotated at each turn. The first temple was dedicated to three Buddhas; these were only the second Buddhist representations that I had seen in Japan, despite its lasting impact on the religion and culture of the nation. Detailed analysis of the site reveals that there was a shift away from Buddhist architectural forms towards Shinto after Ieyasu became an avatar within the Shinto creed. The scale of the shrines were smaller than the temples I had visited in Kyoto. Although based on simple forms, the shrines displayed a wealth of decoration including the use of gold in many of the interiors. The modernist, Bruno Taut derided the site as Baroque bombast and non-authentic kitsch.¹⁸⁶ Yet, I consider these overblown displays of Shogun authority as a point of departure for Wright’s own experimentation with decoration at the Imperial Hotel, as he sought to integrate ornament within the structure – a long standing Wrightian concern.

Daniel Treiber identifies Nikko as an important element in Wright’s architecture by analysing the landscape setting, entry and circulation.¹⁸⁷ There are abundant turns and abrupt quarter turns throughout the landscape, coupled with gradual and steep rises in elevation. Treiber argues convincingly that these were a very instructive metaphor for Wright’s experience of Japan.¹⁸⁸ Nute claimed that the Taiyu-in-byo was an early model of Wright’s Unity Temple (1905-8), and hence I was keen to view this temple at first hand.¹⁸⁹ Taiyu-in-byo lay within a stone wall enclosure with one central entry, and inside the compound were a number of small shrines in the court by the gate. I removed my shoes before climbing the steep stone stair and entering an enclosed intimate area for worship. The plan was defined by a tatami spiral arrangement. Circular columns marked the perimeter, and pilgrims faced the shrine across a covered link. There was a definite axial arrangement with the three different spatial experiences from worship, to link, to shrine. The three spaces were all at



1.191 Tourist Plan of Toshogu Shrine complex



1.192 Kegon Falls, Nikko (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996)



1.193 Yomeimon – the Sun Bright Gatehouse, at the top right of the image, Toshogu Shrine complex



1.194 Gate to Toshogu Shrine, Toshogu Shrine complex



1.195 Tourists at Kegon Falls, Nikko (2005)



1.196 Temple enclosure, Toshogu Shrine complex



1.197 Path within the landscape, Toshogu Shrine complex

different heights, with a few steps dropping down to the link and then up again to the shrine itself. Visitors were not allowed beyond the worshipping space, and the shrine itself was shrouded with fabric. Nute was right about the relationship between the plan of Unity Temple with Taiyu-in-byo, but the spatial qualities, entry condition and means of inhabitation were not at all similar.¹⁹⁰ Wright's design for the Unity Temple has an oblique entry, a refined section, and a more subtle play of volumes, as also Treiber notes.¹⁹¹

After my tour of the mausoleums, I grab a quick lunch and then catch a bus up the hill passing a number of half-timbered mock-Alpine gift shops. The bus journey takes me up into the mountains, and the gradual ascent becomes a number of hairpin bends, and soon the valley disappears below. At the summit was a small town on a lake with more tourist shops. There were signs here for the Keggon Falls, but the lower vantage point was blocked off and the cable-car was not working. The size of the falls were impressive. In the evening light of the autumn the stone took on a blue-grey hue; the water looked icy, and the receding leaf coverage provided a speckled orange pattern. At the lake I was surprised to see that the forested landscape was not cultivated. The following day the front page of the *Japan Times* noted: "Fall falling back and spring springing forward", accompanied by a photograph of the "popular Iroha-zaka highway in Nikko" and the following assessment: "A study by the Meteorological Agency says fall foliage is appearing more than two weeks later than about 50 years ago and spring flowers are blooming nearly 10 days earlier due to global warming, agency officials said on Wednesday."¹⁹²

Tokyo revisited

On my return to Tokyo I got a bargain for a small room for about 2500 yen in the transient budget community in the Low City in the Asakusa district. My room was truly tiny: even the tatami mats were cut down, and so I had to sleep diagonally. By the time I had settled in and made a quick call home and had a shower, it was almost midnight. I managed to find a restaurant with no English-speaking waiters. I ate some sushi and drank a beer and felt quite at home. As Seidensticker states, that "even today something of Edo remains"¹⁹³ within the Low City. I could not agree more: this was the texture, the sounds and smells of the city that Sasaki¹⁹⁴ so clearly identifies as the real Tokyo. The converse was also accurate that the High City

was the ultimate fruition of the Meiji Restoration, a sterile assembly of "dead forms" from the west, as Wright predicted.¹⁹⁵ Walking around Asakusa I came across the neglected Sumida-gawa River. It had with no buildings on its banks, just a few sad-looking houseboats and an elevated highway. On the other side of the river was the Ashai Super Dry Hall by Phillippe Starck which was topped by a Dali-esque golden cloud (or turd, as some claim). The Low City is a wonderfully diverse, and the global high-tech image of Tokyo here becomes more local and animated. A man walked the streets pulling a small trailer full of cardboard; set back from the street was a small shrine to a half-man / half-frog golden effigy; one street was full of stainless-steel kitchen wares; small old shops sold traditional kimonos; and fish restaurants advertised their live catch in their windows. I ventured inside one restaurant for lunch and sat down at a low table beneath a high-level bar. Next to me was a large flat-screen television on the wall. It being the eleventh day of November I was surprised to see *Tora! Tora! Tora!*¹⁹⁶ on the screen. By the time it took me to order and to eat my meal, Pearl Harbor had been flattened.

Setagaya Museum (1985) by Shozo Uchii was another tribute to Wright and a veritable treat of Usonian-style architecture. There were primary forms and textured blocks in abundance, offset by large expanses of glass. Inside and out there were constant references to Wright, but handled in restrained and innovative way. The geometry was primal – square galleries, with triangular pergolas, offset by circular entry and circulation spaces. The fractured composition addressed the park well, with small sculpture courts and open spaces, yet its obvious post-modernism dated it back to the heady days of the '1980s Bubble' economy. I bought a ticket for an Islamic exhibition, that was organised by the Victoria and Albert Museum in London; their familiar V&A motif made me feel quite at home. At the end of the exhibition, I entered a double height corridor with an exposed concrete finished wall with smooth concrete buttresses that was clearly medieval. Towards the restaurant the space was compressed into a wide corridor with a glazed wall that connected with the external sculpture garden. The semi-enclosed link played with similar materials – bands of textured and smooth concrete with a triangular groove cut into the ceiling, giving it a futuristic aspect. The restaurant paid homage to Wright's Californian textured-block homes of the 1920's, but finished again with immaculate Japanese detailing and workmanship. A triangular external pergola motif reappeared in the garden, possibly borrowed from the roof supports in Wright's Wisconsin drafting studio.



1.198 Taiyu-in-byo Mausoleum enclosure, Toshogu Shrine complex



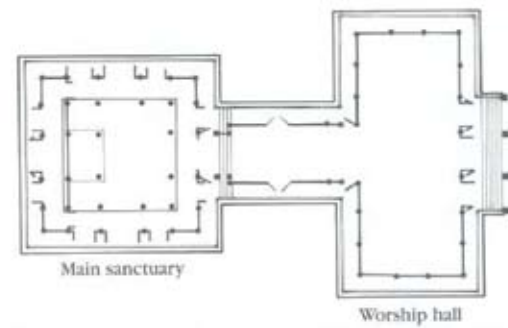
1.199 Taiyu-in-byo contains the mausoleum of the third shogun Tokogawa Iemitsu who died in 1651, Toshogu Shrine complex



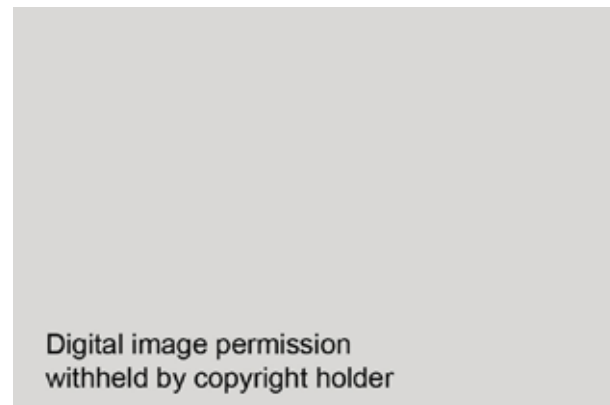
1.200 Link and sanctuary, Taiyu-in-byo



1.201 Entry gate and storage for scrolls, Taiyu-in-byo



8.18 The *gongen*-style plan form of the Nikko Taiyu-in-byo.



1.202 Taiyu-in-byo and Unity Temple, plan analysis, image from Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 8.18, 8.19, p.150)

Shozo Uchii has describes the concepts that underpin this design. They include that of integrating the design within the park setting, thereby considering the museum as a living space and embracing all art.¹⁹⁷ The intimacy of the spaces were emphasised in the design to make the museum a real living space that was “a comfortable place where one can stay for a long time..”¹⁹⁸ In a more considered articulation of his “Sound Architecture”, Uchii notes the need for individual expression in architecture and of a spiritual dimension to his work.¹⁹⁹ Not surprisingly, he admits to admiring the work of Frank Lloyd Wright, yet frustratingly he has not explained the influences of Wright’s work on his own oeuvre, or within Japanese architecture as a whole.

My time in Tokyo had now sadly run out, and so I headed towards Ikeburro to meet up with Junko, Johei and his boss, (the former Taliesin apprentice). I meet Johei at exit number one and we chatted about his wedding plans at Jiyu Gauken. His office was set in a residential block, mixed-use at its most diverse. We were welcomed by “Handa not Honda”, who was dressed in black and looked like a professor of architecture. The office was small, and as I walk in some more people appear from behind corners. There was a Taliesin lamp that may well have belonged in any number of Wright’s Usonian commissions: Handa picked it up for \$50 in the USA. I sit down at the meeting table and Johei introduces me to everyone. I show them a copy of *Fifty Views of Japan* with the original photographs taken by Wright in 1905, and we discuss the route he took. Handa speaks good English and he asks if I am related at all to the Lloyd Jones clan. I assure him of my neutrality. We discuss the renovation of Jiyu Gauken and he tells me that the ideas behind the school were very much in tune with Wright’s own principles. The reverential address of “Mr Wright” was adopted – not the jocular “Wrighto-San” that Wright often used in his writing on Japan.²⁰⁰ He tells me that two other associates are going to call in later, although I did not catch their names, and that we were going to view some slides. The slide was a combination of Handa’s own images and a number of slides passed down by Raku Endo. Indeed, there were slides of Raku at a crit with Olgivanna, interior views of Taliesin North showing Japanese artefacts (which were of good quality and worth a lot of money nowadays according to the former associates), and a picture of Handa on a motorbike on a trip across America.

Handa: What did you think of the green colour to the school? We were not

very sure, and we had to look at a number of old photographs and strip back all the old paint to get to the original colour.

Gwyn: I think it is an organic colour, but clearly not Wright’s favourite Cherokee Red!

What was life like in the Taliesin Fellowship?

Apprentice 2: It was tough at times. We enjoyed our time in the desert very much. The desert shelter was a very interesting project. Steve’s shelter was one of the best and was used for many years by other apprentices

Apprentice 1: I had an advantage being a boat builder. I wanted to go to Taliesin to learn architecture having read so much about Wright.

I thought that you had to make a new shelter every year in the desert – I did not realise that you could recycle old ones.

Apprentice 2: if it is good it lasts.

What was Olgivanna like at the Fellowship?

Handa, I did not meet Mrs Wright at the fellowship.

What about organic architecture in Japan? Are there many practioners?

Apprentice 2: Handa does some interesting work using traditional materials and techniques.

I was down by the Tokyo waterside this morning and I was surprised that the buildings do not address the river at all.

Apprentice 1: That is true. We do not have the beauty of European cities and we do not have buildings that address the water as a traditional typology.

Apprentice 2: Yes, I travelled widely in Europe and enjoyed the cities very much and thought that they were very attractive, particularly Rome.

And why do think that the cities in Japan have developed as they are now?

Apprentice 2: We have a very bureaucratic planning system and during the Meiji period of expansion a lot of old buildings were destroyed, ,so we do not have that sense of history.

And yet, I find the Japanese city exhilarating and dynamic and unlike any other European city.²⁰¹



1.203 Free planning with different forms addressing the park, Setagaya Museum (1985) by Shozo Uchii,



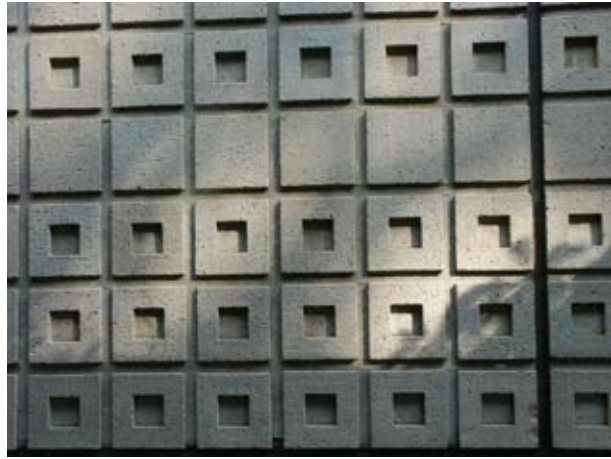
1.204 Internal courtyard, Setagaya Museum (1985)



1.205 External pergola, triangular forms from Wright's drafting room at Taliesin North, Setagaya Museum (1985)



1.206 Handa, former Taliesin Associate



1.207 Textured block, Setagaya Museum (1985)



1.208 Internal circulation, Setagaya Museum (1985)



1.209 Link to cafe, Setagaya Museum (1985)



1.210 Final evening with Taliesin Associates

Summary

Japan's history of development shows a traditional society that is contingent, embracing change yet maintaining its cultural roots. The forms of the early-Chinese architecture was adopted and refined – as Ross noted, “Chinese learning with Japanese spirit.”²⁰² It is an expression that displays Japan's openness to change and its ability to manipulate it. With the Meiji Restoration, the phrase was mutated into “Western learning with Japanese spirit.”²⁰³ In this case the constitution was engineered to appear western, whilst it was still underpinned by traditional values. There is a recurring theme of adoption, mutation and contingent responses, which embraces the new yet maintain the ancient values of the past. With the onset of globalisation, the nation's cultural identity is again being questioned. Whereas the first battle of globalisation had been all about issues of national identity, in an ever more connected world, this latest phase of globalisation is more about diversity and fragmentation. Consequently, all architectural styles are now concurrent, and Wright's language and ideas can be readily used to generate a sensation – be it the Heurtley suburban home by Mitsui Homes or the Setagya Museum. Wright is now as valid as any other precedent.

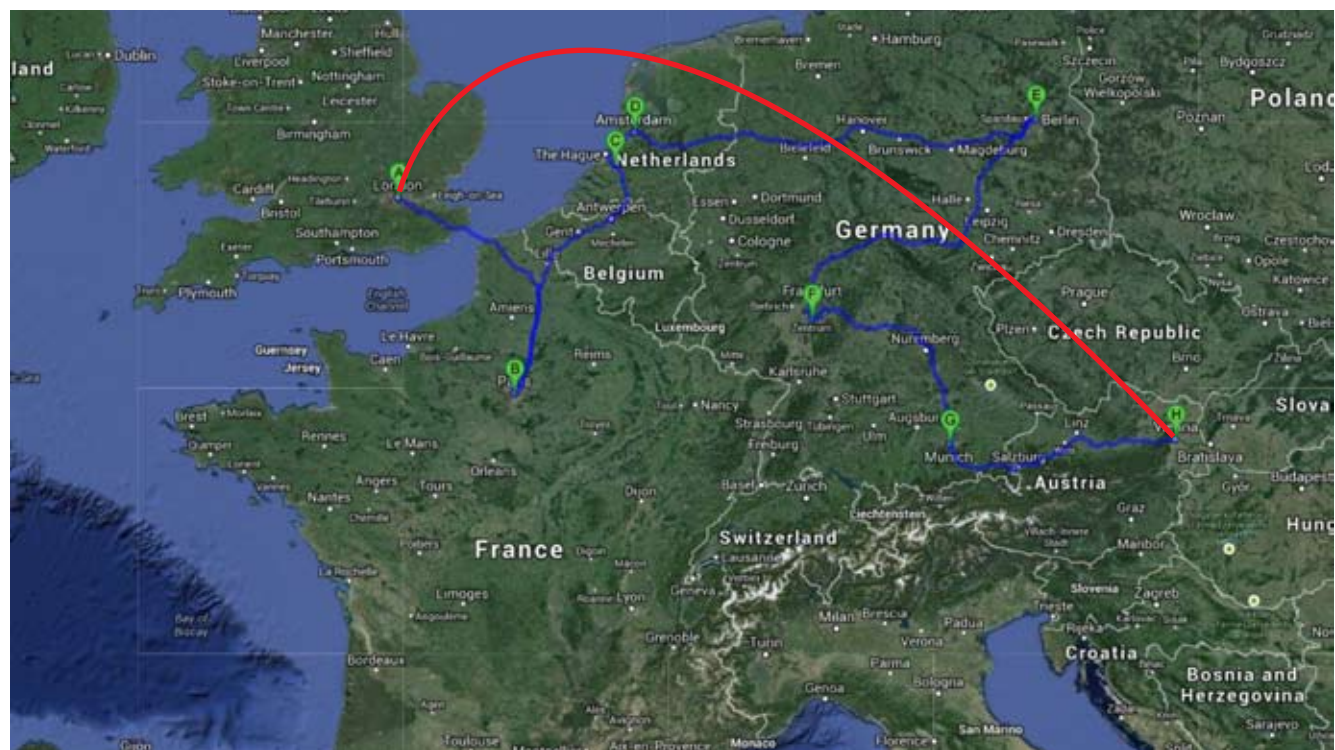
Wright was the first signature architect to come to terms with the shrinking modern world and the early ‘crisis’ of globalisation. The Ho-o-den pavilion from the Chicago Columbia Exposition in 1893 represented the Japanese state vision of itself – i.e. as ultra Japanese. Wright was inspired by seeing it at first-hand and it helped to develop the Prairie Houses; hence what can be said to be the first modern homes developed from a “cultural confusion,” as Isozaki claims.²⁰⁴ When asked in 1913 to design the Imperial Hotel, Wright developed an all-embracing work of art that integrated all of his Japanese influences from the symmetrical planning of the Ho-o-den (with a Beaux Arts classicism) to the woodblock print and Shogun Mauselum at Nikko. It was Wright's hybrid vision of Japan. It was a very different view to Taut, who dissected Japanese architecture into: the authentic – Imperial – and the kitsch – Shogunate.²⁰⁵ Wright used the unfashionable kitsch representation for his crowing work in Japan, and made a piece of post-modern architecture by calling on a number of historical themes and combining them using his own personal language. For me the Yamamura Villa was also prophetic of a hybrid cultural and a nuanced response to early globalisation, with a concrete frame that accommodated the Prairie and traditional Japanese spatial experiences.

Tange, as an the arch-modernist, dismissed Wright in the 1960s as being too illogical: he “saw a lack of universality as a defect” in Wright's work!²⁰⁶ He was critical of Wright's architecture and ‘organic’ credo, but ironically paid him a complement by as an architect that worked beyond a narrow definition of modern. However, Isozaki's analysis of Wright work as that of “cross-cultural”²⁰⁷ confusion highlights the difficulty of absorbing all the cultural ideas from an another country – maybe it was these misunderstandings that lead to a creative dialogue. Furthermore, Isozaki notes that a number of Wright's buildings did have some definitive Japanese character, they were removed from the city by a protective wall and embracing a centrally focussed space that was contained within. This was a lesson that Wright had learnt from indigenous Japanese architecture, and Isozaki pays the ultimate tribute to Wright by claiming that the Johnson Wax Administration Building (1936-9) in Racine, with its mushroom columns and dynamic form was an architecture that did “not belong to any particular civilisation”²⁰⁹ – it was universal and global and without being generic. Wright's more progressive legacy can be seen in a number of recent works by Toyo Ito, such as Tods and Grin-Grin. These projects develop abstracted natural themes and use advance computer modelling to explore new spatial and ‘organic’ geometries that are specific cultural responses. Altogether there is a definite but never simple influence of Frank Lloyd Wright on Japanese modern architecture.

2. Vanity Fair



2.001 Sint Franciscus College, Secondary School (1922-4)
by H. Sutterland, and P. G. Buskens, Rotterdam.



2.002 Germany route (based on Google maps (2013) www.google.co.uk)

Route:

- A: London 27th July 2006
- B: Paris 28th July 2006
- C: Rotterdam 12th June 2005 (earlier journey)
- D: Amsterdam 14th June 2005 (earlier journey)
- E: Berlin 30th July 2006
- F: Darmstadt 3rd August 2006
- G: Munich 5th August 2006
- H: Vienna 6th August 2006



2.003 Postcard Paris



2.004 Postcard Rotterdam



2.005 Postcard Berlin



2.006 Postcard Frankfurt



2.007 Postcard Oberammergau



2.008 Postcard Vienna

This chapter explores the early imitation, dissemination and adoption of Frank Lloyd Wright as a forerunner of European modernism. Pevsner had established a narrative by 1937 which noted that Wright's "pioneer achievements of his early years are patent and easily documented."¹ The chapter reconstructs Wright's first journey to Europe in 1909-10 under the invented premise of publishing his work in the famous Wasmuth folios. It has even been claimed by some that these folios were the germ from which all modern architecture emerged: "the two books, including all that was most important of Wright's early style from the Winslow to the Robie and Martin House must have had an almost instantaneous effect on young German architects."² This chapter, however, challenges this view by considering Wright's relationship with the different ideologies that co-existed with and informed modernism. Wright's first journey to Europe in 1909 was that of an as-yet-unknown architect experiencing a mid-life personal trauma, in terms of a failed marriage to Catherine Tobin, and eloping with the wife of a former client, Mamah Borthwick Cheney. During their extended journey to Europe they visited Paris, Berlin and Vienna, and enjoyed a longer residency in Fiesole, Italy. Wright's first journey to Europe has been portrayed as part of modern architecture's destiny, with fake exhibitions, virtual lectures, culminating with the vanity publication – the Wasmuth folios themselves, which were produced for an American audience.

Modernism is of course a greatly contested term, and for this chapter the broader ideas that underpin the movement will be outlined to contextualise Wright's journeys to Paris, Berlin and Vienna. In these national capitals, Wright experienced the ending of the old Imperial values that were then being questioned by modernists working in a variety of genres. Modernist thought and expression was to reach a pinnacle just before and immediately after the First World War, and Wright was ideally situated in 1909-10 to be able to absorb some of this cultural ferment within Northern Europe. As has been noted, "Modern', is a term from the Latin word *modo*, means 'current', and as such 'Modernism' has gained additional meanings to embrace "avant-garde, radical, progressive or even revolutionary."³ Famously, Rimbaud claimed that: "It is necessary to be absolutely modern."⁴ But in establishing a singular and definitive view of the phenomena, this is a problematic statement which also implies that there is only one kind of modern. Modern architecture has suffered greatly from this overtly deterministic view that defines a single modern, as promoted by self-serving cultural arbiters. More interestingly, the diverse development of 'modern' thought within

the 'cultural capitals' of Paris, Berlin and Vienna offers a useful point of departure for Wright's first journey to Europe: "when we think of Modernism, we cannot avoid thinking of these urban climates, and the ideas and campaigns, the philosophies and politics, that ran through them."⁵ In addition, during his first visit to Europe, Wright sought out other cities than these major European capitals, and was consequently perhaps even better able to question the modern 'cultural capital' zeitgeist.

As an attempt to retrace Wright's European journeys in 1909 and 1910, my trip begins in Paris – a city that Wright criticised on a number of occasions because of its academic codifications of classical architecture. However, during his architectural self-education Wright was also a keen reader of Viollet-le-Duc and Victor Hugo. Wright was influenced greatly by their Gothic ideals and rationalist philosophy and he often quoted from *Notre Dame de Paris* (1831) to dismiss the Renaissance and to assert his preference for the Gothic tradition. Wright never actually visited The Netherlands, yet it was in that country that his work was first discussed and tested outside America. Hendrick Petrus Berlage (1856-1934) and Robert van't Hoff (1887-1979) undertook journeys to America in 1911 and 1914, and were pivotal to the dissemination of Wright's work in the Netherlands and indeed central Europe. Wright's route through Germany has become a matter of conjecture, and my journey begins at the Aldon Hotel (1989) and the AEG Turbine Factory (1909), two sites that contextualise Wright's own visit in 1910. Thereafter I visited sites that were inspired by Wright and were important in the development of modernism before the Second World War. My journey continues to Vienna, where Wright met Josef Hoffmann (1870-1956), a leading figure in the Secessionist movement, and saw the Secession Building (1898) by Joseph Maria Olbrich (1867-1908), which was a definite influence on Wright's own American work.

Paris

I left London Waterloo for Paris on the Eurostar train on 6th July 2006 on a warm summer day. The easy rail connection from Britain to Europe is now taken for granted, yet there persists a mutual suspicion, and there was still the formality of border control before I boarded the train. The journey itself passed without event, with the landscape of Kent mutating into the plains of France with a brief interlude of half-an-hour in a dark tunnel. Paris emerged quickly enough from the plains and



2.009 Landscape, England, 27 July 2006



2.010 Landscape, France, 27 July 2006



2.011 Landscape, France, 27 July 2006

clearly lacked the wide conurbation of banal suburbs found around London. Yet there had been some recent unrest and rioting earlier in that summer of 2006, alienated groups of youths in their high-rise social housing towers had turned against the police, an obvious symbol of authority. It was variously claimed that the riots were due to unemployment and a lack of opportunities for the young, or else that modern architecture was cited as the reason for the unrest.⁶ High-rise social housing, as pioneered by Le Corbusier, was a factor agitating the angry youth, it was claimed. Wright would have concurred that living at such close quarters with each other was “a negation of life not an affirmation of it.”⁷ Yet, modern architecture was just an easy target and deflected from the social neglect within marginalised outer suburbs of Paris. The banality of low-rise suburban existence, as advocated by Wright in his Broadacre City, can equally breed discontent and resentment.

Wright and Cheney arrived in Le Harve in October 1909, from where they travelled to Berlin to meet with his publisher. Yet Wright also made at least four visits to Paris during his lifetime: the first was with his mistress, Mamah Cheney, in January 1910; then with his son Lloyd in June/July 1910; the third trip came on route to the First Soviet Conference with his third wife, Olgivanna, when they met Gurdjieff there in 1937; and finally after the Sulgrave Lectures in London, he and Olgivanna went to see Gurdjieff again in 1939. Despite these visits Wright recorded very little about his 1909/10 visits to Paris within *An Autobiography*. He only mentions a “Belated Memory,” and paints something of a lonesome figure: “the misery that came over me in a little café somewhere in Paris on the Boulevard St. Michel. Caring neither to eat nor drink I was listening to the orchestra. It was the end of a rainy day in a long depressing rainy season. The Seine most of the time over it banks. Late at night.”⁸ Wright laments his “anguish ... longing and sorrow” at leaving his family, noting that he “could not achieve what I had undertaken as ideal.”⁹ It was yet another burst of ego and another ‘trial’ for him to surmount. Neither did he engage with the city itself; there was no response to the wide boulevards, or the cultural ferment created by the Futurists (their first manifesto was published in *Le Figaro* in 1909), the latest architecture of the day (Perret’s new reinforced-concrete apartment block), nor any chance meetings. Thus Wright seemed to dismiss the wanderings of the Parisian *flaneur* as being irrelevant to him.

Wright always claimed that he always disliked Paris. Indeed, when he ‘dreamt’ of old

Europe it was of Germany, Vienna – but “Paris? Never.”¹⁰ This of course was Wright restating his distaste for the French neo-classicist tradition from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, since that of course had dominated the 1893 World’s Fair in Chicago, which he detested. But within *An Autobiography*, Wright revealed his admiration for Viollet-le-Duc and Hugo. From Chicago’s All Souls Library, Wright borrowed Viollet-le-Duc’s book; *Habitations of Man in All Ages*, and also claimed that he already had read “the Dictionnaire, the Raisonne” from Madison City Library.¹¹ Furthermore, he claimed that the “Raisonne was the only sensible book on architecture in the world. I got copies of it for my sons, later.”¹² This account of Wright’s education was of course not strictly correct. As Hoffman points out, the *Dictionnaire Raisonne de L’architecture Francaise* was not actually available in English during Wright’s residency in Madison, and the only book that Madison Free Library possessed was “the Van Brunt translation of the first volume of the *Discourses*,” as translated into English in 1875.¹³ John Lloyd Wright confirmed that he received a copy of *Discourses* from his father, noting that “Viollet-le-Duc was a teacher of what Dad now calls organic architecture as early as 1860. His influence upon my father was marked.”¹⁴

Eugene Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) was a fascinating figure. He was the son of a civil servant, and had been given a progressive education under the tutelage of his uncle, the painter Etienne-Jean Delecluze. Instead of enrolling at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts to study architecture, he undertook an apprenticeship with practicing architects and as such became “devoted to the distillation of the rational and vitalistic core of Gothic architecture, which he saw as the only true basis of a modern architecture.”¹⁵ Hoffman compares Viollet-le-Duc’s *Discourses* with Wright’s early Prairie House manifesto, *In the Cause of Architecture* (1908), and his ‘Introduction’ to the Wasmuth volumes (1910).¹⁶ Hoffman notes twelve points of convergence that lead him to believe that “Wright’s architecture – articulation, cruciform plans, nave-like spaces ... conventionalization of indigenous flora, and clerestory lights – were analogous to aspects of the Gothic.”¹⁷ The common point between Viollet-le-Duc and Wright was the context of the late-nineteenth century, when there had been an eclectic architectural scene and excessive ornament that contrasted against the emerging work of engineering pioneers who established a “truthful expression in structures.”¹⁸ Viollet-le-Duc’s work developed a moral tone, similar to Ruskin, and he sought a ‘true’ and ‘authentic’ French Gothic Revival – he claimed that “modern architecture, which is called classic, is a lie...”, and “that art only is true and good



2.012 Cafe exterior, Boulevard St. Michel.



2.013 Cafe interior, Boulevard St. Michel.



2.014 Hotel Ritz at the Place Vendome



2.015 Roof view from Pompidou Centre (1972-77) by Rogers and Piano

Vanity Fair

which is in harmony with the manners, institutions, and genius of the nation wherein it exists.”¹⁹ Furthermore, Viollet-le-Duc established a clear method to produce an honest architecture: “there are two ways of expressing truth in architecture: it must be true according to the programme of requirements, and true according to the methods and means of construction.”²⁰ These became the rationalist primer for Wright’s early thoughts on architecture.

Famously, Viollet-le-Duc was also responsible for restoring Notre Dame. In addition to cleaning and repairing its damaged parts he designed additional elements such as a third tower, thus entering into a creative dialogue with the edifice. It was an approach that was anathema to his English contemporary, Ruskin, who favoured a less intrusive form of restoration. During his early years in Chicago, Wright recalled that “study classes at All Souls were busy with Victor Hugo’s *Les Miserables* under the guidance of the Pastor.”²¹ As well as studying this French romantic text, Wright and the other students undertook to recreate the tale in a costume drama. Wright was given the role of Enjolras, which fits in well with Wright’s self-image. Enjolras was a “charming and intimidating man with angelic beauty ... passionately devoted to democracy, equality and justice ... [a] man of principle that believes in a cause – creating a republic, liberating the poor.”²² Wright regarded himself as the leader of the uprising in All Souls and was now ready to undertake a wider revolution in the Chicago metropolis. Furthermore, to complete the heroic vision, Wright described in detail his full French military garb, complete with sword, and at the costume drama he met his future first wife, Catherine Tobin.²³

In addition, Wright recalls another Hugo classic text, *Notre Dame du Paris*, noting that the chapter “*Ceci Tuera Cela* (This will kill that)... was one of the truly great things ever written on architecture.”²⁴ Within the text the archdeacon proclaims: “This will kill that. The book will kill the edifice.”²⁵ Hugo thus suggests two consequences of the advent of the Gutenberg Press. Firstly, that the “printing press will kill the Church,”²⁶ as Hugo advances a post-reformation idea that the printed word would emancipate humanity, with “opinion dethroning belief.”³⁰ The second interpretation was architectural, and Hugo claimed “that the book of stone, so solid and so enduring, was about to be supplanted by the paper book, which would become more enduring still...” Or as he summarised: “that one art would dethrone another

art. It meant: Printing will destroy architecture.”²⁸ Hugo lamented the course of the architecture after the printing press:

“Already architecture is no longer the essential expression of society; it miserably degenerates into classic art. From being Gallic, European, indigenous, it becomes Greek and Rome; from the genuine and modern, it becomes pseudo-antique. It is this decadence that we call the Renaissance. A magnificent decadence, we might add, for the old Gothic genius, that sun which is now setting behind the gigantic printing press of Mayence, for a little while still sends its last rays over this hybrid mass of Latin arches and Corinthian colonnades.

It is to this setting sun that we look for a new dawn.”²⁹

It was this last remark that Wright would use himself to berate the Renaissance and the classical tradition. He was thus a neo-Romantic in the tradition of Hugo. Wright concludes that with his reading of Viollet-le-Duc, Hugo and Owen Jones, “I was grown up pretty well in architecture, the sphere in which I lived in earnest. But where people were concerned, I had nearly everything to learn.”³⁰

Wright’s second visit to Paris in the summer of 1910 was with his son Lloyd. By that point they had completed the renderings for the Wasmuth folios while in Italy, and he was accompanying his son on the latter’s way home to America. According to Alofsin, they resided at the Hotel Ritz at the Place Vendome,³¹ as befitting a couple of rich Americans! Lloyd Wright confirms that they were typical tourists and so visited the “Gardens of Versailles ... the treasures of the *Louvre*, and the *Folies Bergere*, and the night life of Paris. Then we spent a day at the growing airport of Le Bourget.”³² In addition, John recalled another day at the Beaux-Arts inspired Petit Palace (1900), by Charles Girault, a museum built as part of the Paris Exposition of 1900.³³ It was strange that Wright, an avowed critic of French academic classicism, chose to visit the museum – but then again, according to Alofsin, “the plan of the building and the ornamental patterns of the floors were a tour de force in the controlled manipulation of geometry and colour.”³⁴ This forms part of Alofsin’s claim that “[this] totality of design was analogous to Wright’s conception of organic architecture, with geometry establishing a conceptual unity between all parts of the building.”³⁵ This rather



2.016 Petit Palace (1900) by Charles Girault



2.017 Grand Palace (1900)



2.018 Neo-Realist paintings within Petit Palace



2.019 Interior by Guimard at Petit Palace



2.020 Main gallery, Petit Palace



2.021 Tourist Gallery guide



2.022 Gallery plan

sweeping statement neglects Wright's inventive interior spaces and the fact that his designs were much more flexible and dynamic in conception.

The Petit Palace is situated just off the Avenue des Champs Ellysees, and sat opposite the Grand Palace that was also built for the 1900 Exposition. The smaller palace is still popular today, with a number of visitors queuing outside. I walked up the grand staircase and entered a substantial lobby beneath a dome, where I was searched before being directed towards some more steps and the opulent galleries inside. The scale of the museum was truly impressive, with long gallery spaces and high decorated ceilings supported by a hidden reinforced-concrete structure. Supplementing its all-embracing decoration were tall windows that flooded the space with natural light. The actual exhibits were an eclectic mix of ancient artefacts in raised glass cases, late-nineteenth century realistic paintings, and neo-Classical sculptures. A second gallery swept round a semi-circular garden, and its imposing scale accommodated a number of neo-Realistic paintings – they were so large that one could juxtapose oneself as a contemporary viewer into the picture. A grand staircase led to a series of 'ground floor' galleries beneath the main floor which included recreated interiors from the 1900 Paris Exposition and an Art Nouveau dining room by Hector Guimard (1867-1942). The latter, a follower of Viollet-le-Duc's structural rationalism, and who had questioned Beaux-Arts principles, was now relegated to the lower floor of the Petit Palace.

The following evening I visited the Pompidou Centre (1972-77) by Rogers and Piano. It had recently been refurbished and as ever it was very popular with visitors and tourists. The plaza accommodated a cosmopolitan mixture of people: there were ad-hoc performers who attempting to gather a crowd, some individuals were indifferent and lounged on the paving stones, whilst others were surfing the web by using the Pompidou's wi-fi network. There had been a recent exhibition on the work of the French-Swiss architect, Robert Mallet-Stevens, and I searched for the catalogue but there were none left. A helpful assistant helped me to find some other books about the architect, and when I asked about Villa Carvois, she took some time to explain where it was located and which train I needed to catch. The small town of Croix had long-been the base for local cotton-weaving, and on Saturday morning it was busy with a local fruit market that animated the centre of town. I asked for some more directions from the florist; he directed me away from the centre towards the local

McDonalds, a noted cultural landmark. I then turned up the hill past an old stone barn, and just beside a twelfth-century church I turned right, entering an affluent post-war French suburb that was sub-divided by Second World War notables – with a Winston Churchill Avenue here and a John F. Kennedy Street there.

A large hoarding announced that the Villa Carvois was currently undergoing major restoration works with state funding. There was a lodge that protected entry to the villa, reflecting the 'progressive' mood of the 1930s when the traditional gatekeeper's was replaced in the middle-class villa by a garage and house for the chauffeur. Its garage had a sweeping form that responded to the car's turning circle, and an impressive cantilevered roof provided good shelter for its passengers when they stepped outside. I noted that the masonry had a similar coursing to that used by Wright in Chicago, with flush vertical mortar joints and recessed horizontal mortar joints to emphasise the horizontal aspect throughout. Mallet-Stevens had clearly provided a wonderful pavilion for the car, and he noted in his article in *Wendigen*, that "science creates new aesthetics. Forms are extensively changed, the house and the car becoming fundamentally different."³⁶ Mallet-Stevens' original classically planned garden was now gone and the surrounding land sold off over the years for new suburban homes. I walked around the suburban block to try to get some views of the villa. I saw a man on his ride-on lawn mower and I asked to have a look at the Villa from his back garden. We had a brief chat about Mallet-Stevens; he confirmed that the Villa was going to be a new cultural centre, and that the work was still ongoing.³⁷ He also fetched a book on Mallet-Stevens, it had black and white images of his modern houses in Paris – in-fact there was a street named after him in Paris. There were also images of the architect as a debonair figure with a well fitted double breasted suit, and a hat, it was no surprise to hear that Mallet-Stevens became involved in a number of film projects.

Villa Carvois (1931-2) was an exuberant display of cubic volumes that broke away from the usual formality of the country villa. Instead it had low horizontal forms with long openings, and an offset central tower. In a perceptive anecdote, the client Jean Carvois recalled that Mallet-Stevens took him and the whole architectural team to Belgium and Holland to view the Villa Stoclet (1905) by Josef Hoffmann and Hilversum Town Hall (1930) by W. M. Dudok. Joly considers the Villa Carvois to be inspired by both the Viennese Secession and Dutch De Stijl.³⁸ Furthermore



2.023 Entrance to Villa Carvois (1931-2) by Robert Mallet-Stevens



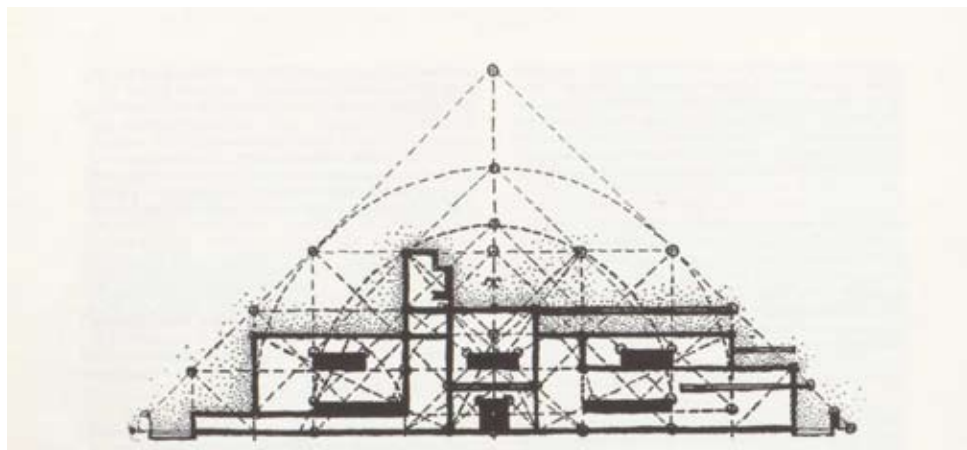
2.024 Garage wall at Villa Carvois (1931-2)



2.025 Garage at Villa Carvois (1931-2)



2.026 Front elevation from garden Villa Carvois (1931-2)



2.027 Elevation analysis Villa Carvois (1931-2), image from Herbert-Stevens, F. (1990) in Pinchon, J-F. (1990)



2.028 Front elevation of Villa Carvois (1931-2)

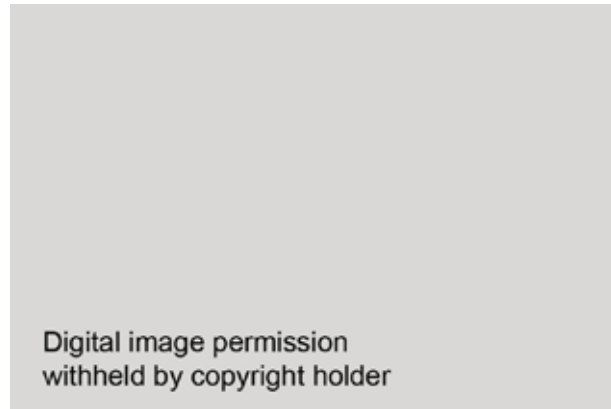
there were clear family connections – Mallet-Stevens' uncle was Adolf Stoclet, and the latter's own dwelling was a formative influence on his architecture. Carvois also stated that a brick was taken from the Hilversum site, with Mallet-Stevens proclaiming; "here is the brick we need to construct your house."³⁹ Herbert-Stevens claims that the façade at Carvois was symmetrical about its entry point, and that Mallet-Stevens used similar proportional principles to Palladio.⁴⁰ However, the built façade actually indicates that any classical intentions were diluted by adjusting the openings to give a sense of dynamism to the façade. Perhaps more revealing was the original classical landscape wherein the villa was placed into a formal geometry, with a perfect circle at the rear – evocative of an early roundabout – and a long formal axis at the front. Furthermore, Joly claims that Wright's influence on the design was demonstrated in "the house's layout, separating – in the American style as yet completely unknown in France – the domain of the couple, on the one side, from that of the children and the servants on the other."⁴¹ However, the form of the Villa Carvois was essentially linear, with a long formal façade onto the garden – whereas with Wright's Prairie House designs there were always cross-axes with cruciform or L-shaped plans to break up the form. This in turn created an informal relationship with the landscape as a series of enclosed private gardens.

Mallet-Stevens also contributed to the 1925 *Wendigen* publication on Wright. In it he wrote: "Frank Lloyd Wright was one of the first to be adventurous, to break with a tradition bordering on routine, so that he could be creative, and his oeuvre is grand, rich, logical."⁴² Mallet-Stevens regarded Wright as an exponent of the 'New World,' un-burdened by European traditions and possessing a universal message: "Wright's architecture is human, is true and will be understood and liked everywhere. Regionalism is dead; with a few exceptions, the dwelling of man is the same all over the civilised world, and its beauty must be the same."⁴³ Thus, Mallet-Stevens articulated the dominant modernist view of progression towards a universal aesthetics, but he also went on to reprimand Wright for the use of pitched roof as being functionally "useless."⁴⁴ Despite Mallet-Stevens' advocacy, Wright remained a marginal figure in France, and Jean-Louis Cohen notes that the prevailing *Beaux-Arts* "superiority complex" made it difficult for Wright's work to penetrate France.⁴⁵ The journal *L'Architecture Vivante* published an article in 1924 with illustrations from the Wasmuth folios, and the first extensive work about Wright in France was published in 1927 by *Cahiers d'art* as part of its series on 'Masters of Contemporary

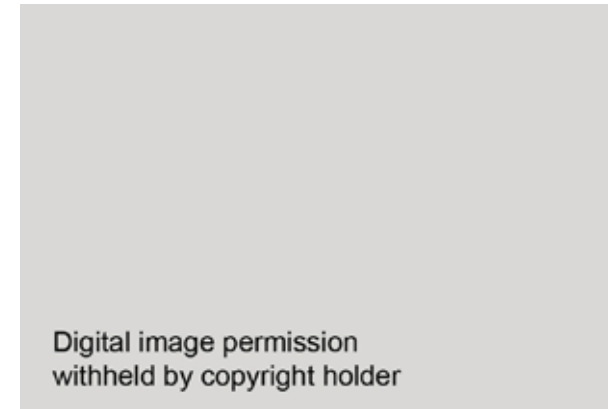
Architecture."⁴⁶ Cohen remarks that most critics "considered Wright to belong to the past, and thus relegated him to the status of precursor out of touch with the current scene."⁴⁷ Yet, after the Second World War, Cohen also says there was a complete inversion of Wright's influence in France as his work was then being championed by "conservatives" who opposed the modernism of Le Corbusier: "*L'Architecture française* countered the architecture of the "moderns," dubbed fetishist of technology, with organic architecture and published an address by Wright to the French nation."⁴⁸ Most revealing of French attitudes towards Wright was the reception of two exhibitions about Wright's work, in 1952 and 1997. Cohen notes the "astonishment" of the public "upon viewing the model and drawings of Broadacre City," thus demonstrating again the French public's at-best "hazy" understanding of Wright's oeuvre.⁴⁹

Rotterdam

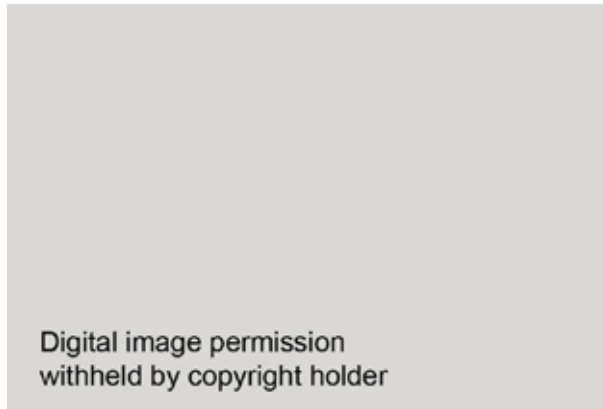
As noted, Wright never actually visited Holland and yet it was there that his work was openly disseminated by both the rationalist De Stijl movement and the more expressionist Amsterdam School. I hence took a diversion from my journey between the old imperial capitals of Europe to visit Rotterdam, Kidjuna, Hilversum, Amsterdam and Utrecht. I arrived in the evening in Rotterdam and got some basic directions from the railway station to Hotel Commerce. I found myself wandering the Oude Westen (North-West) district. This part of the city had, if anything a distinct eastern feel to it, with a number of Chinese restaurants, Middle Eastern kebab shops, overseas telephone kiosks and a mosque. I asked for some directions and was warned on each occasion to be careful. It was still light and I felt safe enough, so I walked towards my hotel. As I walked, it was mostly other men on the street, with women and children concentrated around the play areas. I finally found the Hotel Commerce next to a large blue-painted building and a small park. Although the hotel was not the fantastic internet bargain I had been looking for, I was rewarded by the school that was just around the corner – the Sint Franciscus College, Secondary School (1922-4) by H. Sutterland and P. G. Buskens. Even in the twilight I could see the striking resemblance to Wright's work. It had an asymmetric composition, an animated façade of different overlapping forms, a strong horizontal aspect, a brick skin with prominent horizontal lintels above the doors and windows, and circular ornamental urns at the entry.



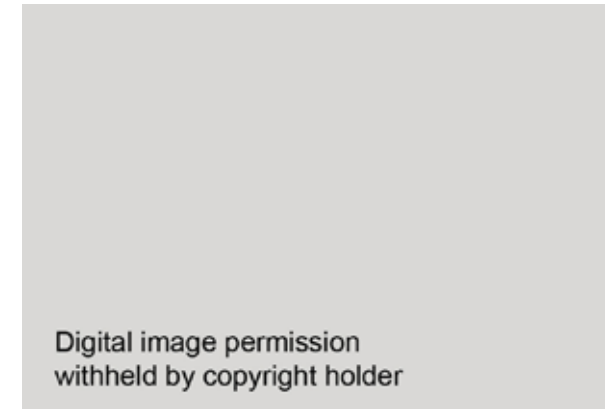
2.029 Site plan with formal axis in the landscape, Villa Carvois (1931-2) , image from Deshoulieres, D. (1980)



2.030 Ground floor plan with formal division of spaces, Villa Carvois (1931-2) , image from Deshoulieres, D. (1980)



2.031 Site plan with dispersed plan forms in the landscape, Coonley House (1908) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982)



2.032 Ground floor plan with open plan communal spaces, and separate domains for adults and children, Coonley House (1908), image from Wright, F. L. (1982)



2.033 Street view, Sint Franciscus College, Secondary School (1922-4) by H. Sutterland, and P. G. Buskens.



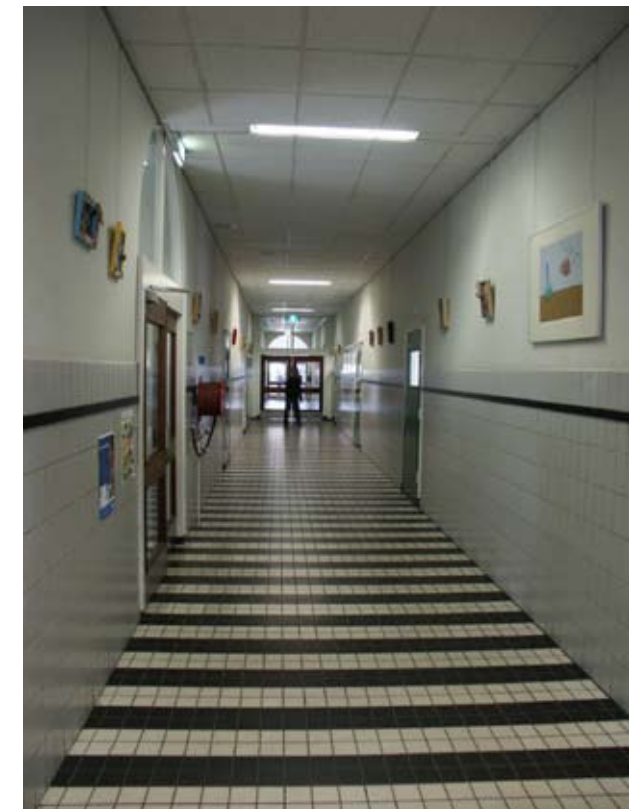
2.034 Side view, Sint Franciscus College (1922-4)



2.035 Interior view, Sint Franciscus College (1922-4)



2.036 Street view, Sint Franciscus College (1922-4)



2.037 Interior view, Sint Franciscus College (1922-4)

On the following Monday I was finally able to gain access and be escorted around the school by a teacher who thankfully had a broad knowledge of the school's past. The original school occupied the corner of a block and was L-shaped in plan. Over time some of its playing fields had been sold for residential development and the new wing was added, enclosing a central playground. The principal's office was adjacent to the entrance, but the most prominent corner in the school was the biological science classroom. I found this to be refreshingly Dutch and subversive, openly promoting the ideal of science ahead of any religious or school authority. The old chapel behind the principal's office had now been changed into a study/silent space. The ethnic diversity of the district was reflected in the students: the school had been detached from the earlier Catholic foundation during Nazi occupation, when they had removed the effigy of Saint Francis from the façade. The school now supports the wider aims of multi-culturalism by "emphasising having a religion [but] not which one;"⁵⁰ nonetheless veils, and Christian crosses were banned.

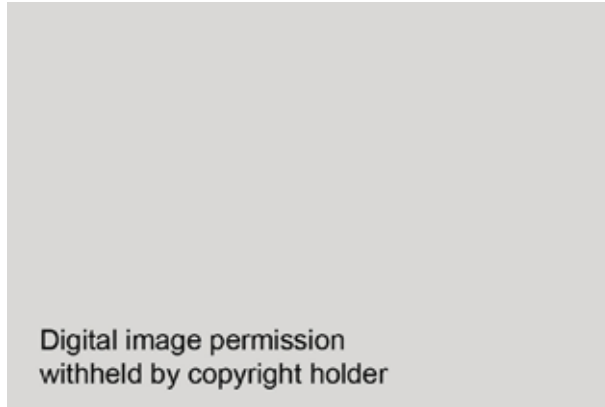
The city of Rotterdam prospered after the opening of the "Nieuwe Waterweg" in 1872 which formed a strategic and deep water ship canal connecting the North Sea and the River Rhine. Thereafter its population doubled in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, and the city held the potential with its strategic links to develop into a major European city: "instead the cities and towns along the coast from Rotterdam to Amsterdam, and inland to Utrecht, grew together to form what came to be called the *Randstad* (Rim City), a conurbation of cities, towns and suburbs in the form of a crescent, separated by green belts of agricultural land, comparable in population and economic dominance to the Rhine-Ruhr conurbation in Germany."⁵¹ Presently the *Randstad* has a population of 7.1 million, making it the sixth largest urban conurbation in Europe. The *Randstad*, however, remains a contested concept. It contains the four largest Dutch cities – Rotterdam, The Hague, Amsterdam and Utrecht – as well as a number of smaller towns and cities that form a so-called 'Green Heart'. It seems that local city allegiances have defeated any attempt to generate a more unified identity, and whilst the larger cities continually attempt to expand, the smaller towns always try to resist their incursions. It is a typical confrontation between the global desire to attain a critical urban mass and the local demands for a distinct identity within the 'Mega-Delta'.

The consensual Dutch social model has been questioned in recent times by the likes of Pim Fortuyn, who proclaimed that "the Netherlands is full."⁵² As a charismatic populist, he became well known for his protests against the political establishment, questioning multi-culturalism and attacking Islamic doctrine. In a neat synthesis of landscape and politics, Fortuyn stated that "we have to change from the polder model to a conflict model"⁵³ – clearly identifying the role of the communal landscape with the consensus political model and questioning the cosy relationship of vested political power. Furthermore he led a particular attack on Islam. With only around 6%⁵⁴ of the Dutch nation born outside of its borders, Fortuyn proclaimed that immigrants "must accept the country's standards and the values of modernity."⁵⁵ It was a catchy sound-bite, calling for the secular philosophy of modernity to preside over religious dogma and to act as an agent of integration. Fortuyn was murdered in a car park in Hilversum in May 2002, and yet the debate that he ignited continues – and reminds us that the secular values of modernity should not attempt to smother differences, and hence that modernity must respect diversity.

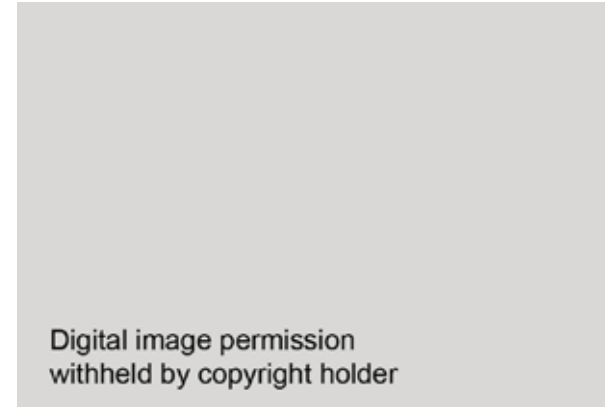
When Rotterdam emerged as a prosperous city in the early-twentieth century, it took on a progressive outlook not dissimilar to another famous second city, Chicago. Robert van't Hoff (1887-1979) was the son of an affluent Rotterdam bacteriologist. He studied architecture at the Birmingham School of Art (1906-11) and the Architectural Association (1911-13). While studying in London, he gravitated towards the bohemian lifestyle of the Camden and Bloomsbury art groups, and within the latter circle he became close to the Futurist and Cubist painter, David Bomberg, and even got a commission to design a house and studio (1913-14) for the portrait painter, Augustus John. In 1913, van't Hoff received a copy of the Wasmuth *Sonderfelt* volume with its introduction by Charles Ashbee, as a gift from his father.⁵⁶ As an aspiring young socialist, it was claimed that van't Hoff was impressed by Wright's statement that: "the machine can longer be removed from the world; its her to stay and is the pioneer of democracy and hence, which is the ultimate goal of our hopes an desires."⁵⁷ In addition, Casciato notes that the Dutch were captivated by the ideals of American democracy, and so there was an "ideological appeal of an architecture as the cultural expression of a strongly democratic society."⁵⁸ Inspired, van't Hoff undertook a voyage to America in 1914 to visit Frank Lloyd Wright and they discussed a possible collaboration on his commission for Augustus John.⁵⁹ In addition, van't Hoff may have seen some of Wright's early designs for the American



2.037 Landhuis Lovdalla (1912) by Robert van't Hoff



2.039 Front view, Verloop Summer House (1914-5) by Robert van't Hoff, photograph by Michel Claus, image from Broekhuizen, D. (2010)



2.040 Elevation, Section & Plan, Verloop Summer House (1914-5), image owned by Municipality of Zeist, from Broekhuizen, D. (2010)

System Ready-Cut Housing (1911-17).⁶⁰ Nothing ever came of their joint venture, but van't Hoff returned to Holland with drawings and photographs of Wright's work, and put these to good use after he received two commissions in Huis ter Heide outside Utrecht. The Verloop Summer House (1914-15) adapted Wright's Prairie House to an entirely new context: it faithfully followed Wright's design language with its open plan living space, all-embracing roof form, and general horizontal aspect.

At Utrecht's tourist information office, they said that the Huis ter Heidi was 10km outside the city and that I should get a train to Gest and then a bus to the suburb. The region is heavily forested with a series of large apartment blocks placed perpendicularly to the road. They reminded me of Le Corbusier's modernist vision of tall slab blocks within an unblemished landscape. But Huis ter Heidi itself was a mundane manifestation of a private suburb, with only two points of reference – the first-ever Dutch McDonalds drive-through restaurant and a church. I wandered aimlessly for while within the forested suburb, then I spotted an elderly couple gardening and asked about Villa Henny (1914-19). Luckily the husband knew of van't Hoff and showed me a local guide to his work. Beside another busy dual-carriageway, I glanced upon the house shrouded by a thick wall of vegetation. The gate was open so and I ventured up its gravelled driveway with high hedges either side. As I rounded a slow bend I saw a white cubic modernist villa set in the middle of a wide green lawn and surrounded by trees. Its cruciform plan was easy to read, and the wall planes stepped playfully inwards at the corners to generate balconies and terraces which extended out to the garden. I walked to the rear of the villa and rang the bell, but there was no answer. Then I was joined by the gardener who seemed relaxed and shrugged his shoulders when asked about the owners. I walked around the Villa Henny and speculated whether it had been scaled up for The Netherlands – the house was set high on a plinth, and the whole mass of the villa seemed far bigger than Wright's Prairie Homes. At the front, there were clear vistas through the ground floor which were achieved by the novel use of reinforced-concrete frame construction, and all the interior spaces looked generous in proportion.

Van't Hoff not only designed Villa Henny. He also helped to build it, thereby attempting to form a bond with the workmen as a clear display of his socialist beliefs. But the first attempt at the concrete frame collapsed, and the original client found himself unable to complete the building. Attempting to build such a complex new

building during the First World War was already difficult enough, but with materials being scarce, it took five years to complete. Perhaps not surprisingly, it left van't Hoff disillusioned with the whole process. Banham claims that the concrete frame for the Villa Henny made it a contemporary of Le Corbusier's Dom-ino House concept,⁶⁵ whereby the frame was specifically designed to allow for a free internal plan. Furthermore, Broek argues that the Villa Henny was a prototype on a similar basis to Wright's American System Ready-Cut Homes, thus fulfilling van't Hoff's socialist vision of a standard housing type that was affordable to everyone.⁶² I would also claim that Wright's proposal for a 'Fireproof House for \$5000,' as published *Ladies Home Journal* in 1907, also influenced van't Hoff. It was a prototype with a square plan, built from reinforced concrete, and its modest cost would have appealed to van't Hoff's inclinations. According to Overy, the Villa Henny combined two interesting precedents: Wright's Coonley Playhouse (1912), and Palladio's Villa Rotonda.⁶³ Thus, it was a hybrid displaying a number of Wright's 'organic' design features, yet set firmly within a European classical sensibility particularly in terms of its site, scale and massing.

An article in a Dutch newspaper alerted Theo van Doesburg to the Villa Henny. The avant-garde grouping of De Stijl had been established in Rotterdam during the First World War and "implicitly presented their work and ideas as an attack on the hegemony of Amsterdam."⁶⁴ De Stijl was a very loose association of artists, poets and architects brought together in 1917 by the painter, designer, writer and propagandist, Theo van Doesburg. The movement developed out of the Arts and Crafts, Art Nouveau and German Expressionism, and tried to embrace William Morris' idea "that society could be transformed by art."⁶⁵ Whilst the movement began by focusing on specific Dutch themes by questioning the figurative art tradition, they later developed a more all-embracing view of art around three principles: "each art form must realize its own nature based on its materials and codes ... as the spiritual awareness of society increases, so will art fulfil its historical destiny ... [and] both art and science are concerned with the discovery and demonstration of the underlying laws of nature."⁶⁶

The Villa Henny seemed to give substance to De Stijl's rhetoric as its first architectural image, although it was conceived entirely independently. Frampton claims that Wright's work also provided an impetus for developing De Stijl's neo-

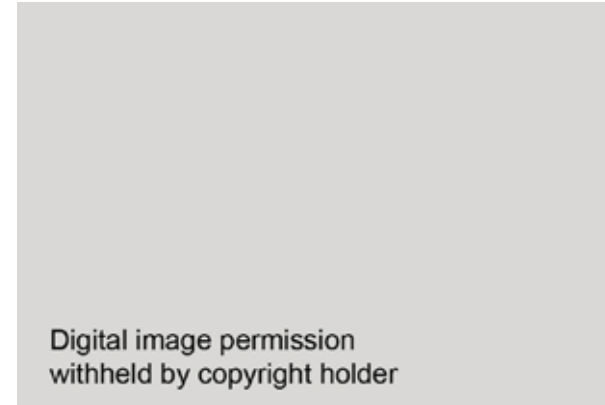


2.041 Side view, Villa Henry (1914-19) by Robert van't Hoff

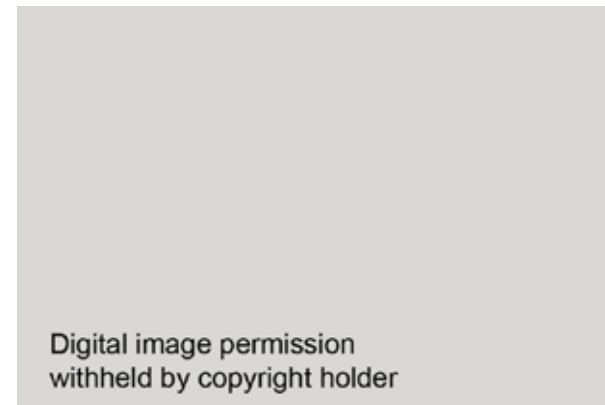


2.043 Front view, Villa Henry (1914-19)

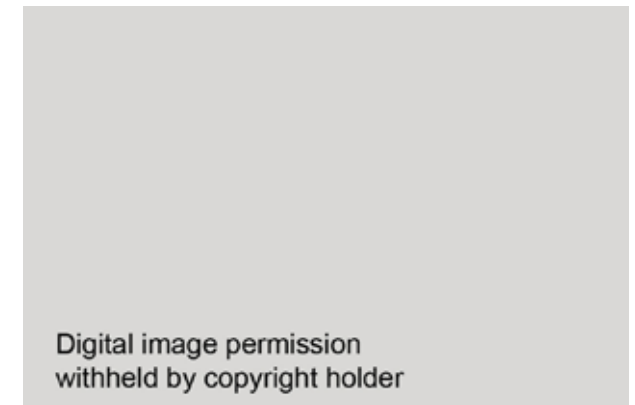
2.044 Side view, Villa Henry (1914-19)



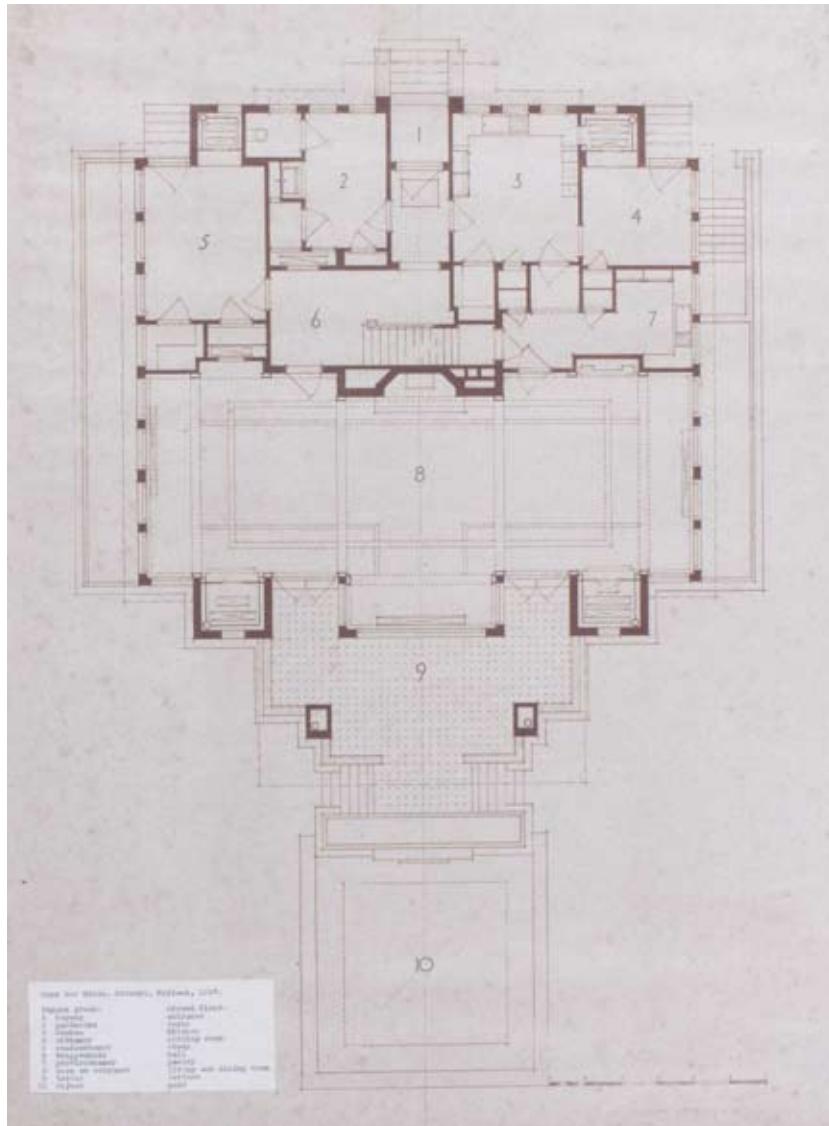
2.042 Perspective, Coonley Playhouse (1912) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1992)



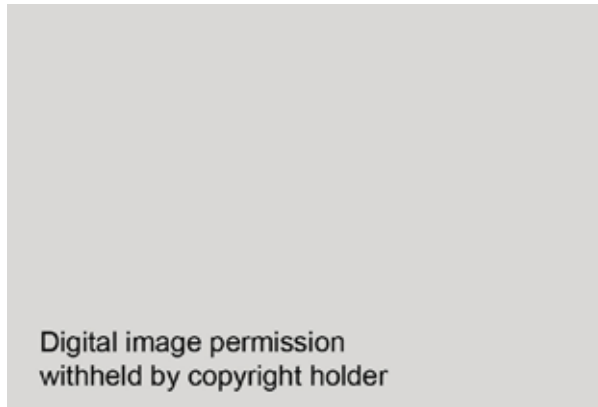
2.045 Front view, Coonley Playhouse (1912), image from Wright, F. L. (1992) Vanity Fair



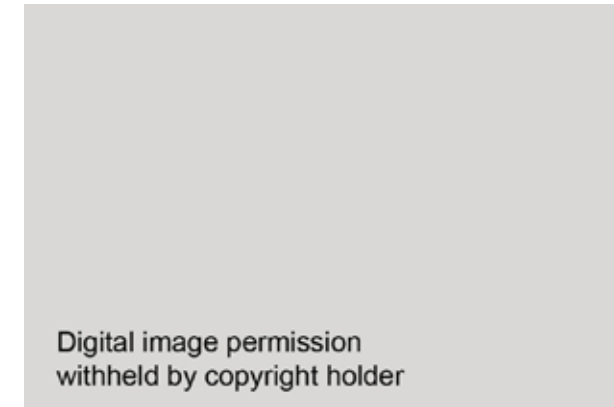
2.046 A Fireproof House for \$5000 (1906) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Hitchcock, H-R. (1969))



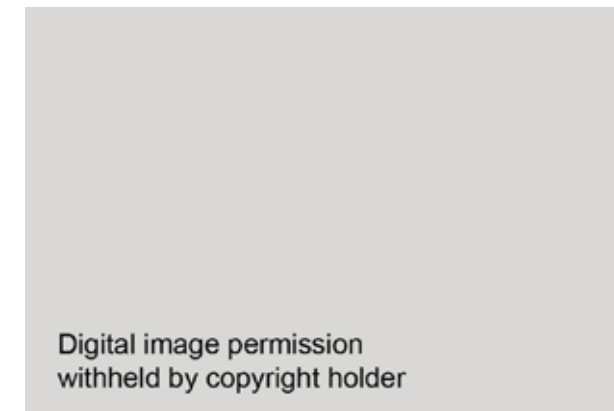
2.047 Ground Floor Plan, Villa Henny (1914-19),
Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut, archive (code):
HOFF, inv.nr.: p6.
Image from Broekhuizen, D. (2010)



2.048 Ground Floor Plan, Coonley Playhouse (1912)
image from Wright, F. L. (1992)



2.049 Ground Floor Plan, A Fireproof House for \$5000 (1906),
image from Hitchcock, H-R. (1969)



2.050 Upper Floor Plan, A Fireproof House for \$5000 (1906),
image from Hitchcock, H-R. (1969).



2.051 Cafe de Unie (1925) by JJP Oud
Rebuilt 1985 at vacant site nearby.



2.052 Street view, Kiefhoek (1925-30)
by J. J. P. Oud



2.053 House view, Kiefhoek (1925-30)



2.054 Church, Kiefhoek (1925-30)

Plastic theory whereby “Schonmaecker’s metaphysical world-view was complemented by more concrete attitudes and concepts drawn directly from Berlage and Wright.”⁶⁷ Van’t Hoff’s drawings of Wright’s work, brought the Robie House to prominence, and this indeed was to have a lasting effect on Dutch architecture – and on Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud (1890-1963) and Jan Wils (1891-1972) in particular.⁷¹ Oud also disseminated Wright’s work, and claimed that his projects displayed a number of ideas that were very much in keeping with the aims of De Stijl:

“Wright detaches the masses from the whole and rearranges their composition. There is a direct relation here with the way the futurists have overcome rigidity in painting – which is by achieving movement of the planes. In this way Wright has created a new “plastic” architecture. His masses slide back and forth and left and right; there are plastic effects in all directions.”⁶⁹

Banham asserts that a selective reading of Wright’s text *In the Cause of Architecture* (1908), and Ashbee’s Wasmuth introduction (1911), lead many to believe erroneously that Wright was a “machine architect” who was at the forefront of modernist thought.⁷⁰ Oud developed a design for a factory in Purmerend (1919) that explored themes underlying Wright’s work, with van Stralen noting that “the factory has a Berlagian left half and Wrightian right half, while the recessed central section shows Oud’s developing architectural sense of cubism and neo-plasticism.”⁷¹ It may be best summarised as attempting to combine the best of both architects. Oud and most of the other architects left De Stijl in 1919, and his career progressed within the field of social housing. His Kiefhoek housing estate (1925-30) was widely praised when completed for its rational planning and stark aesthetic: as such it was also prophetic of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) movement that was emerging in Germany in the 1920s.

Despite his early enthusiasm for Wright, Oud’s article in the 1925 *Wendigen* journal lamented a missed opportunity. Now he claimed that Wright’s legacy was “pernicious,” and “a less happy one,” noting that Wright’s designs were produced for affluent Americans and that it was a problem that direct imitations of Wright’s homes had proliferated too much in Holland.⁷² Oud acknowledged Wright’s designs as being spatially innovative, but he questioned their social relevance outside suburban America. In his astute critique, Oud identified a “cult of forms instead of an orientation

towards the inner nature.”⁷³ He believed this had diluted the modern ‘cubic’ aspect within Wright’s architecture. Whilst Wright’s forms were easy to replicate, his underlying ideas were not fully understood by “the dilettantism of his own followers.”⁷⁴ It was a telling analysis of the cult of impersonation that often occurs in architecture, and in doing so Oud identified the emerging band of ‘Wrightjes’ or ‘little Wrights.’⁷⁵ Assimilation of Wright’s designs in Holland reached its peak in 1924 and had tailed off dramatically by 1932.⁷⁶ In fact, Jan Wils was dubbed ‘Frank Lloyd Wils’ by his peers, and Langmead identifies other imitators who included Bijvoet and Duiker, van’t Hoff, Wijdeveld and Wouda.⁷⁷ Yet for any case of outward imitation there often exists a compelling case for incremental innovation, whereby traditional residential design mutated gradually attempting to develop modern designs. These Dutch ‘Prairie Homes’ represented an early form of cultural hybridisation, whereupon the image of the American modernity was projected onto the traditional Dutch landscape of the polder-lands.

On my short train journey to The Hague there was never the open countryside that I expected from the Dutch landscape painters of the seventeenth-century. Instead, the *Randstad* was animated by varied forms of canals, forests, small towns, factories and detached homes. I was reminded of Wright’s Broadacre City, and one contemporary architect Rem Koolhaas, who believed it was “the most visionary”⁷⁸ approach to planning. In his wide-ranging discussion of urban settlements, Koolhaas notes that “the image of the modern city, at least in the way it was foreseen, hasn’t become a reality anywhere. The city we have to make do with today is more or less made of fragments of modernity.”⁷⁹ This is certainly the case in the *Randstad*, and perhaps Koolhaas was calling for a Broadacre City template to reintegrate the rampant settlement into the landscape. I caught a bus to the beach resort of Kijkduin and passed the affluent suburbs of The Hague. Kijkduin is sheltered behind a tall sea wall with a lighthouse and small shops looking out to sea. Holland depends on these structures for its very existence and their inhabitation by small kiosks gave them an added social dimension. The Wright-inspired Meer en Bosch housing development houses were designed by Duiker and Bijvoet (1920) and are now hidden within the low-rise suburbs. The scheme was conceived as a picturesque summer retreat with a curved street plan that also provided shelter from the wind. The homes were truly reminiscent of Wright’s Robie House (1908-10), with long overhanging roofs, strip windows beneath the roof, stepped massing with receding upper planes, and



2.055 Robie House, Chicago (1909) by Frank Lloyd Wright



2.056 External view of house with tiled roof, Meer en Bosch (1920) by Duiker and Bijvoet



2.057 External view of house with thatch roof, Meer en Bosch (1920)



2.058 Interior view of house with thatch roof, Meer en Bosch (1920)



2.059 External view of house with thatch roof, Meer en Bosch (1920)



2.060 External view of house with thatch roof, Meer en Bosch (1920)



2.061 Interior view of house with thatch roof, Meer en Bosch (1920)

Vanity Fair

a firm footing within the landscape. Each house embraced its plot and used readily available materials such as local brick and thatch. Yet inside these version of what appeared to be Robie Homes were in fact two or three units, such that Wright's 'American high-life' was shared between a number of families. As I walked along the street I was met by a retired couple in their garden, and we took the chance to talk about their home:

Gwyn: How many houses are there in your block?

This block has two houses, and we share one wall with our neighbours.

Did you fill in the open terrace to the end of your home?

*Yes, we have done a number of alterations to the house. We filled in the end terrace, so that we can use the space more efficiently.*⁸⁰

I was invited into their reconfigured house to view its expanded central hallway and the infilled external terrace that now forms a larger living area. My hosts said there is a house a few doors down which has not been altered, and still has a thatched roof. They made a few phone calls to arrange a visit for me. I was duly surprised and amused by the expressive thatched roof that gave this Robie House a truly distinctive 'organic' form, yet a sense of heavy inertia in opposition to Wright's dynamic design. There were other expressionist hints, with a carefully detailed door possessing a stained-glass panel, an offset letter box and purpose-made ironmongery. The owner was elderly and sat at the end of his extended living room, close to the open terrace so he could enjoy the warmth of the sun. The original compact plan had a traditional internal layout with a long entry hall leading to all the bedrooms, kitchen and living room. All the bedrooms looked towards the back garden, and the long living area extended into the covered terrace at the end.

The residents recalled that the occupying Nazi army had destroyed half the houses that faced the sea during the Second World War, and had instead dug a trench where the old houses had been as a defence mechanism. This would have set up an intriguing scenario, given that any sea assault from American forces would have been confronted by sight of 'Oak Park on the Polder.' The US Ambassador Cynthia P. Schneider, presented a "Frank Lloyd Wright Lecture" in June 1999 which identified the Meer en Bosch housing as an example of American design. She proclaimed that:

"The low-lying design of the houses responds to the dune environment of Meer en Bosch.

The interiors were governed by the ideas of integrated, free-flowing space developed by Wright in his Prairie Houses."⁸¹

Hilversum

I caught an evening train towards the north end of the *Randstad* to visit Hilversum, a small town some 30km south-east of Amsterdam, and which is known today as the Dutch 'Media City.' In its suburbs was Simon Stevinweg Street and a number of the semi-detached houses designed by Jan Wils that again shared a similar composition with Wright's Robie House. However, in Hilverstrum these dwellings were stretched and rotated; they were Robie with multiple perspectives. Wils' father was a building contractor, and from that the son developed an interest in architecture. In 1914 Jan Wills worked for Berlage, where he got first-hand knowledge of Wright's work. He published a number of articles about Wright and was confident enough to be part of many Dutch movements, including the De Stijl, the Hague School, and the Amsterdam School. In his 1921 article in the Dutch journal, *Geillustreedrd Maandschrift*, Wils claimed that 'contemporary' lifestyle demanded new forms of architecture, and he cited the Prairie House precedent to suggest that the Dutch landscape was equally suited to Wright's architecture: "His buildings are wide, low and long. Each interior space shows its true proportions on the outside and this composition of various parts is covered by a flat roof which often protrudes far out over the façade."⁸²

Wils built the Olympic Stadium (1928) in Amsterdam. It too acted as a tribute to Wright by extending the Prairie House aesthetic to a building type that Wright had never even considered. The stadium was a simple brick oval which emphasised the horizontal with a modest five-storey elevation, all offset by the tall Marathon Tower. The stadium accommodated athletics, football, equestrian events and cycling with seating for 31,600 spectators. In its brick facade there were deep horizontal cuts for the entrance, offices and associated stadium facilities; other masses projected out beyond the oval to animate the whole structure. Its intimate scale derives from a bygone era of the pre-commercial sporting event. Yet it is also claimed that the first Coca-Cola advert appeared as a sponsor at the 1928 Olympic Games, held



2.062 Street view, Simon Stevinweg Street (1923)
by Jan Wils



2.063 Garden view, Simon Stevinweg Street
(1923)



2.066 Front view, Simon Stevinweg Street (1923)



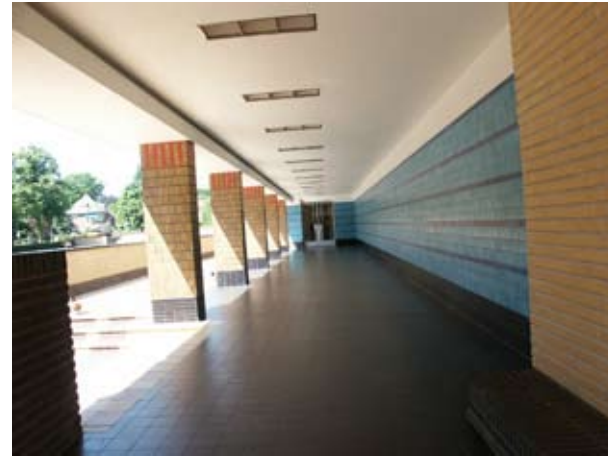
2.064 Side view with Marathon tower beyond,
Olympic Stadium (1923) by Jan Wils



2.065 Side view, Olympic Stadium (1923)



2.067 Side view, Town Hall (1924-31) by Dudok



2.068 View beside pool, Town Hall (1924-31) by Dudok



2.069 Interior view of council chamber, Town Hall (1924-31) by Dudok



2.070 Interior view of lighting to main openings, Town Hall (1924-31) by Dudok



2.071 Perspective view, Town Hall (1924-31) by Dudok



2.072 Street view, Stock Exchange (1903)
by Hendrik Petrus Berlage



2.073 View of entry to Exchange,
Stock Exchange (1903)



2.074 Cafe Berlage towards the back
of Stock Exchange (1903)



2.075 Interior of Cafe Berlage,
Stock Exchange (1903)



2.076 Interior of Cafe Berlage
Stock Exchange (1903)

Vanity Fair

here, another example of modernism's dependency on capitalism.⁸³ The impressive Marathon Tower was designed to accommodate the first Olympic flame of modern times, and Wils added to the sense of theatre by including balconies for the horn-blowers and loudspeakers to announce the winners of each event.

The English historian, Nikolaus Pevsner, identified Willem Marinus Dudok (1884-1974) as the most important intermediary in 'the Peaceful Penetration' of Wright's work in Europe.⁸⁴ He claims that Dudok took the lessons of cubic composition from Wright and developed his own signature architecture out of them. However, Reyner Banham was not impressed with this interpretation. He called Dudok's work "middle of the road modernism,"⁸⁵ yet this is precisely what Pevsner was identifying, in that Wright's work had become part of mainstream modernism in The Netherlands sooner than it had in any other European nation. Dudok was born in Amsterdam as the son of two musicians. He entered the army in 1900 and reached the rank of lieutenant in the Royal Engineers in 1909. As such, he was responsible for designing fortifications and army accommodation blocks, none of which were at all remarkable.⁸⁶ He left the army in 1913 and worked first as a deputy director at the Public Works Department in Leiden. Then in 1915 he became the Director of Public Works in Hilversum. According to Langmead, there was no sign of Wright's influence on Dudok prior to 1919.⁸⁷ Langmead implies that his friendship with Oud may have provided his first exposure to Wright, as well as a stern warning of the perils of imitating Wright too closely.⁸⁸ Yet throughout the 1920s, "Wright's form-language is apparent in Dudok's buildings."⁸⁹ Dudok openly articulated his debt to Wright in 1925:

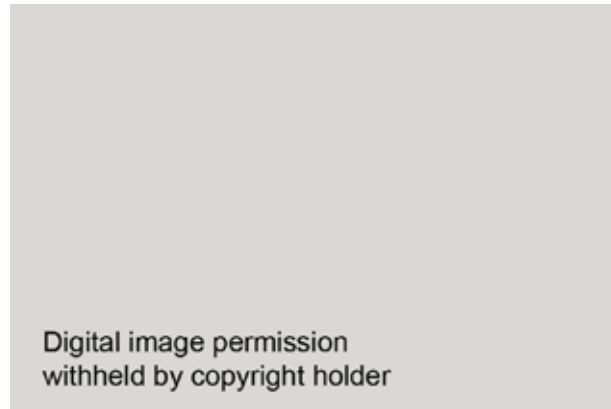
"Wright deepened my consciousness that architecture is the art of space, and not of the flat plane. Therefore it is not primarily his manner of detailing [that has impressed me], not his intersection, flat, almost suspended roofs of formidable span, but much more his lucid, spaciousness, imparting of form."⁹⁰

Hilversum Town Hall (1924-31) by Dudok is a truly spectacular building: its monumental scale and confidence seems to be meant for a substantial city, not a Dutch backwater. Its powerful massing with different volumes juxtaposed and dominant horizontal aspect recalled De Stijl, whilst the sense of dynamic form is borrowed from the Amsterdam School. The brick edifice was perhaps most inspired by Wright's Larkin Administration Building (1902-6), but Dudok carefully refined the

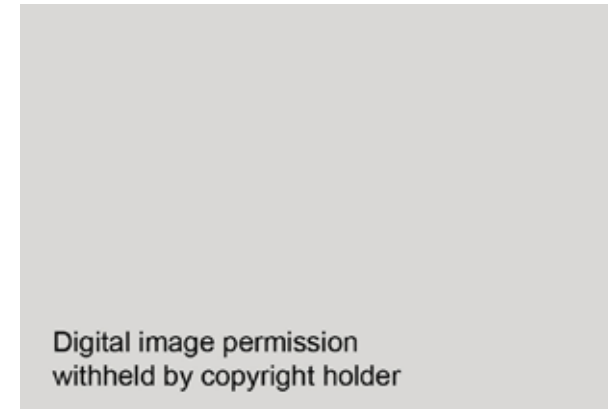
design to accommodate the numerous functions of a town hall. Its confident form was matched by spectacular interior spaces that reflected a real degree of civic pride, with the spaces flowing from one in an informal manner. Stone and marble floors were used throughout, yet the walls were kept simple. One repeated detail is a vertical lighting module that provides indirect lighting at important wall junctions and openings, which also reflected Wright's use of hidden lighting in a number of his commissions. The interior finish to the council chambers was relatively restrained, and instead Dudok displayed a talent for the sumptuous use of materials and colour. Pevsner claimed that Dudok in turn inspired a number of British municipal architects, naming Hornsey Town Hall⁹¹ (1933-35) and Greenwich Town Hall (1938-39) as two prime examples.

Amsterdam

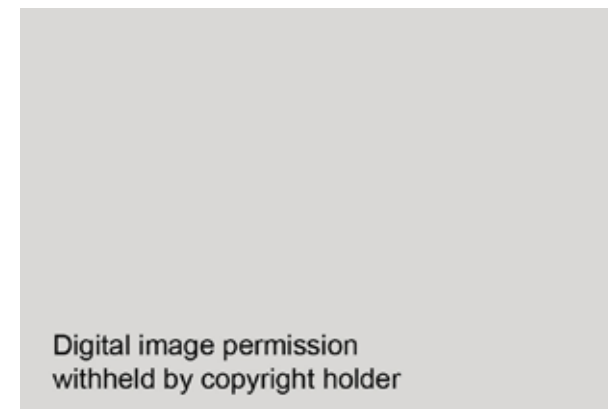
My previous visit to Amsterdam had been on a stag party about ten years previously. This time around I travelled by train and came into Amsterdam via the harbour. There was a cruise ship in the dock and it made an interesting contrast against the rows of dwellings on the canals. Cruise Ships were viewed by early-modernists as the manifestation of good design with their sleek construction representing a unity between form and function, but nowadays the overblown luxury liner represents kitsch consumerism. From my last experience of the city it proved no problem to find the Stock Exchange (1897-1903) by Hendrik Petrus Berlage (1856-1934); unfortunately this time the main halls were busy with a concert and an exhibition, so I had a coffee at the Berlage Bar that looked out onto a small square full of busy tourists. The interior space blended a wealth of tiled decoration and finishes to create 'a total work of art.' The Stock Exchange was conceived as "a monument reflecting the resolute and practical spirit of Amsterdam's merchant class,"⁹² and it was certainly a success in demonstrating global trading prowess at the time. When completed in 1903 it was much celebrated in Europe and images were shown at the St Louis World Fair of 1904, which Wright is known to have visited. Banham spotted similarities between the Stock Exchange and the Larkin Building: "internally both have large halls surrounded by galleries, executed largely in brick as internal facing, with an alternative material at points of structural importance."⁹³ In addition, the Stock Exchange façade displayed elements that were borrowed from H. H. Richardson, particularly the strong plain facades and the use of Romanesque motifs.⁹⁴



2.077 Frontispiece, Wijdeveld, H. T. ed (1925)
The Life Work of the American Architect Frank Lloyd Wright.



2.078 Coonley House, *The Life Work of the American Architect Frank Lloyd Wright* (1925)



2.079 Coonley Playhouse, *The Life Work of the American Architect Frank Lloyd Wright* (1925)

Berlage was the son of the chief municipal registrar in Amsterdam and was educated at Zurich Institute of Technology (1875-78), which was then heavily influenced by the teaching of Gottfried Semper. He returned to Amsterdam and worked for Theodre Sanders in 1881, working on a wide variety of commissions in a number of different styles, yet throughout he followed a rationalist approach based on the teachings of Viollet-le-Duc.⁹⁵ The Stock Exchange consolidated his authority and reputation, and it impressed Louis Sullivan in Chicago, who told his former draughtsman, William Purcell (a contemporary of Wright in the 'Prairie School') to visit Berlage during his trip to Europe in 1906. Purcell in turn noted that Berlage already knew of Sullivan and Wright, and had read the 1900 *Architectural Review* article about Wright.⁹⁶ Berlage himself undertook a lecture tour of America and visited Chicago in 1911, meeting up with Sullivan and Purcell whilst lecturing at the Art Institute. Unfortunately he missed the chance to meet Wright, but took the opportunity to visit a number of his buildings in Chicago and New York. It was Berlage's subsequent lectures back in Zurich that really consolidated Wright's reputation in Europe, not the Wasmuth folios.

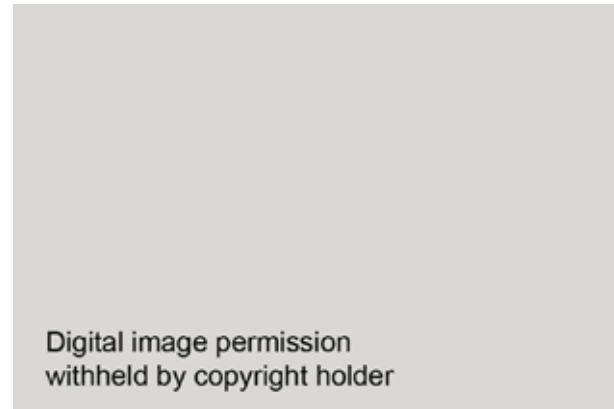
Out of Amsterdam came another reading of Wright's work that celebrated his expressive attributes and individual talent. De Witt claims that both De Stijl and the Amsterdam Schools originated from Dutch Art Nouveau (*Nieuwe Kunst*), which had been founded on the principle of a "communal art" (*Gemeenschapskunst*).⁹⁷ It was believed that any work of art needed to reflect the character of contemporary society and that architects had two means of achieving this: they could either "endow the building materials with spirit", or else "construct according to the principles of organic growth common to all forms in nature."⁹⁸ The Amsterdam School believed the individual architect was a prophet and/or artist who could invest in building materials a spirit that transformed them into art. Furthermore, Casciato identifies four "formal" aspects that "seduced" the Amsterdam School: abstract geometrical plans, the use together of modern and older materials, quality of the detailing, and the "successful balance between the monumental and the domestic."⁹⁹ These attributes were displayed to some extent by Berlage, but Wright exemplified them to the group. There was a large body of work constructed by the Amsterdam School, with Michel de Klerk as the main protagonist, but overall they lacked a consistent philosophy or theoretical basis. The magazine, *Wendigen*, contained many articles that reflected

the concerns of the group, and its editor was Hendricus Theodorus Wijdeveld (1885-1987). Pevsner thus gives him most credit for the actual dissemination of Wright's work in Holland.¹⁰⁰

It is a matter of conjecture by Langmead when Wijdeveld began following Wright's work around 1900, whilst he was apprenticed to Cuypers he was actually a follower of the Pre-Raphaelites, Ruskin, Morris, and Ashbee – and perhaps saw Wright's article in *Architectural Review* that same year.¹⁰¹ *Wendigen* was established after the First World War, in 1918, and grew out of a regional journal into a publication which supported the artistic qualities of architecture rather than the technological.¹⁰² It sought an international audience from the outset, and thus Wijdeveld approached many "like-minded artists" to contribute to the publication. He examined "every opening avenue, optimistically seeking the better world at the end of ever new vista."¹⁰³ It must also be noted that *Wendigen* was in itself a work of art, with a "square format with special typography and double-folded pages."¹⁰⁴ An illustrated article on Wright was published in 1921, and then in 1925, seven articles by European commentators were published in a special issue about Wright. These essays were subsequently compiled into a book called *The Life Work of the American Architect Frank Lloyd Wright* (1925).¹⁰⁵ Wijdeveld approached several potential contributors, but no British or Bauhaus architects chose to participate. More intriguing, though, "Wijdeveld persistently approached Le Corbusier to contribute to the series. While admitting familiarity with some of Wright's buildings ... the Swiss offered no help."¹⁰⁶ Alofsin also claims that Le Corbusier received a copy of the Wasmuth *Sonderfelt* in 1915 from his former mentor, August Perret.¹⁰⁷

Berlage's article in the *Wendigen* book addressed the nature of Wright's work and its relevance to modernism beyond America. Re-reading his article today, it seems that the Berlage piece formed the basis of Pevsner's own essay in 1939, and even furnished it with its title. As such, it also became a mantra that was repeated by many modernist historians thereafter. Berlage wrote:

"When some years ago, in my memoirs of my American travels, I gave my impression of Frank Lloyd Wright's work and, during a lecture, ventured to suggest that "peaceful American penetration" might one day occur as a



2.080 Postcard of Reichstag Wrapped (1996) by Christo



2.081 Entrance, Aldon Hotel (1989)



2.082 Ground floor lounge, Aldon Hotel (1989)



2.083 Leaflet with brief history, Aldon Hotel (1989)

reciprocal action to the preceding European movement, all I meant was that the work of that great architect would certainly not remain unnoticed in Europe ...

Now it is in this connection that I feel the greatest difficulty of determining the “cultural” significance of an artist in a time like the present, for one cannot escape the primary question as to whether his work represents a general rather than a particular value. And then I believe I must regard Wright’s as typical of the latter and to honour him most as the endowed artist whose influence ought to be assured as a matter of course through his really “enchanted” gift.

In any case, I find it difficult to see Wright otherwise than as a romanticist as to see him as his very antipode, that is, as an “industrial architect”, as many like to see him – as he likes to see himself – witness a monograph from his own pen “In the Cause of Architecture”...

when I saw the achieved work with my own eyes, did I receive the impression of a “universal art” of this kind but rather of a “personal,” charming and lovable art, at the root of which the mechanical lies only apparently.”¹⁰⁸

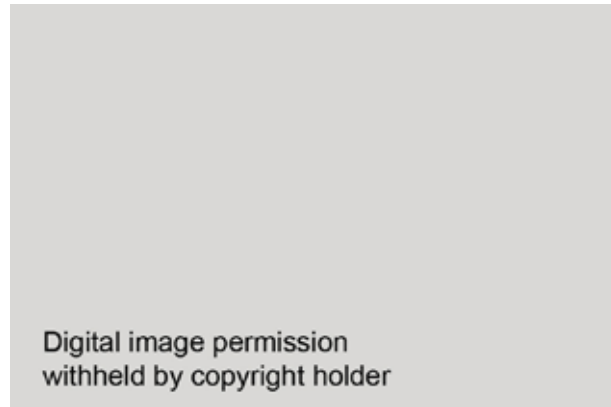
The essay neatly summarizes how the Dutch were misled into believing that Wright was an “industrial architect,” and that it was their own preconception that was incorrect, given that Wright clearly lacked any “machine aesthetic” to accompany the rhetoric. Thus, when Wright became involved with the artistic production of the *Wendigen* journal, it merely confirmed the suspicions that he was a utopian romantic, just like its editor.

Wijdeveld and Wright collaborated again in 1931 on the draft a prospectus for the Taliesin Fellowship. It was claimed that Wright had begun dreaming of the Hillside Home School of the Allied Arts since his time in Japan from 1918-23. The idea was “explicitly inspired by his English friend Charles Ashbee,”¹⁰⁹ with a number of craft objects being produced but with the assistance of machinery and for sale in the mass market. For its director, Wright proposed Wijdeveld.¹¹⁰ By coincidence, Wijdeveld held a similar idea for an International Guild in which architects would be taught by practitioners and artists. Sporadic correspondence between the two figures over the next three years resulted in little progress, as Wright had no funding for the Hillside Home School, yet Wijdeveld remained eager to work with him. The two

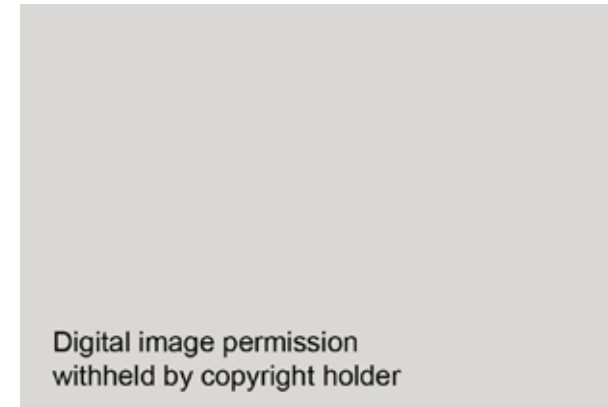
finally met at Taliesin in Autumn 1931, where they wrote a prospectus for the Taliesin Fellowship. Friedland notes it “was clearly the work of Wijdeveld, but it contains edits in Wright’s hand.”¹¹¹ Architecture and product design were to be the main thrust of the Fellowship, but other allied arts and performing arts were allowed to form part of the curriculum. Fellows had to agree to work on Wright’s estate, as a “privilege of participation.”¹¹² Wijdeveld returned to Holland and expected Wright to confirm the funding for his appointment, but he became very disappointed when Wright launched the Taliesin Fellowship in January 1932 with himself as the “founder and conductor,” and without even notifying Wijdeveld.¹¹³ In addition, Friedland claims that Wijdeveld had assisted in the development of Broadacre City and its accompanying book, *The Disappearing City* (1932). Wijdeveld name literally translated as ‘broad field’, and so was even thus a possible inspiration for the name, Broadacre!¹¹⁴

Berlin:

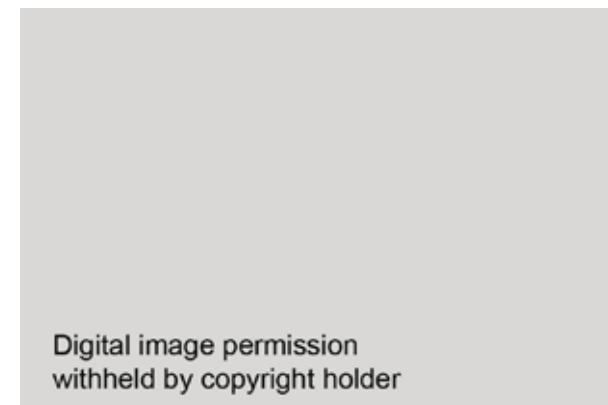
I had visited Berlin in 1995 after its unification when it was still an edgy divided metropolis and the Reichstag was being wrapped in a ceremonial foil by the artist Christo, as if awaiting a symbolic re-birth. It was a relaxing carefree summer for me on the Tiergarten. A kilometre to the south, Potsdamer Platz was a wasteland inhabited by cranes and piling rigs. On my return in 2006, it had become a brash commercial quarter, a reminder that western capitalism had defeated Eastern Block collectivism. My exploration of Berlin began at the Aldon Hotel (1989), which was where Wright and Mamah Cheney had registered as ‘Mr Wright and wife,’ which was grammatically correct except for Wright was with some-else’s wife.¹¹⁵ The subsequent expose by the *Chicago Herald* caused Wright to go undercover for the remainder of his European journey. The hotel was beside the Pariser Platz, with the symbolic Brandenburg Gate at its head, and where the main boulevard of Unter den Linden forms an important axis through the city leading to the Schlossbrücke and the former Soviet East Berlin. The Aldon was opened in 1907 and gained a string of celebrity guests including; Charlie Chaplin, Herbert Hoover, Josephine Baker and Marlene Dietrich. Despite surviving the Second World War, it was badly burnt during the subsequent Soviet occupation and fell into neglect, being demolished in 1984. The new Aldon Hotel completes a nostalgic vision. Externally it looks like a good copy of the original with a traditional stone facing. Inside, its glazed central lobby has heavy columns, arched openings, rounded projecting bays, moulded wood details, a small



2.084 Frontispiece, Wright, F. L. (1910-11) *Ausgeführte Bauten* (commonly known as *Sonderheft* - special edition)



2.085 Robie and Coonley Houses, *Sonderheft*, Wright, F. L. (1910-11)



2.086 Plans of Coonley House and Larkin Building, *Sonderheft*, Wright, F. L. (1910-11)

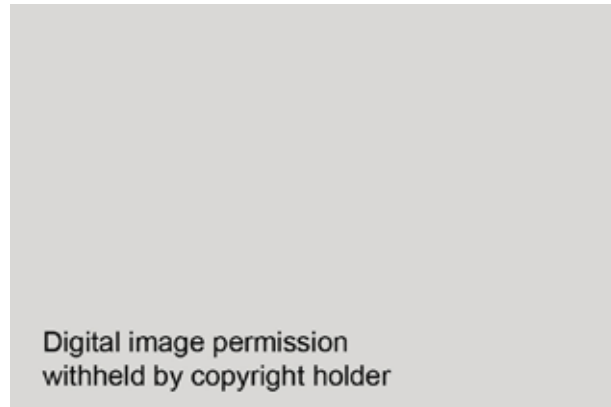
fountain, stained glass insets, and deep chairs; it was not much different to when Wright had eloped, I thought. The receptionist told me that the original guest register was destroyed during the Second World War, and as a result there was no trace of Wright staying there.

In *An Autobiography*, Wright attempted to justify his publishing venture in Berlin by claiming that he was prompted by Kuno Franke to undertake a visit to Germany: “I had always loved old Germany – Goethe, Schiller, Nietzsche, Bach – the great architect who happened to be choose music for his form – Beethoven and Strauss.”¹¹⁶ Wright claimed that a “proposal” followed by “the very able publisher Wasmuth in Berlin – to publish a complete monograph of my work.”¹¹⁷ Yet Alofsin corrects this assertion by confirming that Wright himself paid for the printing costs¹¹⁸ and that Kuno Mohring, an editor at Wasmuth, was in fact Wright’s contact.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the number of Wasmuth folios intended for European circulation was minimal. The much smaller picture book, *Frank Lloyd Wright: Ausgeführte Bauten* (1910-11) (which Wright called *Sonderheft* (special edition)) had a German introduction by Charles Ashbee and a print run of 9,100 volumes – of which 3,900 copies were for sale in Europe.¹²⁰ The far more extensive two-volume monograph, *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe von Frank Lloyd Wright* (1911), with Wright’s introduction titled *Studies and Executed Buildings*, had a print run of 1,275 – of which less than 200 were available for sale in Europe.¹²¹ Thus, Wright’s alleged ‘conquest’ of Europe would seem entirely implausible based on such a small circulation.¹²² Furthermore, Alofsin claims that “the reception of his work in Europe was incidental to his own purpose of creating a primer for a new American architecture.”¹²³ Another modernist myth emerged that Wright had put on an exhibition while in Berlin to promote his work, but instead Alofsin notes that all that happened was that Mohring gave a lecture to a Berlin architectural club in February 1910.¹²⁴ Mies van der Rohe claimed to have seen an exhibition, but no proof exists of such a spectacle.¹²⁵ Tantalisingly, if Wright had actually made more of an effort to promote his work in Berlin, then he could have addressed all the so-called ‘pioneers of modernism’¹²⁶ at a stroke, since they happened to be employed in Peter Behrens’ office at that time: Walter Gropius (1907-10), Le Corbusier (1910-11), and Mies van der Rohe (1908-11).

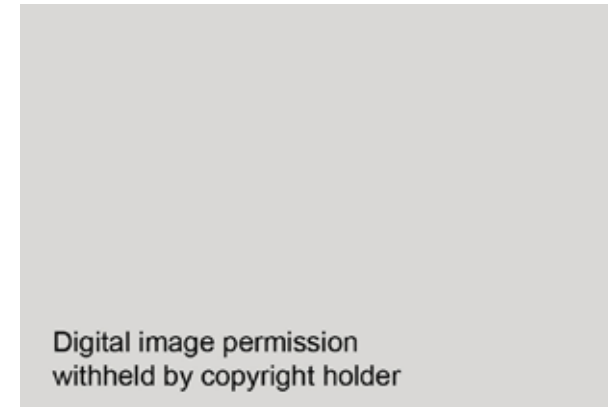
Wright was extremely astute in realising the potential of his Wasmuth folios. As Colomina notes: “Until the advent of photography, and earlier of lithography, the

audience of architecture was the user. With photography, the illustrated magazine, and tourism, architecture’s reception began to occur also through an additional social form: consumption.”¹²⁷ In addition, the folios were an opportunity for Wright to assert his own architectural identity in an idealised format: “the printed media are the mirror wherein the bits and pieces of one’s writings and work (often unrealised) return miraculously to their author in a “complete” image.”¹²⁸ Wright and his temporary atelier in Italy drew careful traced images of completed projects, which were then transferred onto lithographs in Berlin – thus presenting a unified artistic conception for his work. He saw the folio as opportunity to prove his artistic credentials. The *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe* was thus a major artistic undertaking, with each lithograph seen as a work of art on its own merits. There was even a ‘deluxe’ version printed on Japanese paper and with a leather binding.¹²⁹ Wright’s folios thus became a commodity in their own right as well as disseminating the architecture contained within. There were troubles with publication that arose from the poor quality of the first draft of the *Sonderheft* (according to Wright) and also difficulties in translating Wright’s introduction into German.¹³⁰ Wright undertook a second visit to Wasmuth in January 1911 to renegotiate the printing contract and to assert his “objectives: high quality and maximum control of distribution.”¹³¹ The possibilities of modern reproduction available to Wright were manifold, but he saw the Wasmuth venture as an antiquated limited print edition not a mass media event, thus denying the potential of mass exposure. It was a mistake that he never repeated in subsequent reproductions of his work. Nevertheless, a handful of the folios did reach a number of influential architects in Europe, even if widespread dissemination was not achieved. Tragically, most of the Wasmuth folios were burnt or damaged by water when a deranged servant murdered Cheney and her children in 1914, setting Taliesin North alight – a tragic pyre that seemed to dent Wright’s confidence for almost a decade.

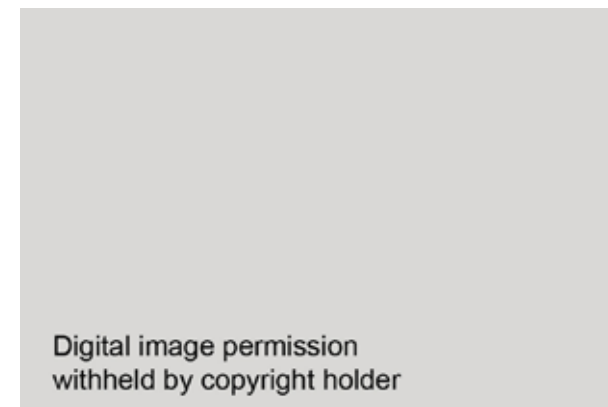
Wright’s influence on Gropius (1883-1969), as well as on Mies, was confirmed in two residential commissions that they undertook in the 1902s. The Sommerfeld Residence (1920-21) by Gropius was begun after the First World War but was later destroyed during the Second World War. This suburban villa was for a sawmill owner whom had purchased an old battleship, and so Gropius reused the timber from the battleship. Forbat and Neufert were collaborators, and they recalled: “I’ll never forget how Gropius and Meyer, in the initial stage of designing, poured over the large portfolios published by *Wasmuth: Frank Lloyd Wright, Bauten und*



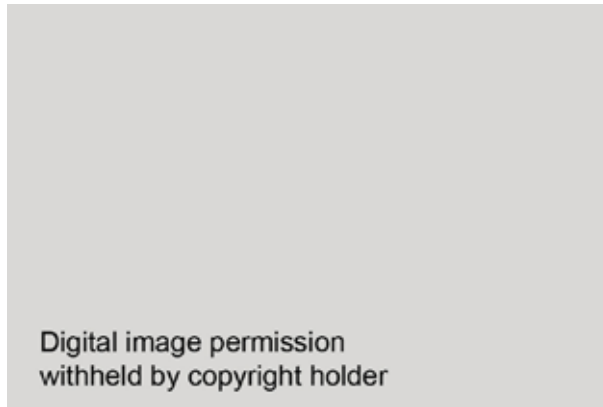
2.087 Winslow House (1893-94) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982)



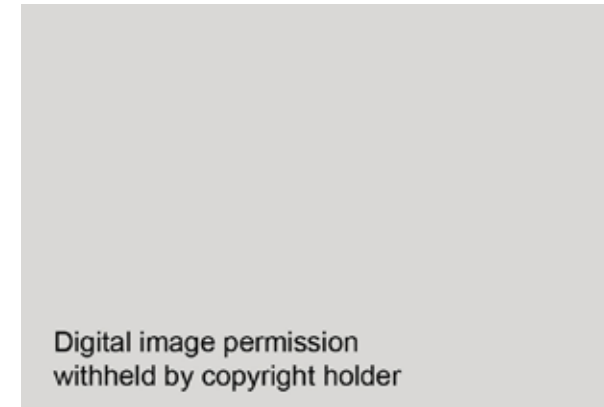
2.088 Front Elevation, Sommerfeld Residence (1920-21) by Walter Gropius, image from Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin, in Nerdinger W. (1985)



2.089 Rear Elevation, Sommerfeld Residence (1920-21) , image from Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin, in Nerdinger W. (1985)



2.090 Plan of Taliesin (1911) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1992)



2.091 Elevation & plan, Brick House (1924) by Mies van der Rohe, image from Riley, T. (2001)



2.092 Detail of Main Gate (1896) by Franz Schwechten



2.093 External view, Assembly Hall for Large Machines (1911-12) by Peter Behrens



2.094 Interior view, Assembly Hall for Large Machines (1911-12)



2.095 AEG site

*Entwufe.*¹³² The resultant ‘block-house’ had a limestone plinth with a two-storey timber construction above, and from certain views the projecting roof form shows a Prairie House aesthetic: indeed the symmetrical façade could well have been taken from the Winslow House. However, the plan reveals a formal and symmetrical plan, suggesting the aesthetic came from Wright but the planning was more Palladian. The unbuilt Brick House (1924) by Mies shows a rather different reaction to Wright. Here the abstracted pin-wheel plan was informed by Wright’s Prairie Houses as well as other sources. Colquhoun notes the “progressive fragmentation and articulation, in which the external form of the house reflects its internal subdivision, betrays the indirect influence of the English free-style house, Berlage, and Wright, but its immediate ancestor is DeStijl.”¹³³

Encouraged by the Deutscher Werkbund (1898-1927) and its principle of collaboration between the artist and industry, Peter Behrens (1868-1940) became an industrial designer for Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft (AEG) in 1907 and was instrumental in developing its product design and architecture.¹³⁴ The Werkbund had been established by Hermann Muthesius to develop German design after he was sent to England in 1896 with a specific brief to investigate British design, as an early form of cultural espionage. He was so impressed by the design of English middle-class houses, that he identified the “free-English planning” method, collating his ideas in the *Das Englische Haus* (1904). Muthesius was convinced that craftsmanship and economy were the basis of all good design, and to that effect he repeated Wright’s sentiments, in ‘The Arts and Crafts of the Machine’ lecture at Hull House in 1901. A short metro journey from central Berlin takes me to Wedding, the site of the former AEG factory. It was bombed heavily during the Second World War, yet there are still remnants of the factory to be found. A neo-Gothic main gate (1896) by Franz Schwechten, is preserved on Brunnenstrasse, albeit now isolated on a wide pavement within a mixed residential district. Its bright red terracotta brick arch is an eclectic composition of ceremonial arch with industrial imagery, with inlaid mosaics of the company logo and a chain of electric lights. In a local coffee shop there were old photographs of the extensive factory, and I was surprised that it had so many different building types, each with its own scale and expression; if anything it was an ‘organic’ assembly. Frampton suggests that AEG sought to unite an industrial zeitgeist and a rustic volksgeist, “to restore to factory production that sense of common purpose innate in agriculture.”¹³⁵

Beyond the main street I came across more remnants of AEG’s factory buildings within a tall protective wall. Beyond the control gate there is a large cobbled compound with recessed tram rails, a red-brick Gothic clock tower, crane gantries and the austere Assembly Hall for Large Machines (1911-12) by Behrens. Nearby was the slightly earlier AEG Turbine Factory (1908-09), again by Behrens, and now owned by another German industrial combine, Siemens. According to Frampton, the Turbine Factory was “a conscious work of art, a temple to industrial power.”¹³⁶ It was certainly modelled on classical concerns, with the whole being composed around an abstracted temple form with a broad solid base, modulated central glazed section that was framed with banded concrete corners, and a pediment roof that was faceted with the corporate AEG logo. Along its sides, steel columns formed a colonnade that was given added classical authority by an expressive pin-joint hinge at their base, and the infill glass panels were canted slightly in a mannerist gesture. The Turbine Factory survives as a lasting symbol of German industrial modernism, with Colquhoun judging it to, “spiritualize the power of modern industry in terms of an eternal classicism.”¹³⁷

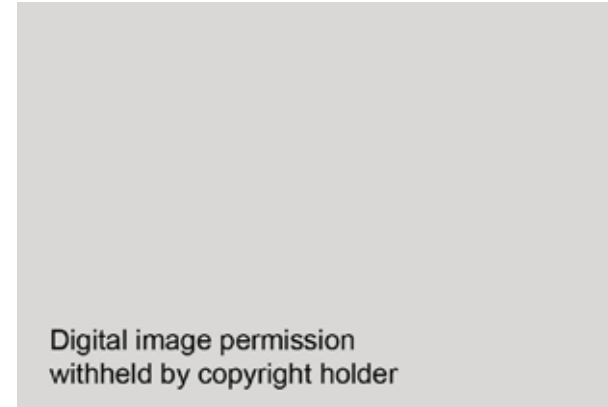
The ‘factory aesthetic’ of Behrens therefore captures the struggle of early-modernism to find a suitable architectural language, as another example of modernist propaganda attempted to reduce a plural exploration into a single manifestation. Walter Gropius went on to become Behrens’ chief assistant, and Fitch compares Behrens’ office with that of Sullivan in Chicago, postulating that both offices were the starting points of the emerging modern architecture in Germany and America.¹³⁸ Gropius was far younger than Behrens, and he was more concerned with the social consequences of industrialisation in which the “separation of the artistic conceptualization and the production process” had resulted in the diminished role of the craftsman to that of the consumer.¹³⁹ Gropius designed his first factory in collaboration with Adolf Meyer (1881-1929), the Fagus Factory (1911-12), in the provincial town of Alfeld an der Leine. It is a small town outside Hamburg with a large paper mill. I easily recognised the Fagus Factory from a tall brick chimney with ‘Fagus’ written across it. As I approached, a sweeping boundary wall led me to a gatehouse pavilion with a projecting horizontal roof that seemed to reference Wright’s work. I asked optimistically for directions to the visitors centre, and the guard suggested that I just walk around – well, that’s what I thought he said. The factory was not the sleek modernist edifice I had expected. In fact most of the buildings on



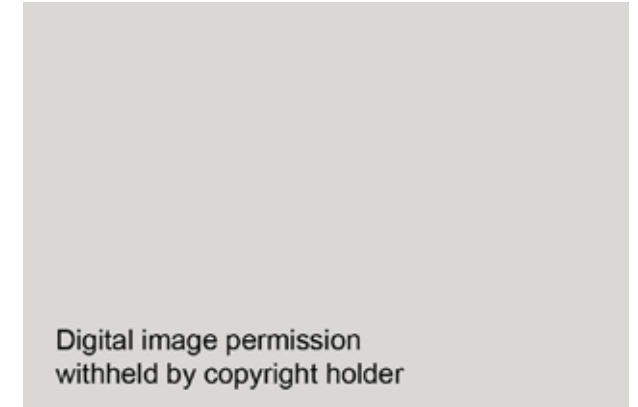
2.096 Exterior view, AEG Turbine Factory (1908-09) by Behrens



2.097 Exterior view, Fagus Factory (1911-12) by Gropius and Meyer



2.098 Front view of Office and Factory Building (1914) by Gropius, image from Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin, in Nerdinger, W. (1985)



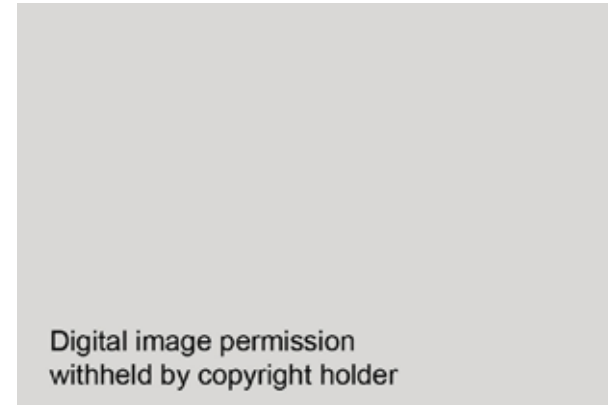
2.099 Perspective image of AEG Factory (1919) by Mendelsohn, image from Zevi, B. (1999)



2.100 Side column, AEG Turbine Factory (1908-09)



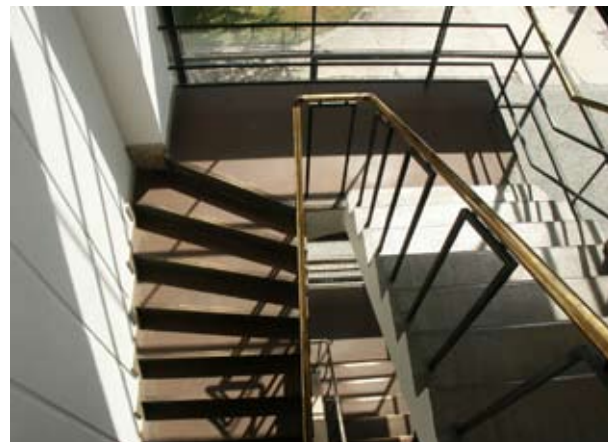
2.101 Entry pavilion, Fagus Factory (1911-12)



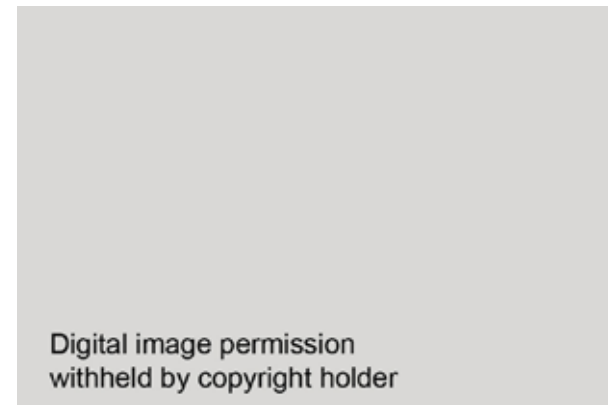
2.102 Rear view from court of Office and Factory Building (1914), image from Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin, in Nerdinger, W. (1985)



2.103 Pediment motif, AEG Turbine Factory (1908-09)



2.104 Stair view, Fagus Factory (1911-12)



2.105 Street view of City National Bank and Hotel, Mason City, by Wright, image from www.wikipedia.co.uk
Vanity Fair

the site are from the nineteenth-century, in the form of simple red-brick sheds with north-facing skylights. The modernist glazed elevation of the Fagus Administration Building was in fact the offices for white-collar employees whilst the manual work of shoe production was carried in the sheds behind. The factory was definitely no brave new world of egalitarian production; rather it was divided into a modern administration and a traditional manual workforce. Yet, the Administration Building was a startling progression from the industrial architecture of Behrens, with a more human scale, a defined volume with regular openings, and no surface ornament except for the corporate 'Fagus' frieze. Its 'rational' modernist façade was separated from its structural supports, so that it could be adapted to any building type from a factory, a school, a house even the Bauhaus.

The Fagus Factory established Gropius reputation as one of the leading modern architects in Germany, and he was duly invited by the Werkbund to design a 'model' office and factory for the Cologne Exhibition in 1914. Essentially the 'factory' was to exhibit the wares of the Werkbund and consisted of three components that were assembled along a linear axis – progressing from the Administration Building as designed by Gropius, to an open courtyard behind with two open 'garages' on the sides, and then to the actual main factory itself. The Administration Building was a symmetrical edifice with a brick front façade flanked by two expressive glazed spiral-stair towers and topped off with a low pitched roof, whilst the rear façade to the courtyard had a brick colonnade and a glazed first floor. There has been much debate as to the influence of Wright on this model factory. The low-pitched roof was an obvious quotation, and the front façade correlates with the City National Bank and Hotel (1909-11) in Mason City, Iowa, according to Pevsner.¹⁴⁰ It showed Wright's strong influence in Europe, although Alofsin disagrees as he points out it was only a single façade that was similar.¹⁴¹ However, the symmetrical three-part plan has undoubted similarities to the Larkin Building (1902-6) and Unity Temple (1905-8).

After active service in first First World War on the eastern front, Erich Mendelsohn (1887-1953) returned to Berlin, where he prepared an exhibition of imaginary architectural work entitled "Erich Mendelsohn, Architecture in Steel and Reinforced Concrete" (1919). His captivating perspectives shared a "bold new vision of unornamented, frankly modern architecture."¹⁴² One perspective for an AEG factory displayed an expressive form that went way beyond Behrens and Gropius. Gone

were any allusions to historical styles and authority; instead the "scheme shows three enormous concrete towers supporting a concrete shell that is punctuated by vast grids of steel and glass."¹⁴³ James suggests that Mendelsohn used reinforced concrete to generate what would have been sculpted concrete pylons; "Mendelsohn trusted much more in pure form, which he used to communicate an emotional rather than an intellectual message."¹⁴⁴ Thus, Mendelsohn's vision of a new society was expressionist, curvilinear, dynamic and modern – at once startling and seductive – and a rejection of Werkbund orthodoxy. The progression of the 'factory aesthetic' from the classicism of AEG, to the rationalism of Fagus, and to the post-war expressionism of his imaginary AEG, articulated well the shifts within modern architectural movements in Germany.

Mendelsohn had been born in Eastern Prussia and educated in Munich under Theodor Fisher. He graduated in 1912 and established his own practice the same year. Blundell Jones identifies the role of Fisher, who also taught Bruno Taut and Hugo Haring, "as a kind of opposite number to Behrens, equally vital for the organic side, championing the pursuit of the specific – specific site, programme, region, culture – as opposed to the universal."¹⁵² Mendelsohn's early influences were German Expressionist paintings and theatre. Next I went to visit the imperial suburb of Potsdam, which sits about 25km south-west of Berlin, sharing the train carriage with a number of young cyclists. Potsdam has a long political history. It was the official residence of the Prussian kings and German kaisers, and presided over the post-Second World War peace conference. Across from the busy station plaza there is a densely forested hill, Telegrafenberg. A small road, Albert Einstein Strasse leads unsurprisingly to Albert Einstein Science Park. There I encountered a number of observatories in a variety of architectural styles, with a the dominant Renaissance-inspired Astrophysics Observatory Potsdam (1876-79) being the most prominent – it seems that all architectural styles aspire to the stars! I persevered through the woods, and came across the Einsteinturm within a small clearing. It seemed very contained within its own miniature universe and was remarkable building to behold in both its ambition and expression.

The Einsteinturm had a long gestation period that began with the Theory of Relativity postulated by Albert Einstein in 1905, which established a new relationship between light, space, and time – the beginning of modern physics. The astronomer Erwin



2.106 Entrance to Albert Einstein Science Park



2.107 External view, Einsteinturm (1921) by Medelshohn



2.108 Astrophysics Observatory Potsdam (1876-79)



2.109 External detail, Einsteinturm (1921)



2.110 External view, Einsteinturm (1921)

Freudlich became captivated by Einstein's subsequent General Theory, which argued that light could be bent by gravity, and sought to prove this theory by experiments whereby he would compare "the spectra of artificial light and sunlight to find that sunlight was redder of the two, evidence of a gravitational pull caused shift in its mass."¹⁴⁶ Mendelsohn and Freudlich had met through mutual friends and they exchanged ideas about the observational tower throughout the First World War. In 1920, Mendelsohn began to work full-time on the project, with the aim of translating his expressionist perspectives into functioning architecture. The optical instruments for the telescope and coelostat were designed by Carl Zeiss and dictated the basic dimensions of the tower as well as the size and operation of the cupola. In addition, the plan was dictated by the spectrographic chamber and the need to produce two artificial light sources, from an oven and an arc source. Consequently, Mendelsohn became mainly responsible for designing a weatherproof shell and service provisions for the scientists. Undaunted, he declared that: "The architectural form meets the inner needs and adheres to the formal conditions of reinforced concrete."¹⁴⁷ However, in the chaotic circumstances of post-war Germany, with its shortages of materials and hyper inflation, reinforced concrete could only be used below ground; above ground a brickwork armature was dressed with stucco. Yet the finished form was a seductive monumental form that symbolised the potential fusion of modern science and modern architecture.

When the tower was opened in 1921 it generated enormous publicity because of Einstein's popularity and its startling form. It was either lauded as a "proper balance between individuality and function," or criticised for its "irrational design."¹⁴⁸ James states that "Einstein himself flattered Mendelsohn when, in a one-word review of the Tower, he labelled it "organic."¹⁴⁹ Mendelsohn never designed such an overtly expressive architectural form again, and instead James argues that he developed an "dynamic functionalism" in response "to motion, light and space," and hence that his architecture was "uniquely suited to the expression of capitalism's mix of efficient production and glamorous consumption."¹⁵⁰ Funded by the Mosse publishing house, Mendelsohn visited America in 1924 and travelled extensively there. He visited Wright at Taliesin, where Richard Neutra (1892-1960), a former employee was then working. Neutra acted as a translator and mediator for the visit, toning "down the criticism each made about each other to the amusement of Neutra's wife."¹⁵¹ "The result was highly congenial weekend, which encouraged both men's belief

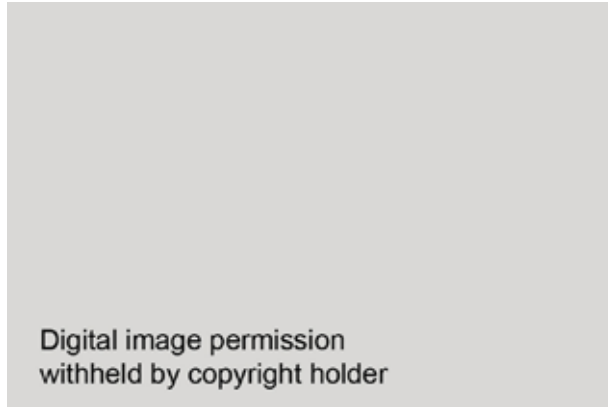
that they were following the right architectural path."¹⁵² It was a meeting that could have yielded so much more than mutual admiration: Wright the self-styled American 'organic' master, and Mendelsohn who was allied to German functionalism. They seemed to have a great deal in common but their meeting notably did not propagate an international 'organic style.'

The meeting also initiated a reappraisal of Wright in Germany, and Mendelsohn contributed an article to the *Wendigen* issue and then book in 1925. In his essay, Mendelsohn emphasised Wright's break with the past and the fact that his concepts "proceeds logically in response to organic laws."¹⁵³ Adding that "the organization of his buildings is exemplary, pertinent, free, open, full of motion," he called Wright a "great artist, whom we respect."¹⁵⁴ The original Wasmuth folios were re-published in a reduced form in Germany without Wright's consent in 1924 and Heinrich de Fries in 1926 wrote a book on *Frank Lloyd Wright: Aus dem Lebenswerke eines Architekten* (From the Life Work of an Architect), which included plans, photographs and colour images of Wright's latest works – i.e. the heavily ornamented Imperial Hotel (1913-23), Barnsdall Residence (1918-21), Lake Tahoe Cabins (1923-4) and Doheny Ranch (1923). Not surprisingly, de Fries acknowledged the elite nature of most of Wright's projects, but did not stop to reflect that within America Wright was himself considered a misfit within middle-class circles.¹⁵⁵ Adolf Behne, published *Der moderne Zweckbau* (1926) as a critical study of Wright's influence, noting his use of free-plan based on functional concerns, and the horizontal emphasis in domestic designs.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, whilst claiming that Wright had influenced Behrens, Gropius, Mendelsohn, Mies, Oud, Wils and Robert van't Hoff, Greve, and Le Corbusier, he also noted that Wright's plans were simply not understood by European architects at the time.¹⁵⁷

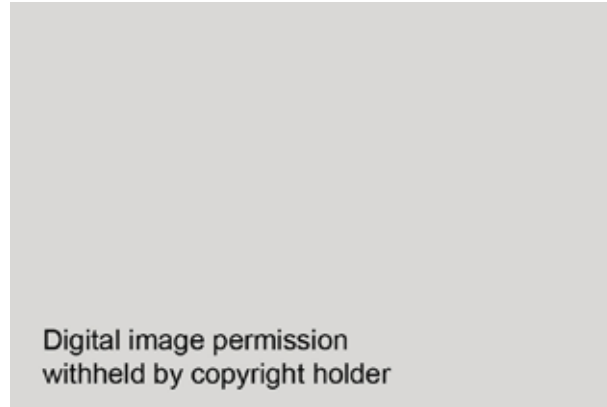
Arriving back in central Berlin, I attempted to view the concert hall in the Philharmonic Orchestra (1956-63) by Hans Scharoun (1893-1972), which had been shut when I visited in 1995 and it was still shut again during my visit in 2006. The concert hall sits beside the Tiergarten, as part of a cultural quarter which was conceived during the Cold War, but nowadays the Philharmonie lies somewhat neglected within the left-over space of an older vision. Its external form is very playful, with the expressive gold cladding providing a distinctive and opulent image – yet at ground floor the scale of the building was intimate and belies the cultural significance of the venue. I



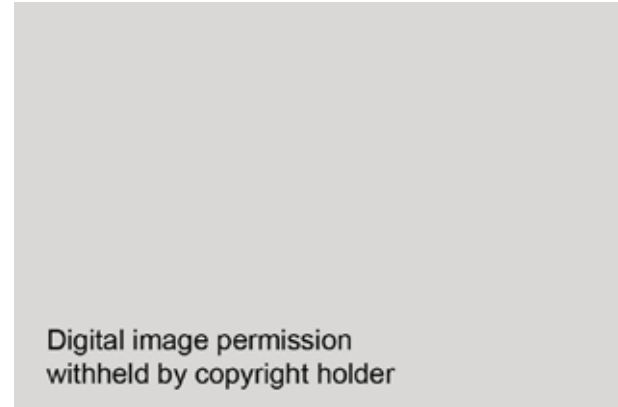
2.111 External view, Concert Hall for the Philharmonic Orchestra (1956-63) by Hans Scharoun



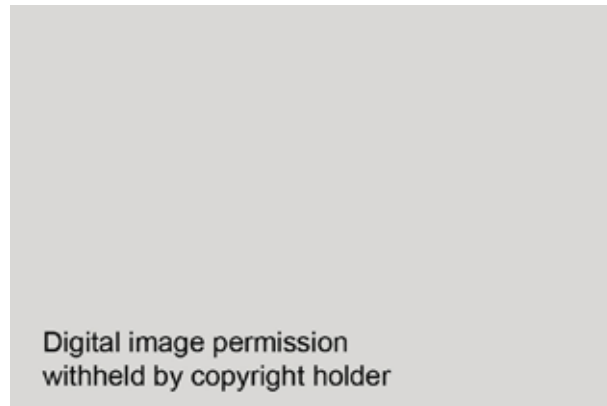
2.112 Concept section, Concert Hall for the Philharmonic Orchestra, image from Burkle, J. (1993)



2.113 Concept plan, Concert Hall for the Philharmonic Orchestra, image from Burkle, J. (1993)



2.114 Concept model, Concert Hall for the Philharmonic Orchestra, image from Burkle, J. (1993)



2.115 Interior view, Concert Hall for the Philharmonic Orchestra, image from Burkle, J. (1993)

peeked through the windows at the staircases that cantilever confidently towards the terraced seating. The concert hall was designed around the principle of “Music in the Middle,”¹⁵⁸ whereby all the orchestra was placed at the centre and the audience arranged around them. Of the 2220 people in the audience, only ten per cent are behind the orchestra, and 600 seats are placed to the side.¹⁵⁹ The hall was designed with an acoustic engineer, Professor Cremer, and the room displayed a faithful interpretation of a functional space. Scharoun claimed: “The articulated space gives a lively structure to the body of the audience, allowing the dynamic movements of the orchestra and conductor to be observed from a variety of aspects. The audience is tied to the action, rather than viewing it as a separate event on the stage.”¹⁶⁰ This ‘organic building’ was the fitting demonstration of an ‘alternative’ modernism that emerged out of Berlin in the 1920s, as led by Haring and Scharoun – and whose ideas evolved in parallel to Sullivan and Wright, although both Americans were a generation older than the Europeans.¹⁶¹

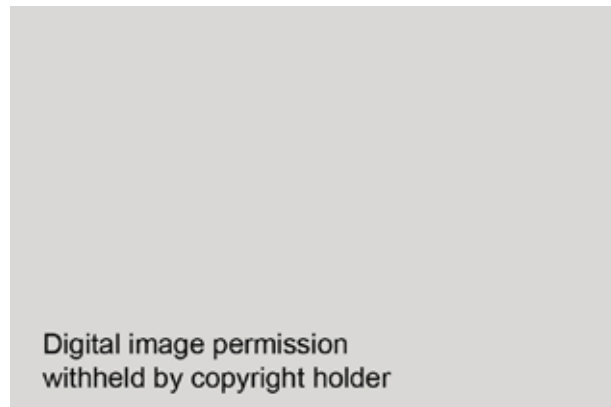
The European ‘organic’ movement – or ‘other tradition’ identified by Wilson¹⁶² – offers an example of a neglected history, whereby the theories that Haring developed during the 1920s, and which he continued to refine up to the 1950s, were dismissed in preference for a purely ‘rational’ history of modernist architecture. In Berlin during the 1920s, Haring shared an office with Mies van der Rohe and they debated architectural ideas with their contemporaries during the tough times after the First World War. They formed the Der Ring group, and Haring was its secretary. Haring’s emerging ‘organic’ theory was summarised in a short essay entitled *Wege zur Form (Approaches to Form)* in 1925. In it he acknowledged the need for both functional and expressive architecture, postulating that “forms created for functional reasons can also satisfy our craving for expression, and that the more functional they are, the more we admire them.”¹⁶³ This simple statement dismissed overtly Expressionist architecture, calling instead for a deeper exploration of function. Haring offered nature as the main source of his inspiration:

“In nature form is the result of the organisation of many individual entities in space in order that life can unfold and action take place, a fulfilment of both part and whole, (whereas in the world of geometrical cultures form is derived from the laws of geometry). If we prefer to search for shapes rather than

to impose them, to discover forms rather than to construct them, we are in harmony with nature and act with her rather than against her.”¹⁶⁴

Blundell Jones presents another history of the ‘organic,’ noting its first application in 1809 to describe the function of a Greek temple. Thereafter, in the 1840s it was used to discuss the merits of Cologne Cathedral, whereby ‘organic’ “is a whole that has been engendered by an integrated inner force.”¹⁶⁵ William Morris referred to Gothic architecture as being ‘organic’ in a lecture in 1889, while Ruskin described the ‘organic’ attributes of Gothic architecture in *The Stones of Venice*.¹⁶⁶ Thus, these nineteenth-century theories lauded the ‘organic’ responsiveness of Gothic against the formality and geometry of classicism. Haring’s added to Gothic potency by alluding to the issue of national identity, which Britain and Germany had embraced in an attempt to ‘deny’ classical Mediterranean orthodoxy and establish an ‘organic’ Nordic theory as an alternative. Haring defined it as “natural or organic, both in terms of its perceived functional and constructive discipline.”¹⁶⁷ To test his theories, Haring questioned the functional and scientific approach of Hannes Meyer, dismissing the derivation of standard house types with small room sizes that were “not of nature, following the hierarchies of life, but that of mathematics in rows.”¹⁶⁸ But more importantly, Haring objected to the universal geometric order that Le Corbusier sought to impose whereby a “supposed unity of the functional and the geometric” was exhibited in universal “pure forms” that could be applied across the globe.¹⁶⁹

As an architectural historian, Behne summarised the conflicting approaches between the functionalists (organic) and the rationalists in 1926: “As the functionalist looks for the greatest possible adaptation to the most specialized purpose, the rationalist looks for the most appropriate solution for many cases.”¹⁷⁰ A number of Haring’s ideas were clearly shared with Wright, who had called for a return to the “gothic spirit” in his own ‘organic’ manifesto within his *Studies in Executed Works* (1911).¹⁷¹ Blundell Jones implies that Haring may well have read the Wasmuth folio, and he summarises a number of shared “fundamental concepts” between Wright and Haring, including the ideas that “function should generate form ... an emphasis on part to whole ... each building being seen as a unique case inextricably based on its particular site and function, and an integral part of the life which it serves ... [and] the building becomes part of the landscape and, conversely, the landscape is seen as a form of architecture.”¹⁷² Blundell Jones notes however that there were differences too:



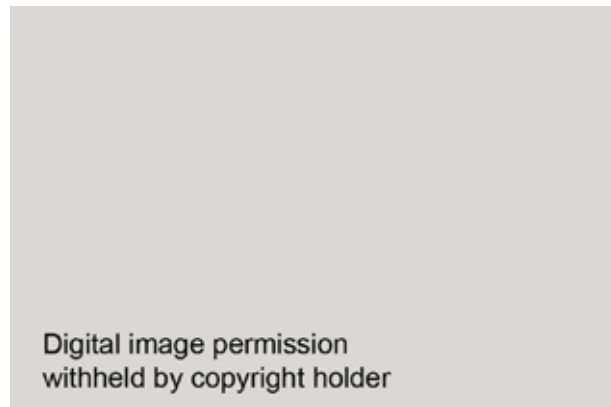
2.116 Exterior view down the lane, Gut Garkau (1924) by Hugo Haring, image from Jones, P. B. (1995)

A display of functionalist design for humble farm buildings.

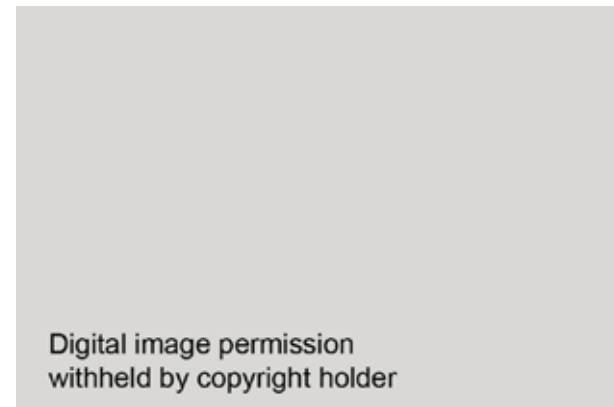


2.117 Exterior view, Taliesin Farm Buildings (1930s onwards) by Frank Lloyd Wright,

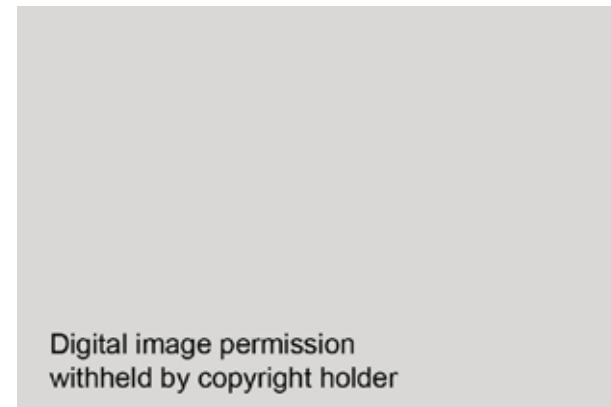
An evolving design that sought to enhance the setting of Taliesin. It was claimed that Wright constantly changed the design for his own aesthetic needs.



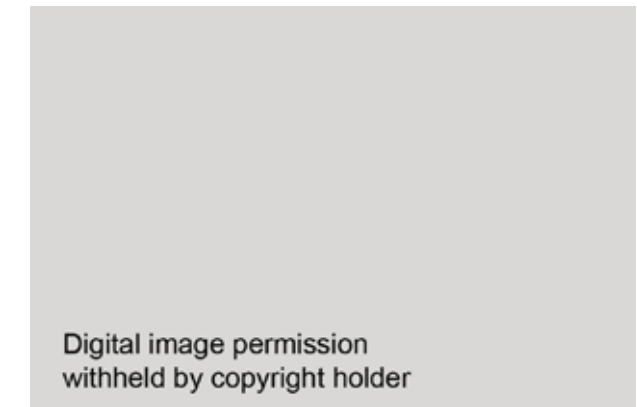
2.118 Cowshed Gut Garkau (1924), image from Jones, P. B. (1995)



2.119 Barn, Gut Garkau (1924), image from Jones, P. B. (1995)



2.120 Exterior view, Taliesin Farm Buildings (1930s onwards), image from www.google.co.uk Vanity Fair



2.121 Exterior view, Taliesin Farm Buildings (1930s onwards), image from www.google.co.uk

“Wright was always ready to indulge himself in styling and ornament, whereas Haring shared with his European colleagues a conviction that pure function forms had the highest cultural value.”¹⁷³ Another point that differentiated the two architects was the evocation of nature. For Wright, nature was available to be “conventionalised” or abstracted, and this abstracted form could then be modulated to articulate a plan. Wright hence used a flexible module in all his work and a geometric basis underlies his architecture. In contrast, Haring was less dependent on such a rigorous method of design. Could it therefore be postulated that Wright mediated between the geometrical ideas of the rationalists and the ‘organic’ ideals of the functionalists? In a subsequent update of Blundell Jones’ monograph on Scharoun,¹⁷⁴ the points of convergence between Wright and Haring were removed, possibly to preserve their separate identities – yet a similarity does exist in their approach to architecture but it has never been fully developed.

Stuttgart, Munich and Oberamegau

Stuttgart Railway Station (1913-27) by Paul Bonatz projects a monumental presence through a dominant neo-classical scale. The façade has grand Romanesque arches that bookend a regular colonnade of minor arches, as if prophetic of the massive nationalist architecture later adopted by the Nazis. Yet this relic of measured nationalism is soon to be undermined by a new underground station that exhibits a more ‘organic’ spatial concept. Stuttgart 21 will be a new through station whereby trains from Paris can travel directly to Vienna as part of a trans-European rail route, as another part of the Euro-vision. Elliptical skylights will inhabit a broad new plaza in front of the station, and beneath tapered columns appear to peel away from the skylight, exhibiting a playful ‘organic’ concept. As I waited opposite the station for my bus, there were some lovely views towards the surrounding hills that gave the city an intimacy. The bus journey took me up into these hills, past affluent homes, and I alighted near the ideal modernist suburb of the Weissenhofsiedlung housing exhibition, built in 1927. The Weissenhof was conceived by Deutsche Werkbund with Stuttgart City Council, all under the leadership of Mies van der Rohe. Following the Dawes Plan of 1924, an influx of American capital stabilised the German currency and meant that state house-building could begin in earnest.¹⁷⁵ Most of these new housing estates, known as *siedlungen*, were located on the outskirts of existing cities and followed the “*Zienlebau* principle of parallel blocks aligned north-

south at right angles to the access street.”¹⁷⁶ The Weissenhof layout exhibited an expressionist tendency, it was modelled on a “medieval town”¹⁷⁷ and it must be noted that Haring had worked on the site plan before he fell out with Mies.¹⁷⁸ But the plan also responded to the hilly setting and generated its own technological landscape. Mies’ own long apartment block provided a fixed backdrop with the houses interlocking “loosely, spreading wide and low along the slope with a strong horizontal emphasis..”¹⁷⁹

Whilst it was claimed that there was an open brief for each architect “to design homes for “inhabitants of big cities,”¹⁸⁰ there was also a careful selection of architects by Mies in an attempt to promote “left-wing architects,” with an inclination towards the rationalist *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity). Hence the more expressive architects such as Haring, Mendelsohn and Tessenow were rejected.¹⁸¹ Most of the dwellings were intended for an “educated middle class,”¹⁸² and so included servants’ accommodation. The aims of Werkbund had changed since the First World War. They were “no longer interested in fostering ideas of the arts and crafts but in concentrating on architecture and technology as they might influence habitation; a decidedly materialistic emphasis.”¹⁸³ This new material focus displayed an ambivalence towards social justice, and the Weissenhof was essentially a speculative private development on land owned by the City of Stuttgart. It was hardly surprising that local communist and socialist groups objected to the scheme. The completed exhibition consisted of 33 houses and 63 apartments designed by 17 architects who were mostly German, and all younger than 45 years old. Within the Weissenhof there were three different types of new homes; single family homes, row houses, and blocks of apartments.

Today there is an Information Centre/Museum in one of the row Houses 28, 29, 30 by Mart Stam, with a large model of the site and an extensive bookshop with serious academic studies of ‘International Style’ modernism. The exhibition notes that half the dwellings were lost during the Second World War, but that the remaining houses and apartments had been marginally altered. Now the site is even being ‘re-modernised’ and previous molestations removed. Mies’ famous apartment block (Houses 1 – 4) rested on the ridge and its linear five-storey mass with long strip windows created a new geological outcrop for the site. However, behind the uncompromising façade there was a more flexible internal layout, that allowed



2.122 Exterior view, Stuttgart Railway Station (1913-27) by Bonatz



2.123 Model, Weissenhofsiedlung (1927) housing exhibition



2.124 Model, Weissenhofsiedlung (1927) housing exhibition



2.125 Exterior view, Houses 1 – 4, Apartment Block (1927) by Mies van der Rohe



2.129 Exhibition leaflet



2.127 Exterior view, House 13 (1927) by Le Corbusier based on Maison Citrohan (1920)



2.128 Exterior view, House 13, 14 and 15 (1927) by Le Corbusier



2.129 Exterior view, House 14 and 15 (1927) by Le Corbusier



2.130 Exterior view, House 33 (1927) by Hans Scharoun



2.131 Side entry, House 33 (1927)

Vanity Fair



2.132 Perimeter wall with living space behind, House 33 (1927)

owners to move some of their walls into new positions. Due to his fame, Le Corbusier was given a prominent corner site that looked down onto the city. Corbusier's House 13 was a realisation of his *Maison Citrohan* (1920) ideal, the original "house as a machine for living in"¹⁸⁴ and as such followed the principles of the "*Les 5 Points d'une architecture nouvelle*" (1926).¹⁸⁵ House 13 has a generous internal space with a double-storey living space on the first floor, a mezzanine floor above, and bedrooms that shared the roof terrace – finally the house as a machine had found a home in city which excels at car production! Corbusier's designs for Houses 14 and 15 displayed more formal concerns, and showed great spatial daring with a raised plinth from which pilotis elevated the living space two storeys above street level. The roof garden above had a long framed opening. Whilst the façade alluded to a generous villa, the reality was a rather mean plan with tight internal spaces: the living room doubled up as a sleeping space. It was essentially an aesthetic exercise by Corbusier with no practical value in terms of exploring new forms of dwelling.

At the opposite end of the street was House 33 by Hans Scharoun, and this exhibited a number of expressionist curved forms which broke up the monotony of the cubic forms used elsewhere. Within its plan there is a visual axis from the entry door to the garden that divides the ground floor plan into a front living area and a rear service zone. Upstairs the three bedrooms are set at the back of the building and they too share an extensive terrace. As Pommer notes, "a few architects, such as Scharoun, attempted to open the interiors to and to provide a sense of continuity with the out-of-doors – as in Frank Lloyd Wright's prairie houses."¹⁸⁶ Yet Blundell Jones notes that Scharoun was never tied to the spiritual hearth as Wright, and with the advent of central heating his homes became less hierarchical: "their interrelationships more subtle, and the whole ... less obviously additive."¹⁸⁷ Johnson, however, believes that Wright's "influence was measurable at Stuttgart."¹⁸⁸ He notes that Mies, Stam, Oud and Gropius had all acknowledged Wright's work, and the extensive use of 'open plan' interiors was yet further proof of Wright's presence. Furthermore, Kirsch claims that Homes 21 and 22 by Richard Ducker, with their prominent "roof overhangs," had "something of the look of country houses by Frank Lloyd Wright."¹⁸⁹ In the *Die Form* journal, Graeff restated the benefits of the open plan, and observed that Wright "had the necessary qualities twenty years ago. He knew the way to a new kind of living."¹⁹⁰

The 'International Style' was first identified by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson in their Museum of Modern Art exhibition in New York, in 1932. They claimed it was "a modern style as original, as consistent, as logical, and as widely distributed as any in the past."¹⁹¹ Certainly the housing at the Weissenhof offered examples of this new tendency, in that they exhibited its three essential characteristics: "emphasis upon volume – space enclosed by planes or surfaces as opposed to the suggestion of mass and solidity; regularity as opposed to symmetry or other kinds of obvious balance; and, lastly, dependence upon the intrinsic elegance of materials, technical perfection, and fine proportions, as opposed to applied ornament."¹⁹² Wright initially held an ambivalent relationship with the emergent 'International Style.' He reviewed the English translation of Le Corbusier's *Towards a New Architecture* (1928), noting that this new style was 'surface and mass' without any 'depth' – the latter attribute which Wright equated with purpose and integrity, and of course his own 'organic' creed.¹⁹³ Furthermore, Wright believed that European modernism was confirmation of his and Sullivan's own work. Wright lamented that America was still looking to Europe for culture, and to France in particular as a "fashion-monger."¹⁹⁴ He wrote: "So, welcome Holland, Germany, Austria and France! What you take from us we receive from you gratefully."¹⁹⁵ His text on *The Logic of Contemporary Architecture as an Expression of this Age* (1930) was a critique of the 'machine aesthetic' and implicitly the concept of the 'machine for living.' In the article, Wright questioned "why should Architecture ... made by Machines, resemble Machinery?"¹⁹⁶ Whilst approving of stripping forms clean, the result was "abominable from the human standpoint," he claimed.¹⁹⁷ "Modern Architecture itself will become a poor, flat faced thin of steel-bones, box outlines, gas-pipe and hand-rail fittings – as sun-receptive as a concrete side-walk or a glass tank, without Romance, – the essential Joy of Living as distinguished from Pleasure – alive in it."¹⁹⁸

I returned to the centre of Stuttgart and caught a second bus to the Mercedes Benz factory to see the new car museum by UN Studio (2004). I walked across a number of traffic junctions and then beneath the autobahn to get into the museum, a hazardous pedestrian journey which perhaps was only to be expected. The museum's free-form seeks to combine aerodynamic car design with architectural form – cynically, it could have been made from all the left-over car panels that were re-configured into a giant lump. There were antique cars outside from Wright's era, and he famously bragged about having a 1929 Mercedes sports car, a typical



2.133 Approach to Mercedes Benz Museum (2004)
by UN Studio



2.134 Vintage cars outside, Mercedes Benz
Museum (2004)



2.135 Facade detail, Mercedes Benz
Museum (2004)



2.136 Interior ceiling, Mercedes Benz
Museum (2004)



2.137 Interior ramp with image of Guggenheim
Musuem, Mercedes Benz Museum (2004)



2.138 Interior ramp, Mercedes Benz
Museum (2004)



2.139 Interior ramp with view of Autobahn,
Mercedes Benz Museum (2004)

exhibitionist gesture just before the 'Great Depression.' As I entered the building it became more impressive form of brand reinforcement: the central atrium was in the form of a three-pointed star – the Mercedes Benz logo – with a lift at each pinnacle, the atrium was finished in exposed concrete that again followed the subtle grey colour palette, and the lifts projected images of the Mercedes star or their cars onto the atrium walls. At the ticket counter I was given an audio-guide and instructed to take a lift.

At the top of the lift, the exhibition begins with a stuffed horse and the first carriage ever built by Daimler Benz. A downward spiral then takes you back down to the gift shop, but the procession is far more sophisticated than a simple descent. There are large galleries cut into the spiral so you can take a detour and then re-join the promenade, and there were views back towards Stuttgart. But more telling were the views to the auto-bahn itself, a reminder that these objects have material and landscape (not to mention environmental) consequences. My audio-guide responds automatically to the different exhibits. Rather cheekily the exhibition has an image of the Guggenheim Museum in New York by Wright as a part of their "time-line," yet there was no recognition that the museum owes its formal planning and the organisation principle to Wright's ramped design from 1959. Wright had designed the Guggenheim as a temple to artistic continuum, and the ramp there was built by American bridge-builders. Now in Germany the bridge-builders had created a temple to the car. Wright would of course have called it splendid confirmation of his genius; indeed his Gordon Strong Automotive Objective (1925) had a spiral car ramp on top of 'Sugar Loaf Mountain,' with a planetarium inside, which was not only a precursor of the Guggenheim but also the Stuttgart Mercedes Benz Museum.

With most of his work on the Wasmuth folio completed by mid-summer 1910, Wright travelled to Oberammergau to see the celebrated *Passion Play*.¹⁹⁹ I used Munich as a base for my own journey to Oberammergau, but in the morning I also had time to visit the Olympic Park (1972) which was designed by Gunter Behnisch with the assistance of Frei Otto. The metro station for the Olympic Park is beside the BMW car headquarters and I could see another car museum under construction: there was also a wide concrete plaza that crossed an autobahn that led to the park. Beside the plaza was the modernist Olympic Village, a site that was forever scarred by the kidnapping in 1974 of Israeli athletes by the Palestine Liberation Organisation and

the bloodbath that resulted. The cubic homes with plain walls were now painted with bright colours and images of Rastafarians – the original modernist ideal was now a low-rise grunge community for the counter-culture. Across the plaza was another vision of modernity. The undulating Olympic Park had a picturesque outlook, with winding paths and a landscape layout that integrated a number of stadiums. According to Blundell Jones, the design of this park was purposely anti-classical and a conscious reaction to the 1936 Berlin Olympics organised by the Third Reich.²⁰⁰ It was claimed that "spontaneity and informality were celebrated, equality and fraternity proclaimed."²⁰¹ The Olympic swimming pool was a hybrid construction, with number of orthogonal pavilions nestling beneath a wide tent-structure, and inside it was busy with children enjoying the added attractions of water flues. The tent-structures now looked rather dated, their plexi-glass cladding having turned a shade of brown from the sunlight and their steel supports looked chunky and overbearing. The whole site felt like a deconstructed circus but with bits of the tent left behind after the event. Blundell Jones claims that;

"Behnisch could be said to have inherited and extended the "organic" direction of Haring and Scharoun, not only in the social integration, geometric irregularity and interpenetrating spaces of the work, but also in terms of his philosophical approach. Buildings belong to life, they become part of a place and the site of human activities. They should not be too finite or too perfect, and certainly should not be seen primarily technical or sculptural objects."²⁰²

The Olympic Park reminds me of Wright's experiments with lightweight tent structures that led to his 'second coming' in the Arizona desert in the 1930s. His Ocatilla Desert Camp (1929) displayed free geometrical planning and was realised by the use of tent roofs. Then at his second home, Taliesin West (1938) in Arizona, a lightweight fabric was used for the drafting room – although great for diffusing the light, it was very prone to overheating during the day.

At Oberammergau, Wright saw the famous *Passion Play* in the summer of 1910, an event that occurs every ten years. The town represents a quintessential alpine settlement with vernacular half-timbered housing on narrow streets set against a dramatic landscape. The town's cafes and bars were packed with opera tourists and I managed to get a ticket for the evening performance of *Aida*. The 'open Opera



2.140 Exterior view, Athlete's Village, Olympic Park (1972)



2.141 Exterior view, Olympic Park (1972) by Gunter Behnisch and Frie Otto



2.142 Swimming pool, Olympic Park (1972)



2.143 Exterior view, Olympic Park (1972)



2.144 Covered bridge, Olympic Park (1972)

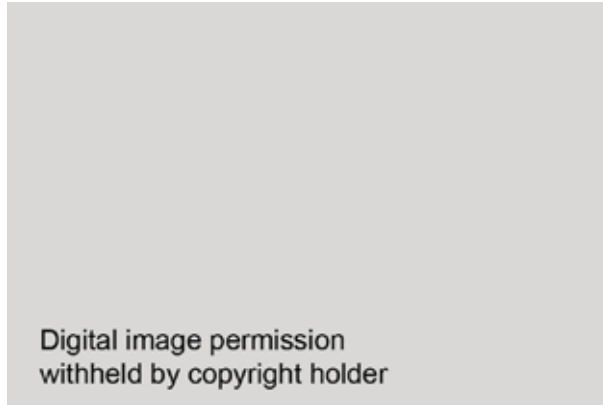


2.145 Detail of tent structure, Olympic Park (1972)

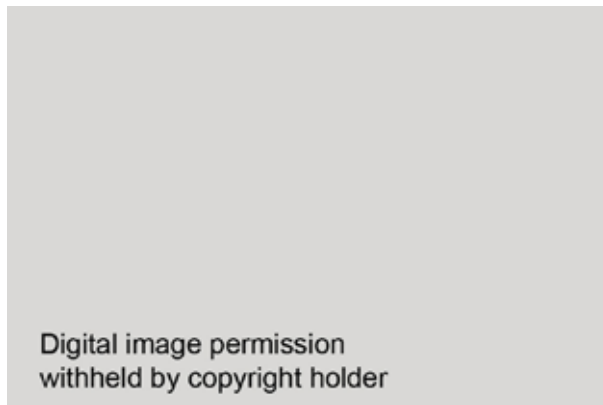


2.146 Interior of tent structure, Olympic Park (1972)

Vanity Fair



2.147 Exterior view, Ocatilla Camp, Arizona (1929) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Levine, N. (1996)



2.152 Exterior view, Ocatilla Camp, Arizona (1929), image from Levine, N. (1996)



2.148 Exterior view, Fantasy Museum (1998) by Gunter Behnisch



2.149 Exterior view, Fantasy Museum (1998)



2.150 Street view, Obermergau



2.151 Interior view, Obermergau Opera enclosure



2.153 Perimeter wall to Haus am Nordhang and Haus unter Baumen (1968) by Ronald Rainer



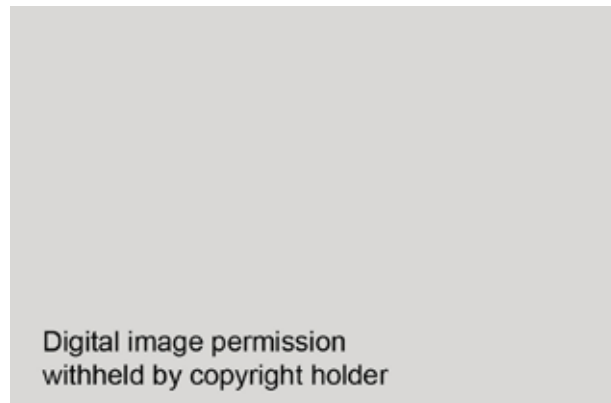
2.154 Exterior view, Haus am Nordhang (1968)



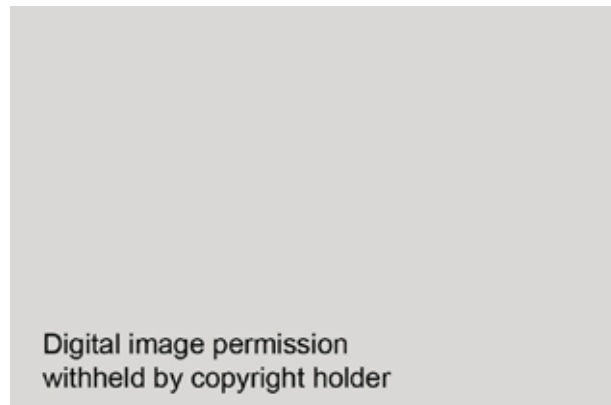
2.155 Corner window detail, Haus unter Baumen (1968)



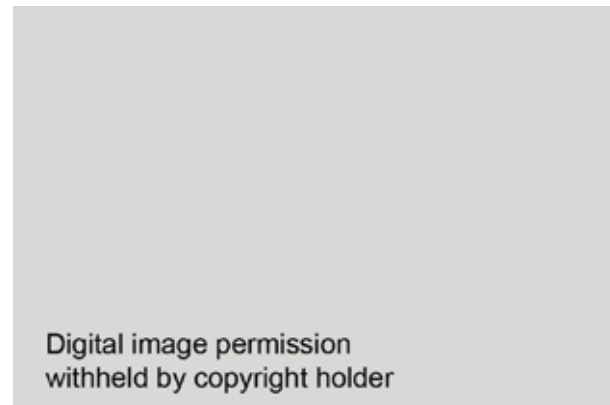
2.156 Circular window detail, Haus unter Baumen (1968)



2.157 Interior view, Haus am Nordhang (1968), image from Rainer, R. (2003)



2.158 Plan, Haus am Nordhang (1968) i, image from Rainer, R. (2003)



2.159 Axonometric view, Haus am Nordhang and Haus unter Baumen (1968), image from Rainer, R. (2003)
Vanity Fair

House' was partially enclosed to shelter an audience of 4,700, whilst the proscenium and the stage were left open to sky and the elements. The covered enclosure was based on generic railway station design, with six iron arches supporting its roof, it was completed in 1900, so Wright would have had shared the same experience as I did, watching classical opera in an early-modern train shed. The performance and staging were impressive, yet for the *Passion Play* the performance lasts seven hours and includes about 2,000 actors, musicians and technicians. One of the curious contradictions with Wright was that whilst he was at the forefront in contemporary architecture, his wider cultural influences and preferences were Classical/Baroque and Romantic. In *An Autobiography*, he referenced Bach (1685-1750) and Beethoven (1770-1827)²⁰³ as his inspiration, but hardly any contemporary composers such as Arnold Schonberg (1874-1951) or the concurrent American Jazz movement. It implied a rather narrow cultural exploration of modernism and its many manifestations.

Vienna

I had made arrangements to meet a friend's sister, and so we exchanged a few texts and agreed to meet at Vienna Railway Station. I recognised Suzanne from her likeness to her sister. She was an architect and was well briefed about my visit – and had organised a mini-tour of the city for me. She had even found villas designed by a former tutor who was inspired by Wright's 'organic' architecture. Haus am Nordhang (1968) and Haus unter Baumen by Ronald Rainer (1910-2004) sat within the same long suburban plot. The three-storey dwelling (Nordhang) is at the top of the site, with a single-storey pavilion (Baumen) at the bottom, and a dense landscaped lies inbetween. Nordhang had a ground floor entrance and garage, an exposed reinforced-concrete frame on the first level, and a brick clad upper-storey with deep timber facia. The upper storey also possesses wrap-around corner windows, which was a typical Wright motif, but their application here was similar to the Gipsoteca Canoviana (1956-7) by Carlo Scarpa. I glimpsed the Haus unter Baumen at the bottom of the garden through gaps in the boundary wall. I could see a projecting corner window detail with a circular opening, and again both of these motifs recalled Wright and Scarpa's work. Rainer was educated in Vienna and had worked in Germany and Holland. He returned to Vienna to teach at the Academy of Fine Arts, whilst his architectural concerns were summarised thus – “social and

aesthetic priorities are based on rational problem solving guided by the needs and aspirations of those who use his buildings” – more revealing was his quotation taken from St. Augustine, that “beauty is the splendour of truth.”²⁰⁴ This latter quote revealed a Gothic sensibility towards space and materiality that was displayed in the two houses. I felt that Rainer's houses did exhibit 'organic' qualities, and yet Wright's influence was here mediated through the work of Scarpa, whose work would have more relevance within a Viennese context.

We return to our car to visit the two houses designed by Otto Wagner (1841-1918). Wagner was the most prominent architect in Vienna during the turbulent years at the end of the nineteenth century, the *fin-de-siecle* era. He had an established academic career and was appointed as director of the School of Architecture at the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts in 1893. The first dwelling, Villa Wagner (1886), was based on a formal and symmetrical neo-Palladian composition that reflected Viennese sensibilities at that time, whereas Villa II (1912) had a more abstract form with its rear plane slipping away from the front facade, and an offset first-floor loggia at the rear. From the street, I could see that Villa II had a diminished lower ground floor which also elevated the first floor, and this was given further prominence by the tall openings that emphasised a vertical aspect. On the second floor the windows were more modest and had a cantilever pergola above. It could be argued that Villa II referenced Wright's imposing mass at Unity Temple (1905-8) and that the overhanging pergolas were drawn from his Prairie Houses – yet the most prevalent influence was its classical monumentality that acknowledged Wagner's return to the idiom at the end of his career.

Back in central Vienna, we circulated around the Ringstrasse for a few junctions. It was an opulent demonstration of the wealth and power of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at its peak. In 1857, Emperor Francis Joseph gave “a decree permitting the demolition and redevelopment of the defence works which had hitherto divided the inner city from the suburbs,” thus enabling the city to expand outwards.²⁰⁵ This may be interpreted of as embracing a more democratic and egalitarian Habsburg Empire, but unfortunately it was mainly conceived to impose the power of the monarch. Hence the Ringstrasse was a “magnificent boulevard as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or 'total work of art', embraced all durable forms of visual art, down to craft manufacture and landscape gardens.”²⁰⁶ However, the Ringstrasse did also represent a wider



2.160 Exterior view, Villa Wagner I (1886) by Otto Wagner



2.161 Exterior view, Villa Wagner II (1912) by Otto Wagner



2.162 Entry, Villa Wagner I (1886)



2.163 Entry, Villa Wagner II (1912)

structural change related to the Enlightenment, and a more secular society, in that it contained a new university, museum, theatre and opera house. The subsequent second expansion of the city, in 1890, demanded a more structured approach, with railways radiating out to the outer suburbs, and also the regulation of the Danube Canal and the River Wein. This was Otto Wagner's opportunity to direct and embellish these new public works, and he attempted to apply his "maxim that modern life is the only point of departure for the creative artist."²⁰⁷ He thus sought to establish a modern architecture that would reflect these modern developments. Furthermore, Wagner kept up to date with the latest architectural debates, and it is claimed that he had a copy of Wright's Wasmuth folios. He showed the folios to a number of his students, and reportedly admitted: "Gentlemen, today I have something special. This man knows more than I do."²⁰⁸ It was this kind of endorsement that Wright had sought in America, yet by happenstance it was in Vienna that it was actually given.

The Secession was a reaction against the culture – and also the architecture – of the Ringstrasse: the artists Gustav Klimt and Kolo Moser rebelled against the academic art tutelage at the Academy of Art in 1897. They were inspired by the work of the Glasgow Four (which they had seen in *The Studio* journal),²⁰⁹ and published their own periodical, *Ver Sacrum*, which expressed their dissatisfaction with of state-controlled 'Ringstrasse' art and the seemingly arbitrary awards of art commissions.²¹⁰ Two of Wagner's most prominent students in the Secession were Joseph Maria Olbrich (1867-1908) and Josef Hoffmann, and Wagner himself subsequently joined the movement in 1899. The early "Secession marked the introduction of *Jugendstil* [the German Art Nouveau movement] into Austria,"²¹¹ and as they progressed they "reverted to a more rectilinear organization of plan surfaces and geometrical ornament ... [and] showed an affinity to with both Otto Wagner's classicism and the work of the later Arts and Crafts designers."²¹² The actual Secession Building (1898), by Olbrich, was built for their first exhibition and was to prove a defining monument for the movement. It was claimed that Klimt sketched out the facade in 1897, with two plane masses topped off by a mutated pediment over the entry point.²¹³ Olbrich then developed this sketch, and he maintained a symmetrical frontage and replaced the formal Greek pediment with a golden sphere of foliage supported by four square pylons. The iconic 'golden cabbage' was at once a denial of neo-Classical orthodoxy and a statement of artistic intent.

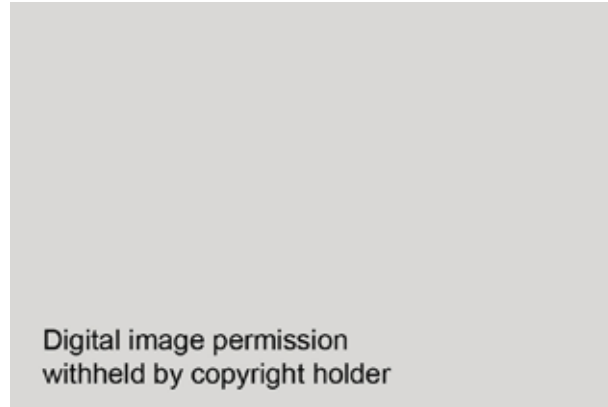
When I visited the Secession Building, it still maintained its startling presence beside a busy traffic junction, and the 'golden cabbage' still referenced an artistic revolt against neo-Classical mediocrity. I passed beneath the Secessionist motto – 'To every age its art, to art its freedom' – into a cramped lobby that was ill-suited to mass consumerism. I purchased a ticket to view the *Beethoven Fresco* (1902) by Klimt as well as a contemporary exhibition in the main gallery. A long thin staircase led to the basement where the Klimt fresco adorned a small gallery. It was an extravagant sequence that narrated a universal theme – the quest for happiness – and adopted a number of global references with classical, medieval, and Arabian myths being intertwined. The main exhibition space was articulated by a number of slender columns that defined a square main gallery with two smaller rectangular side galleries. There was a muted pallet of materials with white painted walls and a simple ceiling with square glass panels to allow natural light to be distributed evenly. It was an easy space to comprehend and allowed the art to be displayed within a modern context.

Scully speculates that a number of the ideas from the Secession Building were later used in Wright's own Larkin Administration Building (1902-6) and Unity Temple (1905-8).²¹⁴ All three buildings possessed a symmetrical plan, a major concentrated internal space, and a very plain exterior finish. The Secession Building has a dominant main axis and a secondary cross-axis circulation between the formal entrance and the gallery. Likewise, within the Larkin and Unity buildings the entry was placed between the two main spaces. Lipman also postulates that Wright's non-residential schemes possessed a "consecrated space that is one that would provide a symbolic and ennobling focus for the group consciousness of its occupants."²¹⁵ The primary internal space used natural light to illuminate the "consecrated space" for work, worship and art. Finally, the plain external appearance was another common design element, but it was more successfully handled in the Larkin Building and Unity Temple where the brick and concrete materiality was displayed honestly with minimal decoration.

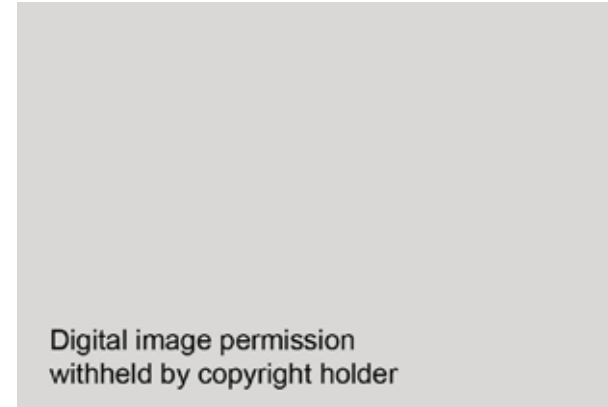
Whilst visiting his publisher, Wasmuth, Wright claimed that he saw the work of Olbrich for the first time and seemed to identify with him. However, this was again a misleading statement as Wright had visited the St Louis Exposition in 1904, where Olbrich's work had been prominent.²¹⁶ It was also claimed the Wright visited



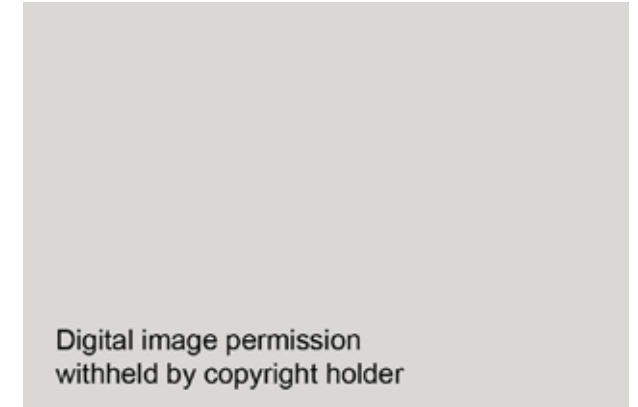
2.164 Exterior view, The Secession Building (1898) by Joseph Maria Olbrich



2.165 Concept sketch, The Secession Building by Klimt (1897), image from Waissenberger, R (1984)



2.166 Concept sketch, The Secession Building (1897) by Olbrich, image from Latham, I. (1980)



2.167 Elevation, The Secession Building (1898) by Olbrich, image from Latham, I. (1980)



2.168 Shopping bag



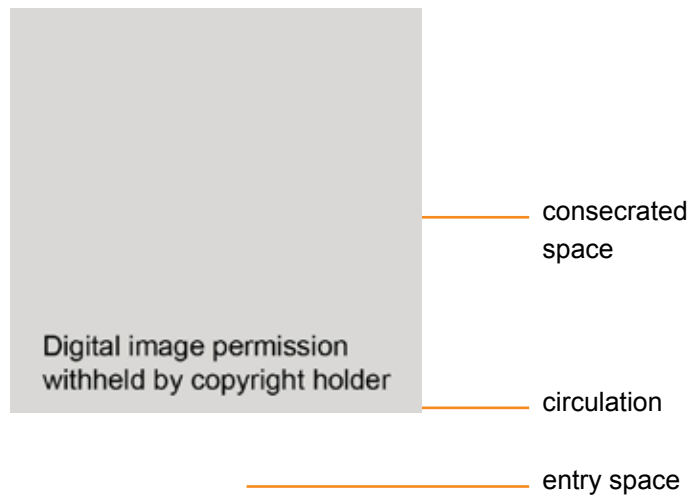
2.169 Interior view, The Secession Building



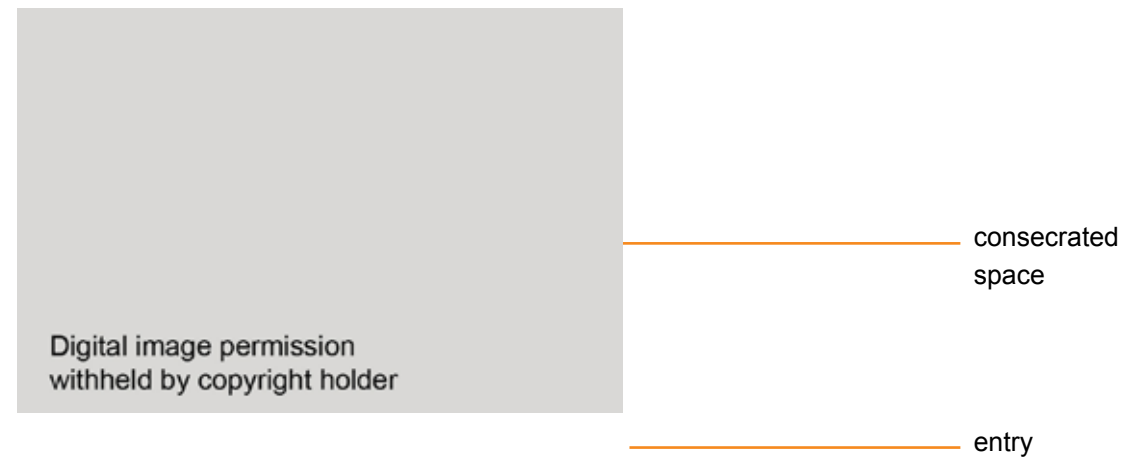
2.170 Interior view, The Secession Building



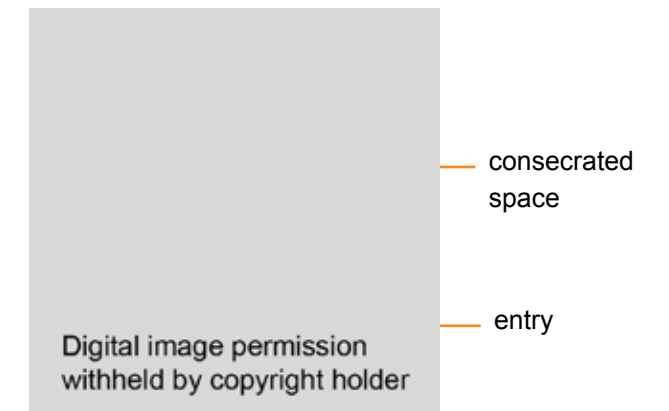
2.171 Side view, The Secession Building



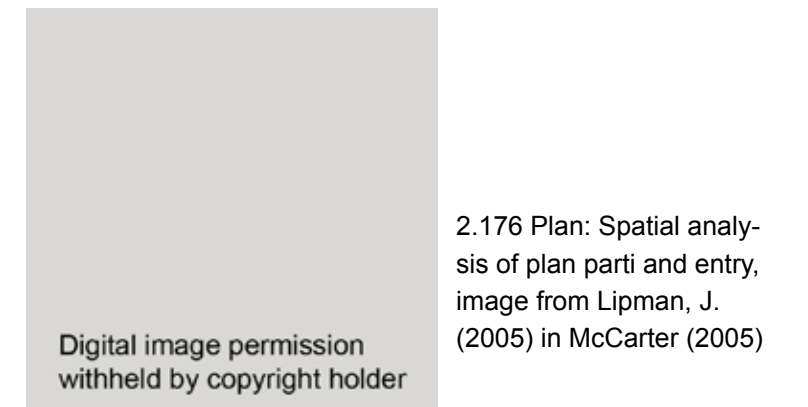
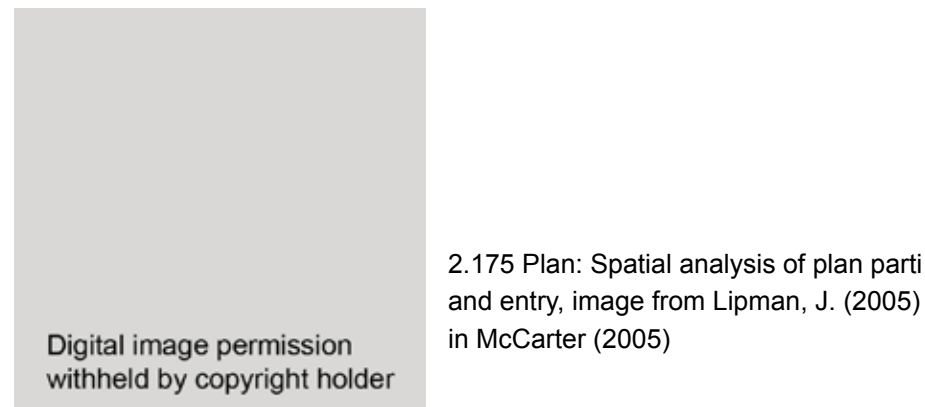
2.172 Plan: Secession Building (1898), image from Latham, I. (1980)



2.173 Plan: Larkin Building (1902) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982)



2.174 Plan: Unity Temple (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982)



2.177 Consecrated space, Secession Building (1898)



2.178 Consecrated space, Larkin Building (1902), image from Wright, F. L. (1982)



2.179 Consecrated space, Unity Temple (1905)



2.180 Exterior view, Ernst Ludwig Haus (1889-1901) by Joseph Maria Olbrich



2.181 Entrance, Ernst Ludwig Haus (1889-1901)



2.182 Interior gallery, Ernst Ludwig Haus (1889-1901)



2.183 Interior gallery, Ernst Ludwig Haus (1889-1901)



2.184 Exterior view, Peter Behrens Haus (1904) by Olbrich



2.185 Exterior view, Wedding Tower and Exhibition Buildings (1905-8) by Olbrich



2.186 Interior view, Wedding Tower and Exhibition Buildings (1905-8)



2.187 Interior view, Wedding Tower and Exhibition Buildings (1905-8)

the model Arts-and-Crafts village of Darmstadt outside Frankfurt designed by Olbrich.²¹⁷ This settlement was planned on picturesque principles with the buildings integrated into the hillside setting, according to 'artistic' principles, and thus in opposition to rational planning ideas. The community was inaugurated in 1899 and was the plaything of the Grand Duke Ernst Ludwig of Hesse. Peter Behrens was one of the seven resident artists, and their first task was to prepare an interior exhibit for the 1900 Paris Exposition. I visited the Darmstadt settlement during my journey south, calling into Ernst Ludwig Haus (1889-1901). This originally housed the studio/living spaces for the artists with a communal hall in the middle. It had an imaginative section with skylights to the north, and its south elevation had long strip windows and a symbolic circular entrance with two giant statues representing strength and beauty. It was a factory for artistic production. Nowadays, the Ernst Ludwig Haus is an exhibition space displaying remnants of the International Arts and Crafts and contextualising the settlement within the global movement. The subsequent villas designed for the Darmstadt artists were substantial buildings that were simultaneously large homes, apartments for servants, and also studios. As Colquhoun notes "the artists' houses that Olbrich built at Darmstadt are free variations on the theme of the English 'free-style' house reminiscent of [M. H. Baillie] Scott's work."²¹⁸ The settlement was still curiously decadent; it felt to me like an Arts-and-Crafts theme park that was totally removed from the political aspirations of William Morris and his call for a new egalitarian society.

Wright met Josef Hoffman in 1910 and on his return from Moscow in 1937, but there was no record of any architectural dialogue beyond mutual friendship.²¹⁹ With Olbrich off working in Darmstadt, Hoffmann became the leading architect of the Viennese Secession, and he also undertook the design of four villas in the garden suburb of Hohe Warte which were designed in the 'English Free-Style,' and which referenced the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh (whose projects had been exhibited at the 1900 Secession Exhibition). More importantly Hoffman and Kolo Moser (1868-1918) establish the Weiner Werkstatte (1903-33) as "a furniture workshop modelled on Charles Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft in London and conceived as a cottage industry."²²⁰ Frampton notes that Hoffmann also retreated from free-flowing Art Nouveau towards a reduced neo-Classical language for his celebrated Palais Stoclet (1905-10) in Brussels. Wagner himself led this trend, meaning that by "1911 the 'classicization' of the Secession was complete."²²¹ Various commentators have

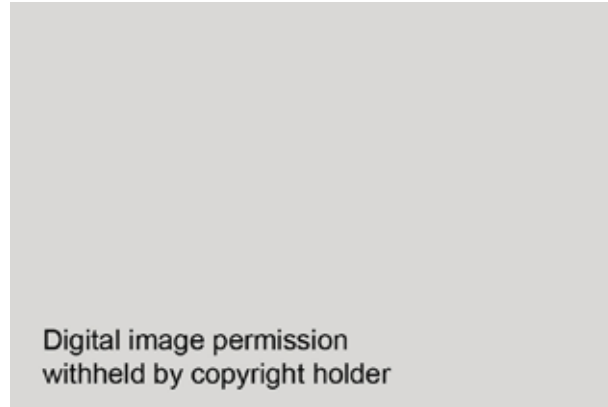
claimed that Wright was actually an American Secessionist²²² and the Smithsons²²³ believed that Wright's all-embracing conception of space, which included all furniture and fixings, was Secessionist (Art Nouveau) in its intent. But when Wright visited Vienna it was not the early symbolic period of the Secession that he witnessed, but the later period of conservative neo-Classical reaction. Nevertheless, Wright purchased a number of souvenirs to cheer himself up, including a copy of a print, Hohe Warte in Wien (1903) by Carl Moll, and a folio of Klimt's work, commenting that it had "refreshed" him.²²⁴ In addition, a book has recently been published by Alofsin that investigates Wright's European print collection, this being another attempt by Wright's to enhance his artistic credentials.²²⁵

In the evening we visited the American Bar (1907) by Adolf Loos (1870-1933). I was surprised that it was so small inside: there already two other couples sitting in the two booths opposite the bar, and with me and Suzanne the room was suddenly crowded! The space is particularly sensual. The ceiling is coffered with marble, and is framed with onyx-clad beams that continue as wall pilasters to the floor. The walls are in-filled with mirrors above and mahogany panels below, and the floor is tiled. Dim lights are fitted beneath the mirrors at each pilaster, but most of the illumination comes from the bar itself. Whilst the space is cramped, the parallel mirrors below the ceiling reflect the bar to infinity. Was the bar a mediation on our urban life, I speculated – a singular existence in a sea of similar isolated lives? Loos was a polemicist who exposed Vienna as the 'Emperor's New Clothes,' castigating the Ringstrasse as a "modern Potemkin."²²⁶ He also ridiculed the Secessionists, particularly Olbrich, with their *Gesamtkunstwerk* concept which left the client unable even to choose how to dress themselves.²²⁷ Having been educated as an architect in Vienna and Dresden, Loos spent three years in America, visiting the Chicago Exposition in 1893 and becoming familiar with the work of Louis Sullivan and the Chicago School. He returned to Vienna in 1896 to work on interior designs and write fiery articles that questioned the arts-inspired response to the Industrial Revolution.

Loos' renowned essay on 'Ornament and Crime' (1908) stated that "modern ornament has no forebears and no descendants, no past and no future," and hence ornament was not only culturally suspect, it was wasteful and resulted in "craft slavery."²²⁸ Loos saw the role of the artist and the craftsmen as separate and distinct, arguing that modern industry could arrive at suitable designs without the



2.188 Exterior view, American Bar (1907)
by Adolf Loos



2.189 Interior view, American Bar (1907),
image from Bock, R. (2007)



2.190 Exterior view, Wittgenstein House (1910)
by Engelman and Wittgenstein



2.191 Interior view, Wittgenstein House (1910)

influence of the artist or architect. Furthermore, Loos identified another consequence of modern urban life – alienation. Consequently, there was no need to apply any external architectural treatments to most buildings to signify their status. Instead, he advocated focusing on interiors, and these were articulated using his open-plan concept of *Raumplan*, whereby the whole internal space was seen as contained within a single larger cube. Wright however, found it difficult to kick the ornamental habit, and in 1909 he presented a talk on ‘Ethics of Ornament,’ in which he stated that ornament should be “organic with the structure it adorns ... at best it is an emphasis on structure.”²²⁹ Wright followed the lead of Sullivan in attempting to forge a new American tradition that included ‘organic’ ornament, and Loos had been similarly influenced by Sullivan’s *Ornament in Architecture* (1892).²³⁰ All three architects agreed that the ornament of the past was a corruption of the present, yet whilst Wright attempted abstract means of ornament to represent a new set of cultural values, Loos was more progressive in exploring the innate qualities of materials to adorn his spaces.

Suzanne had left a post-it marker in my guide-book against the MAK Gallery (Austrian Museum of Applied Art) with the words: “Visit and have a coffee?”²³¹ The MAK (1863) likes to be called ‘the house on the Ring.’ In fact it is a neo-Renaissance palace with a brick façade and stone-framed openings, with a passing resemblance to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Inside there is a grand internal court with a two-storey loggia that acted as a reference point for my wanderings. On the first floor there were exhibits from the Wiener Werkstatte, showcasing their high quality of design, plus displays by Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald, again emphasising the importance of international networks in the development of Art Nouveau. There was architectural models on display, too, with Zaha Hadid and Frank O. Gehry posing as creators of works of art, but more interesting still was a model of Schindler/Chance House (1922-1) in Los Angeles by Rudolf Schindler (1887-1953) – a house that heavily referenced Wright’s work and is now part of MAK California.

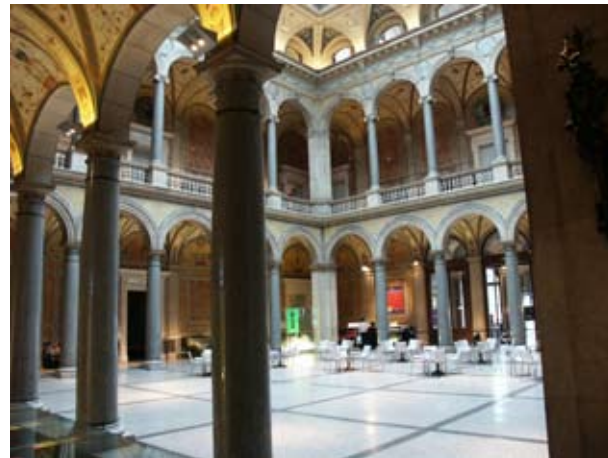
Schindler was educated in Vienna, again under Otto Wagner. He recalled that sometime after 1911, “a librarian in Vienna handed me a portfolio – the work of Frank Lloyd Wright. Immediately I realised – here was a man had take hold of this new medium. Here was ‘space architecture.’”²³² In addition, Schindler attended private

lectures given by Loos. He graduated in 1912, working briefly in Vienna before securing a job in Chicago in 1914 to work for a medium-sized commercial practice. Then in 1917 Schindler was hired by Wright to assist on the Imperial Hotel in Japan, and then in 1920 he moved westwards to California to supervise the construction of the Aline Barnsdall House (1920-21) in Los Angeles, Banham even claims that Schindler was responsible for developing the quasi-pueblo style of the building.²³³ Schindler worked for Wright up until 1923 before establishing his own practice. Richard Neutra had a similar education to Schindler and also discovered Wright’s folios in Vienna. He worked with Loos before being drafted into the First World War. After the war, Neutra became Mendelsohn’s assistant in Berlin before leaving for America in 1923. He found a room at Hull House in Chicago, and met Louis Sullivan who by then was in ill-health and died shortly thereafter. At the funeral he met Wright: star-struck, he remarked that “it was like coming into the presence of a unicorn.”²³⁴ Neutra worked for Holabird and Roche, where he recorded the new construction techniques and published them in Europe as *Wie Baut America (How America Builds)* (1927), which also included images from Wright’s work. In addition, Neutra was employed by Wright for almost a year on the Automobile Objective scheme, and in 1925 Neutra joined Schindler in California – where they briefly worked together before falling out over the Lovell House commissions. In the end, Schindler built the Lovell Beach House (1925-6) and Neutra got to do the Lovell Health House (1927).

Both the Lovell House commissions were extraordinarily innovative, but the Lovell Health House was to gain wider exposure since it more fully embraced the ‘International Style,’ and indeed it was included within the famous exhibition in New York. Wright had initially been rejected from the same exhibition, but was later included in a room with Oud, Le Corbusier and Mies. However, in the accompanying book entitled *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*, Wright was only considered to be half-modern claiming that his “individualism and ... relation to the past ... makes them not so much creators of a new style as the last representatives of Romanticism.”²³⁵ Wright issued a hostile riposte to the exhibition, attacking the roles of cultural arbiters and the derivative formula at the heart of the new ‘style.’ Tartly, he wrote: “is architecture “modern” because alter-egos need some formula to follow?”²³⁶ For Wright, the underpinning of the ‘style’ was formulaic and consequently merely another option for an untalented eclectic architect to follow.²³⁷ Drawing on his experiences in Japan and Brazil, Wright also questioned the validity



2.192 Guide to MAK Gallery



2.193 Interior view, MAK Gallery (1863)



2.194 Waerndorfer Frieze (1902) by Margaret Maconald in MAK Gallery



2.195 Model, Vitra Fire Station (1996) by Zaha Hadid in MAK Gallery



2.196 Model, Schindler/Chance House (1922-1) in MAK Gallery



2.197 Model, Schindler/Chance House (1922-1) by Rudolf Schindler



2.198 Model, Schindler/Chance House (1922-1)

of the term 'International Style' to different cultures and environments.²³⁸ In a subsequent critique he claimed: "I find myself standing now against the "Geist der Kleinlichkeit," [the spirit of smallness] to strike for an architecture for the individual instead of tamely recognizing senility in the guise of a new invention ... the so called international style."²³⁹ Wright attacked the 'social' aspect of the 'International Style,' which he equated to communism, as I will explore more fully in the next chapter.²⁴⁰ Thus Wright saw himself as an individualist against the mass propaganda of the 'International Style,' and this was a position that was to define his architectural writings in his later years. He often recited the same old objections to international modernism, plus this also guaranteed him good publicity and exposure.

Summary:

Wright was inspired by Romantic thought, such as the neo-Gothic and rationalists from France who sought to break the hegemony of neo-Classical tradition. This became a cultural mindset that remained with him for the rest of his career. Wright's relationship with modernism was undoubtedly complex. In leading a new kind of architecture at the turn of the twentieth century, he inspired several different readings of the modernist phenomena. During his first journey to Europe in 1909-10, it was essentially as a second 'honeymoon' with his mistress, and the only evidence of Wright participating in any creative modern dialogue on this trip was when he assisted Mamah Cheney in the translation of the feminist writing of Elen Key – and he used this work as a justification for his own behaviour in pursuing Cheney. Other elements of Wright's behaviour and demeanour displayed a very modern existence, with a Freudian obsession with ego and a Nietzschean concern for 'overman' – "a creative being that could transcend religion, morality, and ordinary society."²⁴¹

The 'failure' of the Wasmuth venture was further evidence of Wright's narrow-mindedness. Instead of embracing the printing press as a potential emancipator of architecture, as in the quote from Hugo, Wright sought to marry the art of architectural production with the printing press. Wright remained a marginal figure, in this pre-war era and was only given a pioneer status within modernism in retrospect. Two visits to America by Berlage and van't Hoff allowed Wright to be considered by those in The Netherlands as simultaneously being an expressionist and a rationalist. The proliferation of quasi-Robie Houses throughout Holland, showed a real empathy

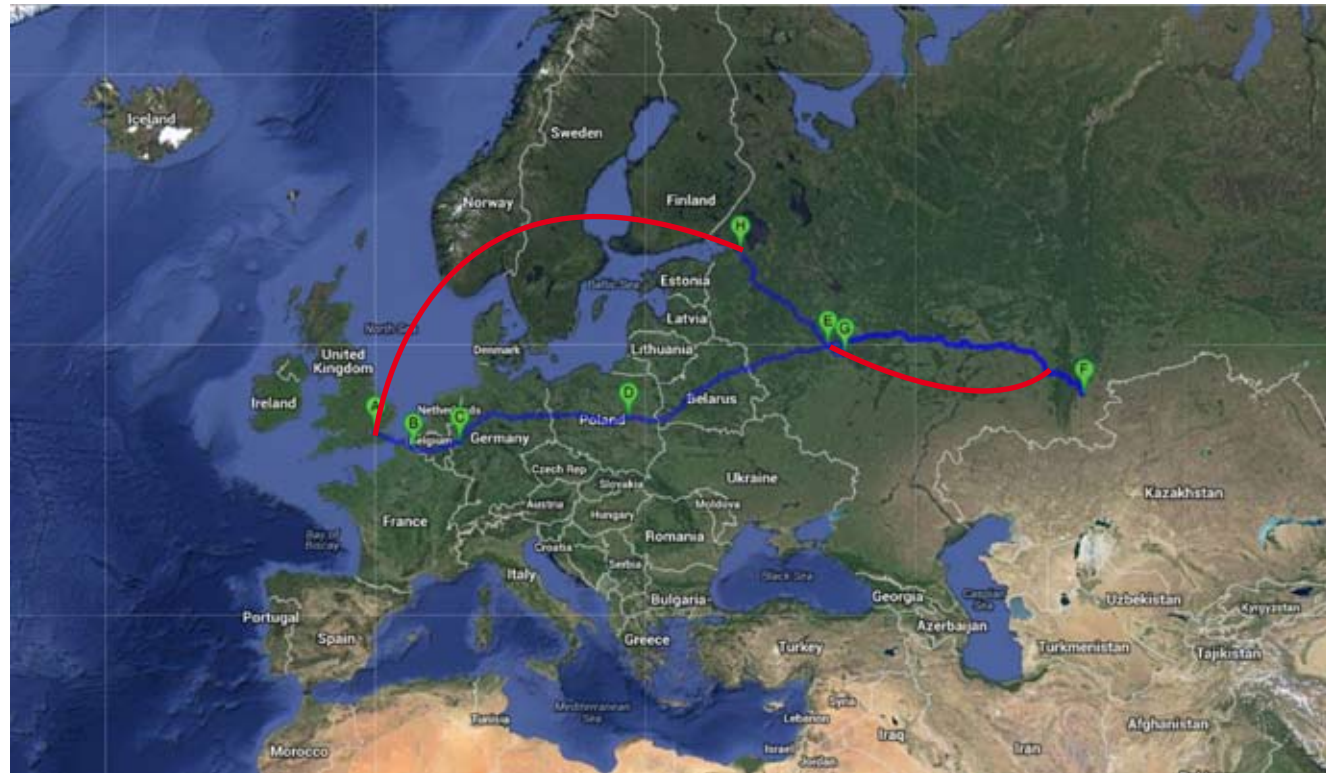
with Wright's ideas of a domestic revolution and progression. The dynamic cubism of Dudok and Mallet-Stevens were two examples of how Wright's ideas were taken up and developed into a progressive early-modernist architecture in Europe, but were these really fully-fledged examples of Wright's "peaceful penetration,"²⁴² as Pevsner reasoned? Unfortunately, they proved to be isolated instances of Wright's work being partially understood and adapted by European architects, and so Wright failed to become the omnipresent architect that Pevsner imagined. In Germany there was another missed opportunity, not only during his first visit in 1909-10, but thereafter, such as when Mendelssohn visited Wright in the USA in the 1920s. The European Nordic ideal that was articulated by Haring could have been dramatically boosted by being combined with the ideas of Wright. Yet, no overarching meta-narrative developed between Haring's functionalism and Wright's 'organic' credo. Haring to some extent was a more precise and rigorous thinker than Wright, and as such his buildings were probably more progressive in the context of the 1920s.

Vincent Scully wrote an essay in 1954 on 'Wright vs. 'International Style,' which considered Wright's early relationship with modernism during the Prairie House period, and the Usonian era.²⁴³ The early part of the essay covered the issues referred to earlier in this chapter, whilst the second part of his essay considered how Wright developed his Usonian architecture in relationship to European modernism from the 1920s. Scully considers that "a full assimilation of International Style influences would seem, therefore, to play a large part in Fallingwater."²⁴⁴ For Scully, the 'master' had learnt from his pupils. So whilst Wright projected himself as a self-styled 'organic' rebel, he was at his most creative he formed a dialectic with the rational modernism. Hence, the seminal Fallingwater (1934-7) embraced his 'organic' mantra and 'International Style' élan. Yet there was a political undercurrent to Scully's 1954 essay, at the height of Senator McCarthy's pursuit of Un-American Activities. Wright had taken it upon himself to align himself with Elizabeth Gordon of *House Beautiful* to deride 'International Style' modernism as being 'communistic,' and so Scully felt obliged to show Wright that he was indeed indebted to these very architects for his own architectural 'rebirth.' It was a dispiriting situation, for despite an early career full of modernist ideals, Wright in the end became embroiled in populist, nationalist, jingoism – and thus unable to embrace the work of his colleagues as modernism evolved. Yet it proved to be great copy for the newspapers and it ensured Wright a productive 'Legacy' period in the late 1950s.

3. Egor'evsk Cultural Club



3.001 Petrol station in the Urals



3.002 Russia route (based on Google maps (2013)
www.google.co.uk)

Route:

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| A: London | 17 th June 2007 |
| B: Lille | 17 th June 2007 |
| C: Cologne | 17 th June 2007 |
| D: Warsaw | 18 th June 2007 |
| E: Moscow | 19 th June 2007 |
| F: Magnitogorsk | 24 th June 2007 |
| G: Egor'evsk | 27 th June 2007 |
| H: St Petersburg | 28 th June 2007 |



3.003 Postcard Moscow



3.004 Souvenir letter Magnitogorsk



3.005 Postcard Chelyablinsk



3.006 Postcard St Petersburg

Frank Lloyd Wright was famously invited in 1937 to attend the First Soviet Congress of Architects in Moscow. This chapter reviews Wright's visit and his presentation to the Congress, while also comparing the planned cities designed by the Russian disurbanists with Wright's own vision of Broadacre City (1935). The October Revolution in 1917 ushered in the Communist Revolution that sought to redefine a country and society based on Marxist principles, and all property was nationalised within days of taking office, thus enabling a completely different concept of architecture and the built environment.¹ However, the subsequent civil war with the White Army delayed any real progress in establishing a communist society. Then, in a period of relative peace, Lenin (1870-1924) instigated the New Economic Policy (1921-27) which founded a planned economy, including elements of private enterprise to increase agricultural production after years of famine. After Lenin's death, Stalin gained power and issued his first radical Five-Year Plan (1929-34), which set targets for rapid industrialisation based on wholesale collectivisation and the reorganisation of the rural environment and economy. Wright's visit in 1937 therefore came after the first Five-Year Plan, at a juncture when Stalin sought to consolidate his power. It was concurrent with the 'Great Terror,' during which dissidents and previous supporters of Stalin were purged and the whole of society was placed in a permanent state of fear.

The dramatic upheavals following the October Revolution also resulted in new dynamic architectural movements that sought to define a different kind of Soviet identity. It was the intellectually engaged and highly connected avant-garde that were the first to give the revolution a cultural identity, with the impressive sculpture of Tatlin's proposed tribute to the Monument to the Third Communist International (1919) providing the boldest aesthetic and architectural inspiration. A number of the new architectural groupings (Rationalist, Constructivists and Independents) which emerged after the October Revolution viewed Wright as a key innovator. Wright was likewise sympathetic to the Russian struggle: he had met a number of displaced Russian nobility in Japan, his third wife Olgivanna was from Russia, and they even met at a performance of the Petrograd Ballet in Chicago. Furthermore, at Taliesin, Wright would view Russian films with his Fellowship students and even engaged in sporadic correspondence with the Russian press. They saw him as an anti-capitalist ally – whilst Wright of course thrived on any available publicity.

Dialogue between Russia with the West was clouded by mutual suspicion and distrust, but American technologists and in particular Henry Ford with his inspirational production of motor cars and tractors, were widely admired. Stalin was the self-styled 'Man of Steel,' and the Soviets planned a new steelwork plant in the Urals next to one of the world's largest iron-ore deposits – the aptly named Magnetic Mountain. Magnitogorsk was to be developed as a symbol of Soviet scientific planning that could then be juxtaposed against the arbitrary capitalist system. The plan for the city sought to display a socialist identity that was different to speculative capitalist settlement. Here I will compare Wright's Broadacre City plan with the disurbanist plan for Magnitogorsk. Whilst the Soviets strove to impose a Marxist ideal of a decentralised city, Wright advocated a grassroots, pragmatic solution for inhabiting the American landscape. It was extraordinary that two conflicting ideologies resulted in a similar decentralised form of the city.

At the Schusev Architectural Museum I also came across a recent publication that illustrated the Konin Palace of Culture (1927-1929), which I believed looked similar to Wright's Robie House (1908-10). Cultural education was seen as fundamental to the success of the Russian Revolution, and the use of the Robie House as a possible architectural solution was intriguing. I travelled to the site to check out this discovery, in case it displayed any 'organic' characteristics. Finally, I visited St Petersburg, the great planned capital city that was directed by Peter the Great, and which adopted the planning methods from the late-Renaissance and Baroque periods to establish a city that was orientated towards Western attitudes, in contrast to medieval Moscow.

To Russia:

Wright's motives for his Russian visit are not clear apart from his usual need for self-promotion and his talent for political naivety. He sailed on the *Queen Mary* from New York to Cherbourg, and then travelled by train to Moscow with brief stopovers in Paris and Berlin. In Paris, Wright and Olgivanna visited Gurdjieff, yet it is unclear if Wright visited the 1937 World Fair in Paris. He discussed Iofan's Russian Pavilion at the Fair but does not mention the dramatic aesthetic confrontation between that and the Nazi German Pavilion at the Fair.² The architect Clough Williams-Ellis – who had visited Russia in the 1920s, represented Britain at the Soviet Congress, and recalls a chance meeting on the epic train journey:



3.007 England, 17 June 2007



3.008 France, 17 June 2007



3.009 Poland, 18 June 2007



3.010 Russia, 19 June 2007



3.011 Preparing to lift the train carriages,
train shed, Poland / Belarus



3.012 Preparing to lift the train carriages



3.013 New bogies for the train carriages



3.014 Spare clamps

“I had taken my seat in the dining-car of the Moscow express when the waiter brought along a couple to sit opposite me. I bowed and said “Good evening” at a venture, and got the same back in very slightly Americanised English. I said I was on my way to the Moscow architectural and planning conference. The man said, “You are an architect then? So am I.” “Your name?” I asked. “Frank Lloyd Wright.” “Ah,” I said, “how kind of chance thus to turn a legend into present reality,” or some such civility, acknowledging his fame as I knew he would of expected.”³

Wright’s fame did not, however, extend to the whole of Russia. He noted an “acrimonious and complex”⁴ border crossing that Williams-Ellis describes more fully: “[M]y companion flatly refused to open anything at all and went off into the most uncontrolled fit (or show) of anger that I have ever beheld in a grown man.”⁵ Wright was persuaded by his wife, Olgivanna, who spoke Russian, to open at least some of his precious belongings and they continued on to Moscow. Wright arrived in Moscow on 21st June 1937. In the city he was given the welcome that he expected: “sure enough, there was a large reception committee especially to do him honour as one of the leading lights of their current architectural revolution. Thus acclaimed, he thawed delightedly into smiles and hand-waving,” – and remarking later the same day, “these are the people, theirs is the future!”⁶

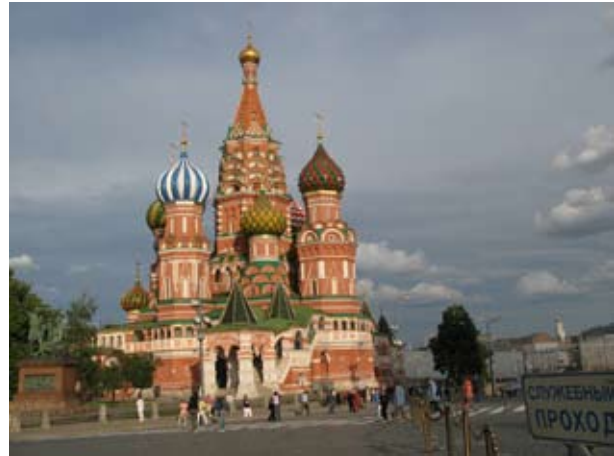
I travelled by train from London, changing trains in Brussels and Cologne, and arrived in Moscow on 21st June 2007, exactly 70 years later. During the first night the train stopped in the middle of Germany and a new passenger called Ivan joined my sleeper cabin. In the morning Ivan introduced himself and asked if I spoke German. I said that I did not, but we got on well and exchanged the odd couplet of information aided by our mobile phones. The vast level landscape of Eastern Europe passed by at a slow pace – it was like a night in prison but with moving scenery – and the early sun became afternoon showers, and we rumbled on. At the border with Russia, a guard passed around some forms that were in Cyrillic. Ivan had by then won over my confidence and helped me fill out the form. I divulged my passport number and amount of hard currency – finding out that I had far fewer Euros than him. An indifferent female border guard came in and looked over my documents and took my passport away, I pressed her to take my completed forms. After the border guards, local women came with plastic bags full of local delicacies. Ivan brought half

a chicken, but I made do with some gluttonous pancake and beer. However, the high point of the day – if not the whole journey – was the changing of the train bogies. The train went into a long shed and was broken up into its carriages; we were then lifted up off the rails by four jacks, and some men in orange boiler suits began replacing the western-gauge bogies for eastern-gauge wheels – there was no going back now!

The vast Russian plain is bounded by the Ural Mountains to the east, the Baltic Sea to the north, and extends to the Black and Caspian Seas to the south, whilst its western border has always ebbed and flowed over centuries of conflict and influence. The landscape was characterised by great long rivers that support a prosperous agricultural economy. It was a nation at a crossroads of trading routes and river courses. In the evening, I decided to explore the dining car – I might chance across a world-famous architect, I imagined! It was a long walk with some hazards; and as I stepped from one carriage to another there was no guarding, and in the air was the pungent smell of urine. The rolling stock reminds me of the Cold War espionage of John Le Carre – I imagine Alex Guinness appearing from a carriage at any moment with an unpenetrative pair of glasses. This grittiness continued into the smoke-filled dining carriage interior, with its timber effect brown Formica throughout. There were limited options for food, so I ventured to have a sandwich; a slice of black rye bread with three slices of salami makes for a tasty dinner. Unfortunately, the dining car proved a bit of a disappointment – limited food, too much smoke, and no chance meeting with an architectural superstar. The next morning I was outside Moscow. Ivan had left in the night, and the train was busy. The guard puts on his best uniform with a smart cap, and gave me broad smile as I departed the train.

Moscow

Moscow had become the dominant city in northern Russia by the mid-fifteenth century. Under the first Tsar, Ivan the Great, the citadel of the Kremlin was reinforced, and its old timber stockade was replaced with masonry. The Kremlin lies at the strategic confluence of the Moskva River and Neglinnaya River, and a moat was built on the third side to consolidate the triangular fort. The three corner towers of the Arsenal, Water Tower and Beklemishev are circular whilst the others are all square in form. Over time spires or tent-shaped domes were added to these towers to provide better weathering from the snow. The Russia Tsars ruled over a highly stratified



3.015 St Basil's Cathedral, Red Square, Moscow



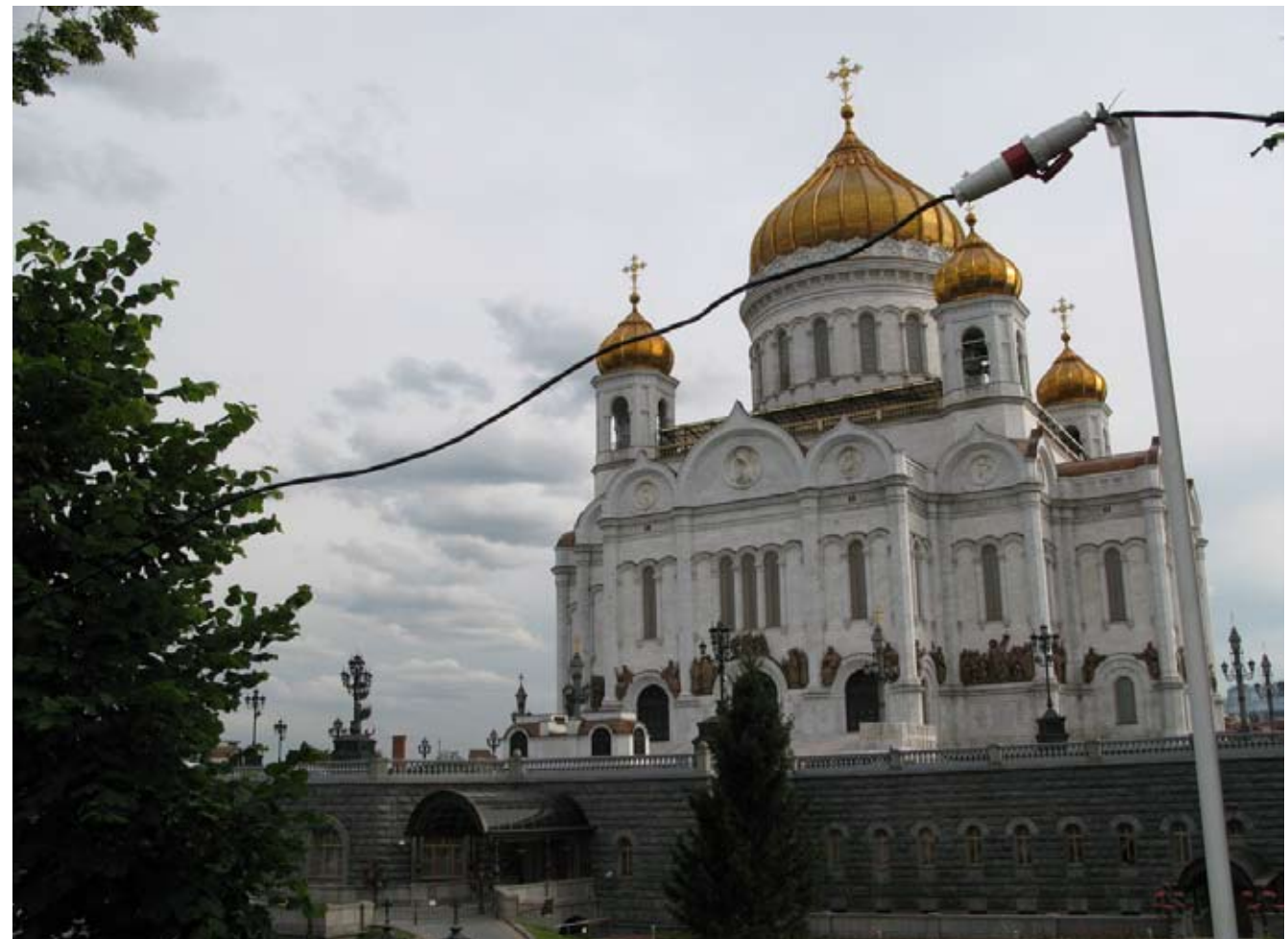
3.016 Lenin's Mausoleum (Shchusev, 1924-30)



3.017 GUM state department store (the Upper Trading Arcade) (Pomerantsev, 1890-3)



3.018 Resurrection Gate (1995)



3.019 Cathedral of Christ the Redeemer (1835-80) by Ton

Russian society whereby all the land and its produce were controlled by them. Moscow was similarly divided with the courtiers, merchants and artisans occupying districts that radiated out from the Kremlin. Furthermore, the Tsars periodically built new walls to contain the expanding city and maintain their sphere of influence.

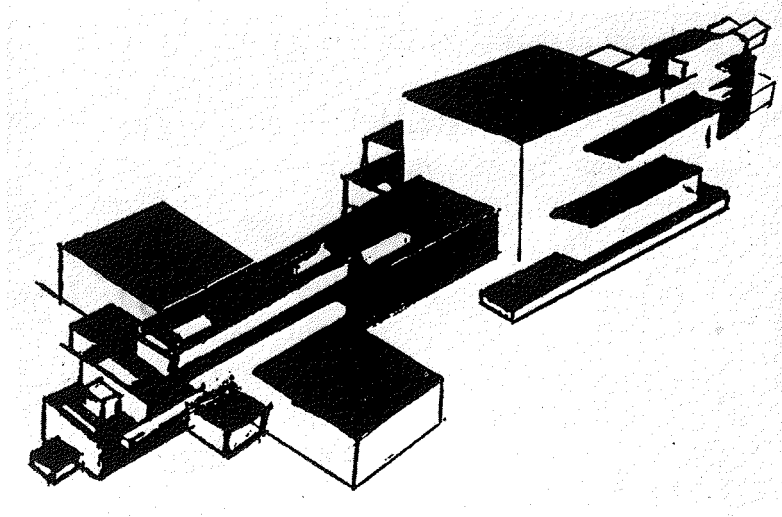
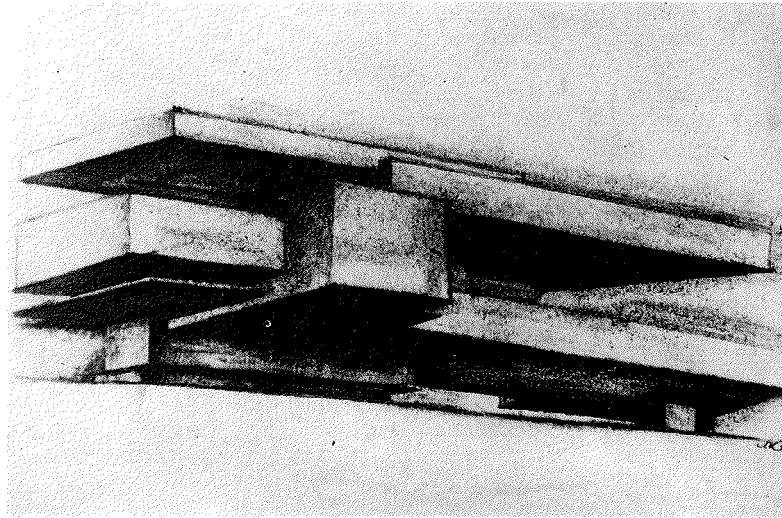
Russia traded much of its agricultural produce for arms, which then brought the unwelcome foreign merchants into the city. Their different behaviours and habits became the subject of great suspicion. Consequently, a number of decrees sought to control their influence, and a new formal settlement was planned for them. It was called Nemetskaya Sloboda, a derivation of *Nemets* meaning German, and *nemoi* meaning dumb, or unable to speak in Russian⁷ – i.e. ‘the city of the dumb.’ By 1665, the so called, ‘Foreign/German Settlement’ had 204 houses, set out on long straight streets with gardens. Peter the Great was a frequent visitor to the settlement to see his friend, the Swiss adventurer Franz Lefort, and his mistress Anna Mons. When Peter decided to establish a new capital in St Petersburg, Moscow entered an era of decline, yet was still an important commercial hub at the centre of the vast plains.

As a keen tourist I was keen to see Red Square for myself. I am old enough to recall all the old displays of Soviet military might during the height of the Cold War. My recollections were of the Brezhnev and Reagan eras, the last stand off before the advent of *Perestroika* under Mikhail Gorbachev. I entered Red Square through the Resurrection Gate, which was a 1995 replica of the original ceremonial gate that had formed part of a procession route by the Tsars into Red Square – originally built in 1538 and later rebuilt in 1680. In 1931 the gate was demolished by Stalin to allow better access for military hardware and processions through to Red Square. The square rises gently in front of me and it was busy with a number of Muscovites taking in the evening air. I spotted a wedding party darting around the Kremlin towers for their photographs, military cadets celebrating their passing out, whilst their full-time colleagues lounged casually around Lenin’s tomb. The mood within the square was light-hearted. And there were curious tourists like myself taking in this eclectic scene, with each side of the square representing a conflicting identity to contemporary Russia. Straight ahead was the picture-postcard image of St Basil’s Cathedral with its anarchic multi-coloured onion-dome towers; to the right was the cubic inspired Lenin’s Mausoleum (Shchusev, 1924-30) in front of the assertive Kremlin; to the left the old GUM state department store (Pomerantsev, 1890-3), modelled on

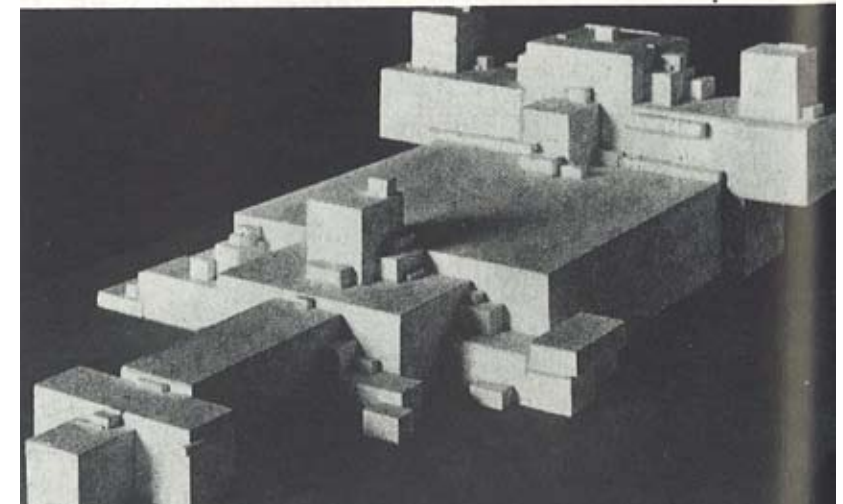
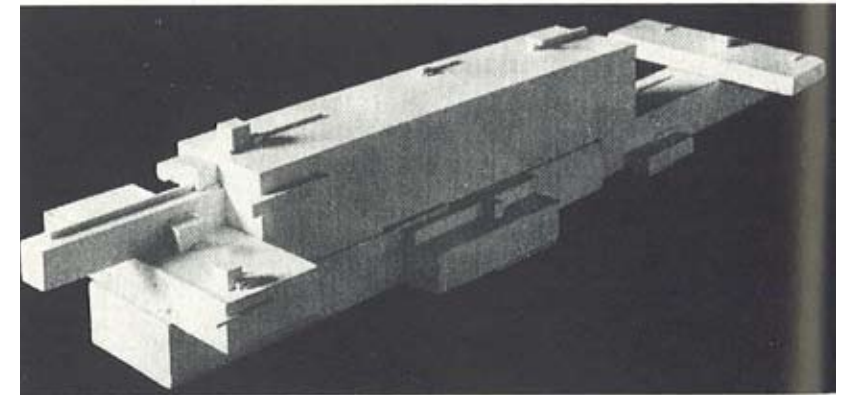
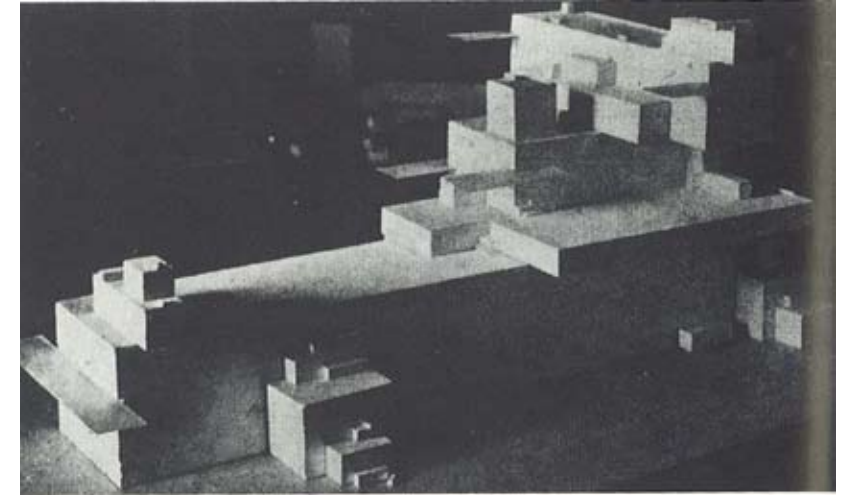
seventeenth-century Russian architecture, yet with a distinctive classical symmetry, and now a haven of designer goods; and behind me was the Resurrection Gate.

I was impressed by the Kremlin’s scale and authority, and its daunting walls and fortified onion-capped towers with rotating red Soviet stars were a constant reference throughout my visit. I attempted to gain entry to the Kremlin, but as I approached the gates closed and thick-set NIN paratroopers in grey fatigues formed an impregnable physical barrier. Why should this be? Behind them I could see a number of limousines pull up and a number of wedding guests gathered with a troupe of dancing girls. This I guess was the reality of a fallen superpower. I walked towards the river to get a glimpse of the re-assembled Cathedral of Christ the Redeemer (1994-97). The white marble cathedral was gloriously sited on the river and elevated on a substantial plinth which on closer inspection turned out to be an administrative building and car park. It was about 5pm and the edifice was closed for business; the gigantic bronzed doors were shut and pedestrian barriers surrounded the church. The Cathedral of Christ the Redeemer was another replica of the original, possessing new onion domes that glistened with the new patina of gold, although the yellow-orange tint made me doubt the sincerity of the oligarchs who had paid for the new cladding. The detailing of the bronze frieze above the doorways looked authentic, yet it all seemed strangely unconvincing. The 70-year absence had removed any sense of the cathedral’s authority. It was now a tribute to Russia’s new capitalists – sweet revenge over Stalin’s failed intention to erect here the Palace of the Soviets.

The original design for the Cathedral of Christ the Redeemer, by Ton (1835-80) was built to commemorate the defeat of Napoleon in 1812, and was a fusion of Russian / Byzantine design with some neo-Classical elements.⁸ After occupying Moscow for one month, Napoleon had been forced to retreat from the empty city at the onset of winter without having secured a full surrender. The returning populace was buoyed by Napoleon’s retreat, and as Breton claims: “There was an awakening of national self-consciousness, a pride in being Russian that had not existed before. Some historians argue that 1812 marks the turning point in Russian history, the watershed between historical and modern times.”⁹ The subsequent reconstruction of Moscow was planned by a Scottish Engineer, William Hastie, in 1813, using a strongly geometric neo-classical plan that sought to remake Moscow in the image of St



3.020 Spatial Composition (1926) by Khidekel,
Architecton Sketch (undated) by Chashnik,
Asnova Grouping, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



3.021 Horizontal architectons (1923) by Malevich,
Asnova Grouping, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)

Petersburg. However, this ambitious plan was ultimately defeated by its sheer scale and cost.

Tsar Alexander II liberated the serfs in 1861 and led a relatively progressive regime with some freedom of speech and expression. It was concurrent with the Industrial Revolution in Russia, based on lighter processing industries such as cotton textiles and sugar refining. Frampton identifies the liberation of serfs as an awakening of Pan-Slavic culture movement that in turn initiated a National Romantic movement to reflect contemporary European concerns.¹⁰ The art and literature which was generated combined the concerns of artists in Europe with indigenous Russian works, and after 1911 came the first manifestation of an avant-garde sensibility. Three artists of international importance were to emerge from this creative dialogue: Vasil Kandinsky, Kasimir Malevich and Vladimir Tatlin.¹¹ In addition, the *Proletkult* movement founded by Alexander Malinovsky sought to combine elements of an industrialised society with traditional 'proletarian' culture; they advocated a "regeneration of culture through a new unit of science, industry and art".¹²

The outbreak of the First World War exposed the extremely poor state of the Russian Army and its ineffective leadership, with 3.8 million casualties in the first ten months of conflict. Mutinies led to the collapse of the eastern front and resulted in the abdication of the Tsar in March 1917, to be replaced by a Provisional Government supported by the White Guards. Lenin famously returned from exile in April 1917 to propagate a Bolshevik coup later that year, and there were fierce battles in Moscow between the Red Guards of the Bolsheviks and the White Guards of the ousted government. The subsequent civil war lasted for two years. Moscow regained the status of capital city in 1918 from Petrograd (the new 'Russian' name for Germanic St Petersburg). It was a symbolic act of retreat from Western European cosmopolitan ideals to its core collective rural values. The 1917 Revolution heralded a new kind of Marxist society, and as such the Soviet government nationalised "land and all immovable property" within days of taking power, thus laying the "foundations for a whole new conception of the built environment."¹³ Land and all private property were now in the control of the state, at either national or local level, and were to be used to the benefit of all – well, that was the theory anyway.

After the Russian Revolution, the old architectural schools were dissolved and a non-hierarchical entry system and free studios were introduced to propagate a new Soviet architectural establishment, as part of the educational aims. Cooke identifies four groupings that emerged after the 1917 Revolution: Rationalists, Constructivists, Independents and neo-Classical/Garden City traditionalists.¹⁴ Ladovsky with his colleague Kinsky formed Asnova (the Association of New Architects) in 1923 and despite not constructing any examples of 'rationalist' architecture, they were very influential in the new 'free studio' environment. Their "ideas about the psychology of perception, in particular the impact and reading of form" took precedent over the plan, and their expressionist images of a new Soviet architecture were captivating and often emphasised a horizontal line.¹⁵ The essential artistic approach of Asnova has led Kahn-Magomedov to suggest that they "shared" a similar approach to Wright, a proposition that has some merits in that the dynamic forms and the dominant horizontal line were indeed part of Wright's language.¹⁶ However, to reduce Wright's work to an aesthetic proposition clearly fails to acknowledge the significance of his innovative spatial layouts.

Another group to emerge from the creative dialogue was centred around Alexander Rodchenko and Alexei Gan, "who were convinced of the special importance of the new principle of "construction," and so formed the First Working Group of Constructivists in March 1921."¹⁷ In Gan's book in 1922 he "planted the notion of the building as a social catalyst that Constructivist architects later formalised, on a chemical or electrical analogy (it not clear which), as "the social condenser."¹⁸ Essentially a condenser changes an electrical current, and similarly architecture could be used to change society. Frampton notes that the Constructivists were concerned primarily with sociology, then politics and finally technology.¹⁹ The architects Moisei Ginzburg and Alexander Vesnin formed OSA (Union of Contemporary Architects) in 1925, and Ginzburg articulated the constructivist methods of design in the periodical, *SA*. This involved a linear deterministic process that embodied an engineering methodology based on Taylorist management theory and a machine aesthetic. There were a number of instances of Wright's influence among this group, with Ginzburg having gained knowledge of the 1910 Wasmuth folios whilst studying architecture in Milan – and according to Cohen, the Lokshin House (1915) in Eupatoria, Crimea has resonances to the Frank Thomas House (1901) and Heurtley House (1902).²⁰ The Lokshin House certainly exhibited a



3.022 Exterior view of Melnikov House (1927-9)
by Konstantin Melnikov



3.023 Window detail of Melnikov House (1927-9)



3.024 Exterior view, Isvetsia Building (1925-7) by
Barkhin

formal symmetrical composition, with a hipped roof profile, triple central windows, ornamental urns, and semi-circular entry arch.²¹ In addition, Starr makes a reference to a house built in 1912 by Panealeimon Golosov (1882-1945) near to St Petersburg which was based on the Warren Hickox House in Kankakee, Illinois (1900); the latter too had been published by Wasmuth.²² Other acknowledgments of Wright's work were derived from the *Wendigen* publication of 1925, leading El Lissitzky to assert him as "America's only architect, who dared to discard all textbook precepts and to create a new type of dwelling, which has revealed him as the father of contemporary architecture."²³ Furthermore, Ginzberg in 1926 considered Wright an "American farmer-pioneer" and admired the Robie House for possessing "an entirely new plan, simple, open, suffused in air and light, and developing freely in space."²⁴ This shows a critical appraisal of Wright's Prairie Houses with early formal mimicry developing into a deeper understanding of their innovative spatial layouts.

Konstantin Melnikov may be considered a talented member of the Independent tendency who had formal contacts with the 'Rationalists' but maintained a his distance from the two dominant theories mentioned above. He dismissed the systems approach of the Constructivists and emphasised the traditional and Renaissance idea of chance, personal talent, and inspiration. Melnikov came from a peasant background, but had attracted a benefactor who supported his education in St Petersburg. Cooke asserts that his country background made him a pragmatic modernist, less dogmatic and theoretical than his colleagues.²⁵ Melnikov was the first to build a Constructivist building outside Russia, and his dramatic pavilion for the 1925 Paris Exposition gained much cultural kudos for the Soviet regime. It is claimed that Wright was the only architect to have influenced Melnikov, and it would certainly be a feasible connection between two equally independent and renegade characters.²⁶ Yet, despite the Communist revolution in Russia, the neo-Classical and Garden City movements persisted, with the pre-revolution Moscow Architectural Society (MAO) still functioning. These were older architects who resumed their practices in the 1920s once the civil war had abated, and building materials became available again. A number of these 'old guard' architects embraced the new aesthetic as 'Pragmatic Modernism', with Shchusev being the master in many idioms.²⁷ The Lenin Mausoleum (1924-30) was a hybrid of pre-historic / neo-Classical / Cubist composition, possessing a form reminiscent of ancient burial mounds, but modulated with proportion and order.

On his 1937 visit, Wright viewed a number of the Constructivist buildings. He saw the newly completed Proletarski Palace of Culture (1937) by the Veslin brothers and noted the "good design" of the auditorium, but moaned about the lack of Russian "spirit and character" within the modernist edifice.²⁸ In addition, Wright visited the Barviha Sanatorium (1934) by Iofan, noting the trans-Atlantic liner "luxury" of the rooms in a "very well-designed and very well-built structure."²⁹ However, Wright was not altogether convinced by Constructivist architecture and was wary of their intellectual approach; his comments were if anything almost a justification for 'Socialist Realism:' he complained:

"[T]he modern buildings were hard and course, unsympathetic and badly proportioned. This would apply to all but a score of them with perfect justice. I don't wonder the Russian people reacted to them as they did, rejecting them in favor [sic] of the old classic order. The so called modern buildings must have been hateful to the mystic emotion, the passion of the people of Russia."³⁰

It was strange that Wright was so hostile to Russian modernists as a number of them had cited his Prairie Houses as an inspiration to their own architecture. Wright's analysis of the Constructivists was however supported by Lubetkin, a Russian emigre architect, who dismissed their technological approach: "they emptied it [architecture] of all social content, of all direct emotional experience, beyond the mere statistical, abstract, and intellectual registration of technology."³¹ Furthermore, Lubetkin was able to add another criticism of the Constructivists in that their rhetoric and draughtsmanship was not matched by the building resources available in post-revolutionary Russia.³²

I sought out a number of Constructivist buildings that have now become global modernist icons as representations of the Russian Revolution, despite them being only part of a wide-ranging intellectual and architectural debate. A short metro ride away was the Narkomfin Housing Complex (Ginzberg, 1929). A journey on the Moscow Metro was a memorable part of my visit due to the distinctive station pavilions, either progressively modernist or Classically-inspired. I entered a magical world of bustling entrances, dark tunnels and underground marble palaces. Long timber escalators descended deep into the earth's core with such dim lighting that I could barely see the platforms below. Each platform had a consistent plan: you



3.025 Exterior view of housing unit, Narkomfin Housing Complex (1929) by Moisei Ginzberg



3.026 Exterior view of communal unit, Narkomfin Housing Complex (1929)



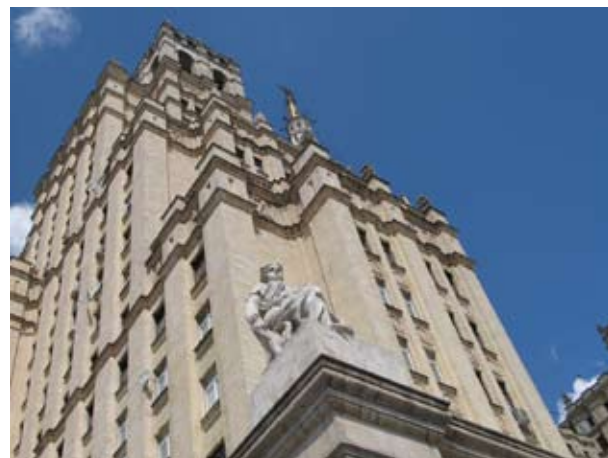
3.027 End view of housing unit, Narkomfin Housing Complex (1929)



3.028 Balcony detail, Narkomfin Housing Complex (1929)



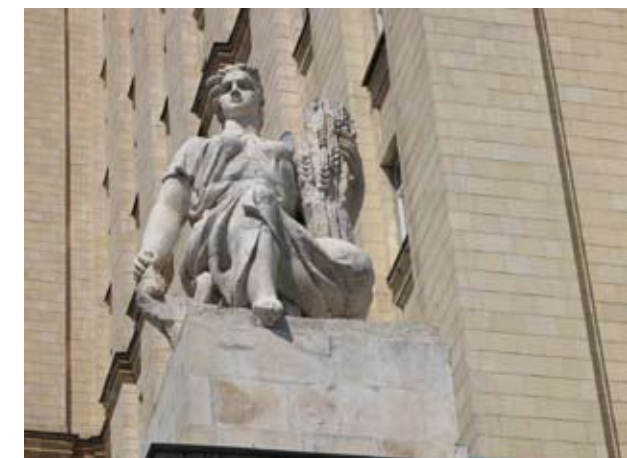
3.029 Passer-by claiming "Stalin good!"



3.030 Corner view, Vosstaniya apartments (1950-54) by Posokhin and Midoyants



3.031 Entry frieze, Vosstaniya apartments (1950-54)
Egor'evsk Cultural Club



3.032 Statue, Vosstaniya apartments (1950-54)

enter the platform at one end, change in the middle, and exit at the far end – brilliant! To offset this rationalism, the stations were designed in a variety of palatial styles with proliferate marble columns and arches, and truly ostentatious chandeliers. It was certainly a celebration of proletarian culture and totally unlike the consumerist caverns of the metros in the west. Even Wright was impressed. Whilst dismissing the falsity of luxury,³³ he stated that “the Moscow subway is a succession of well-planned palatial stations ... that makes the New York subway look like a sewer.”³⁴

Narkomfin Housing Complex sits beside one of Stalin’s sentinel towers around Moscow, the Vosstaniya Apartments (Posokhin and Midoyants, 1950-54). Inbetween was a new and highly polished stone-and-glass shopping mall. Narkomfin is set back from the street behind a small park with mature trees that shield the full extent of its current physical deterioration into a romantic ruin. The sand-coloured rendered façade was flaking away and steel reinforcement was visible. The ground-floor pilotis had been infilled and the original Constructivist ideals are being ground down by the grim reality of Russian pragmatism. Narkomfin was an example of a “social condenser” based on a non-hierarchical collectivist aim to liberate women from domesticity so as to boost industrial production. Consequently, Narkomfin reflected this collective identity with two distinct elements: the dwelling block and the communal centre. The dwelling block was distributed over six storeys with an open and closed deck-access on the second and fourth floors. It possessed an innovative set of apartment types including the first duplex units ever constructed in Russia. The communal block has a modernist cubic mass with expansive glazing to reflect the Bauhaus-style machine aesthetic. It contains a sports hall at the lower level, with communal dining, reading and recreational room at the upper level, and summer dining spaces on the roof.³⁵ On my way back to the metro I took a photograph of the Vosstaniya high-rise block, only for a passer by to stand in front of my camera. He was full of admiration for the tower and proclaimed in English “Stalin good!”³⁶

Soviet Moscow

When Wright arrived in Moscow, it was in the midst of a major urban renewal campaign dictated by Stalin, with the medieval two-storey timber city being displaced by a programme of beautification. Wright marvelled at this new construction work within the city, noting the destruction of a number of churches without any regret.

“[T]heir works were even more wonderful. Old churches were going up in air, dynamited to make way for wide avenues for the new Moscow. Moscow was being made ready for five million citizens ... The old buildings, some good, contrasting sharply with the new ones, mostly bad.”³⁷

As the reinstated capital of the Soviet Revolution, Moscow had become the subject of debates concerning what should be the most suitable manifestation of a Soviet city – the rhetoric, planning and image of Moscow had to be carefully aligned. A classical plan by the academics Zholtovsky and Shchusev in 1919 and 1923 retained the integrity of the Kremlin and the central churches, whilst the inner rings of private houses and gardens were to be made into public parks, and beyond that would be a ring of green garden suburbs. It was a centralised plan that any neo-Classical or Baroque town planner would have appreciated, but it was also a representation of the new centralised government that Lenin developed to consolidate his control over the Russian masses after the October Revolution. As noted by Service, the “basic compound of the Soviet order ... [was] ... invented by Lenin”, and what had seemed to be expedient during a time of revolution and civil war was simply extended, so that “there had been created a centralized, one-ideology dictatorship of a single party which permitted no challenge to its monopoly of power.”³⁸

In 1932 there was a competition with seven invited entries to replan Moscow and accommodate a population of five million by restating its Soviet identity. Many of the schemes reflected the radical debates that had thrived in the 1920s, with Ladovski proposing a Parabola City (1932). Ginsburg advocated a disurbanist scheme, whilst Le Corbusier’s redeveloped the city with tall towers on an orthogonal grid structure.³⁹ As ever, the competition proved inconclusive, giving the impression of a progressive engagement but failing to agree. In the end, the competition was decided by a meeting of the Central Committee, with Stalin proclaiming: “We accept neither the view of those who reject the very principle of ‘the city’ and who urge us to convert Moscow into a huge village, nor of those extreme urbanists who wish to create a city on the capitalist model, with its excessive density of population.”⁴⁰ The General Plan for Moscow was duly unveiled in July 1935, and under it the city was to be limited in size and reconstruction based on “unity and harmony of architectural composition” – or, as Hall claims, the City Beautiful had come to Moscow.⁴¹ Concentric boulevards and a new central axis were created around the centre of power, the Kremlin. It was



3.033 Exterior view, Dulgoruky House (1784)
by M F Kazakov



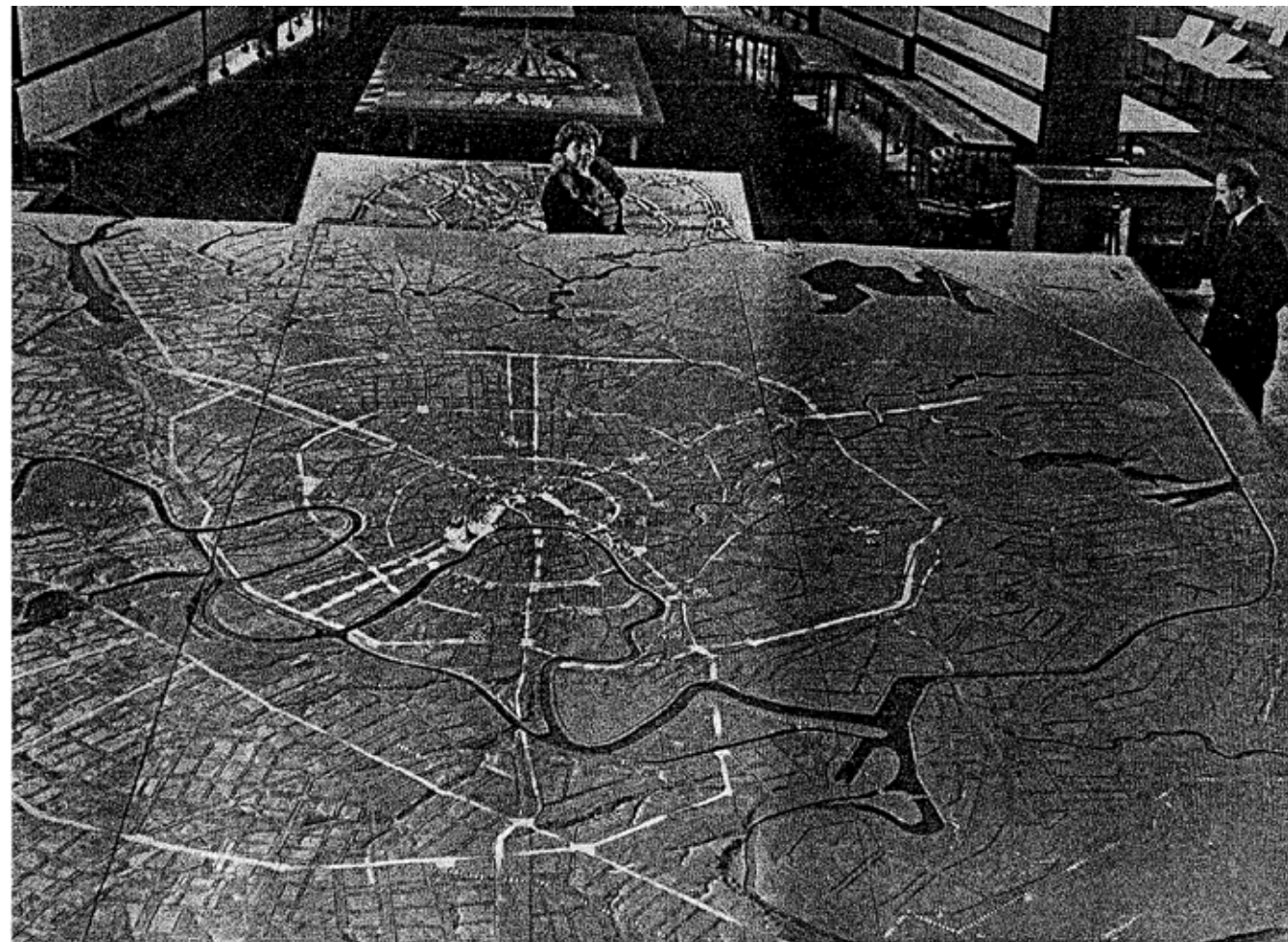
3.034 Side entrance, Dulgoruky House (1784)



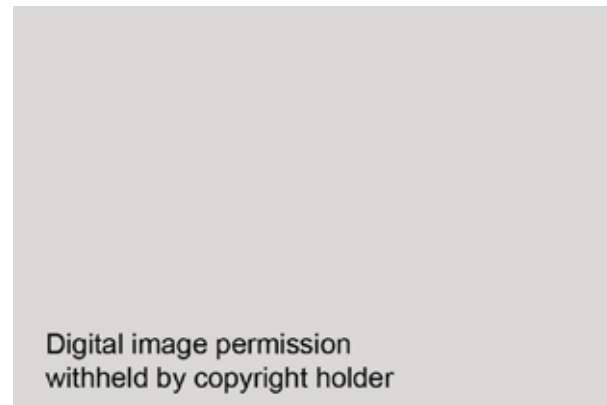
3.035 Circular mass to corner, Dulgoruky House (1784)



3.036 Window detail, Dulgoruky House (1784)



3.037 Moscow Plan 1935, image by Sovfoto in Wright, F. L. (1937)



3.038 Moscow Plan 1935, image from Tarkhanov, A. & Kavtaradze, S. (1992)



3.039 Transforming Moscow 1931, image from Google images

essentially a Potemkin city of facades which hid the old slums behind, a reaffirmation of the radial planning that had dominated Moscow's history under the Tsars.⁴²

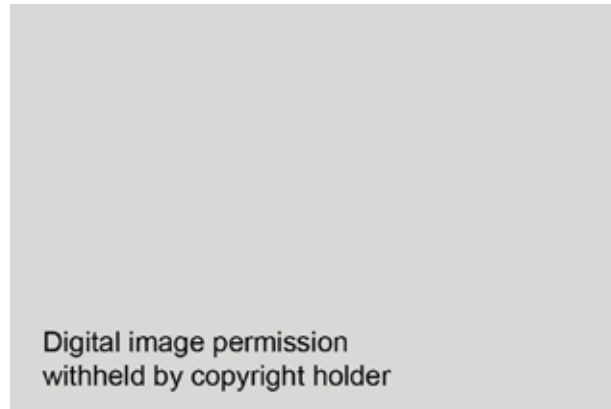
The plan reflected Stalin's view of a perfect society derived from the centralisation of government, the isolation of social groups, and a visually pleasing aesthetic.⁴³ Bater's analysis of the General Moscow Plan reveals a number of principles which were then adopted throughout Soviet Russia and its extended 'colonies' within the USSR.⁴⁴ The limiting of the city, whilst beneficial in controlling sprawl, was implemented by the use of the oppressive internal passport system that effectively monitored and controlled the free movement of citizens.⁴⁵ The state became responsible for housing provision and minimum space standards were introduced. So called 'super blocks' for 1,000 to 1,500 people became a basic planning unit, which were then organised into complexes of 8,000 to 12,000 inhabitants.⁴⁶ Furthermore there were to be an equitable distribution of services for these giant housing estates.⁴⁷ The General Plan carefully zoned the city with residential and industrial uses often integrated; large park areas were identified outside the city, and the city core itself would be concentrated within the Garden Ring.⁴⁷ Rationalised transportation and extensive green spaces were included within the plan, and were heavily promoted in the publicity for the scheme⁴⁹ In addition, "the cultural and political uses of the central city were emphasized," being carefully designed for mass public gatherings and propaganda.⁵⁰ Thus "unified architectural ensembles, thoroughfares and squares"⁵¹ were conceived to support and contain these gatherings. Finally, Bater notes that as city plans were developed at a national level, so they were able to also dictate regional plans and the location of new cities away from existing concentrated settlements to inhabit the vast Russian landscape with its numerous internal colonies.⁵²

Wright commented on the process in the *Architectural Review* in 1937, proclaiming that the plans were "far ahead of any city planning I have seen elsewhere," – he even acknowledged that there was a "splendid opportunity" within a Moscow freed from private property and sentimentality.⁵³ Yet the idea of the centralised city was already dated in Wright's opinion: "Are you on the right road when you prepare Moscow to take five million country people, instead of sending Moscow out to the five million?"⁵⁴ Wright was of course advocating his own dispersed Broadacre City template, but he was there ten years too late to have any actual effect on Russian urban planning.

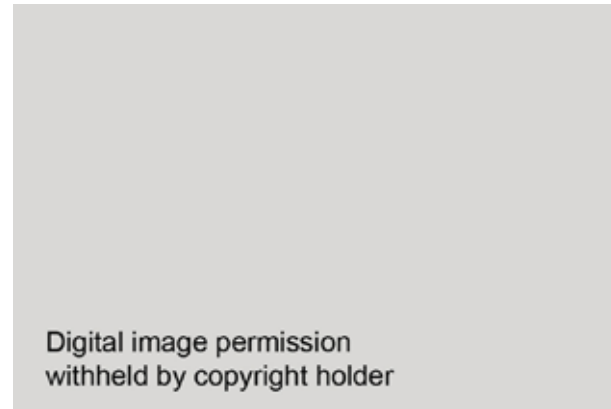
First All-Union Congress of Architects

The conference was held in the House of Columns (1784) by Kazakov (1738-1813). He was a Moscow neo-Classicalist who pioneered the 'Empire Style' which went to last for nearly a century from 1780 to 1860. The House of Columns has a symmetrical front facade, with an elevated columned portico, and highly regulated openings. It is rendered and painted a pastel green offset with white details, and looked to be well maintained. There was a side entrance to the neglected ticket booth and I enquired about having a look inside, but without any success. Yet, there was also a full programme of entertainment on offer in the evenings, including a concert by some local heavy metal bands.

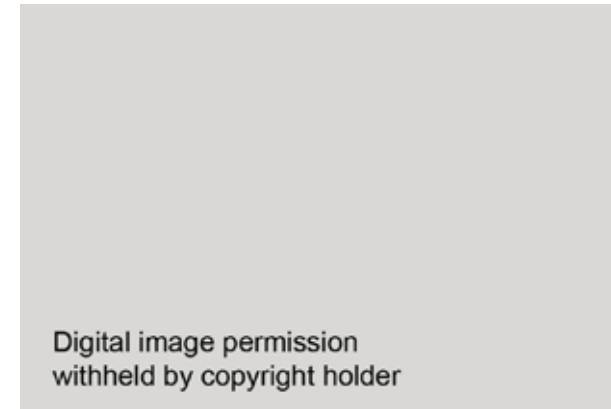
Wright's work was familiar to the Rationalist and Constructivist architects who valued his innovative spatial forms and anti-Classical rhetoric. Within the context of the 1930s, Wright's opinions were sought out by the Russian media, and letters were exchanged with *Pravda* and *Architecture of the USSR*. Wright's provocative responses were not always published, but they ensured he was worthy of an invitation to the First All-Union Congress. *Pravda*, the official Soviet newspaper, had approached Wright in 1932 to ask for his comments regarding architecture after the Wall Street Crash, to which Wright retorted: "Capital will only spend money to make money."⁵⁵ The following year, *Pravda* again questioned him on the effects of the 'Great Depression' on US academia, a strange question to ask Wright given that he had just established his (non-academic) Taliesin Fellowship. Regardless, Wright equated intellectuals with capitalists and said there had been no change in either institution, noting the "Capitalistic system is a gambling game."⁵⁶ With the establishment of the single Union of Soviet Architects to replace the diverse groupings of the 1920s, there was "a concerted effort made to present the architecture of the Western world to the body of Soviet architects."⁵⁷ David Arkin, editor of the official journal for this consolidated architectural group, *Architecture in the USSR*, wrote to Wright concerning "methods of architectural designing."⁵⁸ Wright responded with a number of terse answers that manifestly failed to define his 'organic' approach, and he claimed that great works of art were best conceived by one person – in direct conflict with the collectivist ideas promoted by 'Socialist Realism'.⁵⁹ Curiously, the illustrations published in the ensuing article were of Wright's early work such as the Robie House and the Bock Studio, and as such they represented Wright as an early-modernist.⁶⁰ Interestingly, Johnson notes that Wright's answers corresponded with the responses by Melnikov, except the latter's



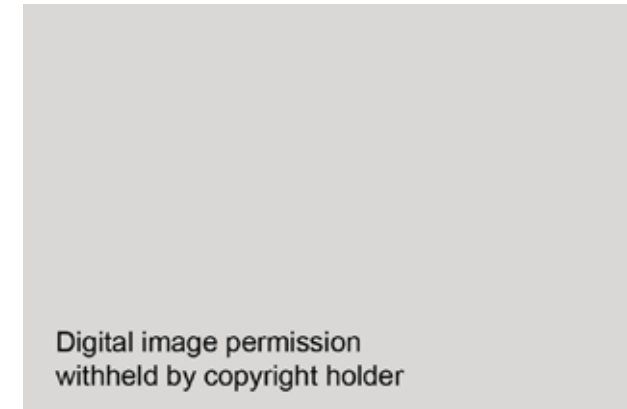
3.040 Olgivanna and Frank Lloyd Wright on the SS Bremen, en route to the Congress, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993)



3.041 Wright at the Congress, image from Cohen, J-L (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999)



3.042 Mr and Mrs Yofan, and Frank Lloyd Wright at Society of Relations Banquet, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993)



3.043 Frank Lloyd Wright and Mr and Mrs Arkin, outside Moscow, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993)

were “more intellectually constructed.”⁶¹ In 1934, Arkin, published some “Notes about American Architecture,” and noted Wright as being a “prominent and eccentric spokesman of contemporary architectural thought.”⁶² Furthermore, in describing the Prairie Houses as an American “attempt at folk appearance,” it was a telling analysis or Russian views on Wright’s aesthetics.⁶³

Following the First All-Union Congress, the *Architectural Review (AR)* published two articles in October 1937 by the two American delegates, Frank Lloyd Wright and Simon Breines. Wright’s was a reflective piece on recent Soviet architecture and town planning, the Palace of the Soviets competition, and giving anecdotes of various meetings with Soviet architects.⁶⁴ Breines’ article was a more insightful summary of the actual conference proceedings, noting the diversity of the USSR with delegates drawn from 26 different nations and included both architects and workers representatives.⁶⁵ Breines noted the dominance of the neo-Classical idiom⁶⁶ and indeed, according to Tarkhanov, the aim of Congress was “a new mastery of the classical heritage,”⁶⁷ whilst Cooke calls it “viciously anti-modern.”⁶⁸ In the opening address by the general secretary, Alabyan, contrasted the achievements of the USSR against the ‘crisis’ being experienced in the west. Alabyan defined Soviet architecture in vague terms as serving the “interest of the toiling masses,”⁶⁹ and he attacked Melnikov as a “formalist” and being “indifferent to living reality”, and chastened the Vesnin brothers for turning “their backs completely on the rich architectural heritage of the past.”⁷⁰ The next speaker was the academic architect, Schusev, who reviewed the “influences of East and West on Russian architecture” by summarising that America was the most important inspiration for the future of Russian architecture.⁷¹ Breines noted that one of the Vesnin brothers was allowed to speak from the floor and to answer his critics, and reiterated his belief that Soviet architecture should be based on “scientific” methodology.⁷² Over the ten-day Congress, some of the delegates openly castigated poor spatial layouts and bad construction, often with the architect sitting nearby.⁷³ Yet as Sleb notes, the intention of the conference was to gain positive coverage for the Soviet regime and approval from both foreign and local media.⁷⁴

There are at least four versions of Wright’s address to the Congress, according to Johnson⁷⁵, with each one of them serving a different political purpose. The earliest version was a short and dry piece that formed a condensed summary published by

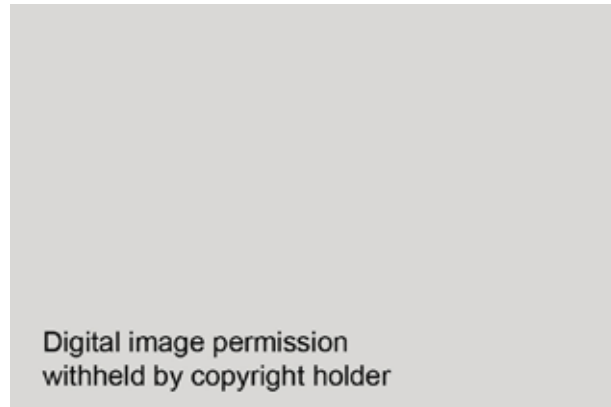
the *Pravda* with many of the themes diluted. A second version, also in Russian, had been recorded by *Architecture of the USSR* and published in July 1937 as a record of proceedings, and so it carried an element of scholarship accuracy. Wright produced two English versions in *An Autobiography*, his first account was in the 1945 volume, and then it was updated for the 1977 edition. Johnson’s translation of the 1937 Russian version forms the basis of the discussion here, and the translation process was heavily criticised for Wright’s “esoteric terminology.”⁷⁶ It was surprising to find out how brief Wright’s address had actually been, considering that he was the most prominent international architect there at the Congress, and how anodyne were its contents – perhaps a reflection of the paranoia that must have gripped the conference. Johnson identifies three main themes within Wright’s address: technology, aesthetics and new societies.⁷⁷ Technology was an apolitical subject that Wright could easily discuss without causing offence, and so he began the address by acknowledging the first flight between Russia and America had recently been completed by a Russian aviator – and he used this to call for a cultural link between the two ‘new’ nations, arguing that Russia offered “great hope for the world.”⁷⁸ Wright observed that the “rapid growth in science, industrial technology, and mechanical means”⁷⁹ had not yet been matched by an equal self-awareness in art, and so had only resulted in the skyscraper, which Wright admonished:

“Our highly acclaimed architectural achievement is the skyscraper. But what does it really represent? The skyscraper is no more and no less than a victory for engineering and the defeat of architecture.

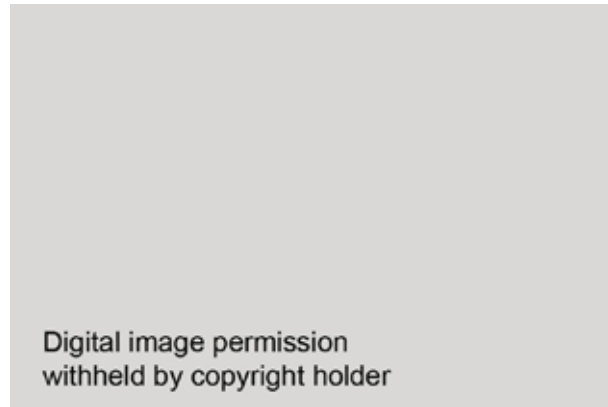
This rising, steel framework of a skyscraper is generally hidden behind a thin facing of stone blocks imitating feudal towers.

Skyscrapers are stunning, but they are false and artificial, like the economic structure that gave rise to their emergence in dull congested urban areas.”⁸⁰

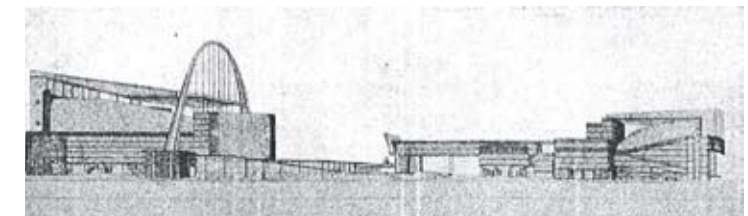
This open attack on the ultimate symbol of capitalism, the skyscraper, generated a bout of spontaneous applause. Closely related to his attack on the skyscraper was Wright’s attack on aesthetics. Again he equated the American experience of his youth with Sullivan in Chicago at the turn of the twentieth century: “we too were faced with a choice – either crawl back into the shell of an old culture ...”⁸¹ Wright observed a similar tendency in contemporary Moscow: “In some of your buildings, constructed to serve the people, I noticed architectural motifs created in the old days



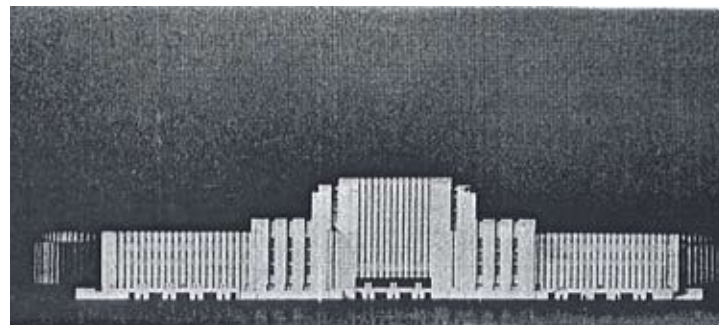
3.044 Palace of the Soviets final approved version (1934) Iofan, Gelfreich, and Shchuko, image from Tarkhanov. A. & Kavtaradze, S. (1992)



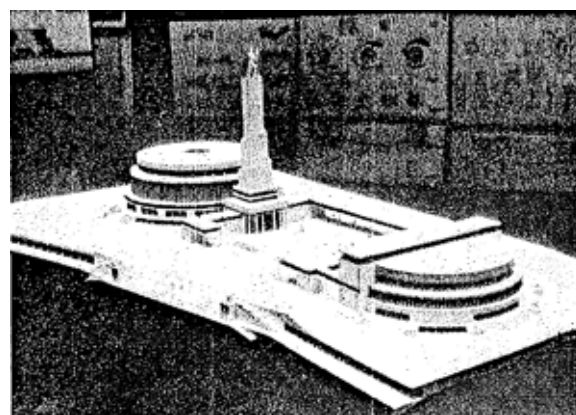
3.045 Palace of the Soviets, Second Stage Competition winner, (1931) Zholtovsky, & Golts, image from Tarkhanov. A. & Kavtaradze, S. (1992)



3.046 Palace of the Soviets, unplaced in the competition, (1931) Le Corbusier, image from Lubetkin, B. (1932)



3.047 Palace of the Soviets, Second stage Competition winner (1931) Hamilton, image from Lubetkin, B. (1932)



3.048 Palace of the Soviets, Second Stage Competition winner (1931) Iofan, image from Lubetkin, B. (1932)

by the aristocracy's culture ... It is difficult to overcome the palatial style."⁸² This was of course a veiled attack on some of the recently completed metro stations and the Palace of Soviets competition – Wright proclaimed:

"The tendency towards grandomania when prevailed upon in one place, sometimes becomes apparent in another – and where it is least expected. Aspirations for such magnificence at times become popular because it becomes apparent that there is difficulty in finding another, more refined expression of life in architecture."⁸³

In Wright's article for the *AR*, he commented on the Palace of Soviets scheme by Iofan by saying that "nothing more incongruous could be conceived."⁸⁴ Then in the version of his address in *An Autobiography* (1945), he made a full assault by claiming, falsely, that he had actually told the delegates: "I have seen a dismal reflection of that falsity in your own work palace."⁸⁵ It is questionable if Wright would have returned alive after such a rebuttal of the design. Yet, Wright's assertion of 'grandomania' was an astute observation of Stalin's taste in architecture, in which scale was utilised to make oppressive architectural statements. In front of the Moskva Hotel, Wright noted that "mere size seems to captivate the Russians as it seduced us earlier."⁸⁶

In his speech, Wright then went on to dismiss the "left and right wing" approaches to architecture – a terminology that was used by the *AR* in 1932, by Lubetkin, to differentiate between the "left wing" modernist from central Europe and the "right wing" neo-Classicists.⁸⁷ For Wright both approaches were unsatisfactory.⁸⁸ Wright believed that the only true expression of the people was 'organic' architecture: "[t]he correct path to the creation of organic architecture consists of the scientific organization of building activity and animating it with a genuine spirit of humanity."⁸⁹ Wright was interested in the potential of a new society that was not founded on capitalism, and he was part of wider debate during the 'Great Depression,' and so he lamented that "[p]rivate property ownership makes correct planning impossible."⁹⁰ Hence, the possibilities of the Soviet system after the October Revolution offered a more rigorous ideal and "correct planning ideas" without the need to deal with private landowners. Wright envisioned:

"[o]rganic architecture will not only express such ideas of a new free life but also ensure, in the USSR, the possibility of living one's life better than anywhere else. Ideas of Soviet Russian organic architecture will spread to those other countries on the continent."⁹¹

Wright hence called for a new Soviet society coupled with 'organic' architecture that could form an expansive and international movement, but of course he was naively out of touch with the developments after the October Revolution. The popular myth in the 1920s of a worldwide revolution had by the 1930s been replaced by the reality that Russia was likely to be the sole communist country. In the version in *An Autobiography*, Wright expanded on his ideas for a new society, borrowing directly from his *Disappearing City* (1932) manifesto:

"Russians, make good use of your ground for the new Russia! Can the Soviets not see that electricity, machines, automobiles, radio, television – the architecture of splendid highways and spacious, farflung Agriculture can make the old form of the city (centralisation) not only useless, but harmful to the future? ... I would much like the young architects of the USSR to see, and some day they may see, Broadacre City – the city that is everywhere and nowhere."⁹²

Wright above all was an exponent of a globally deterritorialised Broadacre City typology, a suburban ideal that spanned seamlessly from the American West to the Russian steppes.

It is claimed that J. Edgar Hoover kept a file on Frank Lloyd Wright "that would eventually reach two inches thick."⁹³ It was known that Wright was very keen on Russian films, which he viewed with the Taliesin Fellowship, and he even had a discount from the distributor. In addition, Wright supported many of the American campaigns for freedom of artistic expression during the McCarthy hearings.⁹⁴ Wright recorded his thoughts in print, with a rhetorical question: "Which is most dangerous to Our Democratic system of free men, a sociological idiot like a Communist or a political pervert like a McCarthy?"⁹⁵ Yet for the FBI it was difficult to ascertain if Wright was "too pink or too blue," given that he had written for *Pravda* and the far right-wing



3.049 Map of Russia at Chelyablinsk Airport



3.050 Aerial view of Urals from flight



3.051 Taxi ride from Chelyablinsk Airport into town



3.052 Broken bus on journey from Chelyablinsk to Mangitorosk



3.053 View from within bus of road and landscape



3.054 View of Ural landscape



3.055 Petrol station in the Urals

press.⁹⁶ If Wright had been called to testify in front of McCarthy, it would have made a great show.

Friedland notes that within the Fellowship, Wright took a narrower view of Communism. He equated his personal dislike for Walter Gropius and the latter's Harvard design school, with a belief that there was a Communist conspiracy afoot. He believed that Gropius was propagating the 'International Style' and Communism amongst his students at the time.⁹⁷ Wright claimed to dismiss both 'Communism and Capitalism, and instead called for "the organic capital of an organic Democracy."⁹⁸ Yet in practice, Wright was equally willing to work for Communists and Capitalists, so long as it supported his 'organic' mantra and his ego. In April 1953, *House Beautiful* published a full-scale assault on the 'International Style,' which the editor Elizabeth Gordon claimed was "inimical to democracy" and was led by "dictators in the matters of taste."⁹⁹ Wright was "surprised and delighted"¹⁰⁰ at this attack, and so chose to align himself with Gordon. In subsequent articles in July and October, he extended the campaign against the 'International Style' by calling it "totalitarian, collectivist and communistic."¹⁰¹ As Friedland notes Wright ended his exclusive publishing arrangement with the *Architectural Forum*, and now he had the ear of 750,000 readers of *House Beautiful*.¹⁰² For allies of Wright, such as Vincent Scully, it was an embarrassing episode which Scully tried to repair by writing his essay that to show that Wright had been re-invigorated by the 'International Style' during the 1930s.¹⁰³ Yet, this affair merely demonstrates how Wright's prejudices towards the 'International Style' went unchecked within his own fawning commune at Taliesin, and that he was an opportunistic nationalist who would seize any chance to promote his 'organic' ideas. No wonder McCarthy never called Wright to testify.

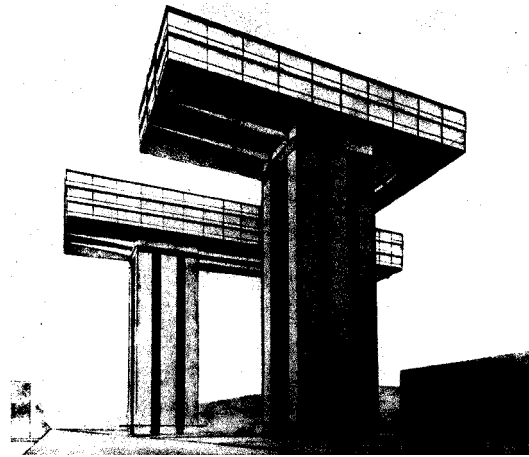
Magnitogorsk:

I extended my trip to visit the Ural Mountains as the planned settlement of Magnitogorsk was celebrating 75 years of existence. The city had been the subject of a design competition in 1930 that sought to define a genuine 'Soviet City.' Magnitogorsk reflected the Stalinist concept of an ideal settlement, and its location was determined by national and regional needs for efficiency and growth.¹⁰⁴ In the case of Magnitogorsk, this was also closely aligned with military strategy, given that the Soviets believed that a second metallurgical base was required to complement

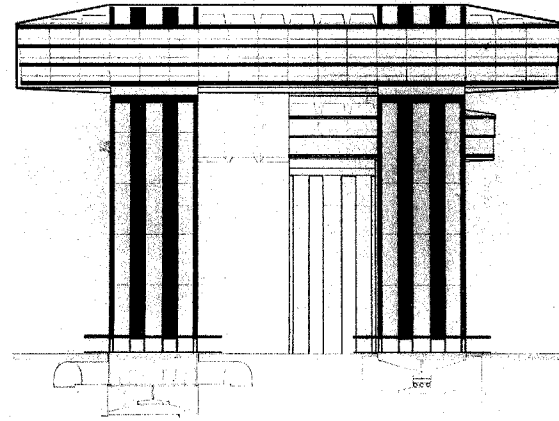
the Doneck basin in the Ukraine, and that it should be as remote as possible from the main European powers.¹⁰⁵ There was also a compelling regional justification as the Urals contained some of the largest iron-ore deposits in the world. Yet it required a direct source of energy to make steel. A 2,000km-long railway line was hence built to link the iron-ore in the Urals with the coal mines in the Kuzneck basin in Siberia.¹⁰⁶ Such a staggering undertaking required considerable political will and forced labour to harness Russia's geological wealth. The expansion of Slavic influence in these 'backward' regions was a further justification for this internal colonisation of Russia.¹⁰⁷ For Stalin, the self-styled 'Man of Steel,' Magnitogorsk was a vivid symbol of Soviet Russia's rapid industrialisation.

I was apprehensive about taking an internal Russian flight with Aeroflot, but the journey was comfortable enough, with a number of young passengers. Some were tennis protégés with large bags full of rackets and next to me was another Ivan, this time a student who was travelling home to see family. He talked about the forests and lakes around the Urals. When I asked him about Stalin and the large tractor factory built by the American architect Albert Kahn in Chelyabinsk (1932), Ivan said he didn't know about the factory.¹⁰⁸

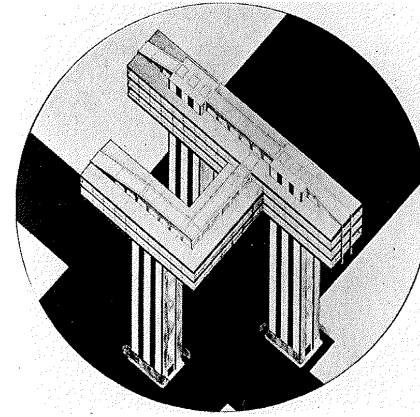
At Chelyabinsk Airport we waited in a large hangar for our luggage to arrive with only a few seats to use. I went to the taxi booth and asked about getting a ride to the bus station. The attendant did not understand me, but enlisted some help from a young passenger who spoke good English. I tell her about my plans to get a bus from Chelyabinsk to Magnitogorsk. She translates everything for me, and after organising my carriage, I collect my bags and get into a rather cramped Lada taxi with a large driver and an even larger fellow passenger. At the bus station the taxi driver went to the front of long queue to a booth and did a few negotiations for me, writing down a list of times and prices for the bus. I nod and ask optimistically for an "express bus" – this results in more shouting and arguing, but eventually I get a ticket. I tip the taxi driver and wait for my bus. Eventually a really tired looking bus arrived and we headed off into the Urals with an ethnically diverse set of passengers reflecting its place at the crossroads between Europe and Asia. The bus broke down twice, and on each occasion the driver goes underneath the bus with some spanners.



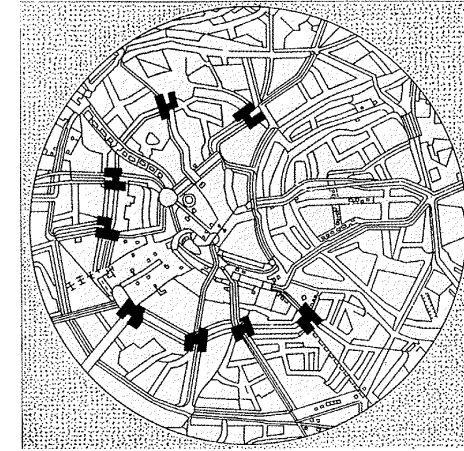
3.056 Horizontal Skyscraper by El Lissitzky, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



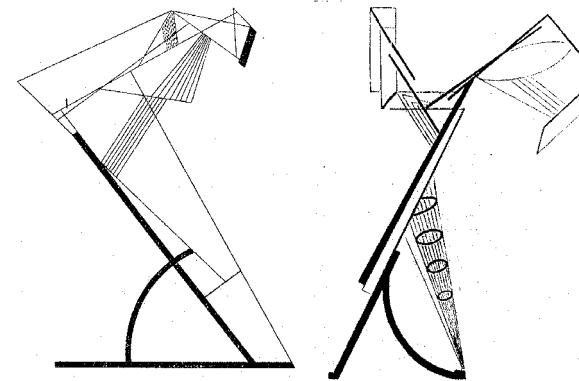
3.057 Horizontal Skyscraper, combining European street and American elevator,, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



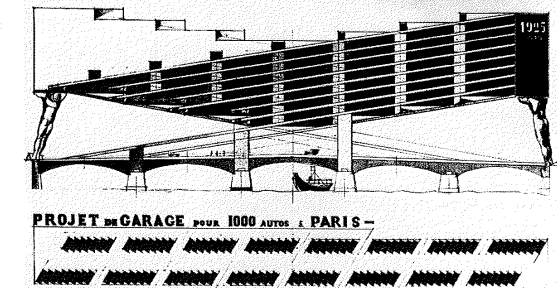
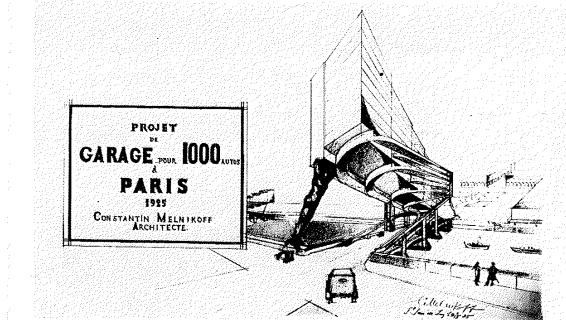
3.058 Skyhook, axonometric view at city locations, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



3.059 Skyhooks within the city plan, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



3.060 City on Springs by Lavinsky, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



3.061 Paris car park by Melnikof, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)

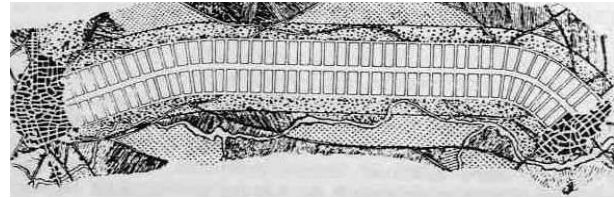
I was surprised at the green undulating landscape – it was rather similar to the American Prairie, I thought. The bus journey effectively straddled the border between Europe and Asia; the Ural Mountains traditionally signifying the end of Europe, and the nearby town of Yekaterinburg was the official frontier between the two continents. The Urals rolled on, and the driver put on a video of some Russian slapstick comedy to entertain us. As we ambled towards Magnitogorsk, the bus seemed to get caught up in a time-warp when we left the vast landscape and entered a dark city dominated by its steelworks and the empty magnetic mountain. I was reminded of an Industrial Revolution town from the Victorian era, with its array of tall chimneys bellowing out plumes of black and orange smoke. Immediately I saw that the town was divided by the river, with industry concentrated on one side whilst the residential and civic areas were located on the other. There was only one hotel listed in my guide book, and so I took a taxi to Valentino's. The hotel had very long dark corridors and curious stairs hidden behind corners. To relieve my paranoia, I switched on the television for some solace and recognised the overtly dramatic music of *Who Wants to be Millionaire*: I wonder if here it is called 'Who wants to be an Oligarch'? Even more amusing was the next programme, *The Simpsons* in Russian, a real transcultural exchange. Feeling hungry, I check my map and there seems to be a choice of two main streets, Lenin or Marx – a philosophical conundrum that I decided to cut short by opting for Marx.

Kanh-Magomedov identifies two periods of intense debates about city planning under the new Soviet regime. The first period began in 1922-23 and was initiated by the Golero national electrification plan and Lenin's New Economic Plan.¹⁰⁹ The second era of debate about town planning came between 1929 to 1930, and was related to Stalin's initial Five-Year Plan. Central to both periods were the aims to provide an identity for Soviet settlement and to mitigate the division between town and country. Engels (1820-95) had identified in *Anti-Duhring* (1878) a method of promoting social equality: "The abolition of the division between town and country."¹¹⁰ These sentiments were repeated by Lenin as he viewed the uneven distribution of wealth between the town and the country to be an example of all that was wrong with capitalism: "... rural neglect, isolation from the world and barbarism, as well as of the unnatural accumulation of gigantic masses of people in large towns."¹¹¹ At the time of the October Revolution, only one-sixth of the Russian population were resident

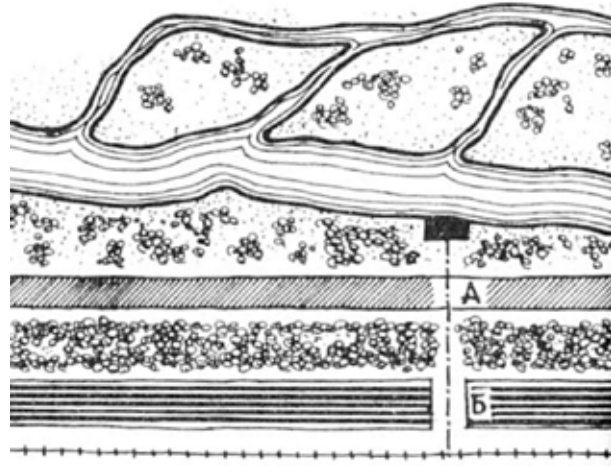
in cities, and so the majority of the nation consisted of illiterate rural peasants – consequently, addressing rural poverty was a pressing need.

During the first period of debate there were radical and fantastical concepts put forward for constructing the socialist city. Gradually a number of conceptual themes emerged within the new city plans that embraced an avant-garde and artistic sensibility, including vertical zoning, 'top elevation,' and Supermatism. The vertical zoned city was based on the idea of stratifying the city according to its uses, with pedestrians taking possession of the street – the car being placed beneath and housing elevated above. A number of schemes displaying this principle were the City on Springs by Lavinsky, the Horizontal Skyscraper by El Lissitzky, and the Paris car park by Melnikov. It was Lissitzky who best captured the essence of vertical zoning, with his Skyhook Project for Moscow. This was a transcultural and highly technological response, combining the civic character of the European street with the latest American lift technology. Eight Skyhooks were proposed at strategic transportation nodes along the boulevard ring intersections, hence defining a new ring of influence around the Kremlin as the centre of power. Rodchenko's 'Top Elevation' city was instead to be viewed from above, and it consisted of an upturned pyramid with its apex resting on the ground. The new city would be free from the traffic beneath and would make optimum use of the abundant light. Another approach was Malevich's 'Cosmic City' proposal, consisting of a cluster of free-floating forms that were arranged according to his own artistic inclination. Khidekel's Supermatist designs incorporated elements of vertical zoning and the Aero-City; it embraced a global perspective by envisaging a city which was no longer constrained by its earthly roots. The dynamic mass of Supermatist design animated a restless city that was free to move from land to water – and in a startlingly contemporary analogy that anticipates our virtual existence, Khidekel's experimental city was projected over a communications network.¹¹²

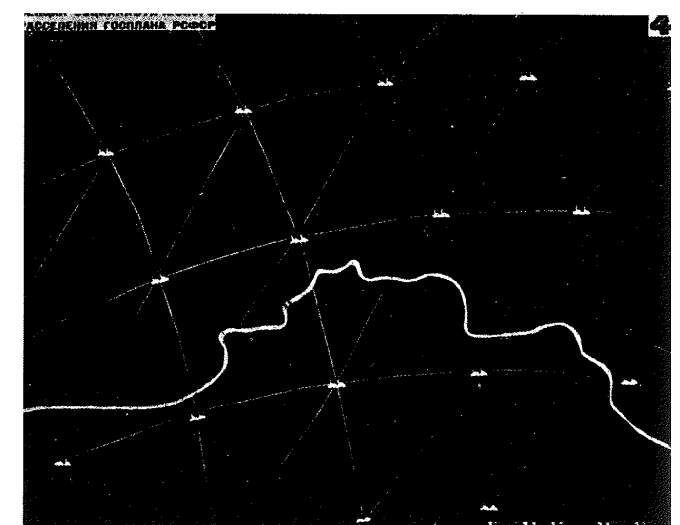
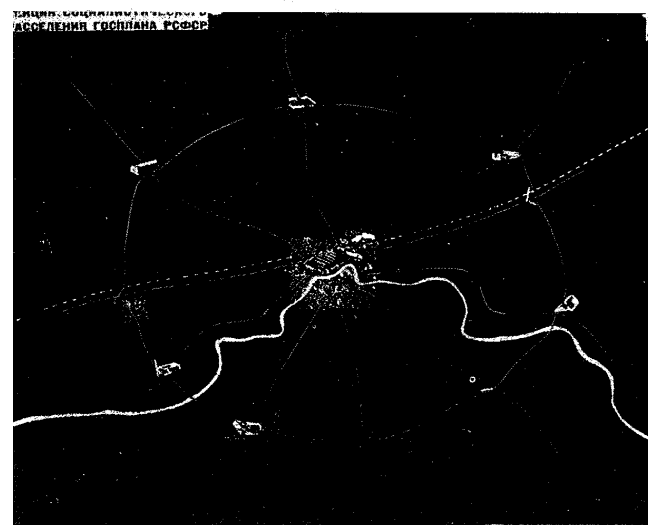
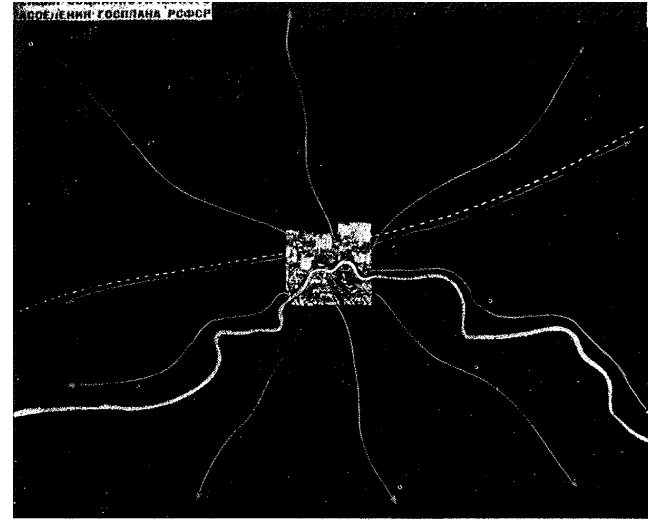
The second period of debate about town planning from 1929-30 was prompted by the Five-Year Plan that explicitly stated the need for rapid industrialisation to provide "for the construction of 200 new industrial towns and 1,000 new agricultural ones."¹¹³ Industrialisation was intended to propel Russia from an agricultural country to a world-leading nation, as Stalin declared in a statement which mixed progressive sentiments with mechanical allusions:



3.062 Linear City, by Soria y Mata, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



3.063 Linear City (1932) by Mulin, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



3.064 The Socialist Settlement Section by RSFSR
 State Plan:
 1. Disurbanised,
 2. Decentralized,
 3. A-centralised,
 4. Dispersed
 image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)

“We are becoming a country of metal, an automobilized country, a tractorized country. And when we have the USSR on an automobile, and muzhik on a tractor, let the esteemed capitalists, who boast of their ‘civilisation’ try to overtake us. We shall see which countries may then be classified as backward and which as advanced.”¹¹⁴

Stalin’s Five-Year Plan was packed with targets for achieving socialism with explicit timeframes and backed up by tables, charts and graphs; “[s]ocialism was the goal, planning was the method.”¹¹⁵ Scientific planning by the Soviet regime was to replace the arbitrary methods of capitalism, but in actuality the planning method adopted was the chaotic “crash mobilization characteristic of an economy at war”¹¹⁶ – a war against capitalism. The scale of the plan required practical solutions to urban planning and three theories emerged during this period of debate: the compact city (Sotsgorod) method, the analytical approach by Ladovsky, and the linear settlement advocated by the disurbanists.¹¹⁷ The Sotsgorod concept was based around the writing and theories of Leonid Sabsovich, who advocated “compact communities adjoining large industrial units and sovkhozy (state farms).”¹¹⁸ They were essentially small planned collective ‘urban’ clusters, instead of one large city, which were limited in size for populations of 40 – 50,000 inhabitants, but could easily be doubled.¹¹⁹ The basic means of accommodation within Sotsgorod were to be multi-storey collective standardised accommodation blocks – the “dwelling combine” (similar to Narkomfin). These compact collective settlements were planned in meticulous detail, but the blanket adoption of the Sotsgorod typology across the whole Russian landscape was always questionable. The work of Ladovsky and the ARU acknowledged the complex nature of the city, and they “asserted that the lay-out of a city was a matter not only of space, but of time, and that a city was a growing organism.”¹²⁰ It too proved unworkable in practice.

Finally, Mikhail Okhitovich advocated a ‘disurban’ solution to urban planning in his lectures and articles, which responded to the call by Marx and Engels to eradicate the difference between town and country. As such, he “rejected all forms of compact town planning and countered the principle of urbanization with a consistently ‘disurbanising’ concept.”¹²¹ Furthermore, Okhitovich embraced the “revolution in transportation” to reverse “all the usual arguments about the inevitability of congestion and the crowding together of activities and buildings ... Energy

transmission and the new communications possibilities have eliminated the need for territorial contiguity. Space is now measured in time.”¹²² Consequently, Okhitovich defined a city as being “a specifically socially, not territorially, determined human entity ... It is an economic and cultural complex.”¹²³ This led Okhitovich to set out his progressive ideas for urbanism: “this new complex will not be called a point, a place or a city, but a process, and this process will be called “disurbanisation.”¹²⁴ The Russian designers, Leonidov and Muliutin, drew on disurbanisation and industrial production processes to develop their ‘Linear City’ idea. The concept had already been pioneered by Soria y Mata in Spain, and was now extrapolated to plan new Russian industrialised cities with parallel zones for infrastructure (railways, roads), cultural and recreational facilities, residential strips, park and market zones.¹²⁵

The centralised one-party state in the Soviet Russia and its application of a top-down ideology contrasted dramatically with an American condition underpinned by individual democratic rights and a weaker federal government. The intellectual basis for Wright’s urban manifesto was firmly situated in his own experience and engagement with the city. Wright had escaped from his mother (and the University of Madison) to go to work in Chicago in 1887, which coincided with the hanging of the seven anarchists – the so-called ‘Haymarket Martyrs.’¹²⁶ At this time, Chicago was expanding rapidly and its industry attracted poor migrants into the city, and their desperate living conditions fed widespread unrest and violent uprisings. Wright, through his uncle Jenkin Lloyd-Jones, attended radical meetings at Hull House, which also provided accommodation for displaced rural immigrants within Chicago under the leadership of the social reformer, Jane Addams. At Hull House, Wright became familiar with the pragmatic theories of John Dewey from the University of Chicago, who was an active trustee of the establishment. The theory espoused by John Dewey was “that the proper purpose of social institutions such as government, industry and schools is to set free and develop every individual.” Dewey hence called on all members of society to participate in a democratic process that would lead each person to fulfil their potential, and likewise to a more equitable society.¹²⁷

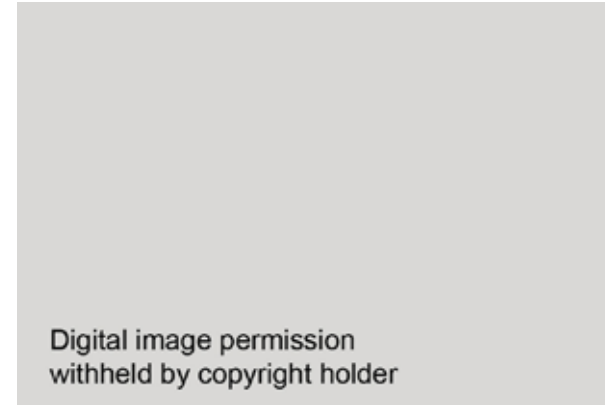
Thereafter, during the 1930s ‘Great Depression’ many intellectuals in the USA began to propose solutions that were often extremely radical. According to Veblen and Beard, the cause of the economic collapse was “unemployment, increasing production but decreasing wages, and the relation of monopoly capitalism to war.”¹²⁸



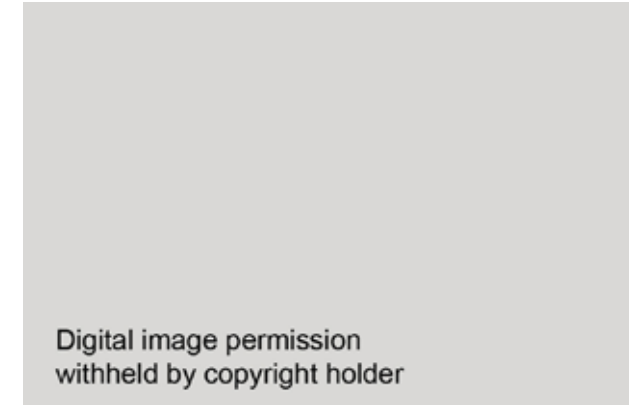
3.065 Chicago Loop and western suburbs (1953), image from Levine, N. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



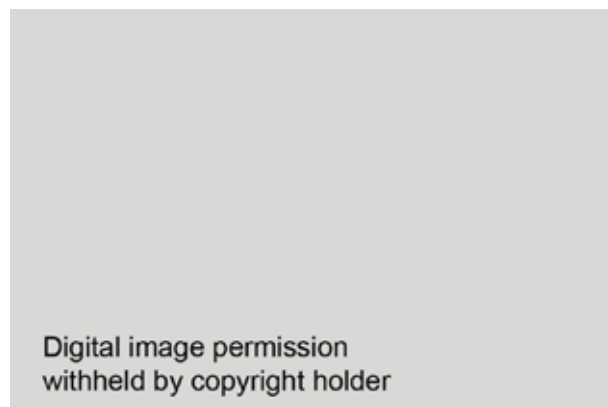
3.066 Ridgeland, later annexed to Oak Park, (1894) Roberts block with 'T-alley' plan shown yellow, image from Levine, N. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



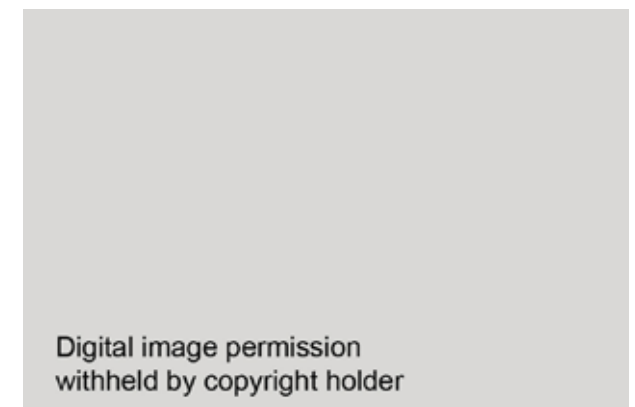
3.067 Roberts Block, proposal by Wright (1896), note communal inner court, image from Levine, N. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



3.068 Expanded Roberts Block (1903) with Quadruple Block plan, for 32 houses, image from Levine, N. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



3.069 'A Home in Prairie Town,' (1901) enlarged detail showing the Quadruple Block arrangement, image from Levine, N. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



3.070 City Club competition (1913), image from Frampton K. (2005) in McCarter, R. (2005)

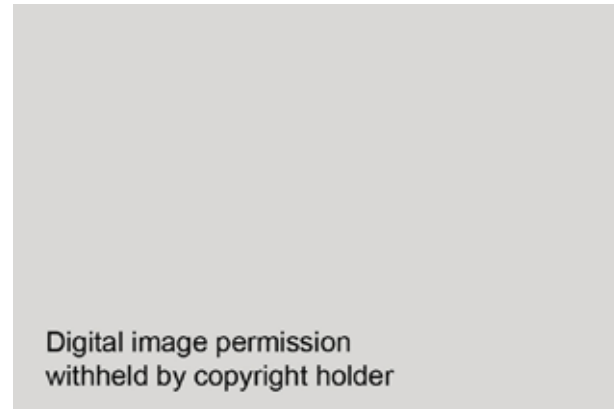
The cause of poverty, according to Henry George, was simply “due to the rents that landlords demanded.”¹²⁹ One of the most interesting ideas for overcoming stagnation in the ‘Great Depression’ was free currency proposed by Gesell which would depreciate over time, thus making spending money imperative! Furthermore, the state of Wisconsin in the 1920s was one of the most advanced in addressing social consciousness, and through Robert La Follette and John R. Commons they “eschewed holistic systems and theories for practical engagement and experience, for piecemeal amelioration wherever and whenever man were ready to be persuaded to take a step forward... Such was the “Wisconsin idea.” Not a credo, but a manner of working with people.”¹³⁰

In addition, many progressive intellectuals and practitioners had developed theories in response to the dramatic growth in American cities after the Civil War and the onset of its Industrial Revolution. The Whites have documented the intellectual response to American urbanism, noting that from Jefferson to Wright there was a tradition of resistance to the city.¹³¹ The social reformer Jane Addams sought “to recapture a sense of community and communication”¹³² which she felt had existed before industrialisation, and likewise Dewey and Park wanted a new urban society “to represent the virtues of pre-industrial and pre-urban America.”¹³³ Another practical reformer was Henry Ford, who also advocated breaking up the city, stating in 1919: “We shall solve the City problem by leaving the City.”¹³⁴ For Ford, the ideal American life was agrarian: “I am a farmer ... I want to see every acre of the earth’s surface covered with little farms, with happy, contented people living on them.”¹³⁵ Ford promoted two separate but related schemes for decentralisation – Muscle Shoals in Tennessee, and Village Industries in Michigan. The Muscle Shoals proposal was to harness the power from the Tennessee River to produce nitrate fertilizer, irrigation for farming, and hydro-electric power. Ford imagined a 75-mile long city along the whole development with concentrated nodes of activity; although not realised by Ford, the scheme was later built by Roosevelt as a “multipurpose development of the Tennessee Valley.”¹³⁶ The Village Industries were of a much smaller scale, built between 1918-41. Ford’s concerns here seem to mirror those of Engels and Lenin, but Ford’s approach was distinctly American, following a “philosophy of relative economic pragmatism.”¹³⁷ Mullin notes that “Ford’s ideas on decentralisation and the need to enhance rural life” were closely related to those of the Russian anarchist and communist, Peter Kropotkin, as contained within *Fields, Factories and Workshops*.¹³⁸

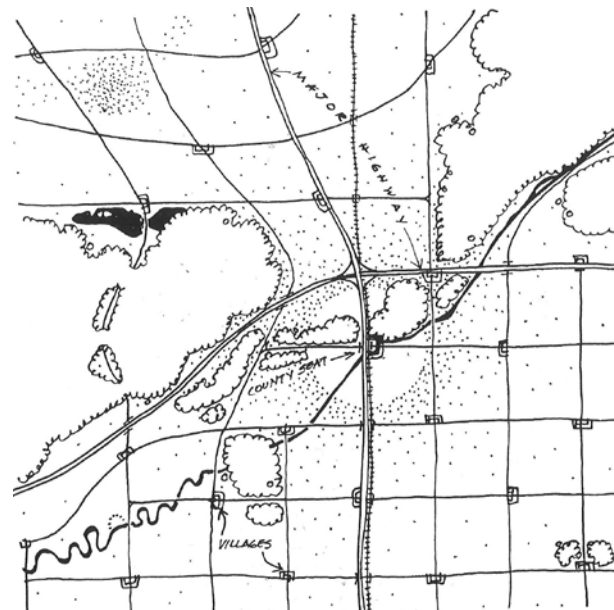
Henry Ford remained a personal inspiration for Wright, and he called Ford a man of “common sense” particularly for his wish to decentralise the city and the factory.¹³⁹

This culture of pragmatic and incremental engagement formed the cornerstone of Wright’s understanding of urban communities and social reform. His early period of community planning in Chicago has been investigated by Gwendolyn Wright, who notes that Wright had “been part of a shared world of mutual education, and had profited from that complex exchange of ideas.”¹⁴⁰ He was concerned about the encroaching consumer culture within the suburbs, the narrow focus of the architectural profession, and the poor design of small community ventures.¹⁴¹ Wright advocated simpler homogenised residential designs that could break the cycle of individualism and consumerism which he believed had turned the suburbs into an unruly aesthetic battlefield – thus, the Prairie House “sought to harmonise public and private spheres.”¹⁴² Wright’s first communal scheme of the period was the Roberts Block Master Plan (1896) in the emerging suburb of Oak Park. Given the opportunity to consider a whole new block, Wright rejected a traditional T-shaped organising principle whereby 19 equal lots were offered for sale. He proposed a central communal space and planned 22 lots, which included innovative corner plots.¹⁴³ Furthermore, Levine claims that the scheme also represents the first use of graph-paper in planning.¹⁴⁴ The proposal hence responded to the two-dimensional quality of the Chicago grid, and also provided private amenity. In his essay on ‘A Home in a Prairie Town’ for the *Ladies Home Journal* (1903), Wright stressed the same themes. He proposed four suburban homes on each corner of a four-acre plot, with a shared communal garden at the centre – as such it was an idealistic response to promote communal interaction within the suburbs.

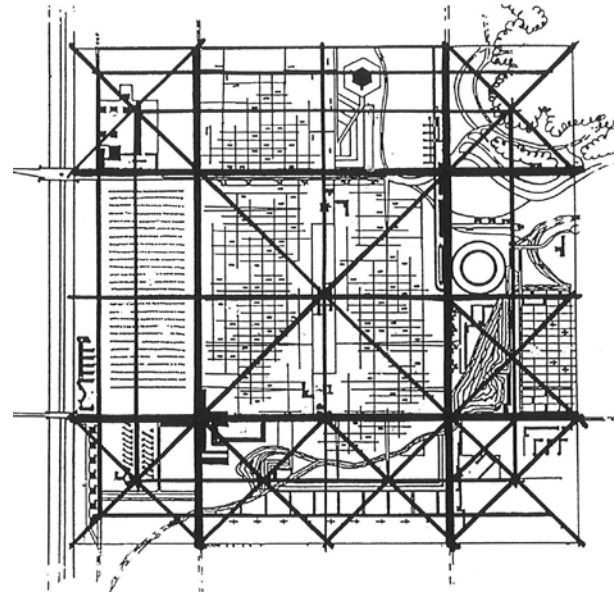
Other early communal schemes were Bitter Root Town (1909), Como Orchard Summer Colony (1909-10), and the City Club of Chicago Land Development Competition (1913). The Chicago Club competition was essentially an ideal suburban design, in which Wright displayed a rather traditional attitude to class and society: the housing types were stratified with the “better class” Quadruple Blocks dominating the centre. The apartment blocks were segregated according to gender, and the ‘workmen’ housing were located at the periphery. A variety of social functions were included such as schools, markets, library, power plant, fire department, and non-sectarian temple. Yet, as Twombly notes, there was no apparent transport



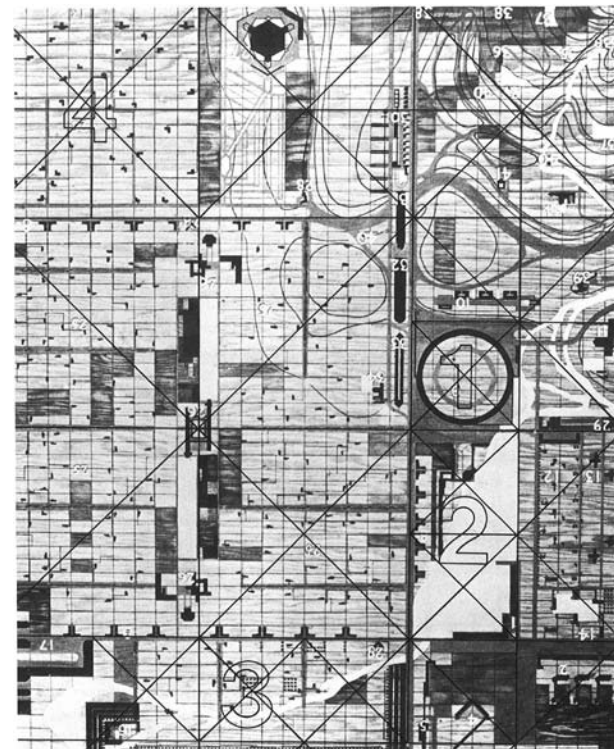
3.071 Original pen and ink sketch of Broadacre (1934) by Wright, image from Johnson, D. (1990)



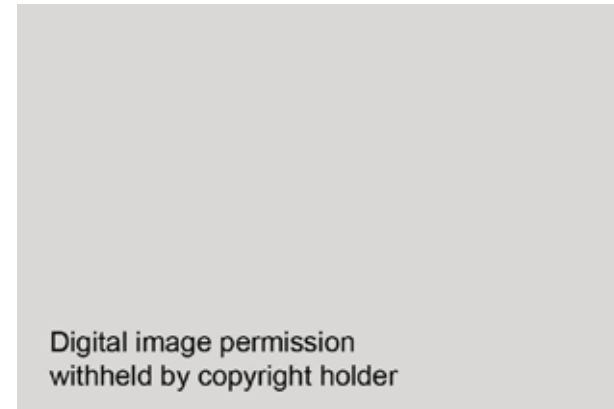
3.073 Regional grid, how Broadacre could be expanded accross America, analysis in Johnson, image from Johnson, D. (1990)



3.072 Geometric analysis, implying the cruciform plan analysis, image from Johnson, D. (1990)



3.074 Geometric rationale to Broadacre, analysis in Johnson, image from Johnson, D. (1990)



3.075 Plan of typical quarter section, Broadacre City / Living City (1932-58), image from Frampton, K. (2005) in McCarter, R. (2005)

infrastructure (other than roads), no industry, and no police station¹⁴⁵ – it was a middle class wonderland! However, as Gwendolyn Wright acknowledges, there were “a range of places for people to congregate ... setting for outdoor sports ... commercial and cultural centres,” and these indicated Wright’s a limited engagement with the landscape and communal aspects of the suburb.¹⁴⁶

Wright consolidated these ideas and gave them architectural in his polemical Kahn Lectures in 1930, which were summarised within the book *The Disappearing City* (1932). Within this text Wright questioned the economic basis of the city and its three main economic artificialities: rent for land, rent for money, and the machine.¹⁴⁷ Wright identified the rent for land as a fortune of birth and the exploitation of its rental value resulted in a concentration of wealth within the city and its institutions.¹⁴⁸ The rent for money was a particular complaint during the ‘Great Depression,’ and Wright was an advocate of the Georgist idea of free credit and other radical ideas. Furthermore, the machinery of capitalism supported the concentration of wealth aided by white-collar workers generates “the genuine artifex in this tower of an economic Babel that finds its apex and ideal in exaggerated buildings and exaggerated enterprises in exaggerated cities?”¹⁴⁹ Wright’s analysis of the city made during the 1930s seems simplistic when considered against Marx’s detailed economic analysis of the Industrial Revolution. Yet, both viewed the over-concentration of capital in the hands of the few as problematic for society, and these problems were clearly exaggerated in the city. Interestingly, Wright uses a very narrow definition of capital, considering only land in his economic analysis; this was part of an American condition with its continental scale and antipathy towards the city, as first expressed by Jefferson.

To resolve the artificial economies of capitalist cities. Wright identifies five agencies to develop a decentralised and democratic society: these were electrification, the internal combustion engine, mechanical systems of refrigeration, new materials, and mass production by the machine.¹⁵⁰ He notes: “It is the nature of universal electrification that the city is nowhere and everywhere.”¹⁵¹ Wright turns himself into a technological visionary, declaring that “tele-transmissions of sight and sound” would remove the need to travel to the city.¹⁵² Furthermore, car ownership had expanded dramatically in America during the 1920s and 30s, to a twenty-fold increase in ownership between 1917 and 1930, with one car per household by the early-1930, and indeed two cars per every five people in California. Within this context Wright

becomes less of a visionary, and more the pragmatist and a “trend planner”, as Banham later noted.¹⁵³ Wright responded to experience of 1930s Los Angeles by claiming that the new method of organising the city was the motor car:

“... by means of the motor car and the collateral inventions that here with it, the horizon of the individual has immeasurably widened. It is significant that not only have space values entirely changed with the new standard: It is more important that the new sense of spacing based upon the man in his motor car is now at work upon the man himself... After all he is the city? So the city is going where and as he goes.”¹⁵⁴

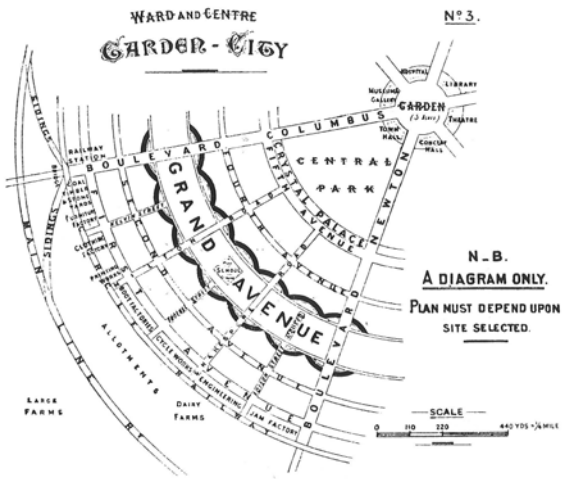
Wright proclaimed that this new settlement advocated based on freedom for the individual to escape the centripetal city, and as a means of generating a new indigenous architecture: “we are going to call this city for the individual the Broadacre City because it is based upon a minimum of an acre to the family.”¹⁵⁵ Wright believes in the “experiment” within America which had yet to realise its full potential in his eyes, and indeed he believed the freedom of democracy and Broadacre City were joined together in his proposal.¹⁵⁶

Twombly notes that whilst the 1935 Broadacre plan was “socially diverse” and inclusive, it lacked any “practical strategy for implementation.”¹⁵⁷ Wright therefore hawked his Broadacre City to any dictator willing to listen – in addition to Stalin he sent his son to see Mussolini in 1935. Another paradox was leadership in Broadacre City itself, but Wright saw himself – the architect – as “the logical interpreter, perhaps the only one who can show us the way is an organic modern architecture.”¹⁵⁸ It reveals that Wright’s vision of democracy was distinctly Stalinist in practice! Yet this juxtaposition was to become tangible, by a most remarkable turn of historical events. Stalin’s daughter became a resident of the Taliesin Fellowship but her evaluation of the Wright’ ideal community proved to be damning.

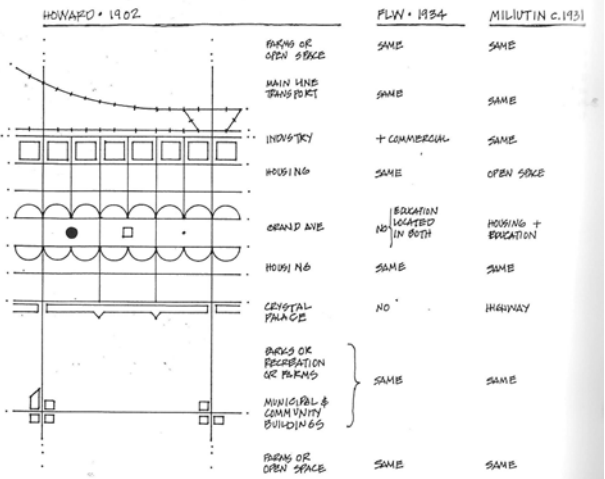
The story begins when Olgivanna’s daughter, Svetlana Peters, died in a car crash in 1946. Many years later Olgivanna heard the news that Stalin’s daughter, Svetlana Alliluyeva, had defected to America in 1967. Olgivanna invited her to visit Taliesin, believing that there was a mystical connection between the two Svetlanas, and that one could replace the other.¹⁵⁹ When no reply came back, Olgivanna pestered

Digital image permission withheld by copyright holder

3.076 Image of Broadacre City model, to support article by Iofan (1935), image from Cohen, J-L (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999)



3.077 Garden Cities of To-morrow (1945) by Howard, Diagram no. 3, image from Johnson, D. (1990)



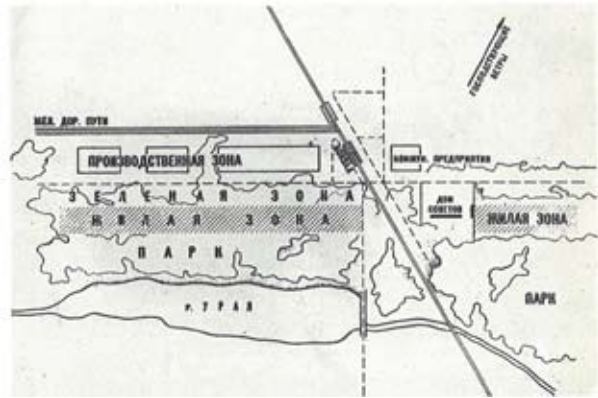
3.078 Comparative analysis of: Diagram no. 3, (1902) by Howard, Broadacre City (1934) by Wright, Linear city (c.1931) by Milutin, image from Johnson, D. (1990)

Svetlana with letters and telephone calls, until she relented and visited Taliesin West in 1970. Such was the force of Olgivanna's will, that Svetlana and Wesley Peters, the chief apprentice at Taliesin, were married within three weeks of meeting one another. Predictably the marriage did not last due to Olgivanna's constant interference, but the second Svetlana Peters delivered the most damning commentary on the Fellowship, when she equated Olgivanna and her absolute power with her father. She lamented: "why had I come to this weird place, where everything reminded me [of] what I have run away from? This primitive communism under a dictator."¹⁶⁰ Another aspect that Svetlana identified as a parallel between Stalin's Communism and Taliesin were the extravagant parties at which Stalin and Olgivanna chose the subject for the conversation.

In 1934 Tom Maloney arranged for a model of Broadacre City to be constructed, with Edgar Kaufmann Sr. contributing to the expense and the Taliesin apprentices building the model in Chandler, Arizona. Ironically, the model of decentralisation was first exhibited at the Rockefeller Centre, New York from April to May 1935 and was viewed by 40,000 people. In a radio broadcast in 1935, Wright claimed "I do not say Broadacre City is the form, but I see it as one that might well be our own if we are to go forward."¹⁶¹ But the model was an easy target, and what Wright believed might just be one example, became a fixed artefact and focus for criticism. It was America remade as Usonia and re-scaled with "little" homes, farms, factories, schools and laboratories. The 1934 concept sketch for the model, displayed three key themes: roads, rural landscape and suburban housing.¹⁶² The city also embraces a wider landscape comprising of small village of concentrated activities, forming a regional plan with villages of 5,000 inhabitants spread over a 20-mile grid (32 kilometre) that could be extended the length of America.¹⁶³ In addition, Johnson identifies a 40-acre (16 hectares) grid within the model that relates back to the commodification and colonisation of America, just as Wright's ancestors from Wales had purchased a 40-acre plot in Ixonia, Wisconsin in 1836.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, Johnson makes a compelling case by dividing it into nine equal squares and considered the resultant as an enlarged cruciform plan.¹⁶⁵ The cruciform plan had of course been used by Wright for his Prairie Houses, and thus, Broadacre was essentially the Prairie House expanded to dominate the American landscape. At the heart of the cruciform were the suburban homes and farms, just as Wright had placed the hearth at the heart of any of his Prairie Homes.

The Broadacre City model articulated a progressive version of Wright. The residential houses and apartments were now integrated and dispersed throughout, educational and cultural facilities were sited adjacent to parks and affluent dwellings. At an outcrop on the edge of the city a Taliesin-type house commanded a position of authority and topographical elevation above the city contained on the plain. Industry and government institutions were located on the edge of the plan, and the previous single temple of worship now possessed nine sectarian temples. As Twombly notes: "Broadacre City was less obviously suburban than the 1913 plan, it was recognizably neither urban nor rural"¹⁶⁶ Johnson however notes that the landscape planning shared many features of Olmsted's work,¹⁶⁷ and also that "Wright [and Olmsted] never abandoned the suburb."¹⁶⁸ Johnson compared the spatial hierarchy of the Broadacre model with a segment of Ebenezer Howard's diagram for the "Ward and Centre: Garden City", as well as Miliutin's diagram for a linear city as published in the *AR* in May 1932.¹⁶⁹ There were striking resemblances in spatial planning in each scheme, with the regional arterial route forming the main spine that dissipates into an industrial sector, housing strip, parks and recreation and agricultural farms. This, however, merely reveals the common assumptions of the time, in terms of spatial organisation. In fact, each scheme was very different: the Garden City had a centralised form, Miliutin proposed essentially a linear city, whilst Wright's vision was a patchwork assembly. As Frampton writes, Broadacre was an "ecological tapestry writ large, an oriental paradise garden combined with Cartesian grid of the occident."¹⁷⁰ Howard, Wright and Miliutin shared similar beliefs about the city, in that they wanted to disperse the concentrated city and sought new settlements that did not possess any of the traditional symbols of authority. Wright's and Howard's ideas about society were equally misunderstood, and yet they were also visionary in predicting urban sprawl and the New Town policy.

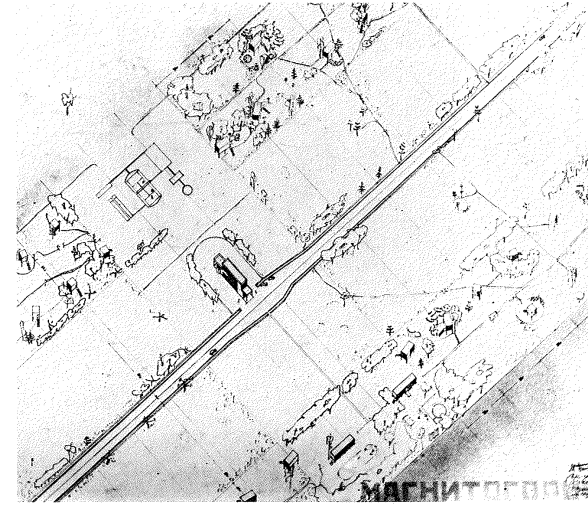
A cultural appraisal by Cohen considers a number of cross-cultural exchanges between America and Russia in the 1930s that embraced not only Broadacre City but rural America in the Depression era.¹⁷¹ Iofan visited America in 1935 and saw Wright's model, calling it a "utopian project for an agricultural village" which could "save humanity from capitalism."¹⁷² These were both astute observations, yet slightly dismissive of its potential to replace the role of an actual city. Other Russian visitors to America in 1937 were Ilya Ilf and Evgueni Petrov, who published a book entitled *One-Storyed America*, as a record of their road trip across the continent, and in



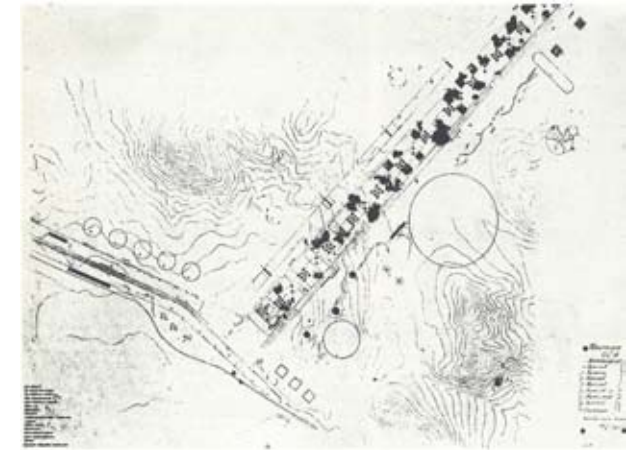
3.079 Magnitogorsk, (1930) Functional flow diagram by Miliutin, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



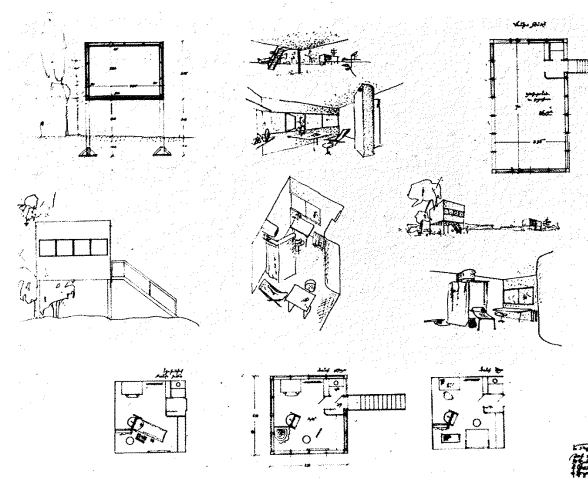
3.080 Mangitorosk (1930) General Layout by Okhitovich, Barshch, Vladimirov and Nikolai Sokolov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



3.081 Mangitorosk (1930) Detail of linear settlement by Okhitovich, Barshch, Vladimirov and Nikolai Sokolov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



3.082 Mangitorosk (1930) General Layout by Leonidov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



3.083 Mangitorosk (1930) Housing unit: section, elevation, interior, plan and perspectives by Okhitovich, Barshch, Vladimirov and Nikolai Sokolov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)

which they reflected upon the consequences of the 'Great Depression.'¹⁷³ It was a somewhat satirical encounter and they identified the road junction as the symbol of real America.¹⁷⁴ Cohen claims that the book was taken seriously as portent for a 'one-storied Russia' urban form and possibly one that was founded on Broadacre City.¹⁷⁵

Back in the USSR, the nationwide competition for the design of Magnitogorsk closed in March 1930 – but it was somewhat retrospective as work on building the city had already begun in 1929. A total of nineteen projects were submitted, including two disurbanist schemes.¹⁷⁶ The linear city design proposed by Ivan Leonidov used seductive graphics and texts to describe a city that would be fully integrated into its landscape, with parallel 25 kilometre open-ended strips to allow for future expansion. The mixed residential core was to be integrated within a green zone that included facilities for children, and the civic and administrative functions were distributed throughout the plan.¹⁷⁷ Leonidov described his scheme as follows:

“A socialist settlement is a properly thought out organisation of industry and agriculture, culture and leisure: of everything that informs human consciousness and life. It is a settlement constructed on the basis of the foremost socialist technology.”¹⁷⁸

In addition, Okhitovich, Barshch, Vladimirov and Sokolov – working as a team – submitted a design for Magnitogorsk that was supported by the State Planning Commission, Gosplan.

Despite these more ambitious plans for the new city of Magnitogorsk, the winning plan by Chenichev was a relatively conservative scheme for the city based on a compact model of urban settlement. The brief for the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine (MMK) had been continuously expanded, such that by 1930 it included four blast furnaces, coking plant, rolling mills, brickyard and other ancillary industries. As noted, work had begun on constructing the plant in 1929 but it was only in March 1930 that McKee and Co. of Cleveland, Ohio were appointed to design the steelworks. The stated aim was to match the largest integrated plant of the time in Gary, Indiana – as Kotkin notes, “[c]atch and overtake” was the party’s slogan.”¹⁷⁹ John Scott, the son of a Communist academic, Scott Nearling, wrote a captivating

narrative describing the construction of the steelworks in his book, *Beyond the Urals*. Enthralled by the events and developments in Soviet Russia, Scott reflected: “[s]omething seemed to be wrong with America. I began to read extensively about the Soviet Union, and gradually came to the conclusion that the Bolsheviks had found answers to at least some of the questions Americans were asking each other.”¹⁸⁰

At the Soviet government’s behest, Ernst May, the German modernist architect responsible for the planning of 1920s Neue Frankfurt, was invited to Russia. It was common practice during the first Five Year Plan for Russia to seek assistance from foreign experts, and May’s highly accomplished “brigade” arrived in 1930 to work on a number of designs, including Magnitogorsk. Some claim that May drew up a preliminary design based on a linear city typology, with its residential superblocks laid out parallel to the industrial plant with an intermediate green buffer.¹⁸¹ However, two site visits by May in 1930 and 1931 revealed that the steelworks was already well under construction and also the hilly topography of the site did not make the linear city concept feasible. Consequently, May was forced to “redesign continuously his plans in order to optimize the location of the town in relation to the steel factory,” and this resulted in the housing blocks being located to the south-west of the plant.¹⁸² This expedient solution, had disastrous consequences, however, as noted by Scott: “[o]wing partly to May’s blunders and partly to the failure of the construction workers to do the job as projected, Sotsgorod [the Soviet City] from the very beginning was a chain of mistakes. Its situation was such that the prevailing winds carried to it all the smoke from the plant. The seventy-odd houses were monotonously uniform and resembled match boxes on edge, laid out in long rows.”¹⁸³ However, even Scott was grateful to be given an apartment in the Soviet City area of Magnitogorsk, later named the Kirov district, as the majority of the workers were still living in timber barracks: “[o]ur apartment was a pleasant refuge from the grimness and turbulence of the mill ... There were balconies in all houses. Between the rows of house there were wide streets, with side walks, along which many trees had been planted.”¹⁸⁴

Scott recorded day-to-day life within Magnitogorsk, and in a typically Marxist manner he tabulated the daily steelwork performance, the number of skilled and unskilled workers on site, and the monthly food allowance for a ‘rigger’.¹⁸⁵ Comparing it to the original proclamations in the 1934 Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Scott claims that the steelworks, and the city were only ever 45% fulfilled.¹⁸⁶



3.084 Front view of entrance and balcony of Socgorod super-blocks (1935) by Ernst May



3.085 Street view of Socgorod Super-blocks (1935) by May



3.086 View of projecting balcony of Socgorod Super-blocks (1935) by May

During the construction phase from 1928 to 1932, the population of Magnitogorsk was estimated at a quarter of a million, and Scott notes that about 25% were there by “compulsion” and two-thirds of the labour was unskilled.¹⁸⁷ By 1938, with a population of 220,000, people the city was stratified into a number of districts: 15% lived in the Kirov district, 2% were in the Berekzi, 8% in individual houses, 50% in timber barracks and the remainder 25% in the Zemlyanki – i.e. improvised mud huts inhabited by the Bashirs, Tartars, and Kirghizi.¹⁸⁸ Most curious was the Berekzi district, which Scott recognised as “copied almost exactly from American architectural catalogues” and this resulted in it looking like “Mount Vernon, New York, or Germantown, Pennsylvania.”¹⁸⁹ In summary, the new frontier industrial city of Magnitogorsk contained: an idealised modernist super-blocks by May, a transplanted American suburb, timber barracks and a host of informal settlements – maybe not the ideal Soviet City but a pluralistic settlement nonetheless. Scott recounts that the brutal Stalinist purges came to Magnitogorsk in 1937 “with great force. Thousands were arrested, incarcerated for months, finally exiled.”¹⁹⁰ Returning from a holiday in America in 1938, Scott found he was denied entry to the factory and advised to stay at home; he later travelled to Moscow and waited for three years to gain an exit visa for his Russian family. Magnitogorsk was closed to foreign visitors in 1937 and was only later reopened in the *Perestroika* era (1985-91).

Altrock identifies two major decisions that turned Magnitogorsk into a linear city by default: the continuous expansion of the steelworks to make it the largest of its time, and the relocation of the housing onto the opposite west bank of the Ural River.¹⁹¹ In the 1940s and 50s architects from Leningrad “planned a realised the so-called Leninskij-Rayon,”¹⁹² this being a typically over-scaled neo-Classical Stalinist urban intervention within a defined grid and containing wide avenues, long axis, and monumental squares. In essence the General Plan of Moscow from 1935 was superimposed onto the model industrial settlement in the Urals, and the whilst the role of its central square retained a propaganda value, all of the other administrative services were dispersed within the city. However, despite this bout of post-war building activity, the city was never really completed, and many residents were still reliant on temporary timber housing. In the Khrushchev era, there was a further expansion on west side of the Ural River under the Pravobereshnij-Rayon plan. These were in the form of standard modernist six-storey super-blocks that were

frequently prefabricated, and they expanded the settlement along the twin arteries of the Marx and Lenin Road corridors.

It was a dreary morning the next day, with heavy clouds and light rain as I left the Valentino Hotel and walked towards the Metal Foundry Workers Square – what I thought would be the centre of town. I carried a number of images by Altrock of the various ‘highlights’ of the town so that I could ask for directions if I got lost.¹⁹³ It was a harsh environment for a pedestrian beside six lanes of road traffic and two central tram-lines, lined by anonymous six-storey apartment blocks to the west and factories to the east over the river. After an hour of monotony, the urban form revealed a large vacant plaza that possessed a low civic building, plus a dramatic war memorial at the river edge. This memorial to the Great Patriotic War (1941-45) was a giant iron sculpture of two foundrymen holding a sword above their heads. But at the foot of one foundry man someone had left an empty beer bottle, while over the river the steelworks was discharging plumes of black and red smoke. It was far from heroic.

I continued on towards the Metal Workers Square, and came across the Stalinist housing blocks on Leniskij Rayon from the 1950s. These over-scaled Beaux Artes-inspired perimeter blocks however formed impressive squares and quadrants, as if displaced from nineteenth-century Paris to a planned modern city on the very edge of Europe. At street level there were now some cafés, hairdressers, mobile phone shops and other small ventures. Above ground, each apartment had a balcony that had been infilled with plastic sheeting to make the space more usable. Inside the perimeter blocks, there were playgrounds, parked cars, and some areas left overgrown with grass. The Metal Foundry Workers Square was truly vast, with the wide neo-Classical façade of Magnitogorsk University as its focal point and a broad tree-lined highway leading down to the river. The scale was breathtaking, and its severe Soviet outlook reminded me of the Communist era: I could well imagine the road and square full of military hardware and marching soldiers. Beside the square there were small cafés for the students, a modern post office and a neo-Classical opera house. I called into the post office to get some stamps and directions for the original Socogord district and Pobedy Square. The woman did not recognise the map I showed to her, nor indeed nor the main image of Pobedy Square. She asked



3.087 Panorama view of Pravoberezhnij-Rayon with civic centre to the right



3.088 View of approach to War memorial with the steelworks beyond



3.089 Eternal frame to War memorial
Egor'evsk Cultural Club



3.090 Detail of foundary man and sword at War memorial



3.091 Street view of Leninskij-Rayon



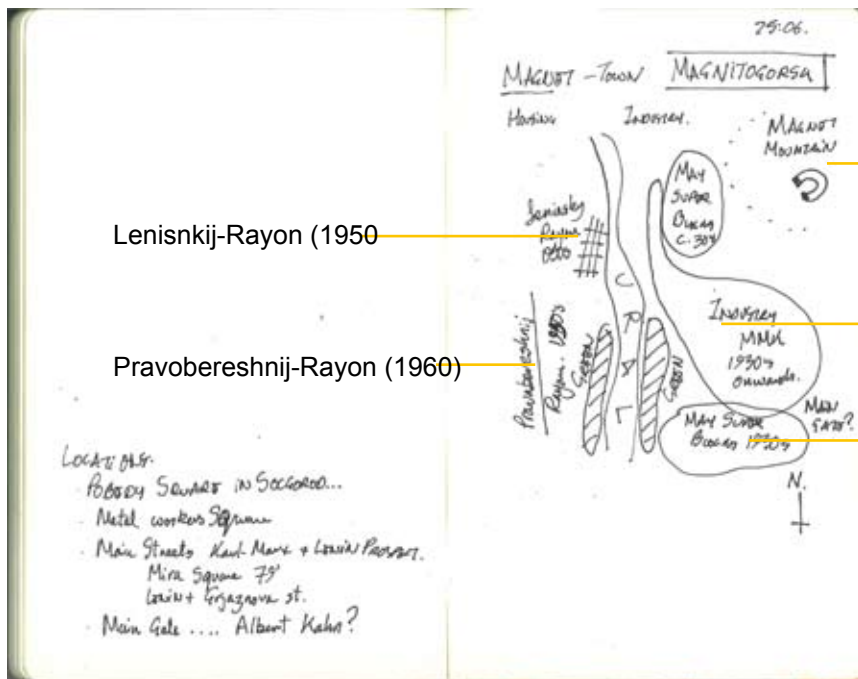
3.092 View of Metal Workers Institute Square



3.093 View of formal square to within Leninskij-Rayon



3.094 View of the formal Prospect of the Metal Workers



3.095 Page from sketch book with basic urban analysis of Magnitogorsk



3.096 Magnitogorsk wedding



3.097 View of Market by Pobedy Square



3.098 View of Patriotic War monument, Pobedy Square



3.099 External view of Cultural Palace, Pobedy Square



3.100 Internal view of Cultural Palace, Pobedy Square



3.101 Superblocks (1935) by Ernst May Kirov district
196



3.102 American catalogue housing, Bereki district



3.103 Panorama view of Magnitogorsk, not Superblocks within the foreground, and the steelworks beyond



3.104 Entrance to the Steelworks

some of her customers for some advice, soon the whole post office was looking at my image and getting into an animated debate. She gestured towards a mini-bus stand outside and wrote down the number 22.

When it arrived, the number 22 mini-bus was a true collective with the passengers pooling together their money to hand over to a child who grinned manically in the front seat. A wide-eyed driver was hunched over the steering wheel and concentrated intently on the road ahead, accelerating too hard and breaking too quickly. I realised it was best not to distract him. At the top of the hill there was an informal market, and behind it I recognised the neo-classical Palace of Culture. I venture inside the lobby, which was clad in marble with photographs showing a number of talent competitions that now take place at the palace. The egalitarian Soviet cultural palace has been upstaged by *'Russia's Got Talent.'* The square was indeed an imposing space with carefully modulated facades, although the central green area was neglected and only displayed an old T-34 tank. Behind the Palace of Culture, I recognised some of May's super-blocks for the Sossgorod housing in the 1930s. They were arranged perpendicular to the street with green spaces between; some of the blocks still had residents, while others were decrepit, adding to the romantic modernist myth.

I climbed another small hill to get a vantage point. I passed a number of weathered timber buildings in the Berekzi district. The displaced 'American suburb' was now fully adopted into its Russian context. Beneath me was Stalin's vision of the steelworks with its blast furnaces, tall chimneys and plumes of smoke. The magnetic mountain was now a huge crater with the parasitical factories around its base feeding off its very last deposits, since iron ore is now brought in from elsewhere. There was a car behind me, and one of the other visitors who were also there was in a wheelchair. We began to share our thoughts about the town:

Gwyn: It's an incredible view from here isn't it? One can see the town and how it has developed.

Yes, it is quite a site. Where are you from?

I'm from Great Britain, are you from around here?

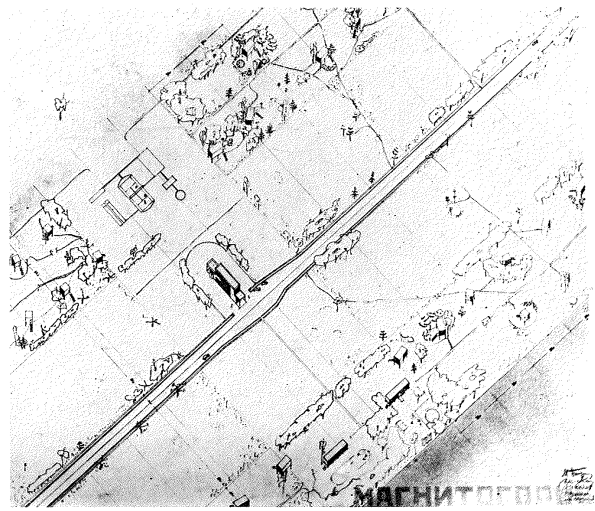
Yes, I was born here but now I live in Volograd, so we are here just visiting too. It is amazing in front of us to see the industry. Then when you look

behind, you can see all the green countryside and the lakes. The Urals are very beautiful.

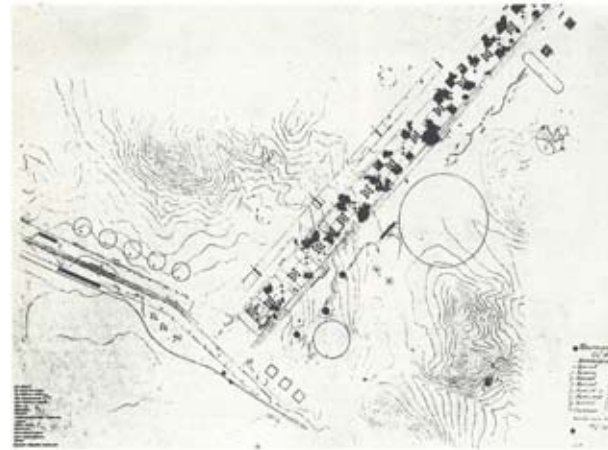
I agree, it is a rather special place here.¹⁹⁴

I returned to Pobedy Square and walked down the hill towards the steelworks. At its entrance there is now a giant figure of Lenin welcoming the workers (the original statue of Stalin was removed in the 1960s). There were also some amazing reliefs surrounding the façade of the factory, as if the Christian Orthodox iconostasis were updated for the Communist era. On display are heroic steel workers enjoying their proud communal life within the dispersed city. However, at the other end of the car park by the tram station I noticed that some of the steelworkers were already drunk. Further on towards the river there were some older factories, as well as remnants of Albert Kahn's pared down Beaux-Arts facades, and enormous factory sheds that seemed to extend for the whole length of the city. I caught a noisy tram back into town, which was full of steel workers leaving the industrial east side behind to go home to their families on the west side.

The scale of Magnitogorsk ultimately defeated the planned Soviet City, as the political propaganda of constructing the largest steelworks in the world was overwhelmed the compact settlement downwind of the plant. However, the resulting linear-city-by-default embraces its present condition and the long parallel strips of plant, river, and residencies, indeed recall Leonidov's aspirations. Despite concentrating its housing on the other side of the river, pollution remains a pressing problem for the city. Magnitogorsk is in the top 25 of the world's most polluted cities, as noted by the Blacksmith Institute, and only 28% of infants within the city are considered to be healthy.¹⁹⁵ Concluding her urban analysis, Alrock identifies the river as perhaps forming the greatest opportunity to unite the city.¹⁹⁶ It could indeed form part of an ecological cleansing for the city, similar to other cities in the American 'rust belt,' thus forming another cultural linkage back to its original inspiration in Gary, Indiana. During my visit, I noticed some short walks along the river bank and that a mosque had been built within this green buffer zone. Along the depressing linear avenues dedicated to Marx and Lenin, informal markets appeared at traffic intersections, and often the ground-floor apartments of the blocks supported small enterprises – these informal improvements add to the vitality, and are a sustainable means of developing the city. The disurbanists claimed that modern technology would be the means



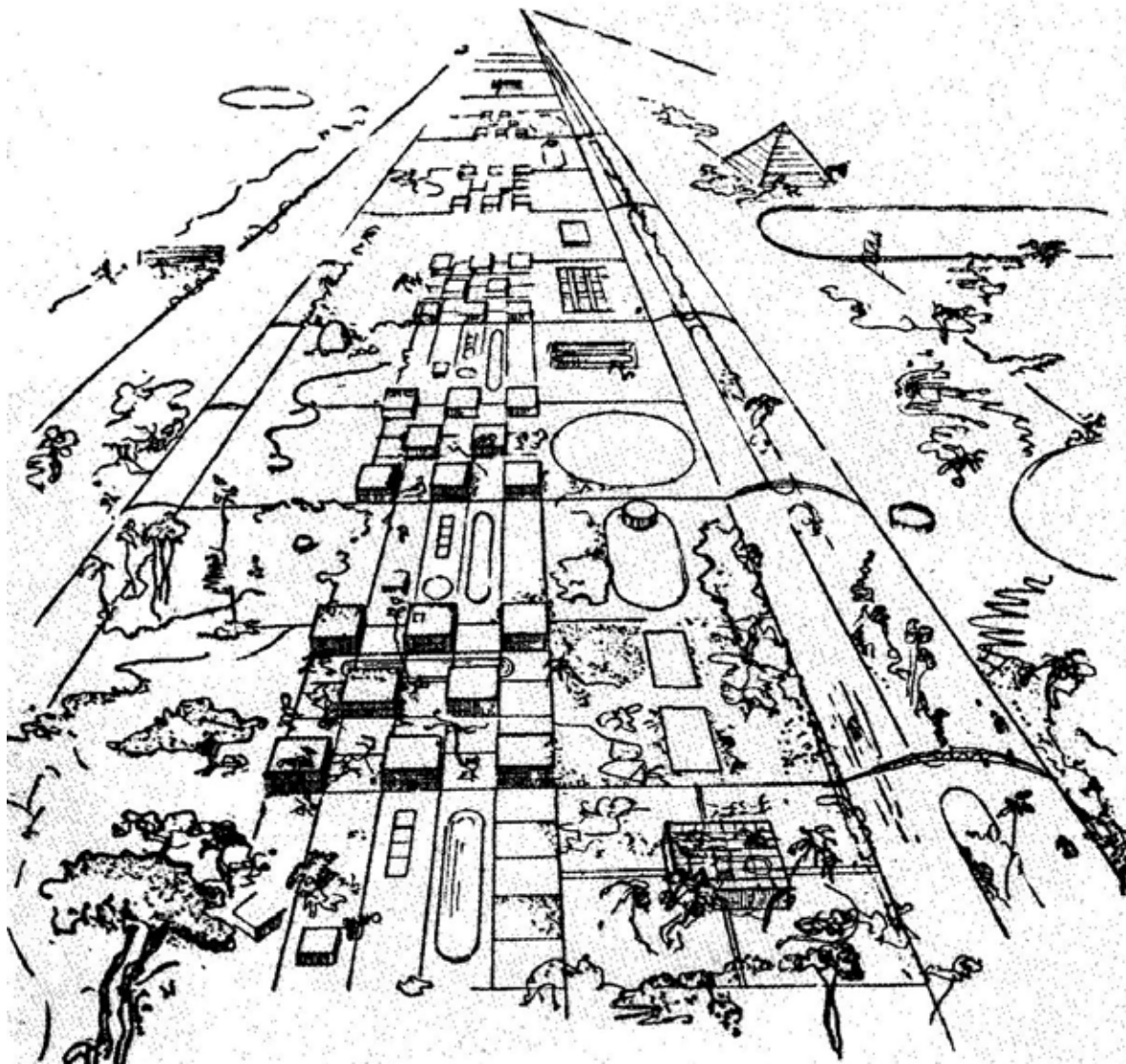
3.105 Detail of linear settlement of Mangitorosk (1930) by Okhitovich, Barshch, Vladimirov and Nikolai Sokolov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



3.106 General Layout of Mangitorosk (1930) by Leonidov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



3.107 Tourist map of Mangitorosk (2006), Linear city by default



3.108 Perspective of design competition Mangitorosk (1930) by Leonidov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983)



3.109 View along central axis of Karl Marx Prospect, Magnitogorsk (2007)



3.110 Ice cream kiosk, inhabiting the linear city



3.111 Fruit kiosk, inhabiting the linear city



3.112 Flower kiosk, inhabiting the linear city



3.113 Forest view on train journey to Egor'evsk



3.114 49km station on train journey to Egor'evsk



3.115 Timber home on train journey to Egor'evsk



3.116 Train Network diagram at Egor'evsk Train station



Egor'evsk

3.117 Map of Moscow Regional map, image from Yenkyhoba, N. (2006)

of achieving a linear city, yet the conditions of Russia were never as affluent as in Western countries, so widespread car ownership was never realised. Indeed it was perhaps discouraged as the internal passport system introduced by Stalin sought to curtail any freedom for the road traveller. The grand aims of the disurbanists and Wright's Broadacre City were therefore never implemented in full. They claimed to provide a more equitable and natural alternative to the traditional city, yet were both compromised in the end by centrifugal forces – whether the commodified capitalist urbanism of the USA, or the centralised planned city of the Soviets.

Egor'evsk

Returning to Moscow, I spent the afternoon in the Schusev Architectural Museum. It was inside a neo-Classical palace, and I entered via courtyard at the rear; the tradesman entrance, I surmised. It had a trendy modern cafe and some bric-a-brac of classical stone mouldings. On the first floor, the formal suites contained contemporary architectural exhibits of some new towers that were being planned for the city. I browsed through the books on sale in the shop, and happened to spot an elevation that looked astonishingly similar to Wright's Robie House. On the rear cover of the publication was an English summary of the contents:

“The monuments of Moscow architectural avant-guard – the trade-union clubs of the 1920s ... are well known to architectural specialists. However the clubs of the period situated in the suburbs of Moscow have dropped out of sight of the experts.”¹⁹⁷

Taken aback, I decided to search for this former trade-union club in the Moscow suburbs. I found myself unable to get a taxi for a reasonable fare, and so instead I caught the 1 o'clock train from Moscow to the outlying town of Egor'evsk. I was nervous whether I was on the correct train, and asked the young woman opposite if I was going in the correct direction; she gestured yes, but without taking much notice. The train ambled out of the station. The dense city soon petered out and we were within an endless pine forest, as if a form of purgatory. Station names became mere milestones – 34km, then 38km, and so on – the journey was agony. A man passed out leaflets for a pyramid selling scheme, then some women selling snacks appeared. After an hour-and-a-half the train came to a rest at station called 73km

for twenty minutes. So I walked to the back of the carriage and asked for some assistance again. I get some positive response from a couple by the door, but then a drunk in army fatigues confronts me. I try to ignore him but he persists until I move to a different car.

Following the Bolshevik triumph in 1917, a whole range of Workers Clubs, Village Clubs and People's Houses became an important part of the propagating the “new socialist culture.”¹⁹⁸ Within two years of the Russian Revolution over 7,000 of these clubs had been established, and the XIIth Party Congress stated their purpose explicitly as “centres for mass propaganda and the development of creativity among the working class”¹⁹⁹ – a definition that was both sinister and awakening at the same time. It is claimed that the idea for these clubs came from the political clubs founded in America after the Civil War, but with a single-party state in Russia, the clubs became instead an important form of political dissemination.²⁰⁰ Four different types of club have been identified by Khan-Magomedov: domestic clubs, aligned with housing communes; industrial clubs, allied to factories; vocational clubs instigated by trade unions; and territorial clubs that were run by district or city councils.²⁰¹ The earliest clubs were organised and designed on an ad-hoc basis, and their architectural models were initially based on neo-Classical precedents – some even had auditoria for opera houses.²⁰² However, by 1925 the typical club had begun to define its own program and forms, and indeed its own appropriate architectural language. Typically the brief for these clubs was ambitious and based on the first Workers' Palaces, therefor requiring a number of auditorium, lecture halls, study areas, leisure activities, gymnasium, self-service restaurant and playing fields. Gradually the neo-Classical designs were replaced by a more experimental approach, with intimate staging and local performers. Common to all the emergent clubs after 1925 was the use of a modernist architectural language, as Leonidov summarised: “The skin will be chiefly of glass and the supporting structure of reinforced concrete.”²⁰³

The expansion of the so-called Union Clubs around Moscow was directed by a body known as the Moscow Regional Soviet of Unions (MGSP) which sought to propagate its influence by constructing cultural institutions. In 1927 a Moscow plenum adopted a plan to build 78 union clubs over a three-year period, of which 28 were to be built by the Textile Unions.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, 48 of these clubs were to be located outside Moscow, and in true Five Year Plan manner, there were specific targets that dictated



3.118 Street view of Egor'evsk



3.119 Restored church with stone base metal cladding above, Egor'evsk



3.120 Masonry base and timber upper construction to house, Egor'evsk



3.121 Timber construction to house, Egor'evsk



3.122 Lenin Library, Moscow, (1929-41) Shchuko and Gelfreich



3.123 Lenin Place of Culture, Leningrad, (1927) Shchuko and Gelfreich, image from Cooke, C. (1995)

how many clubs had to be completed each year.²⁰⁵ The time frames set were very tight, and thus to accelerate the programme a series of standardised designs for clubs were investigated. The MGSP prepared a number of documents that described the programme and character, but in practice each Union preferred to appoint their own architects to develop their design. The general brief for the Union Clubs was explicit and inspirational:

“In terms of concept and architectural style the building of the club should not be Renaissance, Empire-style, and so on, since they can not in any way reflect the fundamental club setting. The building’s architecture should reflect the epoch of cultural revolution, developing on the basis of the industrialisation of the country. The architectural concept ought to help to reveal the content of our era and symbolise our fundamental Leninist social-political context: ‘The union as a school of Communism’.”²⁰⁶

The aforementioned town of Egor’evsk has a population of 68,000 and has been a well-known centre for the manufacturing textiles since the 1820s. It is predominately a two-storey town with masonry buildings finished in render, although there are some older timber houses and two recently renovated churches. I passed a curious Orthodox church that was enclosed by a decorated white masonry wall and possessed a metal-clad upper storey with projecting square panels, all topped with golden onion domes. I walked up a gradual rise, and between a war memorial and small park I recognised the Konin Palace of Culture, (1927-1929) as designed by Vladimir Shchuko (1873-1939). Cooke considered Shchuko to be an “inventive eclectic.”²⁰⁷ He trained at the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg (1896-1904), and had designed the classical Russian Pavilion for the International Exhibition in Rome (1911). At the time of the Russian Revolution, Shchuko was already an experienced practitioner, “with some eclectic apartment buildings to his name, some Moderne interiors, much theatrical work and some fine Empire for Russian exhibition pavilions in Italy.”²⁰⁸ After the Revolution, he continued in much the same vein, working in the neo-Classical idiom on a number of large projects and competition entries with Vladimir Gelfreikh (1885-1967).

The competition for the Lenin Library (1928-40) was a precursor to the Place of Soviet debacle and to the over-scaled nature of Stalinist architecture. The

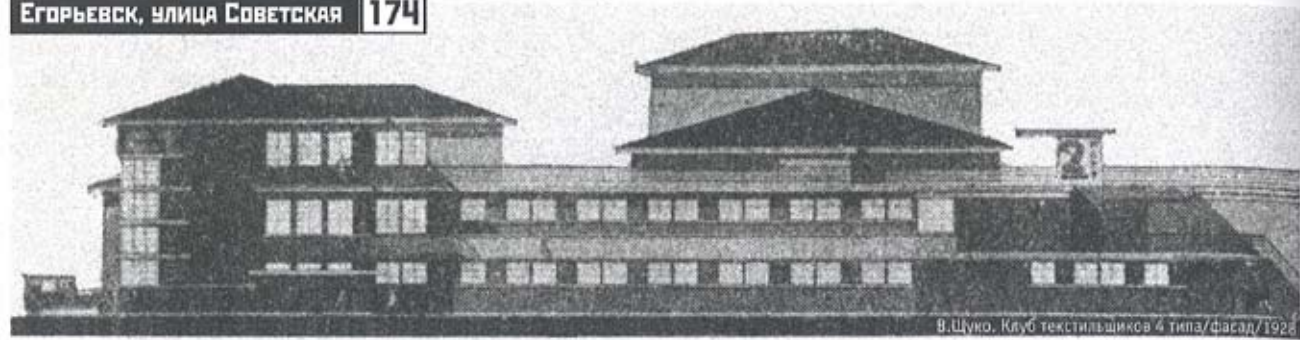
competition was organised by the classically-orientated MAO group, and a modernist scheme by Fridman, Markov and Fidman was declared the first-stage winners – yet by the second-stage the neo-Classicists, Shchuko and Gelfreikh, had displaced them. There was widespread condemnation of the decision from both the modernist and Classicist camps alike; both objecting to the mixture of Art Deco and neo-Classical references. In response the Communist Party created VOPRA (the All-Union Society of Proletarian Architects) in 1929, essentially a “Trojan horse amidst autonomous architectural associations”²⁰⁹ which propagated the Communist Party line on architectural issues, and thus acted as an “instrument of the Revolution from Above.”²¹⁰ Although VOPRA joined the protest against the Lenin Library competition, by the time it was constructed ten years later, VOPRA had become the dominant architectural grouping. Stalin had clearly out-manoeuvred the modernists. The completed Lenin Library was a “pompous and intimidating building” displaying a “peristyle of fourteen square columns ... supporting a massive attic of white marble sculpted like a Roman sarcophagus and bearing the name of Lenin.”²¹¹ The Lenin Library propagated the enduring neo-Classical myth of establishing the next Athens, and for Stalin that was exactly the political statement he wanted to make.

Architects such as Shchuko were also adept at changing the style of any building to suit a particular client or demand. They had a neo-Classical (a.k.a. Stalinist) style for state commissions, whilst they could adopt a more progressive modern or Constructivist approach for smaller commissions. Thus the Konin Palace of Culture in Egor’evsk for the Textile Union offered an opportunity for Shchuko to test out the new aesthetic. The Konin Club was made up of two distinct functions: a workers’ club with a discreet entry off the street and function rooms distributed over three stories facing the street and the park; and then a major auditorium for 1,500 people with a separate side entry from the war memorial park and stepping up from the street façade to the tall stage tower at the back of the site. Somewhat predictably, the Konin Club was nothing like the slavish copy of the Robie House that I had expected from the book I had seen. It had a civic scale and presence. The street elevation had two distinct end masses, and a setback central volume masked behind a number of mature trees. Despite breaking up the overall mass, the arrangement was rather static – it certainly did not have the dramatic jutting cantilevers of Wright’s Robie House. The club still had a number of Wrightian features, including: a horizontal aspect, long bands of casement windows, glazed corner details, and even a shallow pitched

КЛУБ В ЕГОРЬЕВСКЕ

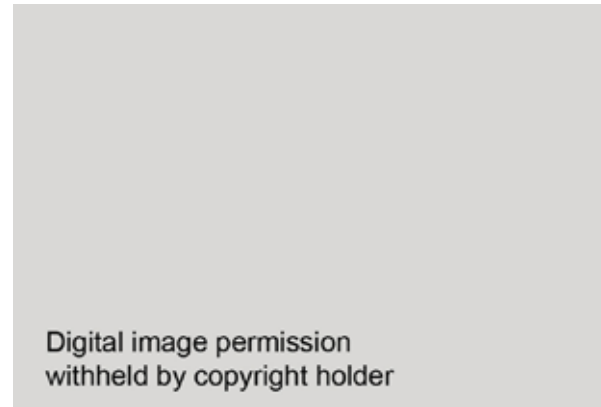
Дворец Культуры имени Кони́на

ЕГОРЬЕВСК, УЛИЦА СОВЕТСКАЯ 174



В. Щуко. Клуб текстильщиков 4 типа/Фасад/1928

3.124 Street Elevation,
Konin Palace of Culture (1927-29) by Shchuko,
image from Yenkyhoba, N. (2006)



3.125 Street Elevation,
Robie House (1909) by Wright, image from
Wright, F. L. (1982)



3.126 View 1. Street Entrance,
Konin Palace of Culture
204



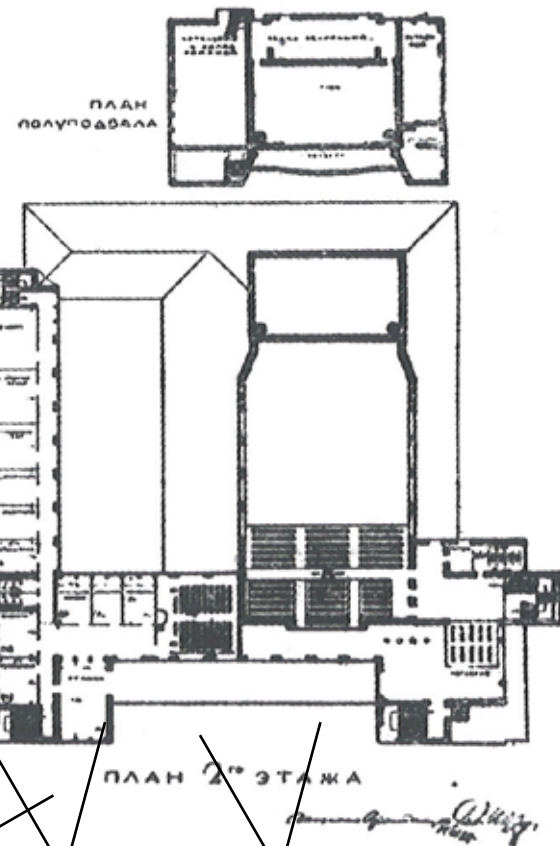
3.127 View 1. Street Entrance,
Robie House



3.128 View 2. Feature Corner,
Konin Palace of Culture
Egor'evsk Cultural Club



3.129 View 2. Corner Terrace,
Robie House



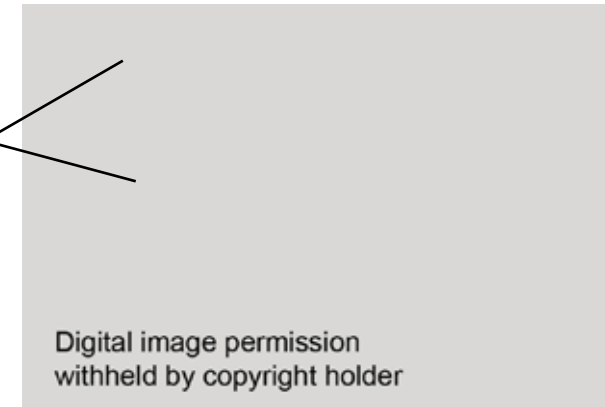
View 2. View 1. View 3.
 3.130 Upper level plan,
 Konin Palace of Culture (1927-29), image from
 Yenkyhoba, N. (2006)



3.132 View 3. Street Elevation,
 Konin Palace of Culture



3.133 View 3. Street Elevation,
 Robie House



View 1.

Digital image permission
 withheld by copyright holder

View 2.

View 3.

3.131 Ground floor plan,
 Robie House (1909), image from
 Wright, F. L. (1982)



3.134 Interior Hall,
 Konin Palace of Culture
 Egor'evsk Cultural Club



3.135 Interior Living to Dining,
 Robie House



3.136 Internal view of Leningradsky Railway Station Moscow



3.137 Ceiling detail of Leningradsky Railway Station Moscow



3.138 Ceiling detail of Leningradsky Railway Station Moscow

roof. The low-pitched metal roof responded to the Prairie House aesthetic, but again it did not achieve anywhere near the same dynamic effect. Indeed it seemed to come more from a local vernacular tradition. The Konin Club has been newly restored and painted, and I ventured inside to find a few children and their parents circulating around a small lobby space and cloakrooms. The large empty hall was an undifferentiated space with regular reinforced-concrete columns, and could be used for a variety of purposes. Down the corridor there was a newly decorated, well-stocked self-service café that looked out onto the park. I shared its impersonal space with another couple. Each of the spaces in the Konin Club were similarly remote and static; there was no overlap of function or rooms, the plan whilst rational had an overtly formal composition.

A critique of the newly completed scheme by Y. I. Reich, which considered the design a success, noted that it was “capable of laying down the basis of a standard design.”²¹² The review attributed a number of domestic attributes to the design such as the entrance lobby based on a traditional residential hall, and the façade that had two rows of loggias that were infilled with windows giving the building a more intimate character.²¹³ As to the overall appearance of the club, Reich claimed:

“Looking at the facades of V. Shchuko’s club, one comes to the conclusion that they cannot be attributed to the architecture of the Modern Movement. They have, as they are called, certain aspects of the style.”²¹⁴

A present-day review of the scheme by Yenkyhoba calls the design an “architectural enigma,” and claims that the design was a personal statement by Shchuko: “the result achieved in this example by the design’s author is akin to the effect of a successfully directed theatrical show. Both of these instil inspiration.”²¹⁵ Each of the two critics view Shchuko with considerable respect, and do not question the dramatic change from his earlier classical work; for them, there is no contradiction in using different styles for different purposes. Within Egor’evsk, the Konin Club sits on an equal footing with the two main churches, as the brief required, and it does so by using a distinctive architectural language – thereby propagating a Communist agenda. It was intriguing to consider the Konin Cultural Palace as a representation of Wright’s aesthetic used by Shchuko as a reaction against rationalist modernism. Shchuko went on to become a co-designer of the Palace of Soviets winning project,

and according to Tarkhanov was instrumental in establishing Stalinist architecture. Shchuko was thus not a committed modernist, and used it only as a style to clothe what were inherently neo-Classical compositions.²¹⁶

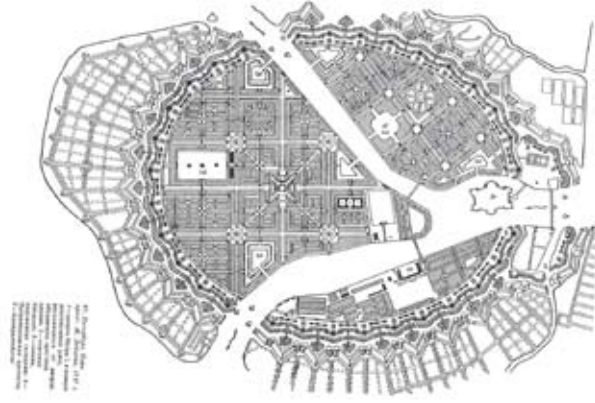
The Cultural Clubs for the proletariat were all conceived to “reflect the epoch of cultural revolution”. Yet, the proletariat was always an abstract idea – a single mass of people whose wants were never clearly defined – and from the Proletkult movement to VOPRA, different organisations claimed to be able to represent their needs and to proclaim standard solutions. Whilst the modern movement offered a number of exciting solutions for Cultural Clubs by Melnikov and the Vesnin brothers, the later manifestations were neo-Classical objects dispersed across the Soviet Union. All these Cultural Clubs were a manifestation of “Culture from Above”, symbolising an oppressive Soviet regime that sought to maintain its own power by cultural manipulation. It was interesting to consider that the Konin Cultural Club was intended as a subversive design, based on the American democratic values espoused by Wright, yet became part of Soviet state propaganda. It is tantalising to consider that numerous Wright-inspired works could indeed have begun a ‘revolution’ from below, but ended up supporting hegemonic power instead.

St Petersburg

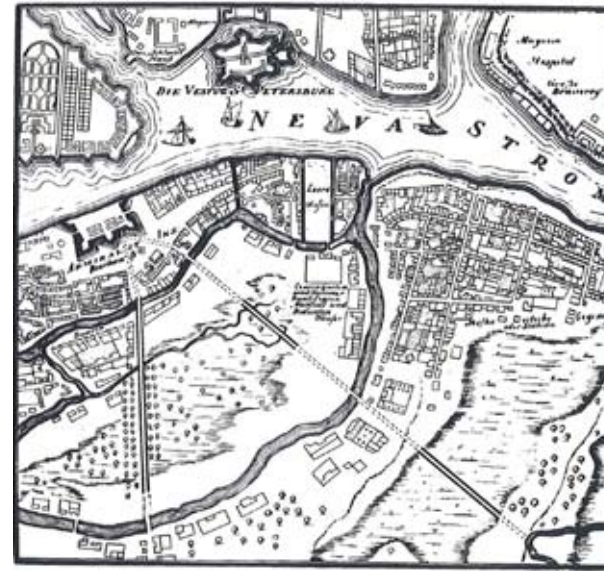
The military defeat of Sweden (1700-22) by Peter the Great enabled him to re-orientate Russia towards western and northern Europe. He transformed the marshes around the Neva River into a new capital city, St Petersburg, which was founded on 27th May 1703. After becoming Tsar, Peter travelled extensively to neighbouring countries in Europe to gain practical knowledge and cultural education. The city was to be constructed using the latest neo-Classical thought mediated by Peter’s own ideas about society and architecture. Shvidkovsky describes how Trezzini’s plan in 1714 for St Petersburg was directed by Peter himself, who proposed a rational grid plan for Vasil’evsky Island that underpinned a strict fourteen-class division taken from a Prussian model.²¹⁷ Furthermore, each “residential cell” followed a typology that reflected their social class.²¹⁸ Peter’s experience of the Foreigner’s Quarter in Moscow, and his overseas visits, established the idea of the formal aligned street frontages, which were included in the 1714 plan.²¹⁹ A more formal plan was prepared by Jean Leblond in 1716, based on a rectilinear grid. It was mediated by a hierarchy



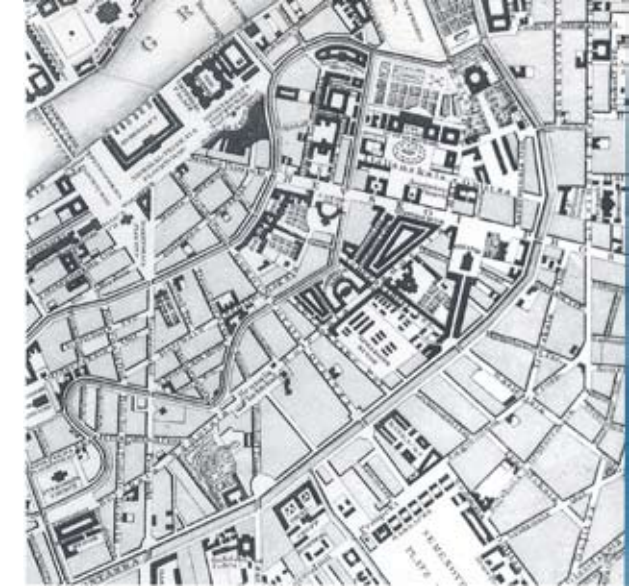
3.139 Plan of St Petersburg (1714) by Trezzini



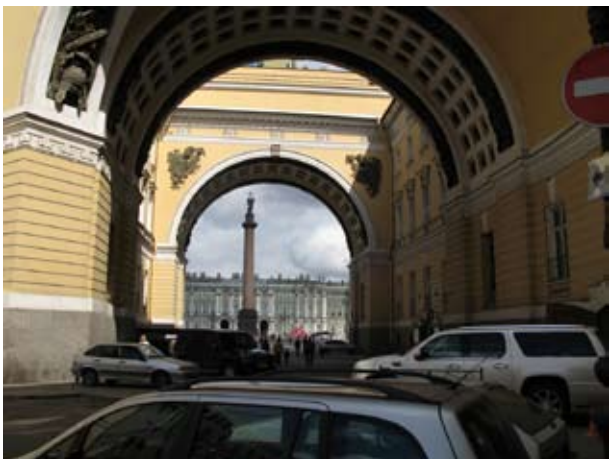
3.140 Plan of St Petersburg (1716) by Le Blond



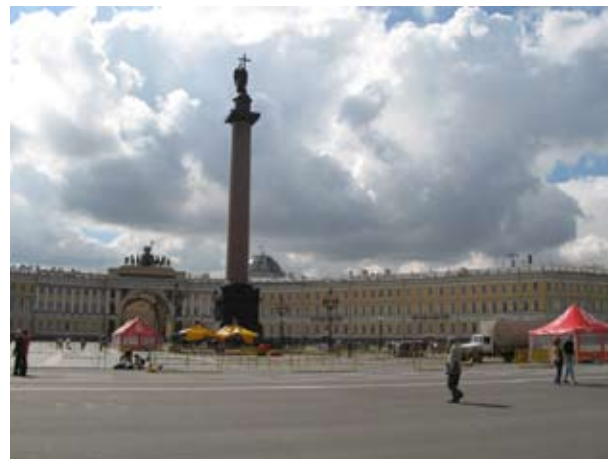
3.141 Plan of St Petersburg (c.1720)



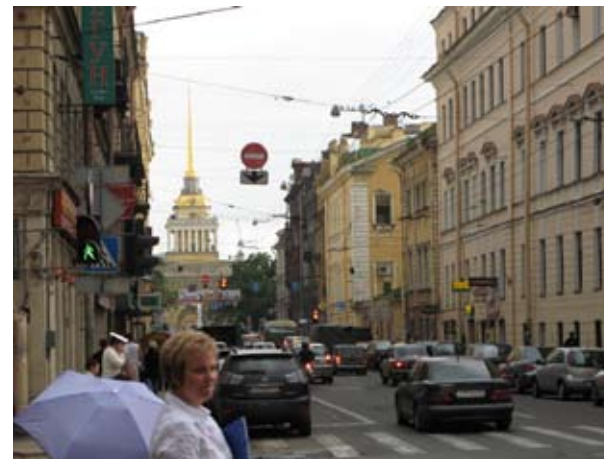
3.142 Plan of St Petersburg (1834)



3.143 View through to Admiralty square



3.144 Admiralty square



3.145 Street vista



3.146 Hermitage, state rooms

of axial roads, large squares and gardens, animated with a diagonal axis, and all were contained within a defensive wall.²²⁰ The plan advocated a number of different land uses and segregated the inhabitants according to their status, but this grand vision was never implemented.

By the time of Peter the Great's death in 1725, the city remained unfinished with small concentrations of developments around the residential quarter on Vasil'yevsky Island, the Admiralty, and a number of military fortresses. It was the Russian architect, Yeropkin – who had studied in Rome under Tsar Peter's behest, and returned to St Petersburg under Empress Ann – who refashioned the city into a “masterpiece of Baroque city planning.”²²¹ An outline plan of 1750 shows the emergent ‘Trivium’ as “a meeting of three radial streets at, or their divergence from, a piazza.”²²² No doubt this was direct adoption of the Trivium at Piazza Popolo at the northern entrance to Rome. Thus, the new capital city was now being underpinned by the ‘Grand Manner’ of Baroque planning to represent an absolutist rule that was able to enforce “ram-rod straight avenues, vast uniformly bordered squares, and a suitable accompaniment of monumental public buildings.”²²³ Whilst the city was re-planned in the ‘Grand Manner’ there was also a mixture of paranoia and piety, with the two main axes of the Trivium leading to army barracks, and the third axis leading to a monastery. The city plan still retained Peter the Great's ideas concerning rational planning and a pleasing external form, but it also “included provisions for the enforcement of social-class segregation.”²²⁴ Ultimately, its Baroque planning reflected the autocratic and centralist concentration of power in Russia. Whilst the ruling classes embraced the Enlightenment sentiment of the period, they did not extend their liberal causes beyond their own stratum of society, with 95% of the population being enslaved serfs.

However, even a well-planned city like St Petersburg was unable to accommodate the tripling of the urban population between 1850 and 1914, caused by the impact of the Industrial Revolution and the consequent migration from the countryside. It meant also that the existing plan was inadequate at maintaining the class segregation that had been one of its founding principles.²²⁵ By 1912, up to nine people occupied every apartment, about three times the ratio within other capitals such as Berlin, Vienna and Paris.²²⁶ These congested conditions contributed to resentment against the ruling elite and fuelled the Russian Revolution of 1917, and

subsequently St Petersburg lost its capital status and became Petrograd during the Soviet period.

St Petersburg has long been considered as the cultural bridge between Russia and Europe, and at my guesthouse I tellingly dealt in euros rather than dollars. Students ran the guesthouse, and over breakfast I talked to Natasha who was studying for a PhD in feminist theory. She complained that her academic department was still run by old Communists.

Gwyn: Do you focus your research on Russian books or do you look beyond Russia?

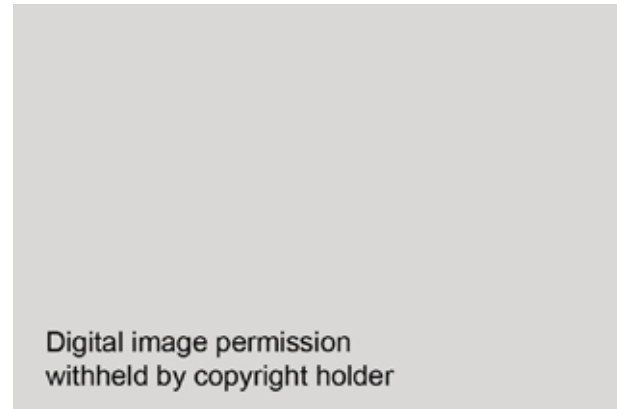
Natasha: I carry out a lot of research on the internet and I also use a lot of German books. I have friends in Berlin who I visit often. But we do not have Amazon here to get the latest American books. I don't like America much anyway.

I find it difficult to get an understanding of how the economy now works in Russia, with capitalism fully restored. Some things like the metro are so cheap, but a taxi ride is really expensive, and visits to the museums are at European prices.

I think that any tourist activity in Russia is expensive. But in general the average wage is only \$700 a month. And my grandmother who lives in the suburbs has a war pension of \$400 a month and does not know how to spend the money! Utility bills are only \$100 a year.²²⁷

At a local coffee shop I picked up a local English-language paper, *The St Petersburg Times*, and read an article on a proposed skyscraper titled: ‘Planning Council Slams Okhta Tower.’ The article describes the public debate regarding the benefits and drawbacks of a new skyscraper proposed for the Malaya Okhata district, which was a former shipbuilding and industrial area. Its riverside location makes it a prime site for regeneration. In June 2007, the paper reported a hostile planning meeting that sought to maintain the integrity of St Petersburg historic core:

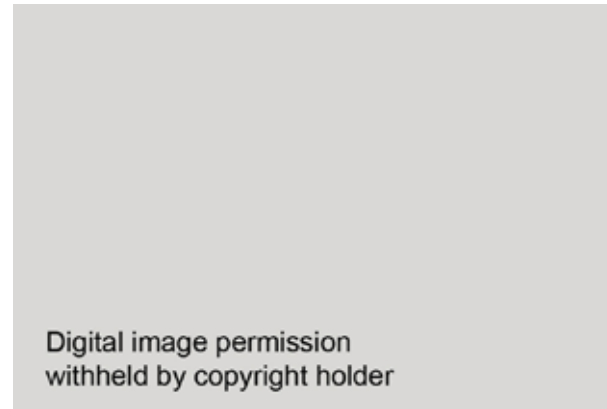
“A controversial 400-metre skyscraper to be built for energy giant Gazprom on St. Petersburg's Malaya Okhata, a district neighbouring downtown, could be scaled down or moved further away from the historic city center, after the



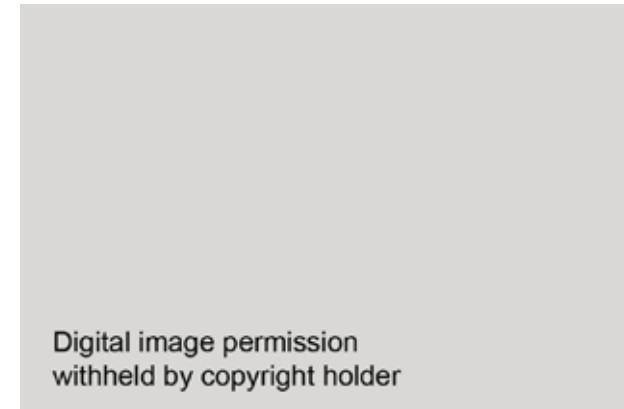
3.147 Visualisation of Okhta tower (2008) by RMJM in www.ohta-center.ru/en



3.148 The St Petersburg Times (26.06.2007) with article on Okhta Tower



3.149 Plan for Okhta tower (2008) in www.ohta-center.ru/en



3.150 Interior view of Okhta tower, visualisation by RMJM, image from Knutt, E & Hurst, W. (2007)

ambitious plan from Russia's richest company encountered fierce resistance from city's Planning Council."²²⁸

Even the initial architectural competition collapsed in controversy when the judges (Norman Foster, Kisho Kurokawa and Raphael Vinoly) walked out in protest at the shortlist. Kurokawa stated publicly his opposition to all six of the shortlisted designs because "the most sensitive issue to keeping existing cultural value of the old city centre."²²⁹ With the abandonment of the architectural jury, the competition was decided by a public vote posted on the Gazprom website. The winning design was by the global Scottish practice, RMJM, with a skyscraper that was inspired by the pentagon shaped fortress built by the Swedish army during their second period of occupation in the seventeenth century. "So the tower therefore has a five-sided footprint, wrapped in a curved glass envelope. It consists of five blocks of accommodation separated by atria spaces and arranged around a central core. But the office stacks do not simply rise vertically – each rotates slightly from floor to floor."²³⁰

There were a number of claims made for and against the tower's impact on the historical core, with some claiming that the tower would be visible within 80% of the city, whilst the official web-site stated that none of the postcard views of St Petersburg will be affected. A further justification was sought from the historical spires were hitherto the only things allowed to break the regulated 48m maximum building height in the city. If built, Tatlin's Tower would have been 400m tall, although I was never sure that it had an actual site in the city. If built the Okhta Tower controversy reflects the competition for the Palace of Soviets back in the 1930s with a chaotic competition and the need to present a new Russian identity for the twenty-first century. Furthermore, President Putin favours the design for his home town, which will of course be an architectural symbol of his authority and legacy. So would Frank Lloyd Wright be claiming another case of 'grandomania' within Russia as he did seventy years previously? The so-called 'artiflex' of capitalism and global energy demand once again provided the impetus for this latest skyscraper.

Summary:

Cohen asserts that Wright was a "useful hostage"²³¹ for the Soviet regime – or put more honestly, he was an unwitting apologist for Stalin. Yet Wright was not alone in this error. Other disgruntled modernists such as Bruno Taut, Hannes Mayer and Andre Lurcat, took their concerns about the European modern movement with them to Russia. All of these modernists and their willingness to embrace the Communist Party line was of great propaganda value for Stalin, both internationally and internally. Wright's motives for his visit were never clear. Johnson²³² speculates that Wright wanted to propel himself onto the international scene as a man of ideas and consequence, maybe or Wright believed that Stalin would respond to his vision of a new society by considering Broadacre City and the Taliesin Fellowship to be ideal models. What is also interesting is that the trend continues to this day, with Rem Koolhaas working in China, and Norman Foster engaged in the planned city of Astana. Koolhaas admits that working for a powerful state has a certain allure:

"What attracts me about China is that there is still a state. There is something that can take initiative on a scale and of a nature that almost no other body that we know today could afford or contemplate."²³³

Koolhaas makes no apology for participating in China's modernisation, despite its poor record in terms of free speech and lack of democratic rights. The behaviour of the ruling regime does not directly affect architects, their agenda is more ambitious – after all a global 'organic' Broadacre City was Wright's modest aim.

Magnitogorsk, was to be the ultimate planned Soviet city. Today, despite its chronic ecological problems, it appears to function well enough in the new capitalist order. However, it faces serious problems in the future as a city that is dependent on just one industry, and a single process, albeit on a staggering scale. Visiting Magnitogorsk was a journey back in time and it seemed like a living museum, especially when viewed from the high panorama. What makes the present city of Manitorsk a modest success is the process of constant renewal throughout its 75-year history. The original aim to build the largest steelworks within the remote Urals was a definite success, with Russia being able to arm itself throughout the Second World War. Thereafter the city was remodelled by Stalin and Khrushchev, providing a complex mixture of urban form and living experiences. The city does possess a certain charm that exemplifies a contingent and evolving approach to urban planning.



3.151 The Moscow Art Theatre (MkhAT) (1973) by Kubasov, K. and Uliashov, V.

In the future the city will need to address its dependency on industry, and perhaps look to how to disperse further into the Urals to enhance the quality of life for its inhabitants. In contrast, Wright's Broadacre City became an artefact that was unable to change, turning into a caricature of suburbia and suburban values.

As has been pointed out, John Dewey long ago made a very telling statement about planned societies and by implication the planning of cities:

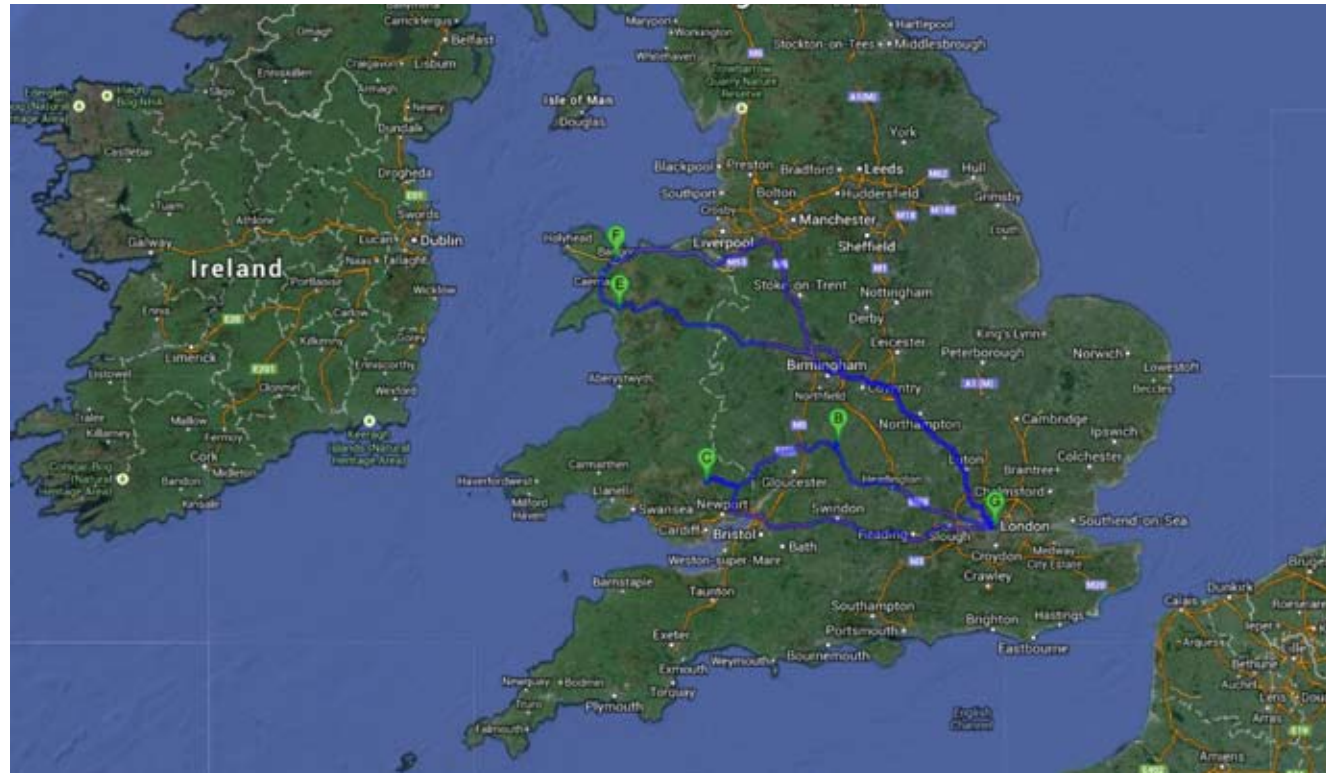
“There is as John Dewey explained, a difference between the planned society and the continuously planning society. One requires fixed blueprints imposed from above, relying upon physical and psychological force to secure conformity. “The other,” Dewey emphasizes, “means the release of intelligence the widest form of cooperation give and take. This is an operative method of activity, not a predetermined set of final truths.”²³⁴

Wright supported Dewey's idea of a cooperative society, and indeed many parts of the Broadacre City manifesto – as described in the *Disappearing City* – reflect many of these progressive, pragmatic and contingent ideas. However, Wright was very much in favour of a planned society along his own peculiar terms, which were exemplified in the Taliesin Fellowship and Broadacre City. Both had to be controlled and directed by a dictatorial architect as a mini-fiefdom, and perhaps in the end this is what appealed most to Wright about Stalinist Russia.

4. Whatever Happened to Frank Lloyd Wright?



4.001 Cities, Architecture and Society,
Tate Modern (2007)



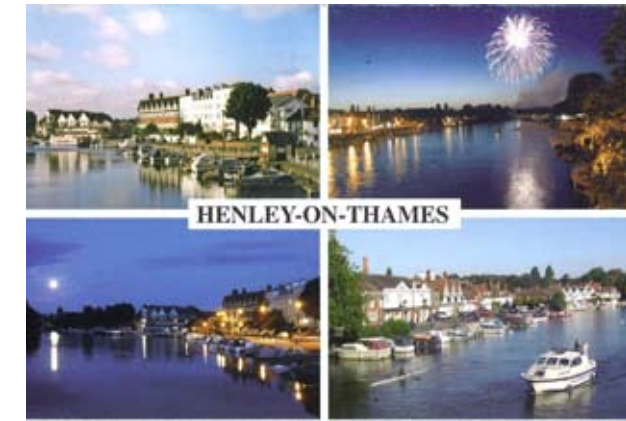
4.002 Britain route (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).

Route:

- A: London 13th February 2008
- B: Chipping Campden 9th May 2008
- C: Brynmawr 26th April 2010
- E: Portmeirion 27th August 2011
- F: Bangor 28th August 2011



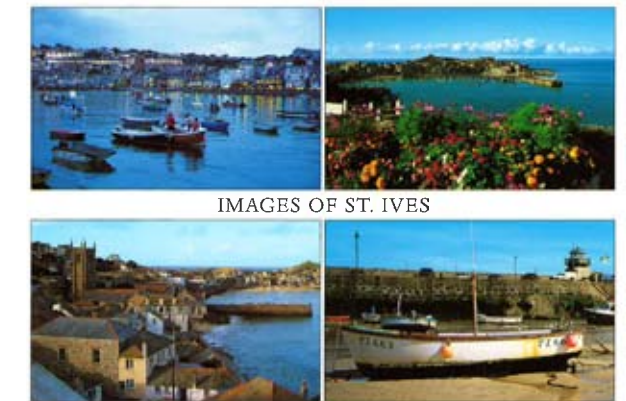
4.003 Postcard Lavenham



4.004 Postcard Henley-on-Thames



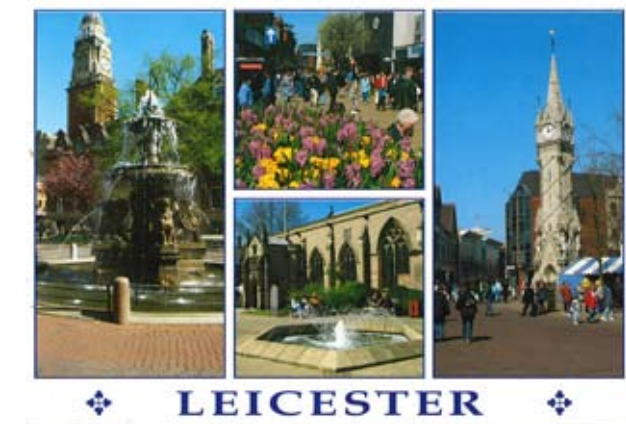
4.005 Postcard West Wycombe



4.006 Postcard St Ives



4.007 Postcard Portmeirion



4.008 Postcard Leicester

This chapter reviews Frank Lloyd Wright's influence in Britain by considering his engagement with the evolving concept of social justice in architecture. The idea of the equitable city was first postulated by Plato in *The Republic* (c. 380BC), in which he used the city as a vehicle to construct his argument about justice – thus establishing the idea that “[justice] is defined as an internal quality of cities based on the aggregated actions of individual residents.”¹ The rapid industrialisation and the explosion in urban population in late-eighteenth-century Britain and nineteenth-century America brought prosperity for some, but it also intensified urban poverty by creating squalid overcrowded slums. A number of responses emerged to mediate these deprived conditions. These ranged from the radical resettlement advocated by Ebenezer Howard, the “creative destruction” of Baron Haussmann, and progressive engagement to improve the slums.² Each approach used Enlightenment thought to “achieve efficiency, order, and beauty through the imposition of reason.”³ hence, this was the background to Wright's early experience of Chicago: a booming metropolis reconstructing itself following the terrible fire of 1871, and the hanging of the ‘Haymarket Martyrs’ in 1874. The concept of ‘social justice’ has subsequently become more sophisticated and embraces political theories, as can be seen in John Rawls *Theory of Justice*⁴ and David Harvey's *Social Justice and the City*⁵. In summary, Susan Fainstein identifies four topics that are contained with the idea of the ‘just city’: democracy, equity, diversity and sustainability.⁶

Early in his career Wright embraced the progressive agenda of the settlement movement at Hull House, and designed the Francisco Terrace (1895), an apartment block that offered flats for rent to low-income residents – thus engaging directly in the provision of communal social housing in America. Furthermore, Wright followed ideological and architectural developments in Britain closely. In 1901 he presented ‘The Art and Craft of the Machine’ at Hull House, an interpretation of the ideas of John Ruskin and William Morris, and he often quoted an interest in the work of Lethaby.⁷ Charles Ashbee, a founder member of the Art Workers’ Guild can rightly claim to have discovered Frank Lloyd Wright in British terms, after they met at Hull House, Chicago in 1900. Wright's first journey to London was in 1909 when travelling onward to Berlin, and then on his return trip in October 1910 he visited Ashbee at Chipping Camden, the site of the by then bankrupt utopian community for The Guild of Handicraft.

The dramatic stock market crash of 1929 instigated the ‘Great Depression’ that plunged America into a decade of stagnation, and the so-called ‘New Deal’ sought to reinvigorate the economy with Federal programmes to provide relief, recovery and reform. Wright was always an ‘outsider’ to these Federal initiatives, but his radical Broadacre City embraced the egalitarian and decentralisation aims of the government. In May 1939, Wright returned to Britain to present the Sir George Watson lectures for the Sulgrave Manor Board at the RIBA, over the course of four evenings. In addition, in 1941 Wright was awarded the RIBA Gold Medal, in part to bolster the North Atlantic war-time alliance. Yet during the war, Wright advocated that London should be left as a museum, and its population dispersed using his Broadacre City typology.⁸ Wright's last two visits to Britain in 1950 and 1957 were mainly to promote his legacy, and to consolidate his legend. He was invited by the Architectural Association (AA) in 1950 to a prize-giving ceremony only to denigrate the awards and to criticise, rather tactlessly, the new Royal Festival Hall building. Together with some AA students, he visited the Cotswolds and Wales, where he passed harsh judgement on the much-lauded modernist manifestation of the Welfare State in the shape of Brynmawr Rubber Factory. His last visit to Britain in 1957 was to receive an honorary degree from Bangor University, and there he resided with his longstanding eccentric friend Clough Williams-Ellis at another imaginary fiefdom, Portmeirion.

I made a number of short journeys across England and Wales to research into sites that Wright had visited and to view buildings influenced by his work. Within London, the professional and academic institutions of the RIBA and AA still function very much as Wright experienced half-a-century ago, and so I could easily research Wright's work at both institutions! Beyond London, I used two valuable companions: *Post-War Houses*, published by the Twentieth Century Society⁹, and *Post-War Listed Buildings* by Elaine Harwood¹⁰. These publications identified a number of suburban and rural homes that were influenced by Wright and so had been ‘listed’ due to their unique character – some were even the subject of substantial conservation efforts. I interviewed their owners wherever possible to gain an understanding of their inhabitation, asking them a variety of questions. Did they think that their houses exhibit a progressive and socially just ideal? Were these houses part of an emergent ‘organic’ tradition in Britain? In addition, I attended a number of conferences on the planning of new settlements: the *New Towns* conference organised by the ICA



4.009 Train Journey, London Bridge to Blexleyheath



4.010 Semi-detached Mock Tudor houses, Blexleyheath



4.011 Georgian Terrace, Blexleyheath



4.012 Red House entry, Blexleyheath

promoted the idea of British excellence in the planning of New Towns, and in doing reviewed the phenomena from the early Letchworth Garden City to the latest 'Eco-towns.'

Bexleyheath

In *An Autobiography*, Frank Lloyd Wright claims that his mother was responsible for generating his love of architecture, such as through her gift of Froebel gifts and of hanging "old English Cathedrals from 'Old England'" in his bedroom.¹¹ These romanticised details of his childhood were just the beginning of a life-long tendency of reinvention and deception. Yet the rather implausible placing of English Gothic Cathedrals by a Welsh mother does link to Wright's predisposition towards the English Gothic, and an acknowledgement that the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth-century was a crucial influence on his architectural thought and practice. During that period, the architectural theorist A.W.N. Pugin (1812-52) had advocated a renewed appraisal of Gothic architecture to establish an indigenous English architecture. Pugin was a Roman Catholic convert, and in his first book *Contrasts* (1836), he advocated an idyll of pre-Reformation England in opposition to the "mean, cold-hearted and Classical" architecture of his time in the discredited reign of George IV.¹² This political and religious critique was made more architecturally explicit in the next publication, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841), which declared that "The two great rules for design are these: 1st, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety, 2nd; that all ornament should consist of the essential construction of building."¹³ These strictures hence called for restraint against Victorian eclecticism, and against Classically-inspired rules of taste.

A near-contemporary, and also critic of Pugin, was John Ruskin (1819-1900), who seemed to dislike Pugin as much for his Catholicism as for his architecture and writing. Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* (1851-53) reclaimed the Gothic for northern Europe, and Protestant England in particular, yet he agreed that neo-Classical architecture was the product of slavery, whilst free craftsmen had built Gothic architecture – implying thus were essentially "proto-Protestants."¹⁴ Furthermore, Ruskin engaged with the wider contemporary issue of industrialisation, finding there another justification for the return of a Gothic style and sensibility. The perceived perfection of neo-Classical architecture he equated with industrialisation, whereas

the "savage" quality of Gothic had been the work of free craftsmen.¹⁵ Thus, Pugin and Ruskin provided a rational and emotional basis for the Gothic Revival which was then practised by a number of leading Victorian architects including Scott, Butterfield, Street and Devey. And it was George Street's practice that William Morris (1834-1896) joined at the age of 22 to start to train as an architect, even if he never fully followed that course.

Indeed, Morris only had a brief nine-month flirtation with architectural practice before deciding to train as an artist under Dante Gabrielle Rossetti. Whilst lodging with the painter Edward Burne-Jones in 1857, he found it difficult to find suitable furniture for their apartment and so began designing his own. From this experience, Morris established a very successful career as a designer and interior decorator. Davey views Morris' work as embracing Pugin's call "that all designers should be truthful to his materials", and also Ruskin's "doctrine of naturalism... to depict (imperfect) nature."¹⁶ In addition, Morris preferred architecture that was "free of imposed style, one which would grow unselfconsciously from its surroundings and the needs of ordinary people."¹⁷ For Morris this kind of architecture was already present in the "old cottages, and barns," and so he equates these vernacular models with a "simplicity of life."¹⁸

Morris had commissioned his friend and fellow apprentice at Street's practice, Philip Webb (1831-1915), to design the Red House (1859) for himself and his wife. It sits in the suburb of Bexleyheath, Kent, which was only a half-an-hour journey on the train from London Bridge, and I took my folding bicycle with me to make negotiating the suburb a bit easier. As the train left London, the scale of the city quickly diminished into a monotony of 1930s and 1950s red-tiled semi-detached homes, with squat 1970s residential towers on the horizon. Bexleyheath railway station was a discreet, single-storey mass, hidden away from the high street down a short lane. I cycled from the busy main street towards an expanse of 1930s semi-detached properties that were grouped according to their external finishes: some had a painted rendered finish, whilst others displayed a Mock-Tudor aspect – a tribute to a fabled medieval era, and perhaps also to Morris as their medievalist neighbour. I passed by a white-painted Georgian terrace, and there, nestled within the trees was the prototypical 'country vicarage' built for the most reverend William Morris.



4.013 North Elevation, Red House (1859) by Philip Webb



4.014 South Elevation, Red House (1859) by Philip Webb

The Red House is now owned by the National Trust. Morris himself was a keen antiquarian and so established the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877), a precursor to the National Trust (1895). I speculated whether Morris would have approved of preserving his own unique interpretation of the nineteenth-century medieval revivalism? I had previously telephoned to make a booking for a guided tour since this was the only way that I could view the interior. The tourist entrance is now bizzarely at the back of the house, via the kitchen and the former servant quarters. I was welcomed by an elderly lady who hid my bike under a table. I was reminded not to take any photographs inside, but I was permitted to take lots outside. The house occupies the south-west corner of the large site and is L-shaped in plan. The formal entry from the north leads into a spacious hallway, stair and corridors running along beside the garden with separate rooms that faced the orchard. Each elevation is asymmetrical and with its own unique outlook. The most captivating aspects are the east and south elevations which embrace a small private garden that has a well in the foreground, giving a hint of self-sufficiency and an ancient source of truth. I particularly enjoyed the modest circular windows to the first-floor studio to the south; they were a progressive statement of a more modern future, and reminded me of the Constructivist *Isvetsia* (1925-7) newspaper building in Moscow.

The tour guide happened to be an elderly gentleman, and he was keen to reinforce the more romantic Pre-Raphaelite vision of the house:

*“The tour will be of the house only, and we will start at the ground floor and then go upstairs to view the bedrooms and studio. Whilst Morris may have professed to be a socialist, it was not what he was really famous for... Here in the hall you will see the decorated door with a beautiful stained-glass window. During the early years after the house was completed, Morris would gather all friends and have their meals in the hall as a recreation of mediaeval traditions.”*¹⁹

It was a tour for the aesthetes among us present, and the guide went into great detail about the fixtures and the fittings, the hidden wall frescos and repainted doors. The Red House was intended as a realisation of the ideal suburb that Morris later proclaimed in *News from Nowhere* (1891), but instead of being surrounded by fields and orchards, it was now contained in a never-ending sprawl of two-storeyed

monotony. Morris only lived at the house for a fairly short period before moving to Kelmscott Manor in Oxfordshire, where his printing works was based.

Despite the success of the Red House, Morris moved increasingly away from architecture and took full control of his craft business in 1875, establishing Morris and Co. Thereafter he devoted his time mainly to design, writing and political action. In 1883, Morris began to read the work of Karl Marx and soon became a committed socialist and public persona to advance his political beliefs. Saint claims that Morris was able to develop Ruskin’s intuitive theories by using the more precise tools of economic history to interpret the role of the mediaeval craftsmen.²⁰ Using Marx’s masterpiece, *Capital*, Morris studied the transition during the late-medieval period from a feudal society to a capitalist society, whilst trying to prove that the “virtues of the mediaeval art” were superior to the “evils of modern capitalist production.”²¹ In addition, the historian Thorold Rogers spoke of the relative prosperity of the working man during the medieval period, leading Morris to proclaim that the old powerful craft guilds were an early model of an egalitarian society, powerful enough to resist the church and feudal lords.²² Within these guilds, Morris imagined a free collaboration between members, no division of labour, and no accumulation of capital.²³ It was these convictions that led Morris to join the only socialist body that was in existence in 1883, the Democratic Federation. In 1889 he declared himself a “Communist” and began to advocate “the complete equality of condition for all people; and anything in a Socialist direction which stops short of this is merely a compromise.”²⁴

Morris’ famous pamphlet, *News from Nowhere*, summarised his idealistic, “post-industrial” and “post-hierarchical society.”²⁵ It contained his utopian vision of a planned centralised city with a civic core surrounded by Guild Halls and parks, and extending out to an ideal suburb: “at last the suburb proper, mostly fields and fruit gardens and scanty houses dotted about til come to the open country with its occasional farm-steads.”²⁶ Denis Hardy identifies two “oppositional themes” across periods that define all English utopian experiments, these being: “the ideal of a benign monarchy and that of a peasant republic.”²⁷ These twin themes were certainly present in Morris’ work, he advocated a return to a medieval guild under the benign leadership of a fabled Arthurian legend, and he was now a committed socialist who endorsed an egalitarian society as the only means of achieving social justice. However, Morris was compromised in achieving such utopian aims by



4.015 Street view from Commercial Road, Toynbee Hall (1884) by Elijah Hoole



4.016 Clock tower , Toynbee Hall



4.017 Lecture hall, Toynbee Hall



4.018 Toynbee Hall (2008) Restoration Appeal leaflet



4.019 Internal courtyard , Toynbee Hall

running a commercial business which relied on an affluent middle class to purchase his expensive hand-crafted products. It was not just Morris that was compromised, indeed the whole Arts-and-Crafts movement could not address the needs of the masses with their labour-intensive wares.

Pevsner claimed Morris represented “the beginning of a new era in Western Art”²⁸, since he was able to combine an essentially aesthetic discourse about the Gothic style with a social analysis of the Industrial Revolution. Morris called for the reinstatement of the craft guilds as a means of emancipating factory workers, as “production by machinery is altogether an evil.”²⁹ However, as Pevsner also argued, this was also a regressive development, in that the “Arts and Crafts Movement brought a revival of artistic craftsmanship not of industrial art.”³⁰ In his neo-Hegelian analysis of modernism, Pevsner stated that “England’s activity in the preparation of the Modern Movement came to an end immediately after Morris’s death [in 1896].”³¹ What a brilliant put down to all of England’s subsequent architectural efforts! Pevsner ascribes this failure to the prevalence of a society divided by class, dominated by a privileged ruling elite, which also included architects who were unable to engage with or articulate a social and communal architecture.³² Pevsner’s concept of a manifest modernist destiny then moved beyond the Atlantic to acknowledge the work of Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright in “understanding its essential character”³³ of the machine.

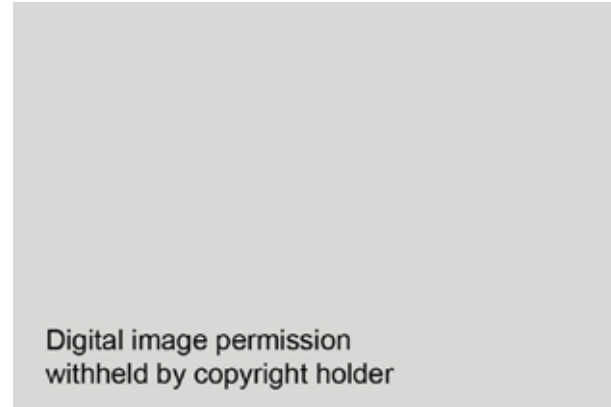
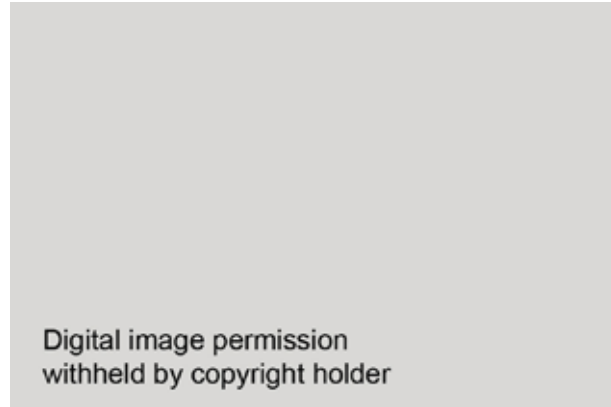
It had been Wright’s prominent uncle, Jenkin Jones the Unitarian preacher, who not only found Wright’s first employer Silsbee, but also introduced him to the social concerns in Chicago. Wright duly followed his uncle to Hull House, as noted a settlement house established by Jane Addams that was modelled on Toynbee Hall, in east London. Toynbee Hall sought to integrate university graduates from Oxford and Cambridge into the deprived conditions in the East End of London by providing lodging for the graduates so they could educate the poor of the district: “living in the midst of the problem was an integral part of the settlement.”³⁴ Jane Addams and Ellen Star visited London and Toynbee Hall in 1888, and in the following year they established Hull House in the ultra-poor Nineteenth Ward of Chicago.

Toynbee Hall nestled behind a metal railing fence off the busy Commercial Road in Whitechapel. I recognised the ‘tree of life’ logo (designed by Charles Ashbee) on the

street sign, and the open courtyard with its dominant tree added a welcome splash of green to Whitechapel. There was a mixture of buildings around the courtyard dating from the modern to the Arts-and-Crafts period; they formed an informal assembly, possessing asymmetric facades with different scales, and a strong red-brick colour to unite the disparate parts. I spent an afternoon in the small library looking through the annual records of comings and goings to see if Wright had visited – he hadn’t. A leaflet informed me that Toynbee Hall was planning to re-start its residential volunteer scheme, which had stopped in 1991, and it was raising funds to restore Toynbee Hall to provide accommodation for 22 volunteers.³⁵ The Hall maintains a radical edge and embraces its changing community with outreach programmes for the Bangladeshi community, and as the leaflet claimed: “Learning from local action, developing national solutions.”³⁶

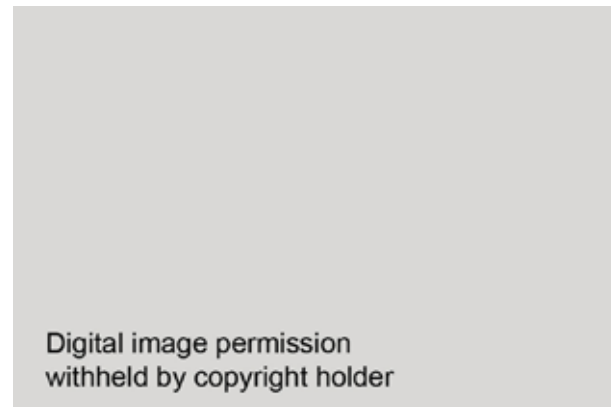
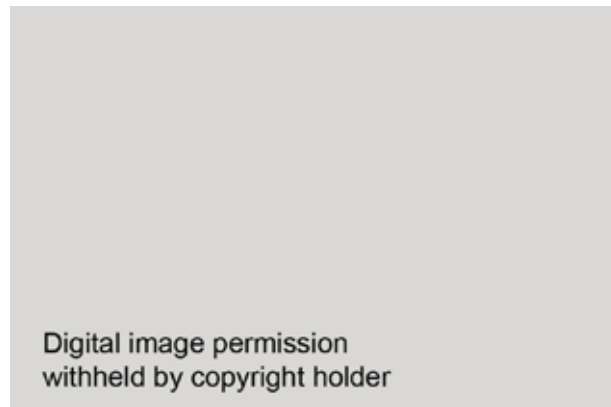
Gwendolyn Wright describes Frank Lloyd Wright as being an active participant in Chicago urban life, following the leads given by the Settlement and Arts-and-Crafts movements. Wright (the architect) stated that “the true place of the artist” is “with the people of average means with a genuine love for the beautiful without a pretense of critical ability, but an innate desire to learn.”³⁷ This was an endorsement of the idea of “mutual education” as professed by John Dewey, and an attack on the high culture of the fine arts and professional institutions in general. The pragmatists argued “that the proper purpose of social institutions such as government, industry and schools is to set free and develop every individual.”³⁸ Dewey called on all members of society to participate in a democratic process that would lead each person to fulfil their potential, and likewise create a more equitable society.³⁹ In addition, Dewey advocated that democracy was part of community life itself, a proposition that sought an informed participatory communal identity within the vastness of the city.⁴⁰ All these activities meant “reform rather than a truly radical break,”⁴¹ a philosophy that underpinned Frank Lloyd Wright’s progressive ideas at the end of the nineteenth century.

With Chicago and America experiencing a period of economic depression in the 1890s a surge for apartments began – the so-called “flat fever”. Wright’s first commission as a sole practitioner was for William H. Winslow in 1894, but Wright was soon engaged too by a philanthropic neighbour, Edward Carson Waller, to design two apartment blocks; the Francisco Terrace Apartments and the Waller Apartments



4.020 Entry arch, Francisco Terrace (1895) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from www.tigger.uci.edu, University of Illinois at Chicago

4.021 First floor plan, Francisco Terrace, image from Hitchcock, H-R. (1976)



4.022 Entry arch, Francisco Terrace (1895), image from www.tigger.uci.edu, University of Illinois at Chicago

4.023 Street view, Waller Apartments (1895), image from www.tigger.uci.edu, University of Illinois at Chicago

(1895). These apartments were designed for the Chicago's poorest residents, and Waller was willing to take a diminished return on his investment to provide cheap housing at \$12 a month (£200 in today's money) for a two-bedroom apartment.⁴² Wright designed the Francisco Apartments around a communal central garden, with an innovative spatial arrangement that allowed each of the 45 apartments to have a dedicated entry. The ground-floor residents entered directly off the street, whilst the upper-storey residents had a shared deck access above the communal garden that was serviced by stairs located at each corner. The internal plans were ordinary and compact with no open-plan living spaces. A semi-circular terracotta arch articulated the entry into the communal garden, reminiscent of Sullivan's Getty Tomb, and was offset by a stark two-storey brick exterior. *The Brickbuilder* was impressed by the shared communal space for the residents, declaring that it was a "great courtyard which is treated as a small public garden."⁴³ The apartments were a success and they were apparently very desirable among "newlyweds, leading to the building's nickname of "Honeymoon Court."⁴⁴

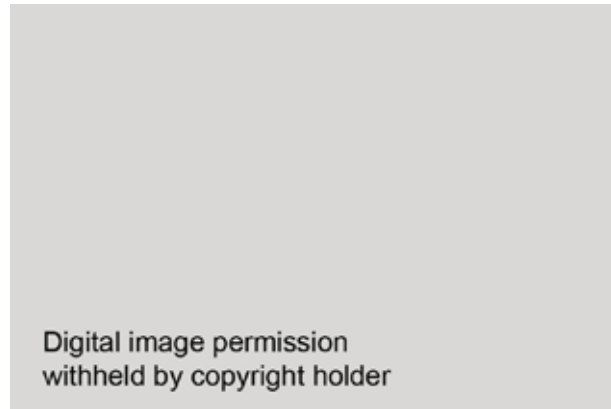
Adjacent to the Francisco Apartments were the Waller Apartments, a collection of five two-storey blocks, each possessing two ground-floor and two upper-floor flats around a communal stair. These apartments had practically no surface articulation other than some terracotta beading to the upper cornice, and they also displayed no characteristic Wright motifs. The aesthetic that Wright used for these apartments, according to Gwendolyn Wright, was: "in keeping with the social and formal concerns, especially the desire for a simplified façade and harmonious urban design".⁴⁵ The Francisco Apartments were demolished in 1974 after falling into disrepair, but ironically their terracotta arch was preserved and moved to Oak Park to furnish a more exclusive apartment block. Fire damaged a number of the Waller Apartments in 1968, although some are now subject to a preservation and renewal order.

Housing provision for the poor at the end of the nineteenth century in America was undertaken by two types of reformers: those who looked to Europe for a paternalistic and dignified urban housing model, and those who advocated housing as a "device to promulgate and legitimate social values."⁴⁶ Furthermore, these two aspirations resulted in two very different house types, in that the European model embraced communal housing that was "safe and affordable", whilst the latter promoted single-family houses as the only expression of "wholesome American values."⁴⁷ However,

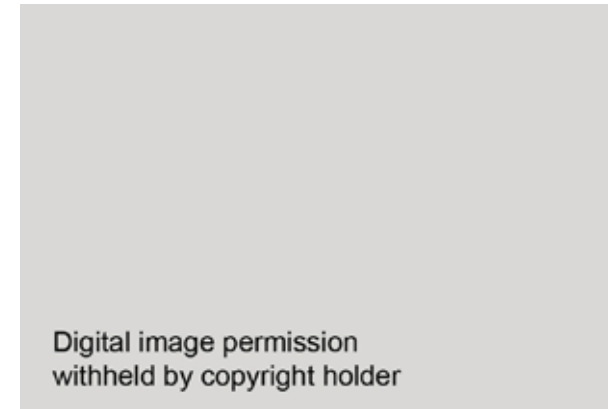
Davis notes there were many opponents to affordable housing provision from a philosophical and economic basis, and consequently their design was based on a minimum standard of housing provision which was safe, sanitary, and ventilated.⁴⁸ Interestingly, Wright used a combination of the European model, with a dense apartment layout for the Francisco Apartments, with an American desire for individual differentiation. Wright's relatively modest apartments indicated that he was willing to engage in social reform, but he was likewise careful to ensure that they did not look like his middle-class Prairie Houses. In addition, when the housing market recovered, Wright did not return to building low-rented apartments until 1911, during a later period of personal transition. Furthermore, Wright realised that if he remained a designer of social housing he was unlikely to gain the fame and recognition that he so desperately craved.

The Arts-and-Crafts movement expanded beyond Britain to embrace a global ideal. But without a rigid theory, it was always adapted to local conditions. There were some common features between the British and American movements, including: a regional and indigenous focus, a social agenda, and co-operative experiments. Parry also notes that Arts-and-Crafts ideas were more roundly embraced in America due to its "commercial awareness and entrepreneurial skills," and this was coupled by a more progressive view of the machine and its potential for social, cultural and aesthetic advance.⁴⁹ In addition, the movement in America remained current and innovative in reflecting common concerns, appealing to a newly emergent nation still seeking to establish its own identity. The Chicago Arts and Crafts Society was founded at Hull House in 1898 and the even more progressive Industrial Art League was established the year after.

During his first years in independent practice, Wright worked closely with a number of architects who shared his vision – firstly in the Schiller Building and then at Steinway Hall. The model for his office was an Arts-and-Crafts collective, or even a Guild, with the architects sharing offices, ideas and drafting rooms. The American Arts and Crafts also responded to the concurrent Free-English style as "a domestic revolution began in middle-class housing as it sought to divest itself of the architectural styles."⁵⁰ This was the beginning of Wright's experimentation in housing design, and he openly responded to a number of influences, such as the English Arts-and-Crafts movement, the American Shingle Style, and even neo-Classical precedents. Yet, whilst Wright



4.024 'A Home in Prairie Town' (February 1901) *Ladies' Home Journal* by Frank Lloyd Wright, in Levine, N. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



4.025 A Fireproof house for \$5,000 (April 1907) *Ladies' Home Journal* by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Hitchcock, H-R. (1976)

struggled to give his residential designs their external identity, as could be seen in the English-style half-timbering on the Nathan Moore House (1890), their internal layouts were far more innovative in articulating the primacy of the domestic revolution.

It was at Hull House, in 1901, that Wright first outlined his vision of an American architecture in his lecture entitled 'The Art and Craft of the Machine.' Wright made a break with Ruskin and Morris and set out a plausible American pragmatic attitude towards industrialisation, manufacture and architecture. The lecture acknowledged, that "all artists love and honor William Morris", and Wright describes Morris as the "great socialist" and Ruskin the "great moralist."⁵¹ Similarly, Wright spoke of the medieval period as a time when "all the intellectual forces of the people converged to one point – architecture,"⁵² supporting Victor Hugo in proclaiming that "the book will kill the edifice."⁵³ Wright equated the death of medieval architecture to the printing press, and the killing of modern fine art by the machine. But instead of being pessimistic, Wright saw an opportunity to revitalise architecture by harnessing the machine.

Wright hence believed that the use of machines could result in a new approach to materials and to aesthetics, observing that Morris was an advocate of "simplicity" himself.⁵⁴ In a typical reflection of the pragmatic and progressive philosophies within Hull House, Wright advocated a "society for mutual education" that would be able to harness the machine, and he specifically called for the artist to engage with the manufacturers to develop new approaches.⁵⁵ This engagement with modern manufacturing was intended as a direct step away from the regressive instincts of Morris or the mediaeval guilds that he idolised. Wright saw the machine as defining a new art and new egalitarian society:

"... the medium of artistic expression itself has broadened and changed until a new definition and new direction must be given art-activity of the future, and that the Machine has finally made for the artist ... A distinction made by the tool which frees human labor, lengthens and broadens the life of the simplest man, thereby the basis of the Democracy upon which we insist."⁵⁶

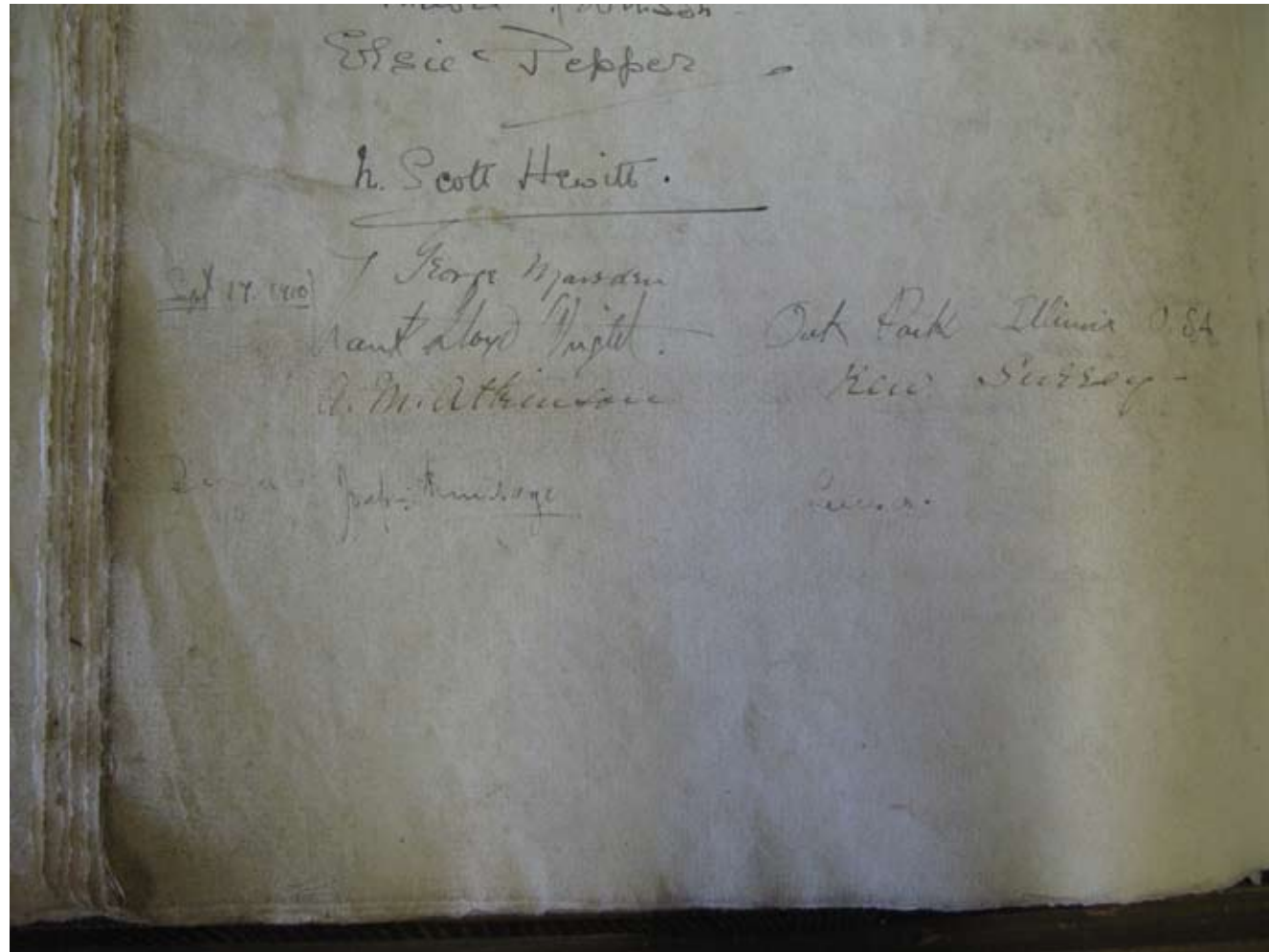
Wright rejected Morris' ideas of an idealised rural society, claiming instead that the city was man's greatest machine. He seems both repulsed and thrilled by the

city, but he optimistically viewed the machine as supporting a democratic society. Thereafter the artist's duty was to give the city and the machine – "A SOUL!"⁵⁷ This was a startling manifesto for Wright to produce at the turn of the twentieth century. It served as a rallying cry on behalf of the machine and its rigorous application towards simplicity rather than deceit. Pevsner was impressed, stating that "Wright's position in 1901 was almost identical with that of the most advanced thinkers on the future of art and architecture today [1936]."⁵⁸

In addition, Colquhoun identifies the importance of the work of the Department of Social Science and Anthropology at the University of Chicago. They advanced a domestic perspective about the dehumanising rapid industrialisation of the city, believing that "the reform of the domestic environment was the necessary first step in the reform of society as a whole."⁵⁹ Wright tried to engage directly in this domestic revolution that aimed to consolidate the nuclear family within a new domestic environment. Wright promoted his work by publishing widely, firstly in the emergent mail-order magazine market where a fellow Industrial Art League member published the first article about Wright in 1897 in *House Beautiful*. This was followed by two articles in *Ladies' Home Journal*: 'A Home in a Prairie Town' (February 1901) and 'A Fireproof House for \$5,000' (April 1907) (that would be about £81.3k nowadays). They not only showed Wright's engagement with the domestic revolution but also his wish to produce a home that was affordable for middle-class suburbanites. Wright, though, was notorious for building beyond the client's means, but his Prairie School colleagues, Purcell and Elmslie, claimed they could provide a Prairie House for just \$3,000. To do so, they "adopted a compact square floor plan, co-developed by Griffin and Wright."⁶⁰ Robertson claims of the Prairie School that "their architecture was fundamentally democratic because it was affordable,"⁶¹ this being a feat that no British Art-and-Crafts architect could ever claim. So it was perhaps in deepest Minnesota that the ideals of Morris' *News from Nowhere* was actually realised.

Chipping Campden

The English Arts-and-Crafts architect, Charles Ashbee, first met Wright at Hull House in 1900 during a lecture tour in Chicago in 1900 to raise funds for the National Trust. The two eager and earnest young architects became good friends, with Ashbee admiring "Wright's flamboyant personal style and debonair good looks, a common



4.026 Frank Lloyd Wright's signature at Hart's jewellery studio, Chipping Campden



4.027 Nine-Lives Exhibition at Chipping Campden



4.028 Front facade to Sheep Street Studio, Chipping Campden



4.029 Entrance to Sheep Street Studio



4.030 Interior view of Sheep Street Studio (circa 1909), image from Guild of Handicraft trust.



4.031 Interior of Sheep Street Studio interior (2007)

taste for Whitman and rhetoric.”⁶² On Ashbee’s last day in Chicago, Wright took him on a tour of Oak Park, whereupon Ashbee proclaimed that Wright was “far and away the ablest man in our line of work that I have come across in Chicago, perhaps in America.”⁶³ The two architects shared similar passions for the Arts and Crafts and as such debated the role of the machine. Crawford claims that Ashbee always loved to argue about the subject, and as such he provided an invaluable sounding board for Wright to develop what was to become his seminal lecture the following year.⁶⁴ Crawford also notes that Wright was “scathing in his criticism of the English Arts and Crafts as sentimental”, yet Wright was clearly indebted to the Arts-and-Crafts movement and the English Free-Style in developing the Prairie Houses.⁶⁵

Wright’s first visit to Britain in 1909 was as a fugitive who had deserted his wife and six children, and eloped with Mamah Cheney, the wife of a former client. Despite his friendship with Ashbee, Wright was too socially embarrassed to look up his old friend in September 1909, noting his longing as he “walked past the Magpie and Stump.”⁶⁶ Wright and Cheney travelled on to Berlin and then Italy to prepare the Wasmuth monographs, but he returned to America alone in September 1910 and so felt able to make arrangements to visit Ashbee at Chipping Camden in the Cotswolds, in Gloucestershire. Charles Ashbee was a contemporary of Wright, and the son of an affluent merchant and part-time collector of erotica. He was educated privately and at Cambridge, where he became part of Edward Carpenter’s circle who actively discussed “Ruskinism, transcendentalism and socialism.”⁶⁷ Ashbee was a resident and participant at Toynbee Hall, musing on this juxtaposing of the upper and lower classes: “everyone was invited and everyone comes ... [but] ... everybody always does the wrong thing.”⁶⁸ Despite this rather patronising and class-conscious observation, Ashbee went on to become a leading activist and gave lectures on Ruskin’s theory of art. In 1888, he opened the School and Guild of Handicraft on Commercial Street, in east London, seeking to resurrect a medieval Guild as urged by William Morris in his writings and lectures. The Guild attempted to integrate work, education and leisure. Invoking the camaraderie of a Cambridge college, they undertook theatre productions, played cricket matches, and had communal outings to the countryside.

As the Guild expanded, it moved to a number of new premises in the East End of London, but there was always a “cultural expectation that the kind of work undertaken

by the Guild would better be located in a more pleasant environment.”⁶⁹ According to Hardy, the teachings of Ruskin and Morris demanded that the “craft idyll would not be found amidst grimy streets, but in a pastoral setting.”⁷⁰ Crawford identifies a number of other strands of thought that supported Ashbee’s ideals: the romantic view of the country from a city dweller; social reformers such as General Booth and Ebenezer Howard who advocated a reversal of urban concentration; the proposal by Jessie Collings for a peasant ownership through the ‘Back to the Land’ movement; and finally “the feeling that the craftsmanship of the Guild had a special sympathy with the countryside.”⁷¹ Thus, Ashbee removed his Guild from the East End of London to the rural utopia of Chipping Campden in the Cotswolds, a town that had prospered during the eighteenth-century wool trade, but had declined thereafter. The fifty Guildsmen and their families moved from London in 1902 and the Guild prospered, such that there were 71 Guildsmen by the end of the year.

The work within the Guild was produced beneath one roof and organised around Ashbee, with a hierarchy in the division of labour. Ashbee was the designer, foremen distributed and supervised the work, and teams of craftsmen worked long hours under strict rules.⁷² It appeared that the Guild was far from fulfilling the egalitarian craft-based values expressed by Morris, and even machines were used to supplement the craft work. However, in 1905 the Guild recorded its first financial loss, and despite a more commercial reorganisation to try to stop the rot, the Guild was formally terminated in 1908. Ashbee by then had realised “that the central problem was that of making quality goods by hand, in the face of effective competition from producers using machines.”⁷³ He lamented that whilst the Arts-and-Crafts aesthetic prospered in stores such as Liberty’s, “customers were unwilling to pay the extra price that would assure the individuality of labour.”⁷⁴ The flawed premise of locating the Guild in a rural setting, given that the markets were essentially urban, was not even acknowledged by Ashbee, with Crawford offering a damning verdict:

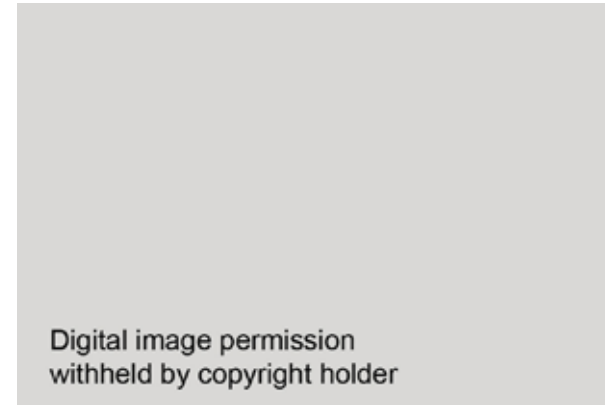
“The Guild of Handicraft failed because it was out of place in the country, too big, too sophisticated. It was naïve of Ashbee to think that a workshop employing as many as seventy men could be set down in the country all at once and survive; its skills belonged to the city, and so did its patterns of employment; when bad times came in the country, it could not respond.”⁷⁵



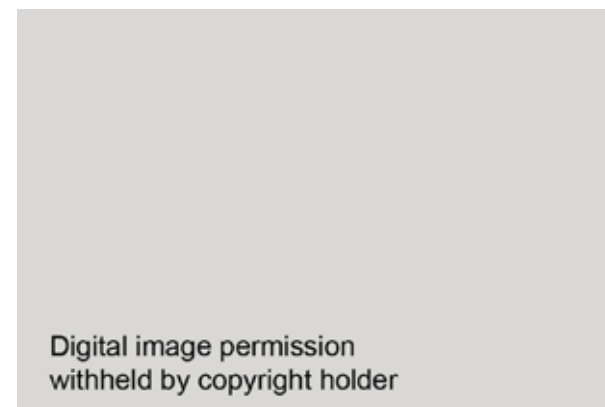
4.032 Exterior view of Mary Ward Settlement House (1895-96) by Dunbar Smith and Cecil Brewer



4.034 Street view of Mary Ward Settlement House with render band beneath the eaves



4.033 Charnley House (1891-92) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from *American Architecture and Building News*, 31, (Dec. 1892), image from Saint, A. in Alfosin A. (1999)



4.035 Winslow House (1894) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982) *Whatever Happened to Frank Lloyd Wright*

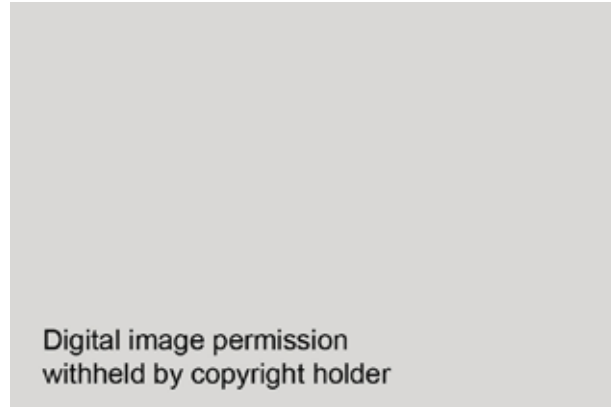
I visited the Old Silk Mill on Sheep Street, in Chipping Campden, which had been the home of the Guild of Handicraft – it was now simply called The Guild. The historic three-storey mill was used originally for weaving silk to make ribbons that were then sold in Coventry and Birmingham. In fact, its large window openings and open floors made the internal space flexible enough for many uses. Today the mill contains a number of artistic outlets, with an art gallery on the ground floor, a jewellery studio on the first floor, and the Hart family jewellers on the second floor. Indeed the Hart studio itself looked rather unchanged, and they are still manufacturing reproductions of Ashbee's work. Will Hart and his brother George had joined the Handicraft Guild in 1902 and remained in Chipping Campden after its liquidation. I asked to look at their visitors' book, and one of the jewellers helped me to find Wright, telling me that he was still very popular with American tourists. Frank Lloyd Wright's signature was there on the 10th September 1910, being predated by his sister, Maginel Wright, who had visited the colony in 1907. Chipping Campden has now fully embraced the Guild into its very fabric, with a nearby exhibition at Court Barn curated by Ashbee's biographer, Alan Crawford, and showcasing nine designers who have thrived within the rural setting. At the Robert Welch cutlery shop, I bought some extra teaspoons to replace those that have disappeared in my dishwasher. The assistant informed me that whilst the design studio remains in Campden, production has now moved from Sheffield to South Korea, a familiar lament that Ashbee would have understood. The modern setting for a craftwork guild embraces a global labour market and commodity flows, rather than the quaint teachings of Ruskin and Morris.

The English architectural historian, John Summerson, once considered the influence of Wright on modernism in a paper entitled 'The British Contemporaries of Frank Lloyd Wright.' He began by noting: "Wright is seen in the character of the greatest innovator of the period in the United States and this may be instructive to compare his performance with those of innovators in Britain through the same years."⁷⁶ The essay situated Wright within a specific chronology and genealogy of British architecture, and also addressed the possible influence of Wright within Britain. Summerson acknowledged an obsession with "pioneer-hunting" among historians to ascertain "the true genealogy of the Modern Movement," this being a casual swipe at Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement*.⁷⁷ Summerson identified Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868-1928) as a British contemporary of Wright, and "an innovator in many respects analogous to Wright," but he also noted that Mackintosh

was only given this leading role in modernism "by virtue of hindsight."⁷⁸ Summerson does not expand on the connection beyond a general sense of "affinity!"⁷⁹ In addition, Mackintosh and Wright were both "insular product[s]" and "great provincial[s],"⁸⁰ sharing similar regional concerns, sources, and inspirations. Summerson also pointed out that by virtue of Mackintosh's popularity in mainland Europe and Wright's imminent trip to Germany in 1909, it was in fact in Holland, Germany and Austria that the work of both men was best understood.

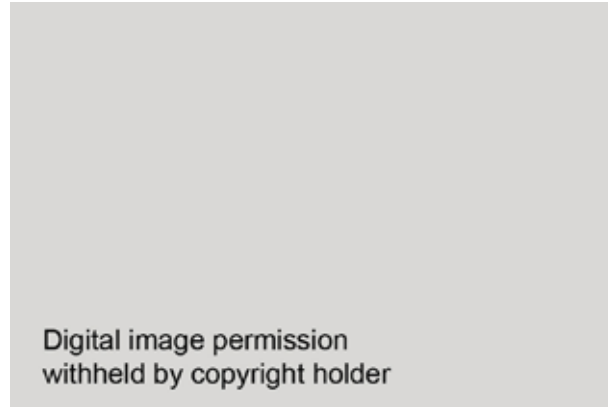
Summerson did identify some clear British influences from Wright, such as the Mary Ward Settlement (1895-96), originally called the Passmore-Edwards Settlement, off Tavistock Square by Dunbar Smith and Cecil Brewer.⁸¹ According to Summerson, the early influence of Webb and Voysey on these architects was supplanted by that of Wright's Charnley House (1891-92), with the elevation displaying "a deep band" of render beneath the eaves that were "thoroughly American".⁸² The Settlement movement connection between Toynbee Hall and Hull House was also mentioned, and Brewer went on to become a committed American traveller and disseminator, such as in the design of Heal's Department Store (1916), London.⁸³ Yet for me, there are other influences within the Mary Ward House that indicate a far wider reflection and influence, with its expressive entrance being drawn more from the Glasgow School of Art than from Wright. Summerson dismisses the influence of Wright and Mackintosh contemporaries on British modernism after the First World War, with only Charles Holden becoming a "major practitioner."⁸⁴

Tantalisingly, Summerson concluded that whilst his essay was narrowly focused on links to modernism, Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) "outshone" all his British contemporaries and yet was excluded because of his distaste for modernism and his commitment to the neo-Classical cannon.⁸⁵ Saint thus concludes that perhaps it was Lutyens who was the closest contemporary to Wright in terms of reputation in Britain.⁸⁶ Greenburg has tried to situate Lutyens as part of the Modern Movement, and claims that "[the] similarity of Wright's plans to the organization of Lutyens' plans is startling,"⁸⁷ with the circulation patterns and inhabitation of space being similar for both architects. Greenburg cites the statement by Peter Collins that: "Lutyens was probably the only contemporary architect whom Wright really admired, and the four volumes of Lutyens' work were constantly referred to during discussions with students."⁸⁸ Furthermore, Wright reviewed Lutyens' memorial volumes in 1951



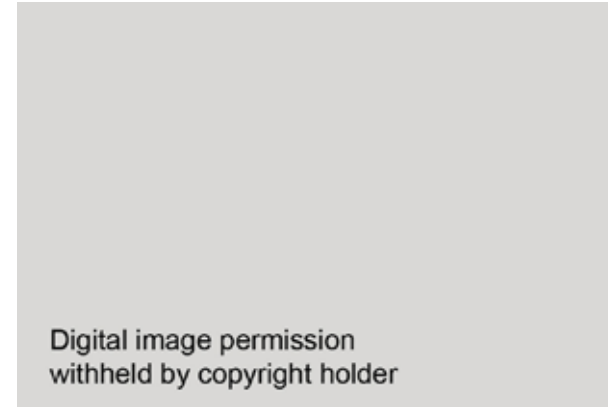
Digital image permission
withheld by copyright holder

4.036 Drawings of American System Built Houses
(1911-17), image from Raymond, A. (1973)



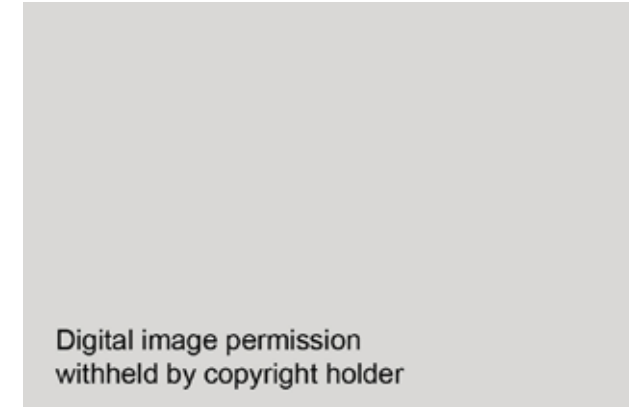
Digital image permission
withheld by copyright holder

4.037 Drawings of American System Built Houses
(1911-17), image from Raymond, A. (1973)



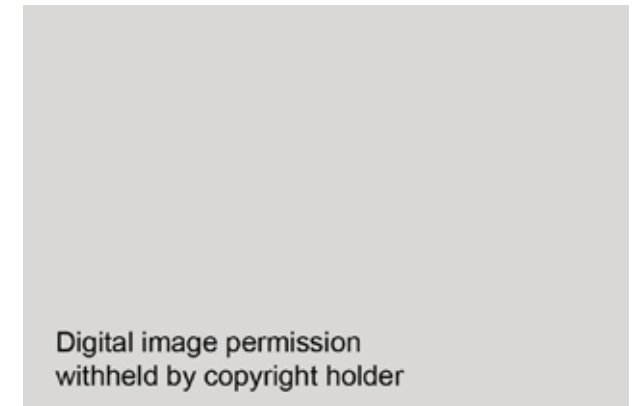
Digital image permission
withheld by copyright holder

4.038 Drawings of American System Built Houses
(1911-17), image from Raymond, A. (1973)



Digital image permission
withheld by copyright holder

4.039 Drawings of American System Built Houses
(1911-17), image from Raymond, A. (1973)



Digital image permission
withheld by copyright holder

4.040 Drawings of American System Built Houses
(1911-17), image from Raymond, A. (1973)

in glowing terms, so there clearly did exist some mutual respect – quite a feat for Wright.⁸⁹ Both architects were also famous for building villas for affluent clients to articulate their wealth and influence.

Wright did claim an early British influence, by remarking that “we got it all from Lethaby, you know,” Saint suggests that the statement was made to flatter the English visitor – nevertheless, it is a tantalising admission from someone who generally refused to acknowledge any influences.⁹⁰ Lethaby remains a much contested figure in Britain with a number of strands to his work. He was an accomplished architect working for Shaw, and ran an independent practice for a short time, as well as a writer and architectural historian, a prolific educator and an institutional rebel who famously refused the RIBA Gold Medal. Wright shared many of these concerns with Lethaby – his own writings began with a rejection of historical forms and proposed the adoption of ahistorical myths and symbols, such as “the tree of life”.⁹¹ Lethaby used the “essence of the Arts and Crafts” to propose an anti-academic alternative craft education that was not based on “cultivated taste nor on drawing skill, but on an intimate knowledge of tools and materials.”⁹² His anti-academic approach was certainly shared by Wright and the teaching methods that Lethaby advocated were to become the mainstay of Wright’s Taliesin Foundation. After the First World War, Lethaby engaged with a wider urban context, and in *Form in Civilisation* (1922) he rejected the notion that architecture is a fine art, instead declaring that “Architecture is a pragmatical art” – thereby making a case once more for a communal endeavour, a serviceable utility, and that reflects a contemporary condition.⁹³ The architect Colin StJohn Wilson uses Lethaby’s definition of architecture as a “practical art” in his book, *The Other Tradition of Modern Architecture: The Uncompleted Project*, to form the basis of an ‘alternative tradition’ to international modernism that included Hugo Haering, Alvar Aalto, and indeed Wright.⁹⁴

Broadacre City at the RIBA

The American public and architectural profession shunned Wright after his return from Europe in 1910 with his mistress Mamah Cheney, but his mother came to his rescue and gave him a piece of ancestral land in Spring Green, Wisconsin – which Wright then developed into a new identity – Taliesin. During this period of re-invention Wright undertook a variety of new commissions including Midway Gardens (1913-4), Barnsdall House (Hollyhock House) (1916-21) and the American System Ready-Cut Housing (1911-17). For the latter, Arthur Richards was “a Milwaukee real estate investor, developer and promoter,” and together they experimented with a “Ready-Cut” method of factory produced modular house typology.⁹⁵ Wright designed standard one-storey and two-storey houses, and also two-storey apartment layouts, and Richards then sold them. The principle was based on timber components that were manufactured in a factory and then assembled quickly on site and finished off with stucco. These machine based designs offered a realisation of Wright’s ‘Arts and Crafts of the Machine’ manifesto, and he claimed: “I have had faith in the machine as a characteristic tool of my times, therefore an artist’s tool. I believe that the architecture in America that fails to take into account the machine and modern organisation tendencies is going to be of no great benefit to the people.”⁹⁶ In the past, Wright had been scathing about the catalogue housing market, and so he was keen to make a distinction with his System House: “I want to deliver beautiful houses to people at a certain price, key in packet. If I have made progress in the art of architecture, I want to be able to offer this to the people intact.”⁹⁷ The resultant American System Ready-Cut Houses were sold in competition with the popular Sears-Roebuck catalogue housing of the period. An American System Ready-Cut House was “advertised in the Chicago Tribune in 1917 for \$2,730.”⁹⁸ It was variously claimed that between 800 and 900 drawings had been prepared for the system, but only about ten to fifteen homes were ever actually built.⁹⁹

Furthermore, the American System Ready-Cut House was a combination of Prairie House planning with European modernist sensibilities, moving beyond the middle-class affluence of Oak Park to embrace European concerns for a collective modern identity. The American System Ready-Cut houses and apartments were thus a transitional stage for Wright given that the ‘Prairie Style’ period had waned after his sojourn in Europe. As such, they embraced a European modernist aesthetic, with horizontal banded windows, and an external render finish that was articulated by bands of timber. It must be noted that Wright employed Antonin Raymond as an

Digital image permission
withheld by copyright holder

4.041 Bungalow (1915), American System Built Houses, image from Hitchcock, H-R. (1976)



4.042 Street view of 'American Model-Cottage A,' Arthur L. Richards (1916), Milwaukee, WI, which appears on page 112 of said book; image from Meehan, Patrick J. Meehan (c) 1987, 1992, and 2014. Copyright (c) Patrick Joseph Meehan, 1987, 1992, and 2014. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.



4.043 Detail view of entrance to Cottage A, Arthur L. Richards (1916), Milwaukee, WI, which appears on page 113 of said book; image from Meehan, Patrick J. (c) 1987, 1992, and 2014. Copyright (c) Patrick Joseph Meehan, 1987, 1992, and 2014. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.



4.044 Street view of 'Two-Family-Flat-C' Duplex Apartments Arthur L. Richards (1916), Milwaukee, WI, which appears on page 118 of said book; image from Meehan, Patrick J. (c) 1987, 1992, and 2014. Copyright (c) Patrick Joseph Meehan, 1987, 1992, and 2014. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

assitant for the project, and the latter may have helped to develop the European modernist aesthetic. Wright and Richards had various disputes over money, and with America joining the First World War in 1917, building materials became scarce. Only a few examples of American System Ready-Cut apartments and houses still remain. The Munkwitz Duplex Apartments in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1916) was a two-storey apartment block that possessed a communal central stair and accommodation for four families that was built for \$20,000. Unfortunately they were demolished in 1974 for a highway-widening scheme.

The 'Great Depression' in America during the 1930s brought about a more liberal political regime under the banner of the New Deal, and marked the end of the boom years of the 1920s. After his election Franklin Roosevelt inaugurated "a recovery-minded First New Deal [1932] rooted in the past, and a reform-minded Second New Deal [1936] that under political, intellectual, and demographic pressures of change unfolded into something far broader and more original."¹⁰⁰ One fundamental change initiated in the First New Deal was a redefinition of the 'social contract within America: "[the] traditional emphasis in American politics on individual self-reliance should give way to a new understanding of the social contract in which the government guaranteed individual men and women protection from the uncertainties of the marketplace."¹⁰¹ Within the first hundred days of his Presidency, Roosevelt created new agencies that would transform the infrastructure of America, including the Public Works Authority (PWA) and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). "The principal goal was reducing unemployment, which hovered around 30 per cent in large cities," and thus these 'alphabet agencies' promoted new projects as a means to propagate unemployment relief and economic recovery.¹⁰² Wright's son, Lloyd, participated in the PWA programme along with former associates, Richard Neutra and George Elmslie, but Wright himself remained on the outside – despite attempting to contribute some of his expertise in house construction, and proposing 'Suntop' units for the Division of Defense Planning.¹⁰³

Under the New Deal, three 'Greenbelt' towns were built based on Howard's Garden City principles and the 1920s suburban prototype at Radburn, New Jersey. Furthermore, the Farm Security Administration (FSA), Resettlement Administration and Division of Subsistence Homesteads all initiated a further 96 community experiments across America.¹⁰⁴ Ghirardo claims that the main impetus for this

return to the land were Ralph Borsodi's two books condemning urban malaise and corruption within the industrialised city, *This Ugly Civilisation* (1929) and *Flight from the City* (1933).¹⁰⁵ The timing of these books could not have been more fortunate, and Roosevelt endorsed the "transfer of urban unemployment to new communities where they could grow their own food on small plots of land near their own houses."¹⁰⁶

For many of the New Deal administrators, these model communities "offered the chance to initiate a change in the social and economic order, away from excessive and destructive individualism towards a greater "spirit of community" and cooperation."¹⁰⁷ This was a truly radical departure for America, and Ghirardo documents the many difficulties experienced by the New Deal bureaucracy in seeking to build the new communities.¹⁰⁸ It is even claimed that the American System Ready-Cut House, and the 'Richards Bungalow' designed by Wright, "foreshadowed the minimal ranch house of the late-1930s – a concoction of the FHA and other government agencies."¹⁰⁹ But the cost of mistakes and of providing employment in these new communities led to a severe reaction in Congress, and the whole programme became more prescriptive. Increasingly, the New Deal administrators looked to the paternal and utopian experiments of the past, such as the Pullman factory town in South Chicago, and conveniently forgot the acrimonious strike there in 1894. Ghirardo notes that the design and layout became "inherent conservative and often authoritarian tendencies of the programs," with a severe grid-iron plan and strict vetting of tenants, resulting in a high turnover of residents.¹¹⁰ What was surprising was that only a very small number of schemes were constructed – a mere 141,000 units were built before the Second World War, "meagre in comparison with some 4.5 million new units in Europe."¹¹¹

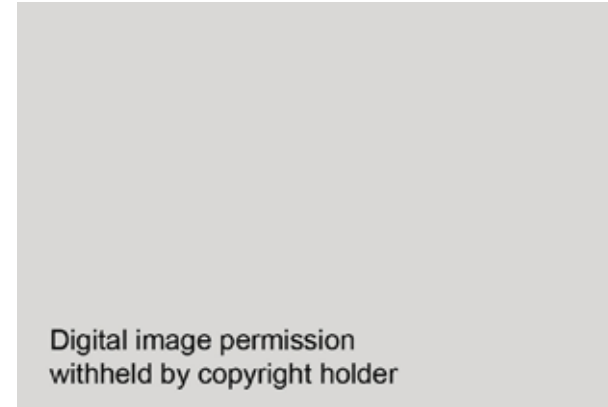
Wright was less affected by the 'Great Depression' than most other architects, mainly because his output had already been so minimal during the 1920s. He had returned from Japan in 1922 and he worked briefly in Los Angeles until 1924. Wright began the 1930s by engaging in a number of alternative practices: for instance, he presented the Kahn Lectures at Princeton in 1930, and outlined his Broadacre City vision, he published his *An Autobiography* (1932) and set up the Taliesin Fellowship. Wright now portrayed himself as a visionary of decentralisation, and a follower of the 'anarchic' strain of the early town planners such as Peter Kropotkin and Ebenezer Howard. Yet in fact Wright was part of a much larger group that was already urging



4.045 Street view, Herbert Jacobs House (1936-7) by Frank Lloyd Wright



4.046 Garden view, Herbert Jacobs House



Digital image permission withheld by copyright holder

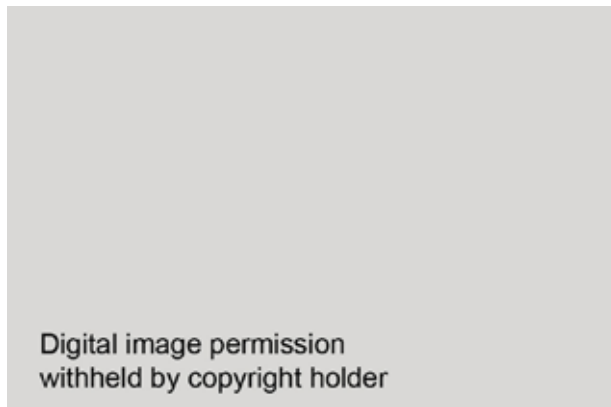
4.050 Broadacre City model (1935), image from McCarter, R. (1997)



4.047 Living room, Herbert Jacobs House



4.048 Hearth, within living room, dining area beyond, Herbert Jacobs House



Digital image permission withheld by copyright holder

4.049 Plan, Herbert Jacobs House, image from Sergeant, J. (1984)
236

population dispersal from the city in the 1930s as a way of articulating a more just city, as well as providing relief during the 'Great Depression'.

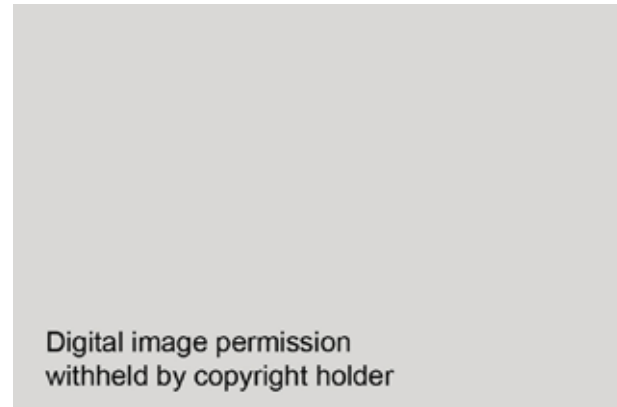
Wright was thus caught up in the spirit of the New Deal if not in the actual process. His work from the period however addressed the issues of recovery and reform. To address housing reform, the "Federal Housing Administration (FHA) created in 1934, guaranteed mortgage loans for banks and improved terms for owners" – this being a traditionally American attitude to housing by using the private sector.¹¹² For his Usonian vision, Wright returned again to the issue of the "house of moderate cost", which he claimed was "not only America's major architectural problem but the problem most difficult for her major architects."¹¹³ Not only did this type follow on from the FHA's reform but also reflected the American attitude to social housing, as noted by Davis, that only the single family house was seen as fostering 'American values.'¹¹⁴ This was therefore Wright's third attempt to solve the problem, following the Prairie House for \$5,000 and the American System Ready-Cut Housing. He claimed that the problem was mainly aesthetic, in that the "chief obstacle to any real solution of moderate-cost house problem is in fact that our people do not really know how to live, imagining that their idiosyncrasies to be their "tastes," their prejudices to be their predilections and their ignorance to be virtue where any beauty of living is concerned."¹¹⁵ Consequently, the first Usonian House for Herbert Jacobs (1936-7) was a statement of the simple life, according to Wright's interpretation of course. It had an L-shaped plan containing a large open-plan living and dining area, a small kitchen, and a separate wing for the bedrooms. Wright included a number of innovations such as underfloor heating, lightweight construction, integral carport and built-in furniture. The resulting house was unquestionably functional, modern and indeed superb architecture – but it did not allow the owner many freedoms to be able to live according to their needs. Wright declared that the Usonian House could be built for a "moderate cost" of \$5,500, (around £55.7k nowadays) which did at least indicated some measure of social democracy.¹¹⁶

In a similar manner, Broadacre City reflected the zeitgeist of the New Deal. In his 1935 justification for this scheme, Wright proposed three new rights for each citizen:

- "1) His social right to a direct medium of exchange in place of gold as a commodity: some form of social credit.
- 2) His social right to this place on the ground as he has had it in the sun and air: land to be held only by use and improvements.
- 3) His social right to the ideas by which and for which he lives: public ownership of invention and scientific discoveries that concern the life of the people."¹¹⁷

This total reconstitution of America as proposed by Wright was a common reaction to the Great Depression. The notion of free currency was widely debated as a radical means of reforming capitalism, the nationalisation of land responded to Wright's agrarian background and was a means of propagating rapid decentralisation, and finally the repeal of all private patents would allow the free exchange of ideas without commercial exploitation. These reforms alone would provide a basis of an egalitarian society, and also reflected his sympathy with Russia's Communist agenda. Wright would constantly claim that Broadacre City was the manifestation of 'democracy', enabling the individual to live an 'organic' life, yet within Broadacre the central authority was the elected architect. With respect to equity, Wright's reforms were a giant step towards achieving a more even distribution of resources, and in fact his conception of a new equitable society was more radical than anything achieved by Soviet Russia. Diversity within Broadacre was more problematic to evaluate; his ideal settlement embraced "diversity in unity", acknowledging that all were admitted so long as they were 'organic!'¹¹⁸ Broadacre City was "a new community plan", according to Wright, and a sustainable community could only be achieved by the application of 'organic' principles.¹¹⁹ Whilst professing a love of nature, Wright's means of creating democracy was the motor car, possibly the most destructive environmental object ever invented. Wright was an avid fan of the car and I would suspect that today he would be a climate-change denier. Yet within the climate of the 1930s, Broadacre City was remarkable for its vision, scale and architectural unity, a whole nation remade as Usonia and in Wright's image. It was, in essence, Wright's own mini-New Deal.

Wright's work was widely disseminated in Britain in the inter-war period with a number of books and articles that attempted to unravel 'organic' architecture. Howard Robertson was one of the first to consider Wright's talents. Robertson was Principal at the Architectural Association in London during the 1930s, and an important figure



Digital image permission withheld by copyright holder

4.051 Cover image, *The Architectural Record*, April 1935

THE ARCHITECTS' JOURNAL for May 4, 1939 731

His first show in England. His work may be called abstract, not in the more usual constructive sense of deliberate synthesis and balance of form, but in imaginative analysis and an extraordinarily sensitive simplification to essentials. I hesitate to say that it has affinities with negro sculpture, for this instantly suggests dreary parodies and the pirating of superficial qualities without any real comprehension. Yet the highly developed plastic sense and the underlying intensity of feeling are reminiscent of some of the finest negro art.

This small collection, the result of a year's work in England, is sculpture—a rarity in a world largely given over to the works of monumental stonemasons—and it should be seen by all those who are interested in vital art.

Claude Monet's earlier work was traditional, in terms of tone rather than colour relationships, and strongly influenced by Corot. In 1870 he fled from Paris to London with Pissarro, to escape the Franco-Prussian war, and in working with him became an impressionist. Most of his best known work dates from this period, and Messrs. Tooth have organised a remarkably comprehensive and interesting exhibition of paintings by Monet the impressionist. Of these, "Argenteuil," painted in 1876, and "Giverny au Bois de Boulogne," painted in 1877, are particularly fine examples. "Cathedral de Rouen, effet de brume," a much later work dated 1894 is, though many may deplore its lack of structure, interesting as a reflection of Monet's admiration for Turner, so apparent in much of his later painting, and as one of his many treatments of the same scene. For in an impressionist the light is the subject, and it doesn't much matter what reflects it. Monet used Rouen cathedral as a handy model, and painted it in endless conditions of light and atmosphere, and in his rendering at Tooth's has carried the impressionist softening of the silhouette to its utmost limits.

Paintings by Charles Howard and Sculpture by Herpes. Guggenheim House, 30 Cork Street. Until May 6.

Paintings by Monet. Tooth's, 155 New Bond Street. Until May 6.

The Location and Design of Housing Estates

"The Location and Design of Housing Estates" was the subject of a paper read by Mr. S. Pottin Taylor, F.R.I.B.A., at a meeting of the Town Planning Institute, held at Caston Hall, S.W., last Friday.

Among other matters, Mr. Taylor dealt with the extension of the medium-sized town. He thought a development by putting out sporadic radial in the most desirable directions, having regard to the social and industrial needs of the town, would prove more acceptable to land owners than the building of satellite towns. It was a method that left the centre of the town in the same relationship to the country as at present, and was the antithesis to ribbon development.

Mr. Taylor preferred a direct attack upon contours by roads parallel with or at right angles to them rather than diagonal roads, unless the roads at right angles to the contours were impossibly steep. Minor roads should be planned to discourage through traffic; he thought cul-de-sac the ideal. It was the aim of good designers to incorporate the maximum of the cheaper roads in a lay-out, with the minimum of roads that would require widening on the occasion of future extensions.

A number of interesting lantern slides were shown, illustrating the fact that by a difference in lay-out houses might be more suitably placed, while at the same time there was a saving in expenditure for road construction. In the case of slum clearances and compulsory purchase orders also, where unfit houses at high densities were demolished, there was usually a close network of existing roads; and when the area was re-planned, some of this land might be put to better use.

The Chairman (Mr. J. E. Arfield) said if there was open development of a town, there should be a park square, playing fields or something of a similar nature between the open development and arterial roads.

Correspondence ensued, and when Wright came over to Europe in 1910 he visited Mr. Ashbee at Campden. Some time before this journey, Professor Kuno Francke, a German professor in aesthetics at Harvard, had visited Wright and strongly suggested to him to go to Germany, where his work would be hailed by the progressive architects. Soon after this visit, a proposal came from E. Wasmuth, the best-known German architectural publishers, to bring out a complete monograph of Wright's work. While in Florence,

Today, at 8.30 p.m., Mr. Frank Lloyd Wright will give his second lecture at the R.I.B.A. as the Sir George Watson Lecturer of the Sulgrave Manor Board for 1939. Other lectures will take place on May 9 and 11. Below we publish an article by Dr. Pevsner on Mr. Frank Lloyd Wright's influence on modern architectural development. The photograph above was taken on Mr. Wright's arrival in England on April 27.

The following account is based on published as well as unpublished material, the latter consisting of more or less detailed information in writing supplied to Dr. Pevsner by Mr. C. R. Ashbee, Herr H. Th. Wijdeveld, Herr J. J. P. Oud, and Messrs. E. Wasmuth, of Berlin.

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT'S PEACEFUL PENETRATION OF EUROPE

[By NIKOLAUS PEVSNER]

THERE lives near London an architect known to many for his adventurous early buildings and designs, his brilliant writings on the social movement of the arts and crafts, his Campden experiment in craftsmanship, husbandry and community life, and his charming personality, Mr. C. R. Ashbee. He is about seventy-five now, and can claim amongst his other titles to fame that of having discovered Frank Lloyd Wright for Europe. They got to know each other when Mr. Ashbee was staying in Chicago in 1900.




1 Frank Lloyd Wright: Robie House, Chicago, 1908-9

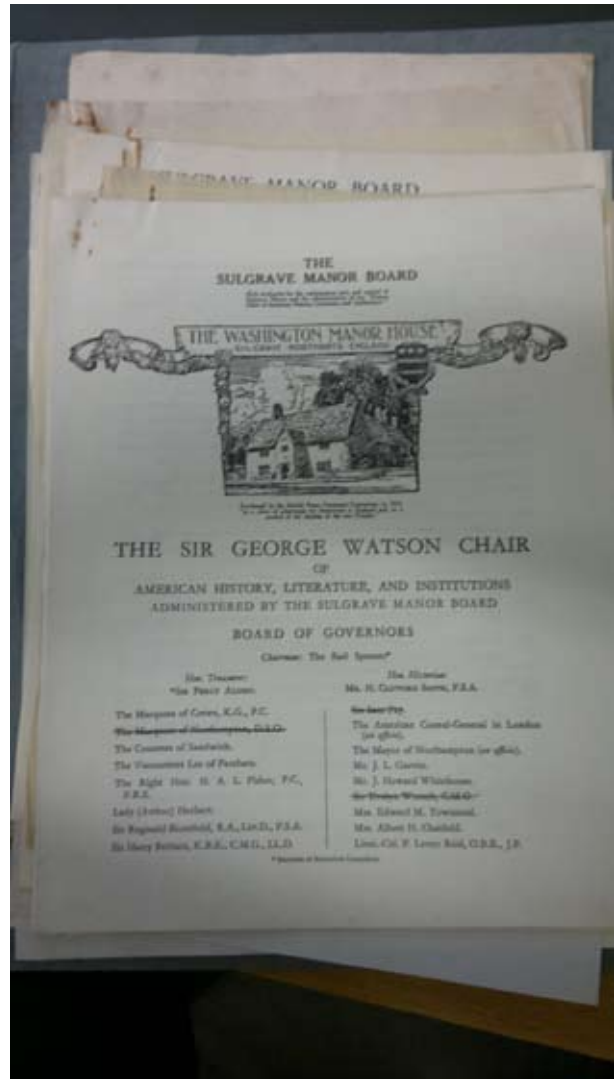
4.052 Cover image, *The Architects' Journal*, 4th May 1939

in the promotion of British modernism. His book, *The Principles of Architectural Composition* (1924) was an eclectic review of architecture drawn from around the globe, and noted that the Imperial Hotel (1913-23) had exhibited sound architectural principles – which had been proven by it surviving the 1923 earthquake.¹²⁰ The more expansive *Modern Architectural Design* quoted extensively from Wright's article on the material characteristic of concrete, and calling him as an important designer within the residential field.¹²¹ Later in 1934, Philip Morton Shand published a reverse chronology for the modern house, entitled 'Scenario for a Human Drama' (1934-5). The aim was to review housing between the Regency period and the 1930s. Wright was located within the middle period, and Shand wrote: "Two distinctive trends in design – one of a theoretical European school, the other evolved by an intuitive American individualist – started to coalesce in Holland during the war years; a fusion which was the immediate genesis of Functionalism."¹²² Shand noted that Wright's designs were developed in Holland to create an emergent "functional aesthetic."¹²³ However, Shand was not convinced by the American architect. He claimed that there were "two Frank Lloyd Wrights – the visionary architectural prophet and the dynamic architectural practitioner – and more often than not they are at variance with one another, execution belying professional."¹²⁴ According to Shand, Wright was typical of many Americans, with "an inability to achieve coherently sustained expression," and as such Wright's "utterances were at variance with his own work."¹²⁵ But ultimately, Shand's analysis was merely aesthetic.

In contrast, another reading of Wright came from the historian John Gloag. He visited America in 1934, and after reading Alexander Woollcott's book *While Rome Burns*, he organised a visit to Taliesin. Woollcott's chapter on Wright was entitled 'The Prodigal Father,' and it supported the myth of Wright's misunderstood "genius" and called him the "Father of Modern Architecture" in "Europe and the Far East."¹²⁶ Gloag's interest was certainly kindled. His subsequent articles show that he was smitten by Wright and the whole Taliesin Fellowship, and he subsequently became a staunch promoter.¹⁷³ Yet, this merely showed that Wright was brilliantly adept at boosting his own personality such that it overshadowed his architecture. As Harry Seckel noted: "He adores adoration. Disciples are a necessary part of his existence. In short, he is an architectural Isadora Duncan."¹²⁷ Thus, in the 1930s Wright was not only a colourful character who had survived numerous trials and tribulations, but was also adept at making it all seem like his destiny.

Pevsner's book *Pioneers of Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius* (1936) replicated Shand's earlier aesthetic analysis, and had a lasting impact because it embraced the wider social and cultural zeitgeist – and it followed a chronological sequence, making it much easier to comprehend. Within this modernist meta-narrative, Wright's early lecture on the 'Art and Craft of the Machine' was much lauded, as noted, and his Prairie Style had "by 1904" become "so near to the style of today [international modernism] in his actual buildings."¹²⁸ Again, it was Wright's buildings that were the manifestation of modernism, which is why Pevsner elevated him to the status of 'pioneer'. In a later article in 1939, Pevsner considered 'The Peaceful Penetration of Europe by Frank Lloyd Wright.'¹²⁹ The article attributed the role of Dutch architecture and Dudok in diffusing Wright's work. As Johnson notes, northern Europe was by then an important destination for English architects undertaking an updated Grand Tour – "the English looked to continental Europeans for their inspiration."¹³⁰ Pevsner's underlying thesis was that Wright's architecture has become all-pervasive, he claimed that "traces of his [Wright's] own work of thirty to forty years ago, copies sometimes, caricatures sometimes and sometimes original interpretations pregnant with new issues."¹³¹ It was certainly an optimistic view of Wright's influence, a decontextualised modernism, and an early manifestation of deterritorialised globalisation.

The American journal, *Architectural Forum*, dedicated an entire issue to Wright in January 1938 which not only contained all his latest work but was also designed and edited by Wright.¹³² With his growing international reputation and critical adulation, it was perhaps not surprising that Wright was invited to occupy the Sir George Watson Chair on behalf of the Sulgrave Manor, an Anglo-American Institution. As part of this honour, Wright was required to give a number of public lectures. They were initially postponed due to the ongoing construction of the Johnson Wax Building, and so rescheduled for May 1939. Wright left Spring Green, Wisconsin on 19th April and sailed across the Atlantic on the *SS Europa*, arriving in Portsmouth on 30th April. He had a packed agenda which was published in advance in *The Builder*, and it included: dinner at the Architects Club in the Savoy Hotel, tea party at the RIBA, four lectures at the RIBA, a visit to the Buildings Research Station, a BBC television appearance from Alexandra Palace, a debate at the English Speaking Union, a meeting with the MARS Group, and lunch with his long-standing friend, Charles Ashbee. It was a hectic schedule for a man of nearly seventy-two.¹³³



4.053 Sulgrave Manor letterhead



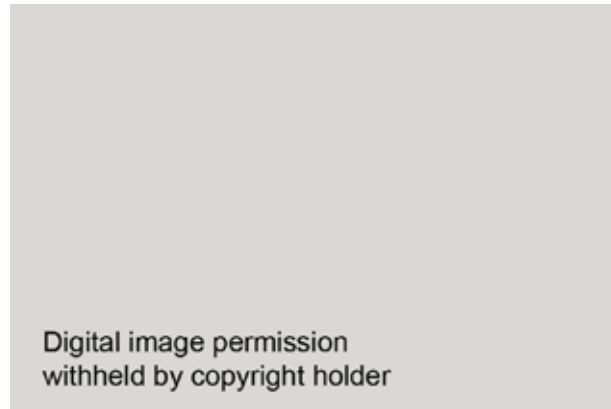
4.054 Frank Lloyd Wright, his daughter Iovanna, and his wife Olgivanna, at a London Hotel, image from *The Architects' Journal*, 11th May 1939

The four evening lectures at the RIBA were held at the newly completed Jarvis Lecture Hall. Each evening the hall was full and many commentators remarked that the event was more of a 'happening' than a learned architectural discourse. Wright relied on his easy-going American manner and obtuse language to illuminate and confuse at the same time! During the first evening, Wright began as a true American democrat by admonishing the "imposing formality" of the chairman, stating that he was not going to deliver a lecture: "Not knowing very well what formal lectures are, however, having never attended none in my lifetime..."¹³⁴ This set the tone for a series of informal talks in which Wright restated his distaste for neo-Classical architecture and most contemporary architecture alike, whilst never clearly explaining his 'organic' credo. Wright opened the evening confidently with "a minority report: an informal Declaration of Independence," this involving a "spiritual" call for 'organic architecture' that was independent from neo-Classical precedent and 'International Style' aesthetic.¹³⁵ Wright, acknowledged his British ancestry and his fate in having been raised in the 'tall grass' of a romantic American idyll. According to Wright, an indigenous American architecture had begun and been progressed under Sullivan, up until the "great orchestration" of neo-Classical architecture in the 1893 World Fair.¹³⁶ Thereafter, American architecture became merely a business supported by academics who propagated a neo-Classical education and architectural companies that produced "Pseudo "classical"" imitations.¹³⁷ He offered 'organic' architecture as being modern, free from tradition and embracing "form and function are one."¹³⁸ Wright dismissed European modernist architecture as a mere style – a new form of decoration – his so-called "58th Variety" with their "superficial simplicity making plain surfaces and flat roofs an aesthetic."¹³⁹ It was a staggering insult to the modernists within the audience, their work was reduced to a mere addition to the 57 varieties cited on the humble Heinz Baked Beans tin!

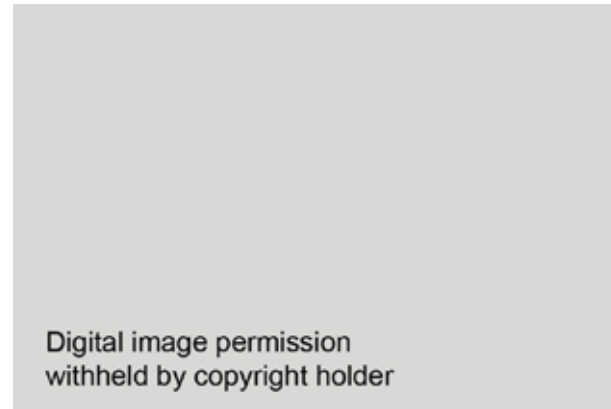
The second evening began with a short film about life at Taliesin in Wisconsin and its drafting room. Wright proclaimed himself as "a worker in from the field."¹⁴⁰ He praised the domestic and "homely aspect" of older English architecture that had been achieved "in spite of [the] Renaissance,"¹⁴¹ which implied that Wright was familiar with the English Free-Style which underpinned the Arts-and-Crafts movement. However, Wright did not extend his admiration to the English country manor – "Georgio-colonial architecture ... a Renaissance of the renaissance of the Renaissance"¹⁴² – which he called an imposition on the landscape that was "monarchic and not democratic."¹⁴³

It was a republican rebuke from Wright, attacking both the monarchy and British colonial architecture and hence, an assault on the British establishment. Wright identified an alternative democratic 'organic' approach that expressed a feeling "for human form" and the "quality lived in them," which included: old Japanese buildings, Egyptian temples, and Gothic cathedrals.¹⁴⁴ Wright called for an architecture that was "a little nearer to the ground, more of life and not so much on it."¹⁴⁵ This was as close that Wright came to defining his idea of 'organic' architecture.

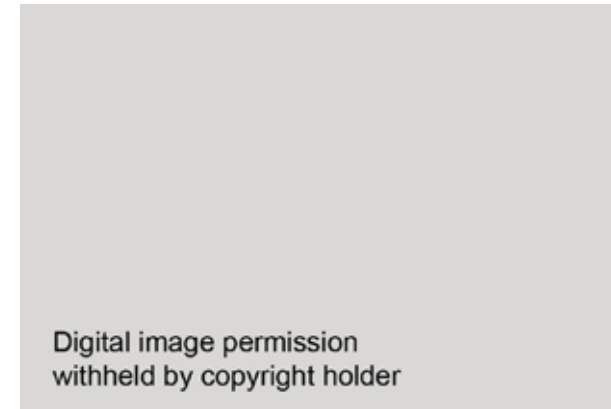
Furthermore, Wright argued a more pragmatic form of architectural education, based on the Taliesin Fellowship model of course, with each student given a piece of land so that they could "learn something actual with the sweat of the learning on their sun-tanned brows."¹⁴⁶ This was another attack on the orthodoxy of architectural schools which promoted the study of neo-Classical rules. The remainder of the second evening was given over to an open question-and-answer session, with Wright answering with unnerving self-belief. When questioned for instance about dispersed living, Wright complained that "English life is all cooped up," with "no appropriate sense of the countryside and lack any modern sense of the countryside."¹⁴⁷ He advocated "the countryside itself developing into a type of building ... belonging there naturally with grace," and as a result would leave historical London in a vast parkland as a museum piece.¹⁴⁸ And as for human instinct to 'herd' into the city, Wright claimed that his new philosophy of decentralisation coupled with scientific advances in transportation and communication would instil a new culture that was less dependant on urban life.¹⁴⁹ A number of questions addressed the most appropriate way to practice 'organic' architecture, which Wright answered by advocating experience and working in the field rather than through academic education.¹⁵⁰ When asked about the relative merits of architecture within democracies such as Britain and America, as opposed to the Fascist dictatorships in Germany and Italy, Wright lamented that democratic societies were not democratic enough "in thought" and that buildings were often the product of committee decisions and were conservative because building codes were not progressive enough.¹⁵¹ It must be noted from this that Wright seemed reluctant to condemn the Fascist regimes, particularly in his beloved Japan and Germany. As noted, he had even sent his son to an architectural conference in Italy.¹⁵²



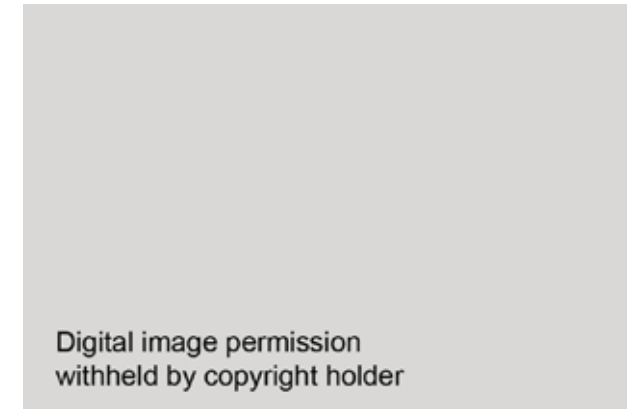
4.056 Entry and Frank Lloyd Wright's office, Taliesin West (1937), image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993)



4.057 Drafting room from Wright's office, Taliesin West (1937), image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993)



4.058 Apprentices clearing ground prior to construction, Taliesin West (1937), image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993)



4.059 Taliesin Fellowship members, Taliesin West (1940), image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993)

The third evening began with another short film in which Wright spoke of an American country idyll that spanned from the temperate Taliesin North to Taliesin West in the Arizona desert. Wright described his architectural community in terms of apprentices working on the land and in the studio, building new desert settlements and working on new commissions. Wright presented the first Usonian design, the Jacobs House, in Madison, Wisconsin, and he set out how modern science offered the potential for a new sense of spaciousness on a human scale through “the motor-car, telephone, telegraph, the radio and television, flying.”¹⁵³ His vision was for one acre for each individual, and he argued that the whole of America could reside within the state of Texas if his plan was realised.¹⁵⁴ Wright admitted that Broadacre may not be realised in his own lifetime (although he was to live to see the massive post-war suburban sprawl across the globe), and that the Taliesin Fellowship was intended as the first model Usonian community.

During the subsequent questioning Wright was accused of orchestrating ‘a back to the land’ movement, the questioner noting that many families live happily in tight quarters – like sailors and this environment nurtured “respect each other’s requirements.”¹⁵⁵ The same questioner described communal life of a typical working-class Cockney as a “battleship existence” and said that people were “perfectly happy in such conditions.”¹⁵⁶ The ship was a common reference for the modernist ideal, as a metaphor to promote a new modern life that was far removed from traditional values and building forms. Wright dismissed the enforced ‘drudgery’ that was being put forward: “[the] existence the speaker describes is, however, to me a negation of life rather than any affirmation of it I deplore the circumstances in which such lives must be spent. It is just that kind of thing that the modern movement and life itself go up against.”¹⁵⁷ Wright continued: “I feel, however, that to be humane we must stand for the philosophy of freedom rather than for any philosophy of battleship sacrifice whatever, because what has the fighting Cockney soldier achieved in life, so far, by his fighting except the need for more Cockney soldiers?”¹⁵⁸ Sergeant views this as a seminal confrontation between the European modernists, with their tendency towards dense urbanism clashing with Wright’s vision of a dispersed ‘organic’ Broadacre typology.¹⁵⁹ What was most telling about this exchange was the patronising assumptions made by the avant-garde British modernist, who could not articulate any social progress for the ‘Cockney’ other than to provide more efficient housing. Wright

at least sought to break the cycle of urban poverty by advocating a different existence based on the ‘freedom’ of a car and an acre of land in the countryside.

When questioned again about the loss of community in a decentralised city, Wright declared that the needs of community change over time, and increased freedom would hence produce different means of forming a community.¹⁶⁰ Indeed this was a prophetic statement considering the emergence of our contemporary virtual communities that transcend city and national boundaries. Wright elaborated on his globalised ‘organic’ architecture and Broadacre:

“... the country is coming to the citizen instead of the citizen going to the country. I do not wish to “disperse” any city; decentralization is not dispersal – this is wrong ... it is reintegration ... the great implements science has put into the hands of humanity are themselves carving out this new city that is to be everywhere and nowhere.”¹⁶¹

The fourth evening began with another short film on the Taliesin Fellowship: architects were shown toiling on his 200-acre farm, painting barns in Cherokee Red, and rebuilding a burst dam.¹⁶² The film continued, so that Wright could introduce his latest schemes: Fallingwater in Bear Run, Pennsylvania – “the building is very much part of the site;”¹⁶³ the Hanna House in California, with its hexagonal planning module, claiming that “the hexagon is better suited to human movement than the rectangle;”¹⁶⁴ and the vast Wingspread House, in Racine, Wisconsin, with its long plan containing ‘wings’ for children, servants and a swimming pool. Finally the Johnson Wax Building, again in Racine, was shown during construction, with Wright telling how he undertook different tests to prove its structural soundness, and of course by implication his own genius. “I regard it as not only a thoroughly modern piece of work but more nearly exemplifying the ideal of an organic architecture than any other I have built.”¹⁶⁵ With such a dizzy array of architectural delights, it was hardly surprising that many people in the audience questioned Wright’s relevance to Britain. Once more he attempted to set out his vision:

“Perhaps what you have seen on the screen has given you a little idea of this new way of building about which I have been talking; this feeling for a building as something out of the ground for the life lived in it, a building conditioned

by the nature of materials and the purpose of the thing done, as something actually having a fresh integrity – not theory but practice.”¹⁶⁶

In *An Autobiography*, when discussing his 1939 visit, Wright recalls “[we] found the old place delightful. English homeliness and quaint ugliness. As English as any thing in Pickwick.”¹⁶⁷ Thus, England remained for him a Dickensian world, and elsewhere he spoke of his view of London as “full of pathetic charm and a lively antiquarian interest.”¹⁶⁸ For Wright, “Architectural London is senile. London is senile.”¹⁶⁹ Hence it should be treated the same as an elderly relative – ameliorated and mitigated, and preserved within a great park. Wright again restated his corrective medicine: “decentralisation and reintegration is the one eventual, inevitable solution not only for London but for every outgrown village in the world today.”¹⁷⁰ At a panel discussion at the English-Speaking Union, Wright joined members of the Georgian Group as well as the modernist architect, Maxwell Fry, to debate the motion: ‘The Architectural Beauties of London are in Greater Danger from the Builder than the Bomber.’¹⁷¹ The debate openly acknowledged the likelihood of the Second World War and that bombing of cities would occur. Yet, Wright took a broader view and claimed, “All the British Isles were just about large enough for one city of the future – the city of the aeroplane, the automobile going 100 miles per hour, of radio and television.”¹⁷² The idea of a City of Britain was a fantastical concept – perhaps too radical to be taken seriously – as the debate was reported almost without comment within the *Builder* other than to note Wright’s huge ego!¹⁷³

Wright’s 1939 visit was indeed reviewed in many publications. Most of the reaction was positive, with the *Architect’s Journal* noting that the “sermons” were a timely riposte to “English progressives from a new stylistic constipation.”¹⁷⁴ The *RIBA Journal* was equally enthralled by Wright’s visit, saying that it had left London’s “architectural world a bit dazed” after the “big bang” – but the journal also noted that the “whole argument has, as it were, been left in the air,” and thus many participants still had “doubts left unresolved.”¹⁷⁵ It commented as well on Broadacre City as “presenting a formula, a general pattern of development, in a Marxian way.”¹⁷⁶ However, it was Patrick Abercrombie who was perhaps most truly dissatisfied. He had expected “four discourses, which promised a closely argued philosophy” – no less than a Wagnerian recital of the *Rheingold!*¹⁷⁷ It was not surprising that he was disappointed by Wright’s “fragments of doctrine (often, of course, contradictory)”,

adding tartly that the “prophet-preacher had clearly made no preparation for his sermons.”¹⁷⁸ Abercrombie went on to equate Broadacre City with a ‘Marxian future’, noting sarcastically that the houses that Wright typically built for millionaires would be available to all, and his letter closed with the hope that the following publication would reveal Wright “is a coherent thinker as well as a logical architect.”¹⁷⁹

Morton Shand’s analysis of Wright in 1934, preferring to detach the architecture from the persona, was certainly how the British architectural establishment preferred to view Wright. After all the architectural profession in Britain was still dominated by middle-to-upper-class practitioners. A free-thinking continuous stream of American democratic thought was essentially incoherent to Abercrombie. For certain, the cult of a global celebrity architect was a bridge too far for a British audience at the onset of the Second World War. Wright displayed a modern outlook that pre-war Britain was unwilling to contemplate as it sought to protect its Empire. Furthermore, Wright inverted the traditional view of what ‘social justice’ actually meant in Europe, making the European modernists look like patronising traditionalists against his futuristic vision of the expanded ‘City of Britain’.

In some respects Wright in 1939 was advocating a more progressive ideal of social justice and mobility, but one that was ultimately too difficult to comprehend by the class-conscious and countryside-obsessed British audience. In the talks there was something radical in Wright’s sentiments – the belief in science was often noted, democracy was another recurring theme, the sessions were aimed to look to the future, which for most British people before the Second World War was more of worry than a cause for optimism, and his ‘organic’ architecture was promoted as “not a theory but practice.”¹⁸⁰ The RIBA talks merely reinforced the common belief that Wright could only design for an affluent class in America. The pioneering work of the Jacobs House was lost in the bluster of Broadacre City with its dictatorial architect coming across as a supreme planner and organiser of life itself.

Gold

Following the Sulgrave Lecture series in May 1939, the Second World War began in September. A year later, in October 1940, the RIBA started the process of nominating a candidate for its annual RIBA Gold Medal. It was an unwritten rule that following

two nominations for British architects, the subsequent third year should consider an overseas candidate. Furthermore, the award had been bestowed through the duration of the First World War and so it was felt that it should continue during the new war. There were nine nominations, of which only two were foreign – the other seven were British, of which four were academics. Johnson speculates that regarding “the desperate situation that faced Britain, its reasonable to ask whether those that determined the royal gold medallist were reacting to events of the day, more precisely to diplomatic needs.”¹⁸¹ In addition, “the potential publicity that would come from recognizing Wright, a man of immense stature in his profession and one so prominent – and newsworthy – in America.”¹⁸² Wright was nominated by Robertson and two other Council members. Robertson had already cited Wright’s contribution to modern architecture in his two books, and he was a close friend of Gloag.¹⁸³ When the Committee was convened there was a discussion for about an hour, and by a vote of four to one, Wright was nominated – as Johnson notes, most of the lobbying had already been done outside the meeting!¹⁸⁴ The award generated good publicity in the American and British press, and Johnson concludes that “suspicion coupled with circumstantial evidence suggests that Wright’s award neatly fitted into the British campaign” of propaganda and American engagement.¹⁸⁵

Wright was contacted in November 1941 about the award to check that he would accept, prior to the Gold Medal being recommended to the King. This was to avoid the embarrassment of a public refusal. In a typical dramatic account Wright stated “While listening to the New Year’s Eve broadcast at Taliesin West, 1941, that same winter I learned that among the King’s birthday honours of that year, His Majesty’s Royal Gold Medal for Architecture had been bestowed upon me.”¹⁸⁶ By all accounts Wright was delighted at the recognition, and he believed that it was “evidence of the great change taking place in the currents of thought in the modern world.”¹⁸⁷

Three weeks after the announcement of the RIBA Gold Medal, Wright was invited by the *London News Chronicle* to write a 1,500-word article about rebuilding bomb-damaged London. Wright took this as opportunity to restate his pacifist credentials and antipathy towards the concept of the British Empire. His article for the *News Chronicle* begins by Wright stating that as a result of the war, “the Empire may die, but English domination will survive to triumph.”¹⁸⁸ In the same article, Wright articulated the basis of a new society based on his idea of social justice and ideal

settlement and ‘organic’ architecture: “Base capital broad upon the ground, not with apex on the ground apex in the air ... The physical body of the democratic city today would have no centre but would have many centres all well correlated, the height of the buildings increasing as the perimeter of activity was approached.”¹⁸⁹

Wright regarded the war as an opportunity to remake Britain in an image of Usonia and America – a reaffirmation of his earlier RIBA talks. Furthermore, in a short passage that illuminated Wright thoughts on democracy and the city, he even referred to traffic congestion! For Wright, they were the same theory – a free democratic society was the equivalent of a free-flowing traffic junction. It also illuminates Wright’s somewhat naïve belief that the problems of the city were just those of the traffic engineer. His views were articulated in an image that accompanied the article showing the Houses of Parliament beside a car park and a motorway intersection. The image was startling and unsettling – the home of British democracy and the motor-car united, the city no longer divided by class but united in a car-based democracy.

I visited the RIBA on 13th February 2008, to hear Ted Cullinan’s Gold Medal address. The institute is a good site for honouring the great and the good, with two engraved tomb-like walls at its entrance, with the past ‘masters’ bearing down on any visitor. Wright is engraved as the 1941 Gold Medallist. The foyer of the RIBA was busy with an older generation of architects who were ready to indulge in a 1960s kind of love-in. I rushed to the Jarvis Auditorium to get a good seat and sat down to read the citation by the RIBA President, Sunand Prasad:

“Over four decades of inspirational practice and teaching Edward (Ted) Cullinan CBE has shown us how a keen awareness of the natural environment, and a deep engagement with those who use and experience buildings can generate compelling and poetic architecture.”¹⁹⁰

Prasad noted the ‘humanist’ thread that has influenced Cullinan’s work, one that connects William Morris and the Arts-and-Crafts movement, through to the Californian works of Schindler and Neutra. In a commemoration booklet, an interview with Tony Chapman was recorded and Cullinan reflected on his architectural influences:

ARTS



A long time coming

Ted Cullinan's brilliant sustainable buildings have finally been recognised with a Royal Gold Medal. Let the listings begin, says

Jonathan Glancey

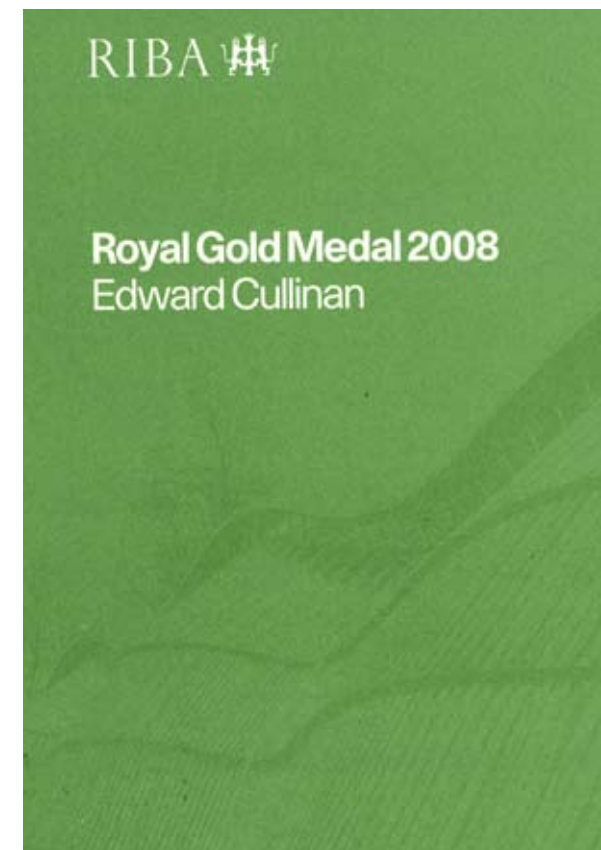
Edward Cullinan, always known as "Ted", has been designing thoughtful and sometimes daring buildings for long enough to see a number of them listed. These include his own family home in London's Camden Town, built in 1964, and his first major work in Britain, the striking ziggurat halls of residence at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, which opened in 1962 for the university's first students and is also listed Grade II*.

Now that Cullinan has been awarded the 2008 Royal Gold Medal for Architecture, a gift of the Queen made by the Royal Institute of British Architects and still one of the most prestigious of today's design prizes, we might well expect several more of his buildings to be candidates for listing. The Fountains Abbey Visitors Centre (1992) in North Yorkshire and the Cambridge University Centre for Mathematical Sciences (2003) are surely two more Grade II* designs, »



Peter Bradshaw's London film fest guide Mark Ravenhill: watch my play and vomit Sam Wollaston on a TV triumph

4.063 Cover image, photograph by Richard Learoyd, courtesy Cullinan Studio, *The Guardian*, (2007) Arts section, July 15th, 2007



4.064 Cover image, *RIBA Royal Gold Medal 2008, Edward Cullinan*, 13th February 2008, *Whatever Happened to Frank Lloyd Wright*

“Oh, for my generation it’s not difficult because its Le Corbusier, but I also love the work, the architecture and the method of building of Schindler in California, I think he was a really marvellous architect. And early Frank Lloyd Wright made the great invention of the 20th century in the Prairie House – absolutely astonishing – his later work is more show-off for the sake of showing off but it’s pretty good too.”¹⁹¹

Prasad set the tone for the evening when he said that the news of Cullinan’s success was greeted by genuine warmth within the profession, and a heckler shouted: “About time!” Cullinan took to the lectern and began by acknowledging that the first of his works would begin with ‘me’, and would mutate into ‘we’ or ‘us’ to include his collaborative architectural practice. Cullinan was born in 1931 and he cited three inspirational buildings that were completed that year: Hillvestrum Town Hall by Dudok (1931), Villa Savoye by Le Corbusier (1931) and the Chrysler building by Van Alen (1931). Cullinan focused on Dudok’s Town Hall façade and noted its cubic composition as the cultural zeitgeist of Cubism and Jazz. He recalled that in Britain in the early-30s the Piccadilly Line extension was being completed, and so showed the modernist language of these underground stations with an image of New Southgate station. Furthermore, Cullinan displayed an image of the Ward Willits House as the confirmation of Wright’s influence, particularly in terms of the synthesis of Arts-and-Crafts tradition with Japanese architecture.

Cullinan studied at Cambridge University, and he noted that the curriculum was mostly based on traditional Arts-and-Crafts theories. His education then took him to Berkeley in California, where he had first-hand experience of visiting Schindler’s Lovell Beach House and also admitted being an admirer of Richard Neutra – both these practitioners were of course former apprentices to Wright. In California, Cullinan had the opportunity to build a small house and he showed a few of images of the dwelling, which embraced its hillside setting, laughing that it had since been demolished! More slides from Cullinan’s early work also revealed his admiration of Wright – his home in Camden Mews (1964) was a mix of Wright tectonics, Japanese carpentry, and self-built philosophy. Cullinan claimed to be “impressed by the idea of just getting on with the construction, without resolving all the finer points.”¹⁹² The Olivetti office buildings (1972) addressed Wright’s idea of ‘organic’ form and material, and their interiors looked very much like a Usonian design with natural wood in

abundance. During an informal question session, everyone was reverential – not the anarchic questioning that Wright answered in 1939. Alan Powers prompted Cullinan to recollect his brief meeting with Wright at Berkeley, when an elderly Wright almost stumbled and extended his arm out for support: “it felt like a blessing!”, Cullinan recalled.¹⁹³

Milton Keynes

Wright’s ideas for a democratic and just society were the cornerstone of his Broadacre City proposal and as noted came to be realised in part in the post-war New Towns. Fraser identifies a “cultural hybridisation” between British and American urban planning as both nations sought to find ways to diffuse their population “through orderly suburbanization.”¹⁹⁴ The New Towns were conceived as satellite settlements outside the old cities of London, Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow – and thus to alleviate overcrowding. An Act of Parliament in 1946 initiated the first generation of New Towns, and Fraser identifies the use of the ‘neighbourhood unit’ from the planned model suburb of Radburn in New Jersey (1929) as an early precedent, and indeed Radburn itself had been derived from an American interpretation of the British Garden City movement, which in turn Ebenezer Howard had developed as an idea during his time in the ‘Garden City’ of Chicago.¹⁹⁵ Another Anglo-American cultural phenomena in the aftermath of the Second World War was the Cold War and a shared paranoia of nuclear Armageddon. Even Wright in his article to the *News Chronicle* in 1939 had stated that “the bomb overhead points to” the necessity to decentralise London.¹⁹⁶ It was a view that Henry-Russell Hitchcock endorsed in 1950:

“The diffusion that Wright and other anti-urbanists have called for, and for which fear of atomic bombing has provided a semi-rational motive, is taking place rapidly, if hardly for the profounder reasons some theorists have offered.”¹⁹⁷

Thus, the first of the ‘Mark 1’ New Towns in Harlow, Essex, readily embraced the ‘neighbourhood unit’ and was “laid out in batches of 150-400 dwellings, each with its own schools, shops, etc.”¹⁹⁸ This planning model from Radburn hence also responded to the British romantic idea of community – an idealised, almost utopian,



4.065 Panoramic view of Milton Keynes



'village' where different class were mixed around a local hub.¹⁹⁹ Yet the reality was compromised by the fact that the New Towns soon became "homogenised and xenophobic bastions for the skilled white working classes."²⁰⁰ The monotony of the dispersed and low-rise built form became easy targets for the *Architectural Review*. One contemporary review in *AR* in 1953, called Harlow a prototypical "Prairie Town," although rather curiously it was derived from the 'Canadian Prairie' – presumably to avoid the wrath of Frank Lloyd Wright and his Prairie School colleagues.²⁰¹ The 'Mark 2' New Towns were begun in the mid-1950s. By then the discredited idea of the 'neighbourhood unit' was supplanted by a defined town centre and the separation of road and pedestrian users to nurture community engagement. Cumbernauld (1958) outside Glasgow was typical of this second incarnation. Its massive concrete megastructure defined a central pedestrian shopping district that was serviced by a plethora of pedestrian ramps. It was an urban typology that has since often been used to represent urban dysfunction and alienation, and the open pedestrian areas proved to be ill-suited to the Scottish climate. Yet, the much sought after sense of community prospered despite the architectural form.

The only 'Mark 3' New Town to be constructed was Milton Keynes. It was conceived in 1962 and came into existence in 1967. Milton Keynes was more overtly an Anglo-American concept that sought to balance American liberal commercialism with the

British welfare state. The Milton Keynes Development Corporation (MKDC) had been established to manage the delivery of the town, and after a limited competition, Llewellyn-Davies Weeks Forestier-Walker and Bor were appointed to do the design. As the lead consultant, Llewellyn-Davies were specialists in hospital design and they generally adopted an American systems design philosophy that emphasised "indeterminacy, openness and flexibility whether in planning individual buildings or cities."²⁰² To assist in the design, Llewellyn-Davies employed a number of urban specialists from both America and Britain, and Milton Keynes was to become the urban manifestation of one particular American sociologist consultant, social forecaster and futurist – Melvin Webber, a professor at Berkeley University. Webber saw two themes that were transforming cities: the motor car and communications technology.²⁰³ He combined these to produce a future vision of the city and of society. He proclaimed a "vision of the city which is an open matrix for selection, by the individual, of opportunities for social contact, recreation, education and the rest."²⁰⁴ It is surprising just how similar Webber's ideas were to Wright, as the latter had stated in 1935:



4.066 Interior view of Midsummer Mall, Milton Keynes



4.067 'Roundabout 40 years and still in love' exhibition board at Midsummer Mall



4.068 Market outside Midsummer Mall

“The three major inventions already at work building Broadacres ... are:

1. The motor car: general mobilization of the human being.
2. Radio, telephone and telegraph; electrical intercommunication becoming complete.
3. Standardized machine-shop production: machine invention plus scientific discovery.”²⁰⁵

Furthermore, Sergeant claims that Llewelyn-Davies attempted to research into Broadacre City during the design of Milton Keynes, but he found it too difficult to get information on Wright’s work.²⁰⁶ Certainly Webber was more coherent and articulate than Wright and thus was able to help with Milton Keynes.

Webber’s vision of a “loose-fit systems planning and libertarian social idealism” at Milton Keynes was manifested by a comprehensive road network based on an American planning model, and a 50/50 split between housing built for rent and for ownership.²⁰⁷ The design of the road network was a comical tale whereby the original rational American grid-iron pattern was pacified by the romantic British picturesque tradition so as to produce a ‘wiggly grid’. In addition, an integrated method of traffic control using sequenced traffic lights was surrendered to a plague of roundabouts – a lasting legacy to the Milton Keynes’s identity. The housing design struggled to be integrated within the overarching road network, with some architects burrowing their design within a green buffer zone thus removing themselves from the primary means of community, the road. Yet most of the housing was progressive, employing a number of innovative architectural practices. They designed new homes that adopted many American suburban themes that Wright had experimented with in his Usonian Homes, such as lightweight construction, integrated garages and open-plan living spaces to display all their new consumer goods.

The centre of Milton Keynes conformed to a strict grid-iron plan to define it is a commercial and shopping hub. Its neo-rational plan was a capitulation of any social democratic ideal to the consumerist American culture.²⁰⁸ To complement the rigid plan, the shopping mall endorsed the American corporate architecture of choice – Mies van der Rohe – with a low-level shopping mall that was framed by steel columns with an expanse of infill plate glass. The central three-storey cavern within the

shopping mall was another Anglo-American conceit named Midsummer Boulevard. It served as a spatial crescendo to a metaphorical cathedral of consumerism.

I visited Milton Keynes for a day out with my wife Amanda, and young son, Joshua in 2007, at the point when the town was celebrating 40 years of existence. We travelled up the M1 from London – which was incidentally 50 years old that year as well – as yet another lasting legacy of Britain’s love affair with the car. Turning off Junction 14 we aimed for Milton Keynes city centre and weaved our way through the ‘wiggly-grid’ via countless roundabouts. The town was not easy to spot, and displayed a variety of dispersed forms. We passed a number of generic warehouse sheds, then expanses of green fields with a Buddhist shrine, copious dense planting to the roadside hiding the homes behind, before finally arriving at a large car park beside the John Lewis department store. It was Amanda’s first experience of a new town, and she was totally disorientated by the lack of any landmark. “Where’s the church and the high street?”²⁰⁹ she asked, heading off in search of a map in Midsummer Boulevard. After carefully reading the map, and noting a few familiar retail outlets, she became much more at ease and planned our route around the shopping mall. At a coffee shop we met a resident who told us that the swimming pool, snow dome and theatre were all located nearby, Amanda was very impressed that the town had so much to offer and had already forgotten about the need for a church. A counter point to the shopping mall was provided by an open-air market outside, inhabiting a lost corner beneath a road bridge and traffic junction. Here the spaces were more intimate and the goods were unbranded.

A number of new attractions have been added to Milton Keynes to give it a more diverse architectural language. At the small and bright pink MK Gallery there was an exhibition of art ‘*Circa 1967*’, as an attempt to recapture a common memory. The MK Gallery had commissioned a number of art works, one of these being a recorded a bus tour of Milton Keynes using a satellite to trace the bus. The iconic ‘wobbly grid’ was thus given its ultimate expression as a work of art. Outside the gallery was another attempt at defining a city suffering from a mid-life crisis. The trendy London architects dDRM had designed a cross-laminated timber tower. The logic of the tower was obvious – if you are going to build a new town you should at least be able to see what you’ve created! It was also a criticism of the planned dispersed settlement and as such drew on a number of historical precedents such as the



4.069 Temporary viewing tower by dRMM as part of 40th birthday celebration



4.070 View below from temporary tower with fragments as tables and chairs



4.071 Author with Joshua at MK Gallery 'Circa 1967' exhibition



4.072 Internal view of Snow Dome, Milton Keynes



4.073 Gallery 'Circa 1967' exhibition catalogue

Victorian clock tower, Gothic steeple or medieval keep. It was another architectural device attempting to make Milton Keynes a 'proper' city, albeit only as a temporary solution. It was also great fun to climb for my three-year old son, but the views at the top were predictably underwhelming, with any urban form being lost within in a forest of greenery and roads.

I later attended a symposium organised by the Architectural Foundation in 2008 on 'New Town: What the Past can Teach the Future.' It considered: the past, present and future of New Towns, and was divided into neat two-hour slots.²¹⁰ The guest lecture was by Lars Lerup, he described Houston, Texas, where five million people live over a million acres. Lerup argued that architecture was merely software and hence the city was essentially a freeway inhabited by a nomadic momentum – "freedom to move was good," he stated.²¹¹ Optimistically, Lerup views the suburban metropolis as self-organising and un-programmed, something that can prosper by developing its own identity. The role of government was only to provide infrastructure for metropolitan connections. Over coffee the next day, Lerup confessed that perhaps Frank Lloyd Wright's dream had come true, although Wright would have planned Houston better, and ironically would have made self-determination more difficult because of his overbearing authority.²¹²

Peter Hall introduced the lineage of the concept in Britain from Howard's Garden City to the proposed 'Eco-Towns'. He was full of enthusiasm, claiming that we used to be good at making new towns. Derek Walker, the former chief architect for Milton Keynes, was proud of his legacy in terms of its landscaping and the family-friendly environment, arguing that its continued growth was a sign of its success. There was no comment about its monotony, lack of diversity and questionable car dependency. The present idea of New Towns embraced a wide geographical mix as each country had a different way of considering the concept. A Dutch speaker enquired – "Can you kiss in a new Town?"²¹³ He was reflecting on the ambiguous nature of a new town, as if it were too perfect to allow for informality and too oppressively conformist to allow for any intimacy. As to the future, that was all a bit murky, as if perhaps Lerup's lecture about the social realities of Houston was too traumatic to mention.

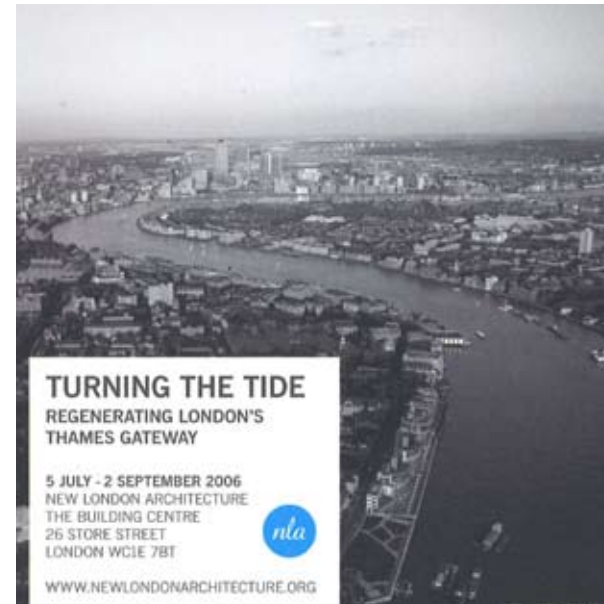
The Thames Gateway claims to be Europe's biggest regeneration project, covering a 500,000-acre expanse that encloses not only the Thames Estuary but also the cours-

es of the Lea, Barking and Deptford Rivers. The area is essentially the last remaining flood-plain to the east of London. The Thames Gateway plans to regenerate London and to bring back a sense of equilibrium between the affluent west and the 'forgotten' east. Regeneration within London relies on "three interrelated understandings": its role as part of a national state policy concerned with welfare reform; the city as a 'global player' that is committed to a growth agenda; and "facilitating economic and cultural regeneration" which can be socially inclusive and sustainable.²¹⁴ Also key is the role of a private sector which views regeneration as an opportunity to enhance their profits. Thus the Thames Gateway's vast geographic expanse seems to provide a unique set of circumstances where the long-term regeneration of the area could be balanced against the short-term profit motive of the developer – hence it presents a paradox of "long-term public interest and short-term rational outcomes."²¹⁵ Whilst arguing for a commitment from the state to build infrastructure that will support a dense 'urban renaissance' type of city, Keith warns against under-investment that will result in a "suburbanised low-quality development."²¹⁶ Such a pessimistic view fails to consider different means of development that may be incremental and easier to implement without either expensive state transport links or private capital. Regeneration seems today to be following a generic agenda, one that depends on a Faustian pact between public and private interests, I would argue for a more democratic, contingent and bottom-up development – what about 'organic' architecture?!

The 'Thames Gateway Forum' happened to be held at the vast Excel conference centre. I was half expecting a 'land grab' – a sort of Louisiana Purchase for the twenty-first century, five cents per acre of Gateway. Even more tantalising, could it become the new Broadacre City, with half a million homes on 500,000 acres as a linear city stretching along the Thames? Instead it was presented as almost a virtual experience, with lots of paper leaflets, promotions and ghastly visualisations. It was generic, well-mannered, inoffensive housing with red-tiled pitched roofs, and free talks from architectural practices desperate to get some work. 'Turning the Tide' was another presentation on the Thames Gateway for the New London Architecture in September 2006. At an early-morning talk by Terry Farrell, he presented a compelling case for an architectural lead for the Thames Gateway – with planned green areas that would become the biggest national park in Britain. Hence, a mythical 'Green Grid' was to be placed across the site, but increasingly it seemed to revolve around an imaginary form of democracy and sustainability.



4.074 Floorplan of Thames Gateway Forum (2006)



4.075 Cover image, Turning the Tide (2006), New London Architecture



4.076 Geographical extent of Thames Gateway, from Turning the Tide (2006), New London Architecture



4.077 Cover image, New Town (2008), Architectural Foundation

I saw Richard MacCormac talk at the 'Thames Gateway Forum' about his suburban design concept: 'Reinventing the suburb in the carbon-neutral era' where he described a different means to combine popular suburbs with dense areas of development. In addition, MacCormac presented 'A Preplanning Toolkit' at another NLA event, 'London's Towns: Supporting development in the outer boroughs' in 2011. His ideal suburb combined private suburban homes and rented apartments (at urban densities), and integrated other formal planning interventions such as parks and retail areas to give the suburb an identity. When I met MacCormac at his studio, I asked if he was advocating a Broadacre concept? He just laughed and claimed that Wright would have made a better job of planning the suburbs. MacCormac is an admirer of Wright and indeed years ago carried out a formal analysis of his work and their relationship to his Froebel Kindergarten training.²¹⁷ He was part of a wider appreciation of Wright's work at Cambridge University, along with Colin Rowe, Lionel March, John Sergeant and David Lea. Their analysis of the mathematics and plan ratios seem almost neo-Palladian as they sought to develop a rational basis to Wright's work. I asked MacCormac about Cambridge University's adoption of Wright. He was not sure that there had been a concerted movement to follow Wright, but confirmed that he certainly had adopted Wright's modular planning logic in many of his own projects. Yet the university did support tutors to build their own homes in the outlying towns of Cambridge, with 103 Main Street (1964), Caldecote, by John Meunier, claiming to be "an English Brutalist version of Frank Lloyd Wright Usonian house".²¹⁸

It must be said that MacCormac has been brave in discussing the design of suburban settlements, it certainly questions the dominant theory of 'Urban Regeneration' at high densities. More interestingly, MacCormac seems to have caught the political zeitgeist in London, where the current Mayor, Boris Johnson, was elected on the votes that lie beyond the city centre – the 'doughnut' of suburban voters. Yet, I could not stop thinking that these suburban forms remain a static interpretation of William Morris' ideal suburb. It was also a denial of Lerup's analysis of the contemporary city, a dynamic city in constant movement, supporting contingent gatherings, self-organising and un-programmed. Once again, Britain was in denial of an American future.

Brynmawr

Wright's fourth visit to London was at the invitation of the Architectural Association in 1950 and once again he lived up to his star-billing. He was now confronted by the fully-fledged British Welfare State and its modernist manifestation – the '58th variety' that Wright had attacked back in 1939 was now the dominant cultural and architectural forces. The Welfare State emerged in Britain out of a response to the inequalities and legacies of the industrialised city. Gradual reforms began in 1908 with the introduction of Old Age Pensions, and the same Asquith Liberal Government in 1909 proposed 'a people's budget' that "was overtly redistributive of wealth through taxation."²¹⁹ Housing reform was generally seen as incremental. Although Parliament had granted local authorities the right to clear slums in 1875, very little was offered in compensation and often relied on charitable bodies such as the Peabody Trust. In 1885 the Housing of the Working Classes Act allowed local authorities for the first time to build houses. At the end of the First World War, the 'homes for heroes' initiative led to the Housing and Town Planning Act (1919) which provided government subsidies to municipal house building. A total of 170,000 homes were soon built.²²⁰

The effects of the economic downturn in the 1930s did not produce any dramatic 'New Deal' response in Britain, instead it was only after the Second World War that the Welfare State emerged. The Labour Government elected in 1945 built 900,000 council houses during its first term in power, and the Conservatives in 1951 followed up this substantial growth with 319,000 dwellings in 1951 and 348,000 in 1952.²²¹ Most of these homes were designed and built by local authorities using their own architectural staff. Within London, many of the leading architects of the post-war period served at least an apprenticeship at the London County Council. Such an earnest endeavour as social housing was regarded by modernist architects as the only means to project an egalitarian ideal.

Following the award of Wright's Gold Medal from the American Institute of Architecture (AIA) in 1949, Robert Furneaux Jordan, the Principal at the AA, sent "a cable the next day saying that five hundred students demanded" that Wright should visit London.²²² For Wright, another fawning invitation from the 'old country' was well received and he attended the Annual Prize-Giving in July 1950. A dinner was organised in his honour. Afterwards, Jordan gave a polite introduction speech, whilst Wright responded by complaining about the British establishment and in particular a



4.078 Robert Furneaux Jordan, Frank Lloyd Wright, Dr S. E. T. Custin, and Olivanna Wright
July 1950, at AA, image from Dr Custin, in Meehan, P. J. (1987)



4.079 Students at the Architectural Association, London, listening to Frank Lloyd Wright,
photo by Sam Lambert (RIBA54494)

tiresome encounter with an 'honorary title' on the *Queen Mary*. Wright again spoke of London and British society as antiquated and subservient: "I come over here and I find all this establishment, and what impresses me in your London is this feature and fact of establishment... I think that if I had been born here in London you would never have heard of an 'organic' architecture."²²³ He said that he admired the tenacity of the British during the Second World War, and then speculated about his influence in Britain – only to conclude that in the realm of replanning London, his ideas were ignored: "If I had been successful, wherever a bomb hit you, you would have planted grass. Instead of that, you have rebuilt London wherever there has been damage, and wherever a hole has been punched in your establishment. You cannot let go of that establishment."²²⁴ For Wright, Britain remained a self-contained place dominated by class and the establishment. Wright declared his view that 'organic' architecture "does not lie in the direction of socialism or in the direction of communism or in the direction of any ism or any ist or any ite," but only in the realm of 'organic' architecture.²²⁵

At the Annual Prize-Giving Ceremony on July 14th, Jordan's introduction tried to draw on similarities between the AA and the Taliesin Fellowship. He remarked that they shared a "love of architecture", they were non-hierarchical 'fellowships' between students and teachers (in theory anyway), and they professed an urge to "make things, build things with their own hands and their own sweat as with their own brains."²²⁶ Wright's response was predictably hostile. He questioned the role of the Prize-Giving Ceremony, claiming that the judges will dismiss the best and the worst and the prize will be given to the "average of an average."²²⁷ It certainly put a damper on the whole day for the recipients! He dismissed architectural education as "handing out tickets to little boys to sit around for four years studying and reading about architecture."²²⁸ And he claimed that it was inherently elitist, "a nice occupation for a gentleman, and the favoured sons of fortune."²²⁹ To conclude his attack, Wright called for the profession to be "buried ... and the field left open to youngsters who are willing to make sacrifices that are essential to practise architecture."²³⁰ Wright made sure that the students realised that the real prize on offer that day was an audience with the great Frank Lloyd Wright!

In a BBC "Radio Talk", Jordan summarised "Lloyd Wright in Britain," by curiously equating Wright with William Morris.²³¹ Again, the hint was that both men were more

easily digested as artists and that their political motivations were interesting but secondary. In addition, Wright apparently went shopping for "top hats – in the plural," and met Lesley Martin at the site of the Royal Festival Hall.²³² Whilst reviewing the drawings and a model for this project, Wright stated that the auditorium was not the right shape: "it won't work; it's got to be in the section of a trumpet."²³³ After making a reference to the Chicago Auditorium Building, Wright eventually calmed down and acknowledged that it would be a "very great building," and that he would like a box for the opening night! Another sortie with Jordan took Wright to the Cotswolds again. Jordan remarked: "It is the feeling for the organic and the romantic, I think, that explains his ecstatic response to the English Cotswolds ... it was the stonewalls of the sheeplands, the barns, the simpler cottages and smallest churches that excited him – these and the humanised English landscape."²³⁴ Jordan described a tantalising view of Wright on his first visit to Wales when he visited the Brynmawr Rubber Factory under construction:

"His excitement returned when he got back to reality and to our welfare state at work; he went to see his ancestral Wales and in Wales an industrial development area – new factories, new housing, new schools. This was real as well as romantic and it belonged to the future, not the past – it was more, it was his own decentralisation at work, getting men out of dead cities. The factories and the houses might be good or bad, but here in the Welsh mountains where men had rotted in the 'thirties, something was really happening as real and practical as the Cotswold barn had been – and FLW was really excited at last."²³⁵

Brynmawr had been conceived as a means to regenerate a Welsh town that had declined with the closure of coal mines and the economic downturn of the 1930s. The Barlow Report in 1940 had responded to regional decline beyond London and the south-east, concluding "that the industrial and social well-being of the nation could not be left to market forces alone and that there should be some form of government intervention."²³⁶ The Distribution of Industry Act in 1945 sought to influence the "proper location of industry" through heavy subsidies to set up 'Development Areas' outside south-east England.²³⁷ The dispersal of industry (and population) was seen as beneficial in not only regenerating areas of deprivation but also in controlling 'urban sprawl' around London.²³⁸ The project was sponsored by the Board of Trade



4.080 Robert H. Matthew (left) showing Frank Lloyd Wright (centre) and Leslie Martin (partially obscured on the right) a model of the interior of the Royal Festival Hall (RIBA24230)



4.081 The London County Council Architects' Department avidly listening to Frank Lloyd Wright's views on the Royal Festival Hall (RIBA24228)



4.082 Frank Lloyd Wright (centre) giving his views to the London County Council Architects' Department on the Royal Festival Hall (RIBA24227)

Whatever Happened to Frank Lloyd Wright

and the tenant for Brynmawr Rubber Factory was the affluent Lord James Forrester proprietor of Enfield Cables, who was engaged in philanthropy and had even resided at Toynbee Hall in 1931.

The factory was designed by the left-wing collective, Architects Co-operative Partnership, and embraced a multi-disciplinary team of engineers and specialists with the engineer Ove Arup providing a pivotal role in realising the construction of the nine-domed production hall. Perry identifies that contrary to the “undifferentiated spaces” of early factory mills, Brynmawr was “highly modelled,” and thus the different stages of rubber production were given an architectural treatment that responded to the scale of operation.^{239a} The egalitarian demands of Forrester and the Welfare State were met by providing a single entry point for both management and worker, a long entry ramp led to a common front door and a class-levelling clock. The design was a brilliant example of contemporary European modernism, but even the organic shell structures did not impress Wright. Instead he “expressed horror at the misuse of concrete” and suggested a Warren girder that should have been made from steel.^{239b} Furthermore, Jordan neglected to mention that Wright had stopped to urinate against the emerging building – clearly the modern Welsh Welfare State was not at all to Wright’s taste!

When the factory opened there were hardly any orders for rubber to fulfil its potential. Furthermore, there was no strategy in place to sell the rubber or to produce it efficiently – hence it was no surprise that in 1952, after just one year of operation (at less than half capacity) that Enfield Cables pulled out of the endeavour. Dunlop took up the lease a year later and the factory supplied vinyl flooring for other Welfare State ventures, such as National Health hospitals and higher education colleges. Brynmawr’s dependence on a single product line was however to prove disastrous, and following a downturn in demand in the mid-1970s, the plant was finally shut down in 1982. Various attempts to resurrect the factory were unsuccessful and a campaign to preserve it proved futile – the whole structure was pulled down in 2001. The failure of another utopian scheme transplanted to the countryside, bore a similarity to the Handicraft Guild in Chipping Campden.

I visited Brynmawr to see what remained of the rubber factory. I travelled by car from north London, nearby Enfield, along the M4 to South Wales which now by-

passes the picturesque Cotwolds. In Wales I turned away from the motorway and climbed up a winding road to the head of a valley, and found Brynmawr set within a barren landscape of undulating hills. The town was a conglomerate of empty factory sheds, depressing high street, barren housing estates, and a new retail park. A road network linked all the disparate parts, but it did not add up to coherent whole. I noted that there was a local museum, which was within the old Carnegie Library. At the museum, I was welcomed and offered a cup of tea whilst I waited for the curator. The museum was dominated by a permanent exhibition of Brynmawr Furniture Makers (1931-40). The pieces exhibited a simple style of carpentry, expressing the quality of the wood. The Furniture Makers were the most successful part of a group of small scale communal collectives that had been established by the Quakers who had settled in the valley in the 1920s. The Brynmawr Bootmakers co-operative was another short-lived enterprise.

The curator was proud of the Furniture Workshops success, and she was disappointed when I asked about the rubber works. She searched for a cardboard box beneath a long table that was cluttered with Victorian nick-nacks. Within the box there were cuttings from the *Architectural Review* magazine, and local articles about the imminent demise of the factory from the 1980s – there was no mention of Wright. We chatted about the old factory:

Gwyn: “Do you miss the old factory at all?”

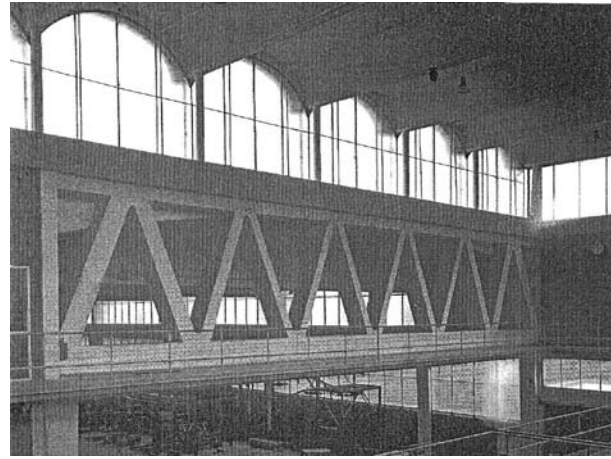
Curator: “Not really, it was in a terrible state at the end. It had never been looked after properly and it was falling apart. They said it would cost a lot of money to repair it.

There is a small part still standing, and there was a plan to make it into a theatre, but nothing happened.²⁴⁰

Over another cup of tea, the curator tells me about the young socialists who came to the town to build a swimming pool in the 1930s. I began imagining a Bauhaus-inspired ‘International Style’ glass box with daring white concrete diving boards. The reality was more prosaic: it was an open air swimming pool with two small rectangular pools, a simple diving board, and a circular fountain in the middle. I eventually found the pool at the back of the town, its now covered with grass and nearby



4.083 Factory for Brynmawr Rubber Company, Brynmawr, Gwent (1951) by Architects Co-Partnership, photo by Hylton Warner (RIBA18437)



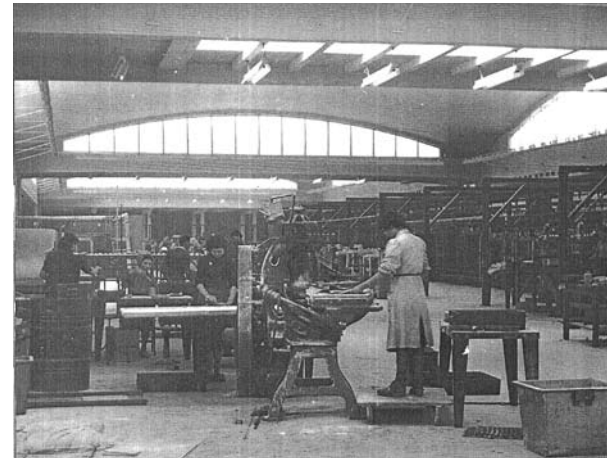
4.084 Brynmawr Rubber Works (1951-2000) with concrete warren truss, image from Architectural Press in Perry, V. (1994)



4.085 Brynmawr Rubber Works (1951-2000), photo by Hugo de Burgh Galwey (RIBA18439).



4.086 Asda, Lakeside (2011)



4.087 Production hall, c.1951, image from Architectural Press in Perry, V. (1994)



4.088 Fruit and vegetables, Asda (2011)



4.089 Production hall (1951), image from (RIBA2832-23)
Whatever Happened to Frank Lloyd Wright



4.090 Check out, Asda 2011.

residents walked over the relic with their dogs. The pool sides and the fountain were discernable – a forlorn failed socialist dream.

The last remnant of the Brynmawr Rubber Factory was the loading shed. It had a bold elliptical concrete expressionist roof form that referenced the works of Felix Candela from Mexico, and Oscar Niemeyer from Brazil. But it is now a derelict shed that was full of empty beer bottles and rubbish. Rummaging around the wreckage, I felt as if the whole roof could collapse, and no-one would really care. On the site of the former rubber works was the Lakeside retail park with its dominant Asda supermarket. I went inside to have some lunch. At a corner table overlooking the reservoir, I lamented that the heroic modernism of post-war Britain was now repaced by generic consumerism, the latest utopia to be imposed onto Brynmawr.

Chipping Campden Revisited

Within the audience at the AA at Wright's talk in 1950 was a young English architect, Robert Harvey, who had travelled from the Cotswolds to hear Wright speak. A mere six miles away from Asbee's Guild at Chipping Campden was the small village of Illmington, where the work of Robert Harvey came to be concentrated. I had written a number of letters to the owners of houses he had designed in the 1960s and 70s to introduce myself and my research. I requested an opportunity to visit their properties, but they went mostly unanswered. However, during my visit to Illmington I was fortunate to meet the post lady, and so I asked for directions to Frog Lane. I showed her a few images of the homes that were illustrated in *Post-War Houses*²⁴¹, and she gave me some good basic directions. I found the Round House (1962) at the end of Frog Lane, a small circular home. I duly rang the bell, but there was no answer. So I took some photographs of the exterior and by then the post lady had caught up with me. She told me that the new owner was 'La-La' from the children's television programme, *Telly-Tubbies*²⁴² – apparently the series is filmed just a few miles away. Was there perhaps a connection between Wright 'organic' mantra and the rounded forms of the Telly-Tubbies landscape?

The post lady proved to be an invaluable contact. She informed me that the owner of Orchard House, Illmington (1959) would be in her garden and was no doubt available for a chat. As I approached that house by car, I was struck at how true it was to

the Wright idiom. It was uncanny – the dominant roof form, with deep overhanging eaves, the use of natural horizontal banded stone tied to the earth, and long bands of horizontal casement windows. I could have been in Oak Park! The house was carefully sited, engaging directly with the orchard and a southern aspect, and the garage acted as an enclosing arm drawing the visitor yet protecting the occupants.

After saying hello to the owner, we discussed the house and its architecture:

Gwyn: "Are you the original owner of the house?"

Owner: "No, I'm the second or third owner of the property. It's a beautiful house, and brilliantly designed.

You know that the roof was designed so that the winter sun always reached the end of the living room in winter, and always stopped at the window cill in summer. Isn't that great?"

"Yes, that's brilliant, I'm impressed. You've kept it in good condition too. Does the roof have cedar cladding? I've never seen that in England before, although Wright used it at Taliesin for his own house."

"When we brought the house we had to get the whole of the roof redone for the insurance company, and they got themselves in a tail spin about the wood. We got the whole lot re-roofed at great expense, but we should not have bothered really.

The timber eaves and guttering were not very good and they overflow in winter. My builder had then to put some bitumen inside the gutter and that was quite successful."²⁴³

Inside, I admired the natural stone floor, although the owner commented that the underfloor heating was expensive. Despite the external appearance of the house, however, its internal spaces were divided into a formal arrangement and there was not the flow of space that was such an essential characteristic of Wright's homes.

Robert Harvey was born in 1919 in Coventry, and claimed that he saw an article on Wright in the 1930's and was "shocked" at the photographs of Midway Gardens.²⁴⁴ In 1940 he had completed four years of study as an architect at Birmingham Art School, but was classed unfit for war. Consequently, Harvey began to read Wright's books and even corresponded briefly with Taliesin in 1942, following which he travelled to



4.091 Road leading to Illmington, Warwickshire , England



4.092 The Round House, Illmington (1962) by Robert Harvey



4.093 House for a teacher, Illmington (1956) by Robert Harvey



4.094 Orchard House, Illmington (1959) by Robert Harvey



4.095 View from the garden, Orchard House.



4.096 Entrance to Orchard House beneath overhanging eaves



4.097 Living room to Orchard House

see Wright speak at the AA in July 1950. Harvey worked firstly for JB Cooper, then joined Leonard Harper in 1950, and that company then amalgamated with FWB Yorke in 1951. Harvey ran the Stratford-upon-Avon office.

Stonecrop was the house that Harvey built for himself in 1965, just up the hill from Illmington. I had arranged with the new owners to have a look around, but it was difficult to find and so I missed the entry gate a few times. I left my car at the roadside and walked down a narrow lane that turned gently into a rock, and there beneath me was the enveloping roof of Stonecrop cut from the hillside. As I proceeded down the hill, a small courtyard came into view, but the projecting eaves kept the features of the house in permanent shade. The stone outcrop was dressed with a masonry wall possessing alternating horizontal bands of deeper and shallower stone courses. In the centre was a small water cascade that dropped into a triangular pool with a wide stone urn beside – a small shrine to ‘organic’ architecture! It was a romantic hideaway that Wright and Ashbee would have understood and enjoyed, while also an intelligent adoption of Wright’s Taliesin mantra: “of the hill not on it.”²⁴⁴ Below the overhanging roof the entrance was difficult to find, hidden and set back from the facade. I was welcomed by the new owner into a small lobby and on the wall was a small wooden frieze inspired by Wright, an old souvenir from an earlier visit to Oak Park. We turned and went down a few steps towards the re-fitted kitchen. Beside it was the dining room with its wide band of glazing that revealed a panoramic view over a wide expanse of middle-England. At the dining table we talked about the house. The owner explained that the house was centred around ‘a heating core’ that included the kitchen oven, the new boiler, and the fire place – an expansion upon Wright’s traditional hearth-and-inglenook arrangement.

She explained that they had only just recently brought the property.

“The estate agent called the property the Marmite house – you either loved it or hated it!”

Gwyn: It must be very cold in winter with all those single-glazed windows.

You’re lucky that you’re able to visit when you did, because we are just about to start some building work on the house.

Yes we are planning to have new windows put in. So we contacted the Twentieth Century Society about our work, and they spot-listed the property!

I recall that Robert Harvey himself was opposed to listing works of architecture!

“We had a discussion with the Society and they agreed to the work we proposed, and we are about to start soon.”²⁴⁵

Behind the dining room and down a few steps was the main living space possessing views to the external courtyard on one side and to the open countryside on the other. This time the ‘heating core’ housed a proper Wrightian hearth, a mixture of a severe abstract pattern and rustic vernacular. Equally impressive was the expressive roof geometry that was animated by polygonal clerestory lights and skylights. From the living space we walked up a precarious staircase that had no handrail, up to the master bedroom. There again the flowing fractured geometry was evident in a triangular ‘Juliet’ balcony that overlooked the living room. Above the main bed was an eye-level window that framed the wide aspect. This was certainly the most expressive spatial sequences that I had seen in Harvey’s work. The central core had now mutated into a private en-suite bathroom. Behind the bedroom, and in a separate wing above the old studio, were the children’s bedrooms with their exposed roof trusses and high-level skylights. These spaces had been created by Harvey for his own children by dividing his double-height studio into a playroom and bedrooms.

In Coventry there were a further four properties by Harvey in its affluent southern suburbs. Number 112 and 114 Kenilworth Road were two homes built for Harvey’s two brothers and shared a common boundary wall. Yet a few generations down the line, one half of the family had sought to develop their site, and the other side had it spot-listed – as a result, both properties are vacant and deteriorating. A short distance away is South Winds (Wilson Residence) in Cryfield Grange Road, Coventry (1965). It is an astonishing construction, a long horizontal timber house suspended over two stone columns, with a car port beneath, at once legible and incredible. This was Robert Harvey meets Craig Elwood, from Coventry to California! The house was now in a state of transition, with the present owners undertaking repairs, whilst also looking to sell the property on or to sell a plot within the front garden (the Twentieth Century Society has lodged an objection and has placed the property at risk). I parked my car beneath the bridge and entered the eastern drum consisting of an extended lobby with a circular stair. On the first floor level, I entered the lounge/dining room, with the kitchen behind. The kitchen still has its original American ‘range’ and the present owners speculated that the house was designed for an American rocket



4.098 Number 112 and 114 Kenilworth Road, Coventry (1956-7) by Robert Harvey



4.099 Corner entrance, Number 112 and 114 Kenilworth Road.



4.100 Tall Trees, Treadington (1963) by Robert Harvey



4.101 Living room, Tall Trees



4.102 View from garden, Tall Trees



4.103 Stonecrop, Ilmington (1965) by Robert Harvey



4.104 Garden elevation, Stonecrop



4.105 Water pool, with urn and horizontal stone banding, Stonecrop



4.106 Side garden elevation, Stonecrop



4.107 Dining room, Stonecrop, image from Mermoz, G. (2008) at Twentieth Century Society



4.108 Living room, Stonecrop, image from Mermoz, G. (2008) at Twentieth Century Society



4.109 Garden elevation, South Winds, Coventry (1965) by Robert Harvey



4.110 Elevated living room looking towards the garden, South Winds.



4.111 Living room interior, South Winds



4.112 Circular swimming pool within stone support drum, South Winds



4.113 Rear view from the road to South Winds



4.114 Stairs leading to first floor kitchen, South Winds



4.115 Side view of kitchen entrance, South Winds

scientist – it all sounded very glamorous. The bedrooms were off a long corridor that spanned the length of the bridge. Each had an en-suite, and then the last surprise was descending a stair into a circular swimming pool within the western pier. This was a house that certainly shared the 1960s belief in the ‘white heat’ of technology. Despite the daring construction of South Winds, Harvey found it difficult to work with the planning authorities within rural environment after 1974, and so the greatest exponent of English Usonian dwellings came to a premature end.

In Bath there is a similar concentration of work inspired by Wright that was designed by Robert Townsend. Garden Grounds (1951-2) was developed from Wright’s Jacobs House, with the house also acting as a doctor’s surgery in its early years. Furthermore, Wright’s L-shaped plan was extended into a linear form with the living room at its centre, which makes reference to Wright’s enlarged Wingspread concept. The use of natural materials throughout and in particular the red brick certainly make it seem like a genuine American Usonian home. Townsend and Harvey shared a similar provincial architectural practice, but Townsend was also an active participant within the MARS Group in the 1930s and had met many leading modernist such as Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius. Yet, possessing such a depth of knowledge of modernism, it was Wright that he looked to for generating the idea for his own home.

Portmeirion

Wright’s final visit to Britain, in 1956, combined a second homecoming to Wales, this time to receive an Honorary Degree at Bangor University. The citation for his honorary degree “hailed him as “The Founding Farther of Modern Architecture.”²⁴⁶ During this visit to Wales, Wright visited his old friend, Clough Williams-Ellis. They had, as noted, met on the Berlin to Moscow train when going to Stalin’s First Soviet Congress of Architects. Saint comments on the picture of Wright and Williams-Ellis sitting together at Plas Brondanw: “they looked like nothing so much as a pair of amiable, elderly country squires, each with some eccentric views and dotty domain – Taliesin for one, the make-believe village of Portmeirion for the other.”²⁴⁷ Williams-Ellis recalls his apprehension before Wright’s visit; “Dare I let him loose [on Portmeirion]?”²⁴⁸ Yet, to his surprise, Wright “took it all without a blink, seeming instantly to see the point of all my wilful pleasantries – the calculated naiveties, eye-traps, forced and faked perspectives, heretical constructions, unorthodox colour mixtures, general architectural levity and all the rest of it.”²⁴⁹ Furthermore, Williams-Ellis claimed that Wright’s approval was complete when he said to his wife, Amabel: “Why, I do believe you married an architect.”²⁵⁰ There is no record to dispute Clough-Williams florid recollections, and even Wright would not have had the bad manners to have turned on his friend and host.

Williams-Ellis created Portmeirion in 1926 as a ‘holiday village.’ He purchased the mansion of ‘Aber-la’ with its extensive garden and cottages in 1925, and then converted the house and stables into a hotel. The design for the ‘holiday village’ was borrowed from the Italian town of Portofino on the Italian Riviera, where Williams-Ellis – like many other Grand Tourists – had marvelled at its coastal setting and vernacular architecture. Williams-Ellis sought the same cultural references and so created Portmeirion as “a ready made stage-set that harked back to the Grand Tour as much as it looked forward to the age of tourism.”²⁵¹ In addition, Alan Powers identifies the European Baroque Revival of the 1920s and elements of Swedish classicism as two other sources for the design.²⁵² Jan Morris claims that Williams-Ellis “wanted to set a local example which might have a universal effect,” and that Portmeirion sought to advance Williams-Ellis populist agenda of a “love of beauty” in architecture.²⁵³ Such an aesthetic reading is plausible and indeed was backed up by Williams-Ellis’ own writing. His ‘holiday village’ prospered among the liberal, literary and left-leaning metropolitan intellectuals. Amabel and her family, the Stracheys, were prominent socialists, and their guests included George Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell

Digital image permission withheld by copyright holder



4.116 Clough Williams-Ellis and Frank Lloyd Wright at Plas Brondanw (1956), image from Saint, A. (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1957)

4.117 *The Prisoner*, image from www.attraction-snorthwales.com

Culture Books Exhibitions Events

Little Italy grows up
Folly village or the architecture of pleasure? Alan Powers is engaged by a book celebrating Portmeirion's 80th anniversary

Happiness of others often comes low on the list of architects' priorities, and few have made it the guiding purpose of their life's work. If it were an acknowledged outcome, as it is in film or cookery, who should a book entitled *The Architecture of Happiness* have become a best seller earlier this year? Royce obviously hoped to learn something that architects have kept secret. It is not a trivial matter, but, like Clough Williams-Ellis's masterpiece, Portmeirion, it is apt to be treated as such.

Portmeirion, which this year marks its 80th anniversary, has always been a commercial operation, but one with a non-commercial mission, a built polemic about the purpose and management of pleasure.

Two years before it opened in Gwynedd, Wales, Williams-Ellis and his wife Anabel wrote a successful book called *The Pleasures of Architecture*. For many years before this, architects had argued to many alternative types of results, but resulted in a degraded built environment as a whole. Williams-Ellis favoured 18th century classicism as a model, and while his like-minded contemporaries too often made it a jig-saw of conventionality, Williams-Ellis made it whole and sing.

He was fond of quoting the American author Don Marquis, who wrote in *The Almost Perfect Man*, 1921, "The great thing is to have the largest number of individuals as happy as may be, for a little while at least, some time before they die." With the combination of architecture, natural scenery and community at Portmeirion, Williams-Ellis succeeded in making his point.

Portmeirion is a working example of a counter-proposal to the 20th century mainstream of postwar architecture, especially as manifested in the Williams-Ellis was not a great architect but he knew exactly how to maximise a range of skills to make his point.

Portmeirion works on many levels of design, including the irregular, contrived placing of the buildings to create varied viewpoints and vistas and the clever separation of public and private spaces to allow residents some protection from visitors.

If I have a criticism of the engaging new book published this week on Portmeirion, it is that it fails to go much beneath the surface. It is clearly an "inside job", following in a line of explanatory and pictorial literature about Portmeirion generated for visitors of the village built by Williams-Ellis over 30 years. The authors, including his grandson Robin Ljwelyn and travel writer Jan Morris, all perform their duties well, but the overview of the mission is lacking. It is a sufficient marvel, perhaps, that the place is still there and functioning in the hands of a third generation, yet an outsider might complain a little. Nowhere is it said that the colours of the buildings, so vividly reproduced on the pages, are very different to those glimpsed in the few stills from *The Prisoner*. Until the 1970s, they were all pigmented lime washes, liable to weather away, but earthy rather than sugary, giving a more convincing feel of solidity than the present cement-based paints.

Not in the context of 1920s architecture explained. While

Eastern promise
Daniel Cooney's photographic study of the impact of communism, and more recently capitalism, on post-war architecture in Eastern Europe *Silent Witness* runs from October 30-November 4 at the Conynghy Gallery, 30 Tottenham Street, London, Tel: 020 7634 1064.

Isle to there
UPV Architects, Virginia Gutterez Henrrios and Araceli Perez Amador feature in *Tomer's Island City - Three Architects of Tenerife* at the School of Architecture & Spatial Design, London Metropolitan University, November 3-18. Tel: 020 7432 3000.

One not to myth
Cultural and mythological references in architecture are discussed by architect Sean Murphy in *Narrative and Symbolism in Architecture*, an Urban Vision/Arts & Architecture Club lecture on October 31 at the School of Art, Stoke on Trent, Tel: 01827 575 321.

Left: Clough Williams-Ellis's preliminary plans for Portmeirion, as seen in 1955 in *After the Thrones* by A. (1957).

Right: Williams-Ellis at Portmeirion in the early 1920s.

4.118 'Little Italy Grows up', image from Powers, A. (2006) in *Building Design*, October 27, 2006

and Noel Coward. The successes of the initial 'holiday village' led to fifteen more buildings being added by 1939, contributing to an "exclusive sort of Shangri-la."²⁵⁴

I have grown up with Portmeirion in North Wales. We had family day-trips there when I was a child, usually during the summer holidays. I recall the small lanes with no traffic, the open pools, and the houses that were unusually bright for Wales. The mixture of exotic motifs, an Italianate church tower, Gothic pavilion, classical colonnades and a gold Buddha was always curious to me – it gave the place an other-worldly feel. Yet after a couple of hours of exploring with my brother and some ice cream, I would get bored. Later on, I saw the village immortalised in the television series, *The Prisoner*.²⁵⁵ It provided a great narrative for the ultimate planned community with its stifling leader – was it modelled on Williams-Ellis or perhaps Wright himself? I enjoyed the paranoia of the film too, and the plot that seemingly goes nowhere; it was film that best captured the setting.

Portmeirion was the Italian Riviera remade by Williams-Ellis, and similarly the Welsh myth of Taliesin was re-imagined by Wright in the American Mid-West – two architects pursuing escapist fantasies. Wright used his Welsh roots selectively to revive his architectural career in the 1910s, and to add substance to the 'organic' mantra in the 1930s. Taliesin was of course the name that Frank Lloyd Wright used to identify his two homes in Wisconsin and Arizona. In *An Autobiography*, Wright stated; "Taliesin was the name of a Welsh poet, a druid-bard who sang to Wales the glories of fine art."²⁵⁶ Consequently, he reimagined Taliesin North (1911) as a metaphor that embraced its setting, so that he claimed that Taliesin was "of the hill."²⁵⁷ Brendan Gill claims that Wright discovered the name in "a trashy cabinet drama"²⁵⁸ by Richard Hovey. The implicit suggestion is that Wright was in fact a cultural lightweight who was trying to give himself an aura of respectability. Yet, Taliesin West (1938) was a very different conception, part of a white American internal colonisation of the American desert, it was very much part of his expansive 'organic' architecture in the 1930s. Another celebrated Welsh couplet was claimed by Wright as the family motto – "*y gwir yn erbyn y byd*," translated as 'Truth against the World.'²⁵⁹ It forms part of the Unitarian and the invented Eisteddfod mantra which Wright recalled in *An Autobiography*.²⁶⁰ Thus, Truth against the World became part of Wright's rhetoric, Twombly claims it not only summed up his relationship with Mamah Cheney when he claimed that their love was truthful in the face of overwhelming condemnation,

but also represented his architecture from the 1930s.²⁶¹ For Wright, the essence of American democracy was represented by his vision of a truthful 'organic' architecture, which existed in opposition to the remainder of the world and its architecture.²⁶² It was an isolationist position that came to dominate Wright's thinking, almost a position of paranoia.

According to Williams-Ellis, Wright was an avid sightseer and visited the local castles, yet there is no record of Wright ever visiting his ancestral home in mid-Wales where the Lloyd-Jones clan had originated. Ironically, the ancestral home has a large stone plaque to Jenkin Jones and not Wright – he may have been a great architect, but that is clearly not good enough in Wales! Morris believes that Wright was inspired by the typical Welsh long house when designing his own Taliesin, with its hill setting and its closeness to the earth.²⁶³ However, this is all speculation, and Wright never acknowledged this possible source. Williams-Ellis drove Wright to his train, after making a short diversion to visit the office of leading North Wales architect, Sidney Colwyn Foulkes, to give Wright the opportunity of viewing some Welsh social housing. Alfrey notes how the Welsh landscape and the housing provided by colliery owners and other industrialists had generated the invented idea of the 'hill village.'²⁶⁴ However, Colwyn Foulkes himself claimed that there was "the Welsh tradition of building into hillsides. These early Welsh cottages snuggle into the hillside as naturally as a birds nest."²⁶⁵ It was such a modest statement compared to Wright's bombastic "not on the hill.. of the hill."²⁶⁶ Likewise, Colwyn Foulkes architecture was understated. His scheme for Cae Bricks, Beaumaris, Anglesey, (1948-54) accepts the contours of its site, with terraces that are integrated into the hill and open out to the town below, with small squares to provide additional interest. Furthermore, the individual homes are each articulated by a coloured lime wash, a response to the town's own idiosyncrasy and a simple means of adding individual identity. By all accounts, Wright was impressed, and claimed that "Nothing like this in America," – he also noted that his chief recollection of Wales was its "integrity."²⁶⁷

Wright caught a late train back to London and there he was entertained by the editor of the *Architectural Journal* at the Bride of Denmark, which was "the private gin palace of the Architectural Press."²⁶⁸ There Wright held forth to a small distinguished audience of modernists that included Ove Arup, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew. Robinson noted that "his personality dominated – or should I say hypnotised – the



4.119 Swtan Cottage (1600s) traditional long house, Wales



4.120 *Cae Bricks* renamed *Bryn Hyfryd*, Bwmaris, Wales, (1948-54) by Colwyn Foulkes looking down the hill



4.121 *Cae Bricks* (1948-54) with communal garden



4.122 Frank Lloyd Wright at last chance 'modernist' saloon (1956). *Bride of Denmark*, 9-13 Queen Anne's Gate, London, with left to right, Herbert Whitfield Lewis, Frank Lloyd Wright, Fello Atkinson, Noel White, Maxwell Fry and Ove Arup, image from (RIBA24232)

room.”²⁶⁹ Wright was preaching to the converted, or at least to the familiar – gone were the days of antagonism in 1939, Wright was performing right on cue, and in fact he left for a television appearance after the short trip. His Taliesin myth of literary reinvention had moved on to claim: “Literature tells about the man, but architecture presents him ... You can see if he is a phoney. Down the ages there has always been a style: architects have been able to hide. But in organic architecture you have the man: he cannot hide.”²⁷⁰ More telling was the fact that there were no longer any students or younger members within the audience in the ‘Bride of Denmark.’ Despite their interest in American culture, neither the Independent Group nor any in the Brutalist movement attended the gathering. Indeed, the Smithsons later brilliantly summed up their impression of Wright as belonging to a “craft tradition,” and by implication he was already out-dated compared to the raw materiality of Brutalism.²⁷¹ However, Reyner Banham, the leading spokesman of the Independent Group and Brutalism, was to become a Wright advocate and had contributed to a wider cultural understanding of his work, particularly the rebirth of Taliesin West in the Arizona desert.

Creek Vean

A number of other buildings that reflected Wright’s ‘organic’ architecture have been identified by Elaine Harwood in her book, *England: A Guide to Post-War Listed Buildings*.²⁷² The publication was my companion in my search for Wright’s influence within England, and when I met Harwood at the RIBA, I asked if she was a supporter of Wright’s ‘organic’ architecture. She claimed to have an academic detachment, yet enthusiastically tells me that St Mary Church (1958) in Ealing had recently been listed.²⁷³ I visited most of the properties that she identified and each displayed a thorough understanding of Wright’s principles without, however, ever adopting the ‘organic’ idiom of Harvey and Robertson. At Past Field (1960) by Patrick Gwynne, the original owners were still resident and described how Gwynne had explained to them the principle of a low horizontal form was the most suitable to their open site: “putting a tall building in the landscape would be similar to putting a pea on plate – it would not rest on the site.”²⁷⁴ This analysis was of course reminiscent of Wright’s remark that houses should be more “of the ground and not on it.”²⁷⁵ Turn, Middle Turn and Turn End (1964-7) by Peter Aldington, all had an intimate scale and integrated landscape throughout the design, and their ‘rambling quality’ led Harwood to suggest

that it resembled a British Taliesin – except that it was finished in white render and its discontinuous form hinted to the European ‘other tradition’ of Alto than to Wright’s ‘organic’ ideas.²⁷⁶ Clayton House (1965-6), by Peter Addington and John Craig, possessed an L-shaped plan that enclosed the entry courtyard, a plan form that was similar to Wright’s Usonian homes.²⁷⁷ In addition, the garden elevation with its deep timber banding and the overhanging eaves were evidence of Wright’s influence.²⁷⁸ Anderton House (1970-2), again by Aldington and Craig, used an enveloping roof structure with deep eaves allowed a free plan and engaged directly with the surrounding landscape, and Aldington cites Wright’s text on ‘The Natural House’ as a justification for his proposal.²⁷⁹ Long Wall (1963) by Dawson and Foggo, was a direct descendent of Fallingwater, a small weekend retreat that was only two hours drive from London. It was a house designed to experience the tranquillity and simplicity of the countryside in a carefully crafted space – which combined Wright’s open plan, ground bearing horizontality, projecting eaves, and Japanese joinery.

Creek Vean (1964-7) in Cornwall, by Team 4, was the first house to be built by the emerging talents of Norman Foster and Wendy Cheeseman, Richard and Su Rogers. It was built for Su Rogers parents, the Brumwells. I was fortunate to secure an invitation to view the property, which I combined with a camper van holiday to Cornwall. Despite having a good map and directions from Google, I got lost, as ever and so I pulled up next to the local church to ask for directions. A local gardener gave me much better directions, and suggested that I park my long wheel-base van at a nearby beach. Creek Vean was a modern insertion on the periphery of Feock, and I recognised its stark feature-less blockwork wall that was set back from the road’s edge. I crossed a short bridge over a shallow moat and viewed Pil Creek estuary below, framed by the two building masses. The glass entrance door was recessed and well hidden from the road, I met the owner. We proceeded down the steps between the living and sleeping blocks that lead to the garden with the estuary prospect opened up before us – it was a great place for a chat about the house:

Gwyn: I’m very impressed by the quality of the blockwork. When I first read about the construction I was not sure what the blockwork would look like. And the jointing was done with a lot of care. Is it a solid blockwork wall?



4.123 Rear view and approach drive, Past Field (1960) by Patrick Gwynne



4.124 Front view, Past Field (1960)



4.125 View beneath projecting eaves, Past Field (1960)



4.126 Interior view, Past Field (1960)



4.127 Rear view and garages, Turn, Turn Middle, Turn End (1964-7) by Peter Aldington



4.128 Interior view Turn Middle (1964-7)



4.129 Rear view and entrance, Clayton House (1965-6) by Aldington and Craig



4.130 Interior view, Clayton House (1965-6)



4.131 Garden view, Long Wall (1963) by Dawson and Foggo



4.132 Interior view, Long Wall (1963)

Owner: No it's a cavity construction. We are looking at the possibility of filling the cavity but we will need to be sure that we do not have any condensation problems first.

The window profiles look very thin. Have you replaced any of the glazing?

*No we still have the original windows, they are in good condition considering their age and the exposure here.*²⁸⁰

The garden had been extensively reworked and is well presented. It is offset by the abstract geometry of the house, and this became more apparent as we walked around, with the solidity of the walls playing off the lightness of the glass openings. At the western end of the house we looked back towards the gallery and began to dissect the end elevation. The owner pointed out that Richard Rogers always wanted the section of the building to be expressed in its elevations. For me, this western elevation, with the long north wall that anchored the building to the hillside, were rather reminiscent of Wright's textile block homes in Los Angeles in the 1920s.

Inside, the house is simple and legible. A short staircase led to the upper living room, which opened out to the estuary, although we speculated that the house could have been rotated to the east slightly so as to better capture the Fal River beyond. The separate staircase led down to the kitchen and dining room, and the original stainless steel island unit, with its rounded ends, are still being well used although the appliances have been updated. The gallery behind the kitchen had a glazed roof and served as the circulation corridor for the bedrooms, and each bedroom has a sliding door that could be left open during the day to contribute to the fun.

Famously, Norman Foster and Richard Rogers both won scholarships to Yale University in 1961, where they were taught by Paul Rudolph, Serge Chermayeff, James Stirling and Vincent Scully. It was Scully, according to Rogers "who opened up Frank Lloyd Wright's work ... Wright was my first god ... Wright's work has to be seen, experienced as space, to be understood. It was pretty revelatory ... [Wright] was very real and immediate."²⁸¹ Furthermore, Rogers noted that "Wright ... was an unashamed maker of form: he carried no illusions about functionalism."²⁸² Likewise for Foster, Scully's presentation and interpretation of Wright's work was apparently "so compelling ... that on one short, between-terms break, he, together with Carl

Abbott and Richard and Su Rogers, squeezed into Abbott's Volkswagen Beetle and visited nearly every Wright building in the Midwest."²⁸³

Back home from Yale and the USA, Powell notes that Creek Veau "the key influences were those of Frank Lloyd Wright, whose work Rogers and Foster had come to revere during their stay in America."²⁸⁴ Furthermore, Foster's biographer considers that the geometry of the plan "may bring to mind some of Frank Lloyd Wright's elaborate compositions; indeed there are many "organic" dispositions at Creek Veau."²⁸⁵ The open plan and the flow of interpenetrating spaces certainly owes a debt to Wright, but the overriding geometrical rigour of Wright is not present. I would even contend that the Eames House with its split two building form is another and far more direct inspiration for the plan. Hatton, in describing the blockwork wall, quotes directly from Wright's when calling the humble concrete block as the "despised outcast of the building industry."²⁸⁶ With regards to its elevations and composition, Wright was always more decisive, abstract and rigorous, Creek Veau was essentially more English in its debt to a "more picturesque, even theatrical," ideal of a home as a kind of setting within the landscape.²⁸⁷

Taken together, I believe that all these homes articulate a number of 'organic' qualities. They were built for relatively modest clients – typically middle-class homes, they were carefully sited in the landscape, exploited open-plan living areas, used natural materials and reflected Wright's own ideas of social democracy as contained within his Usonian Houses. In the 1960s, the dismissal of Wright by the Brutalists was premature in that many other architects sought to exploit the use of natural materiality without the rhetorical language of Brutalism. In particular, Wright's Usonian Houses were a source of inspiration, and his designs for the middle-income family were embraced by an array of clients and architects working across Britain. These are modest homes in every sense of the word, beginning with informed clients and architects that responded in the same way to Wright's 'organic' idiom. Furthermore, they sat outside the dogma of the welfare state, and their architecture could not have been more different in terms of their subtle siting, open plan, materiality, attention to detail and an expression of individual character.



4.133 Feock village, Cornwall



4.134 Bridge from the road, entrance door to the left, Creek Vean (1963-6) by Team 4



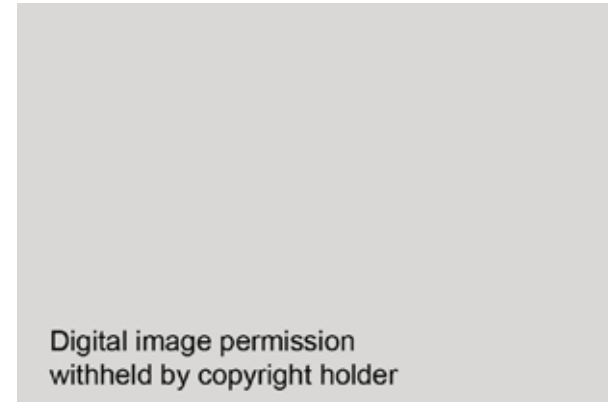
4.135 Stair from entry to living room (with kitchen below) Creek Vean (1963-6)



4.136 Kitchen to the lower floor, Creek Vean (1963-6)



4.137 Side view from the garden, Creek Vean (1963-6)



4.138 Freeman House (1923) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Levine, N. (1996)

Leicester

In Sudjic's book on *A New Direction in British Architecture* (1986), the British post-war trilogy of Foster, Rogers and Stirling was established, and he claims that "their success signals both the end of provincialism of British architecture and the growth in internationalism of the architectural world."²⁸⁸ Yet, this 'British Renaissance' had a distinctive American inspiration, namely through the work of Wright. Frampton claims that the Engineering Building, at Leicester University (1960-3) by James Stirling and James Gowan was "the first building to be erected in the country which is profoundly influenced by Wright," and that: "[the] architects themselves acknowledge Wright's Johnson Wax building in Racine, Wisconsin, as one dominant influence underlying the conception of the whole work. The completely tiled interior of the landings within the tower, the continuous glazing of the brick laboratory block, the extensive use of translucent glass, the glazed bridge links and finally the brick podium that embraces the entire complex, all testify to this influence."²⁸⁹ Likewise, Harwood concurs, and she notes the inversion between the two schemes; with the tower by Wright housing the laboratories, whilst the low level mass by Stirling and Gowan enclose the laboratories.²⁹⁰ Harwood continues: "while there are clear affinities in the banded glazing of their respective towers. Wright's glazing has similarly proved uncleanable and prone to leaks."²⁹¹

The Leicester Engineering Building is now listed and in March 2009 I attended a conference on the 'Stirling's Red Buildings' organised by the Twentieth Century Society inside the Engineering Building, with a tour of the site afterwards. I was thrilled to visit the building and was expecting some discussion about Frampton's commentary on Wright. However, John McKean described a dysfunctional project with a movement joint between the tower and the workshop defining separate responsibilities – Stirling designed the tower whilst Gowan designed the workshops.²⁹² For McKean, the origins of the design were based upon English engineering tectonics, and on New Brutalism, and later over coffee he was not convinced at all about any comparison with Wright's Johnson Wax Building.²⁹³ Furthermore, he dismissed "the style-spotters handbook – of Melnikov, Saint'Elia, Wright, Kahn and so on" do not provide the inspiration for the design, and he cites Gowan quote that "our models were English not Wright."²⁹⁴ I do share a number of Frampton's views that the form of Engineering Building was derived from Wright's work, but its laboratories also embraces a certain British engineering aesthetic which not only fits the brief but also the language of the building.

Tellingly it was Unity Temple in Oak Park, Illinois, that most impressed Rogers – "a really stunning building ... unforgettable."²⁹⁵ I would hence suggest it along with Larkin Building was an inspiration for his Lloyds Building (1978-86) with its concentrated top-lit internal volume, and the placing of the services outside the volume. Similarly, for Foster, the streamlined form of the Johnson Wax Administration Building may partly have inspired the curvilinear form for the Faber Willis Dumas building (1971-5) in Ipswich. Other buildings that were possibly influenced by Wright include the Royal College of Physicians (1960-4) in Regents Park, London, by Denys Lasdun. The processional spiral route within that building references the circulation spiral in the Guggenheim Museum, perhaps a wry joke on the whole ceremonial process! According to Harwood – "The building is reminiscent of Frank Lloyd Wright, one of Lasdun's favourite architects, particularly the Guggenheim museum."²⁹⁶ In addition, I would cite the National Theatre (1976) and its dominant horizontal and cantilevered form, together with European Investment Bank (1975) in Brussels with its pinwheel plan as further evidence of Wright's work being adapted successfully by Lasdun. Harlow Town Railway Station (1959-60), by British Railways Eastern Region possesses a horizontal aspect with dominant cantilevered roof forms that envelops the visitor, but according to the *AJ* any comparison with Wright was "facile and misleading."²⁹⁷ St Mary Church (1958) in Ealing by N. F. Carmaille-Day, was a modern extension onto an existing 19th-century church and possessed deniform columns that were derived from the Johnson Wax building.

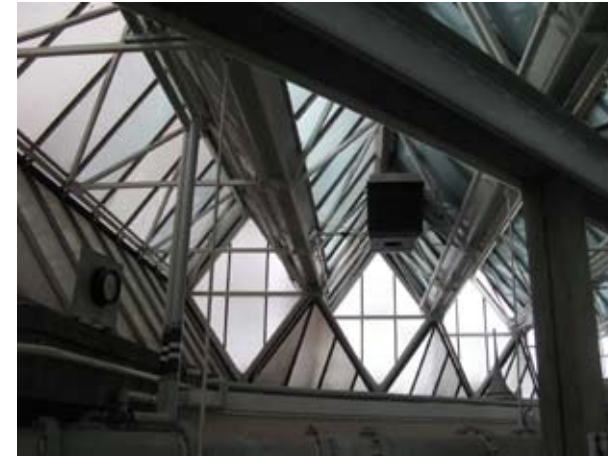
Did Wright have a lasting influence in Britain? Despite being a country that claims to have a special relationship with America, Fraser claims that the Wright remained "too much of a maverick genius to offer an inclusive design approach others might build on."²⁹⁸ Certainly Wright's evolving, and highly personal, conception of 'organic' architecture could not be understood by anyone else without recourse to direct plagiarism. Yet many aspects of 'organic' design were adopted by British architects, and site-specific and environmentally responsive architecture has become common aspiration for most new buildings. For me there is also the link back to Lethaby and the English Free-Style and the historiography of St John Wilson, attempting to define an alternative tradition. As Fraser states: "Historians still try in vain to discover any substantive link between Wright and British architecture and planning."²⁹⁹ This is also true, but Wright's best work in Britain lies beyond the mainstream of architectural



4.139 Exterior view of laboratory tower and administration block to Johnson Wax Administration Building (1936-9) by Frank Lloyd Wright, photo by Danielle Tinero (RIBA9825)



4.140 Exterior view of administration tower and laboratory block to Engineering Building, at Leicester University (1960-3) by Stirling and Gowan



4.141 Interior view, of Engineering laboratories, Engineering Building (1960-3)



4.142 'Stirling's Red Buildings' conference organised by the Twentieth Century Society, March 2008



4.143 External view of Engineering laboratories and tower behind, Engineering Building (1960-3)

history. It occupies a position of resistance against generic architectural production and convenient tales in architectural history.

Summary

During his formative years in Chicago, Frank Lloyd Wright participated fully in the rebuilding of the city after the fire of 1871, and his engagement with the Settlement Movement at Hull House exposed him to the plight of the urban poor. The Francisco and Waller Terraces apartments were part of an emergent social housing agenda with a common approach to urban reform between Britain and America. The concept of 'social justice' remained limited during this period and Wright's efforts were as part of a progressive and pragmatic engagement with the industrial city.

According to Zevi, one of the features of 'organic' architecture was that it was 'social,' but how socially just was it? Although Wright remained excluded from the New Deal, his ideas in the 1930s certainly followed the same political ideals. The work of the New Deal Homestead Settlements was based on concerns that Wright himself shared, and his scheme for Broadacre City had the same ideas but with an even more authoritarian leader and architectural language. When Wright visited the RIBA in 1939 it was a kind of 'future shock' for the architectural profession and left-wing modernists. The technologically progressive Wright was confronted by an academic and rather anaemic British profession, and his stream of 'organic' consciousness proved just too much for his audience. It took the intermediate figure of Melvyn Webber to help to plan a new settlement based on Wright's Broadacre City vision at Milton Keynes. Yet what does Milton Keynes represent? A modern, safe, secure, strangely familiar shopping mall where "the experience of 'displacement' in modernity is not one of alienation, but of ambivalence."³⁰⁰ Certainly, Milton Keynes sought to engage with a broader social democratic ideal, but it became a white middle-class haven, and a prime example of Wright's call for a deterritorialised space that was 'everywhere and nowhere.'

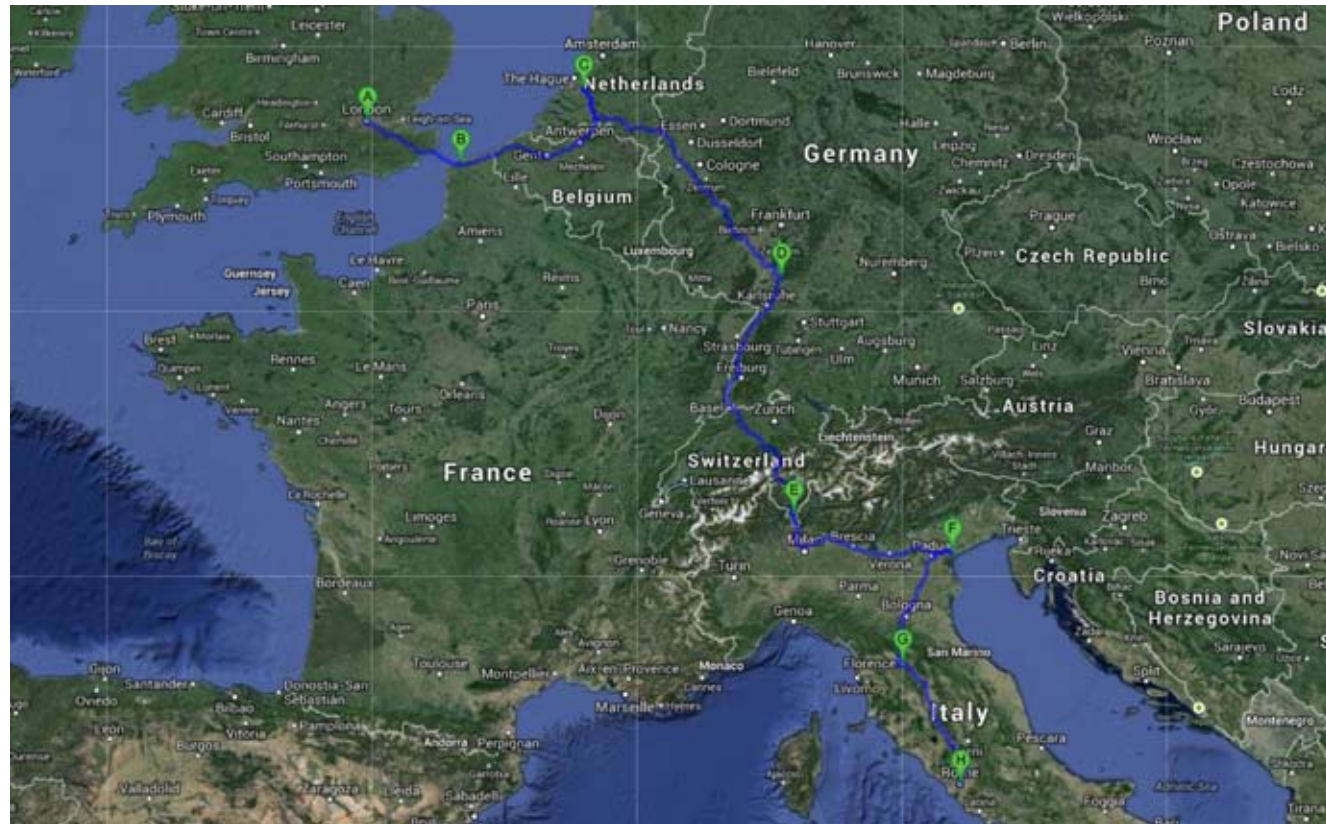
Confronted by the Welfare State on his two return visits to Britain in the 1950s, Wright condemned it and the so-called 'establishment.' He saw that his decentralised ideas for London had been ignored, and condemned the Welfare State's misplaced ambition at Brynmawr Rubber Factory. In my view, the greater success for Wright lay

beyond the Welfare State in the role of individual architects designing modest homes for informed clients in the 1960s and 70s. There may only be about 20 homes which are presently listed, which were inspired by Wright's 'organic' mantra, so would these justify the creation of an 'organic' tradition in Britain? These homes have a limited engagement with 'social justice', but then again in Britain 'social justice' remains a top-down provision. The homes that I visited were a manifestation of Wright's ideas from 1935 for a democratic Broadacre City founded on common land ownership, global communication and democracy. The aspirations of an 'organic' socially just society still remains ever elusive in Britain.

5. When Frank met Francesco



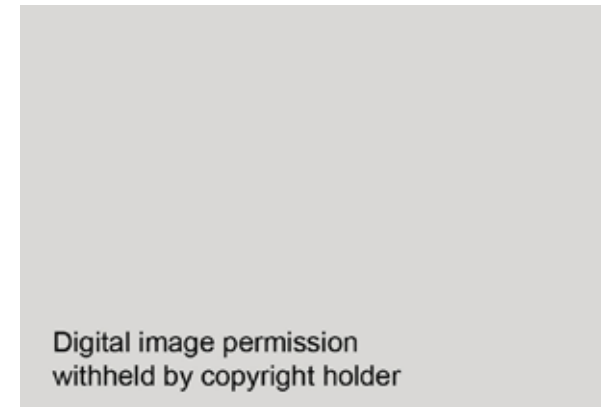
5.001 Aula Magna, Ca' Foscari, Venice



5.002 Italy Route(based on Google Maps (2013)
www.google.co.uk).

Route:

- A: London 6th October 2008
- B: Calais 6th October 2008
- C: Rotterdam 7th October 2008
- D: Heidelberg 8th October 2008
- E: Lugano 9th October 2008
- F: Venice 10th October 2008
- G: Florence 15th October 2008
- H: Rome 16th October 2008 and
1st October to 23rd December 2009



5.003 Indigo Jones' Grand Tour Routes, image
from Leapman, M. (2004)

This chapter reviews the cross-cultural dialogue between Wright's 'organic' approach and Italian classical architecture in interpreting the historical city. For it was in Italy that Wright's 'organic' architecture was most discussed and dissected at a theoretical, historical and political level, and his legacy contested. Wright visited Italy twice, in 1910 and 1951, under very different circumstances; during his first visit he was a self-styled 'rebel' who had eloped with the wife of a former client, whilst his second journey was as 'star architect' consolidating his global reach and promoting American capitalist values. The Italian theorist, Bruno Zevi (1918-2000), actively advanced the concept of 'organic' architecture after the Second World War and even tried to manipulate Italian Renaissance historiography to include Wright – as such he sought to establish a new language of modern architecture, leading him to equate Frank Lloyd Wright with Francesco Borromini and the Baroque tradition. The chapter evaluates a number of themes in an attempt to locate Wright's architectural legacy in Italy. The tactics include: recreating the Grand Tour to Italy; revisiting Wright's Masieri Memorial project in Venice; re-evaluating the Renaissance and academic traditions within Wright's work; and investigating the validity of relating 'organic' architecture to the Baroque. These themes are developed within the context of the three Italian cities that Wright visited – Venice, Florence and Rome –and indeed each city provides its own particular narrative.

The chapter is structured around a record of my car journey along the route of the 'Grand Tour' that was pioneered by Inigo Jones in 1613-14, thus participating in the most established ritual of architectural pilgrimage, and forming a spatial connection between present-day architecture and the Renaissance period. The act of travelling has long been an inherent part of inspiring and constructing architecture. Traganou identifies two domains to travel and architecture: the "relationship between architecture, place and culture"; and the "valorisation of travel to the "other" as a means of theorizing and renewing architecture".¹ These two concepts are thus reviewed within the chapter, juxtaposing the traditional role of the Grand Tour as undertaken by Jones in the seventeenth century and the two visits made by Wright during the twentieth century. Jones and Wright can, respectively, be seen to represent the academic and the 'organic' perspectives of practising and propagating architecture. The Grand Tour specifically assisted in establishing the neo-Classical tradition that was then adopted by academic institutions on a global basis, yet it was – at least in its infancy – an accretive and personal method of architectural education

that emphasised the personal experience of the encounter. Hence, the dialectic between both conditions is explored within my contemporary tour, and I updated the journey with dominant form of individual freedom – the car – which Wright of course eulogised in a number of his writings as the symbol of American modernity.²

Within Italy, the sites related to Wright's visits in 1910 and 1951 involved the favourite destinations for the Grand Tourists; Venice, Florence and Rome. It was in Venice that Wright received the greatest acclaim during his journey in 1951, and according to Zevi he was cheered everywhere he went. Zevi was perhaps not the most reliable of sources, but he provides a captivating account of Wright's visit.³ This reported good-will was not extended, however, when Wright attempted afterwards to build the Masieri Memorial in 1952. I researched other Italian architects who were influenced by Wright and visited sites that reflected an 'organic' approach. Wright also visited Florence during both visits. As a proselytizer for American suburban values in 1910, and as a promoter of Broadacre City and dispersed living, the contrast between both of his visits could not have been greater. It was in Fiesole, a short distance outside Florence, where Wright began in 1910 to articulate his 'organic' architectural philosophy. In 1951, however, Wright opened his own retrospective in Florence as part of an American cultural onslaught against the Communists Party in post-war Italy.

Finally, it was in Rome that Wright and Zevi enjoyed their last afternoon together in June 1951, viewing a number of churches by Francesco Borromini. After the Second World War, Zevi promoted Wright as an antidote to what he saw as the rationalist neo-Classicism and modernism of the Fascist era, and thus Zevi's historiographical reconstruction of Wright provides a point of departure to reevaluate Wright and his relationship with Baroque precedents. My personal 'Grand Tour' culminated in an extended period of study in Rome as the recipient of the Giles Worsley Travel Fellowship at the British School in Rome in 2009, which assisted greatly in the research and preparation of this chapter.



5.004 Postcard Heidelberg 08.10.08



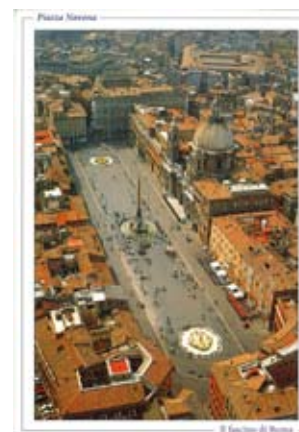
5.005 Postcard Lugano 09.10.08



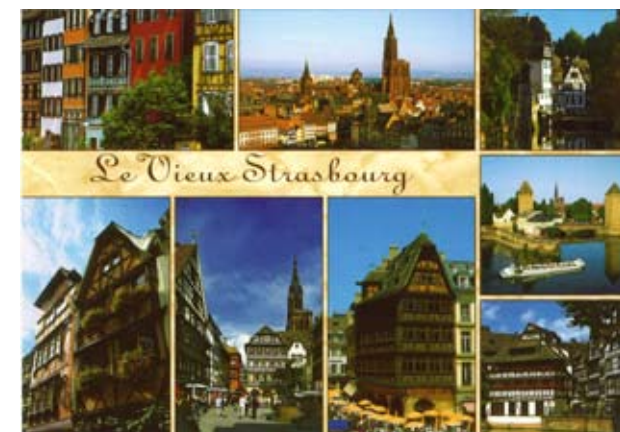
5.006 Postcard Venice 10.10.08



5.007 Postcard Florence 15.10.08



5.008 Postcard Rome
16.10.08



5.009 Postcard Strasbourg 18.10.08

The Grand Tour

The religious pilgrimage has long formed an important part of Christian devotion and as such was a means of generating a valuable income for many Christian institutions. With the Holy Land becoming increasingly entwined with Christian/Islamic conflicts, a network of local and European pilgrimage sites emerged which displayed religious relics and created legends – Santiago de Compostela being the extreme example. The satirical recording of *The Canterbury Tales* (1315) by Geoffrey Chaucer, and later on the Reformation in Germany and England in the sixteenth century, undermined the sanctity of religious pilgrimage. Chaney observes that with “the spread of humanism and the expansion of the profession of diplomacy, new justifications for travel were evolved to replace the old.”⁴ However, the great schism within Christianity made travelling difficult for Protestant British subjects venturing into Catholic Europe, and to Italy in particular. The Duke of Northumberland sent two protégés to Italy so they could come back and disseminate its culture: William Thomas compiled the first Anglo-Italian Dictionary and published his *Historie of Italie* (1549), and John Shute in the field of architecture wrote *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture* (1563), much indebted to Italian treatises. These literary works maintained an interest in Italian culture despite a long period of isolation from the Papal states south of Venice, a period of tension which culminated in 1570 with Queen Elizabeth I being excommunicated, just like her father had been. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 helped to ease travel restrictions somewhat, and the subsequent peace treaty with Spain in 1604 meant that the last major legal barriers were removed. Hence travellers such as the collector, the Earl of Arundel, was able to travel to Rome in 1613.⁵ However, on his return he was interviewed by the Archbishop of Canterbury just to ensure that he was not involved in any espionage.

Inigo Jones (1573-1652) was at the forefront of the Grand Tour phenomenon and travelled to Italy twice in c.1598 and 1613-14. The purpose and date of his first visit are uncertain, but we know he purchased a copy of *I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura* by Palladio, which he annotated on the fly-leaf as “Venice 1601 and [recorded] a price of two ducats.”⁶ John Webb claimed that Jones had been sent to Italy by Christian IV of Denmark (Christian’s sister, Anne, was the wife of James I), and reported that Jones said of his first visit to Italy “[b]eing naturally inclined in my younger years to study the Arts of Design, I passed into foreign parts to conversed with great masters thereof in Italy.”⁷ Still the mystery remains. Many scholars have speculated whether this journey, and specifically his purchase of a copy of *I Quattro Libri*,

was part of a motivation for Jones to become an architect. Certainly the historian Edmund Bolton noted in 1606 that Jones was a Renaissance man of many talents including: “sculpture, modelling, architecture, painting, theatre work, and... elegant arts of the ancients.”⁸ Furthermore, in 1605 Jones was also noted as being a “great traveller,” and this reputation enabled Jones to undertake a more extensive second journey to Italy in 1613-1614, this time with the Earl and Countess of Arundel.⁹ The journey was apparently undertaken under the pretext of “accompanying James I’s newly married eldest daughter, the princess Elizabeth and her husband, the Elector Palatine Frederick V, back to Heidelberg.”¹⁰ Starting in Whitechapel, London on 10th April 1613, the party travelled to Dover, crossed the English Channel to Flushing, and then proceeded on a route along the Protestant cities of Belgium, Holland and Germany. They arrived in Heidelberg on 7th June 1613 for a three-week period of celebration, after which Jones and the Arundels continued down to Italy arriving in Milan on 11th July 1613. They spent a number of months in northern Italy and entered Venice in September 1613. Worsley contextualises Jones’ journey as part of a wider movement of reinterpreting Roman Classical and Renaissance architecture, and that along the route Jones would also have noted a similar interest in the Classicism tradition by architects in France, Holland and Southern Germany.¹¹ Jones’ primary interests “were the remains of Roman Antiquity and the works of Palladio, but as a keen observer he must have been sensitive to the architectural climate of the day,” Worsley points out.¹²

It was well known that the Earl and Countess of Arundel were staunch Catholics, and this would have made travelling through Italy much easier for them and undoubtedly helped to ensure access to Rome. The early travel writer, Robert Dallington, in his book titled *A Method of Travel* (1605), noted that many problems still existed for any traveller wishing to traverse the continent – he advised his “readers against religious propaganda” on their journey, noting the Jesuits were a particular hazard.¹³ Other advice from Dallington was more prosaic, yet invaluable: “beware of their wines, which agreeth not with some natures and are hurtful to all in hotter countries, except sparingly taken or well qualified with water.”¹⁴ After visiting and carefully analysing the Palladian villas and churches in Venice and Vicenza, Jones and the Arundels continued on their journey to Florence, Rome and Naples, thereby establishing the four major destinations of the Grand Tour. They arrived in Rome in January 1614, and whilst Jones continued his diligent examination of *I Quattro Libri*, making



5.010 England, 06.10.08



5.011 France, 06.10.08



5.012 Holland, 06.10.08



5.013 Holland, 06.10.08



5.014 Germany, 07.10.08



5.015 Germany, 07.10.08



5.016 Switzerland, 08.10.08



5.017 Switzerland, 08.10.08



5.018 Switzerland, 08.10.08



5.019 Italy - 09.10.08



5.020 Italy - 09.10.08



5.021 Italy - 09.10.08

further annotations in its wide margins, Arundel gained a licence to excavate one of the ancient sites and “to send any statues he found back to London.”¹⁵ In doing so he established a troubling British tradition for cultural appropriation and souvenirs! The returned booty was placed in Arundel House (on the current site of the British Museum), where his extensive private collection was gradually consolidated into a museum. Chaney notes that this granting of archaeological licences to rich foreigners was used by Popes as a means of consolidating diplomatic relationships, particularly when the applicant was as well connected back home as the Earl of Arundel.¹⁶

The term ‘Grand Tour’ was first coined by Richard Lassels in his book, *Voyage of Italy* (1670), which “introduced innumerable influential Englishmen to ‘art’ and even Vasarian art history,” and as a result the journey to Italy was turned into an “educational phenomenon.”¹⁷ Furthermore, the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury “provided the ultimate justification for travel: by studying the arts and sciences in a European context, one could become not merely a ‘virtuoso’, but virtuous in the modern sense of the world also.”¹⁸ This statement encapsulates the early period of the Grand Tour when the itinerary was still fairly flexible and stresses the educational benefit of travel together with experience of inhabiting the cultural setting. However, artistic exchange between Britain and Italy became compromised when Italian artists and artisans began to support and propagate an Anglicised taste within Italian culture. For example, Antonio Canaletto, the celebrated painter, was said to be dependent and “blunted” by British patronage; Pompeo Batoni, the portrait painter, satisfied a demand for Anglo souvenir portraits; and Giambattista Piranesi, could be seen as an “interpreter” of Roman antiquity, with his magnificently scaled prints that “enthralled” his predominately English clientele to satisfy their needs.¹⁹ The Grand Tour reached the peak of its popularity and influence in the mid-eighteenth century, and as the number of English tourists increased and their records proliferated, the tour reached its ultimate conclusion and became synonymous with the ‘cultivation of taste.’²⁰ Paradoxically, this appreciation of aesthetics and ‘rules of taste’ defeated the original educational aims of the Grand Tour and turned it into a routine procession. The Napoleonic Wars effectively signalled the end of the aristocratic Grand Tour, and instead there developed a wider cultural engagement with other ancient cultures within Greece, Egypt and the Middle East as part of the expansion of the British imperialist mindset. A more democratic Grand Tour was to re-emerge

in the late-nineteenth century as a result of Romanticism, whereby “the analytical and descriptive objectivity of the eighteenth-century text is transformed into a study of the traveller’s own temperament.”²¹ Furthermore, the trans-European railway network meant that a wider set of tourists could now afford the journey, with travel agents such as Thomas Cook offering guided tours that included transport and accommodation.²² It marked the onset of mass tourism, with its guided itineraries, postcards and copious souvenirs. For those who wished to reside longer in Rome to sample Italian culture, if they had sufficient funds, the British School was established in 1900; in 1912 it moved into the British Pavilion designed for the Rome exposition of 1911. This neo-Classical edifice designed by Edwin Lutyens “makes a richly ironic conclusion to the story of the Grand Tour and its influence – a concrete adaptation of the upper order of the west front of Wren’s St Paul’s Cathedral, built amidst twentieth-century Rome.”²³

Some 395 years after Inigo Jones final journey to Italy, on 6th October 2008 I set off on a car journey from North London to Italy, planning to complete my own ‘Grand Tour’ in just twelve days. The car and the open road were famously Frank Lloyd Wright’s favourite means of travel. In *An Autobiography* he would often wax lyrically about his journeys across the American continent: “[the] great highway is becoming, and rapidly, the horizontal line of a new Freedom extending from ocean to ocean.”²⁴ For my research, I wanted to investigate the role of travel for both Jones and Wright in relation to their architectural theories and practices. Inigo Jones was typical of the second domain mentioned by Traganou, and as such his journey to Italy was the original “valorisation of travel to the “other” as a means of theorizing and renewing architecture”.²⁵ Jones however went beyond merely theorising about Italian architecture and indeed he was largely responsible for bringing the Renaissance to Britain. As Ockman remarks of such activities: “[M]ost distinctively, architects are also aesthetic producers ... architect-tourists have both reflected the worldview of their time and literally constructed it.”²⁶ Jones propagated a neo-Palladian tradition that expanded along with the British Empire to its colonies, notably to America. Wright had a more complicated relationship with the act of travel, and would often adopt a defensive position by claiming that he only saw “splendid confirmation”²⁷ of his work when travelling overseas - yet a simple journey to Venice can uncover a number of readings of Wright’s influence across the European continent, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean.



5.022 Service station, Brugge, Belgium



5.023 Service station, Eindhoven, Holland



5.024 Service station, Koblenz, Germany



5.025 Service station, Bruchal, Germany



5.026 Service Station, Baden - Baden, Germany



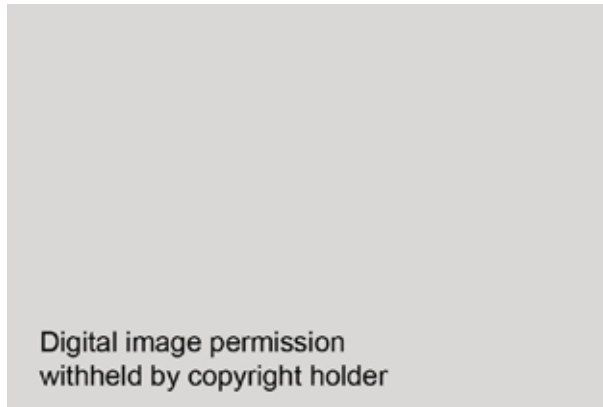
5.027 Service station, Aldorf, Switzerland



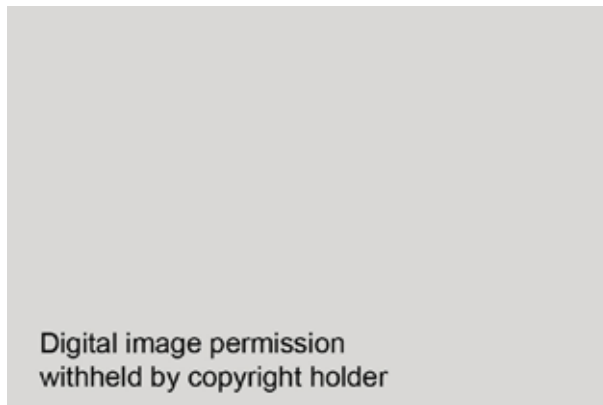
5.028 Service station, Lugano, Switzerland



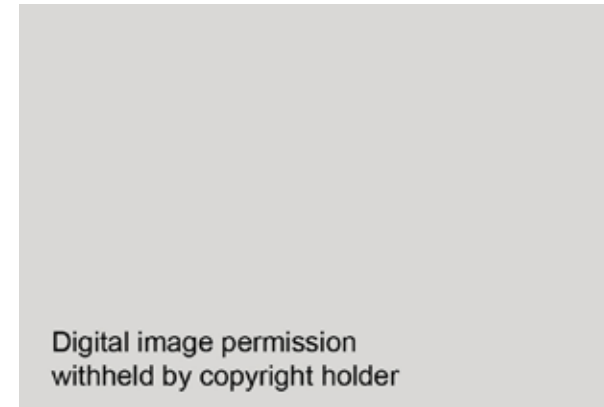
5.029 Service station, Bergamo, Italy



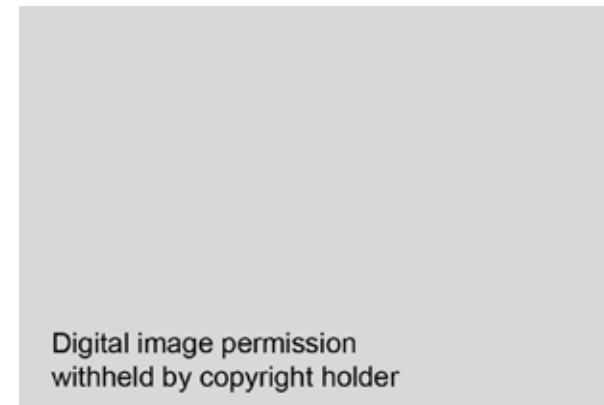
5.030 Elevation, Prefabricated Wayside Market (1935) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993)



5.032 Perspective sketch, Standard Overhead Service Station (1932) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993)



5.031 Section, Prefabricated Wayside Market (1935) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993)



5.033 Photograph of model, Standard Overhead Service Station (1932) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993)



5.034 Street view of Heidelberg, Germany at night



5.035 North plaza to Friedrichsbau, Heidelberg (1601-07)



5.036 Detail to south facade, Friedrichsbau (1601-07)



5.037 South facade to Englischer Bau, Heidelberg (1612-19)



5.038 South entrance arch to Englischer Bau

It was a dry autumnal day with light cloud as I drove to Dover for an ordinary ferry crossing to Calais; this contrasted with the three days that Jones had to wait for good weather in c. 1598, and the dangerous channel crossing he had to endure thereafter. As northern France mutated into Belgium, I was caught in a 'middle landscape' between the heavy grey sky and the green fields around - modulated by long deep ditches lined with tall trees, and the terrain inhabited by small farms with red-tiled roofs. I crossed into Holland without stopping the car once, and was immediately caught up in the massive urban sprawl of Utrecht, followed by an industrialised coastline with its large chemical works and dockyards – signs and reflections of a global shipping hub. Rotterdam soon loomed in the twilight and so I exited the A16 for the city centre, and after a number of circuits around a never-ending one-way system I managed to find a hotel. There are no remnants of the Rotterdam that Jones would have seen left standing after the heavy bombing in the Second World War, but the old harbour still possessed some canals with tall narrow houses and a picturesque windmill that offered a good postcard image of the city. More amusing is the recreated neo-Classical gateway (1772), made from rusting metal to mark the 'New Delfse Poort' (1988-1995) within the modern city. It is an ironic gesture, since it is now part of a contemporary fractured city supporting a diversity of citizens and different kinds of architectures.

After lunch I headed off for Germany, where the driving was much more intense due to the narrow lanes and the heavily undulating landscape. The early autobahns were never graded, and simply followed the contours of the land – after a few hundred kilometres it made me feel quite sick. I broke up the monotony of the journey by stopping at a number of service stations to indulge in a diet of toasted cheese-and-ham sandwiches with coffee, a diet which kept me alive from London to Venice. For Frank Lloyd Wright the 'gas station' represented the ultimate form of architecture for the new car-based population, as he noted in *An Autobiography*:

“The roadside service station may be – in embryo – the future city-service-distribution. Each station may well grow into a well-designed convenient neighbourhood distribution centre naturally developing as meeting place, restaurant, restroom, or whatever else will be needed as decentralisation

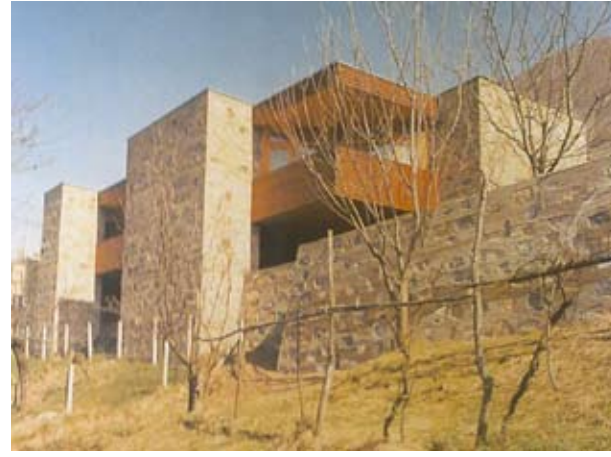
process and integration succeeds. Already, hundreds of thousands occupy the best places in the towns or, more significantly, pretty well outside of the towns.”²⁸

The 'gas station' was therefore a crucial part of Broadacre City, and his identification of these service stations as a form of 'generic space' was prophetic. In *The Disappearing City* (1932), Wright talked in transcendental terms about the new definition of space in relation to the car, in the sense that for the traveller the “horizon widens as he goes”.²⁹ Wright proclaimed the car driver as the new citizen: “After all, he is the city? So the city is going where and as he goes.”³⁰ Consequently, Wright felt that the city of the future could be “everywhere and nowhere”³¹, thus removing the traditional concepts of place and fixed culture. He advocated a city founded on trans-locality – a complete denial of the hitherto traditional concepts of 'architecture, place and culture'. Yet, images of the 'gas-stations' designed by Wright reflect his Usonian architecture, and presumably he believed all service stations should look like this in the future.

Marc Auge has reflected on the condition of the contemporary service station as an example of 'supermodernity,' an expression used to describe late-capitalism: “If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place.”³² In his view, 'anthropological places' are the sites of “cultural identity and memory, binding its inhabitants to the history of the locale,”³³ another cosy Heideggerian interpretation of a static culture, whereas 'non-places' are seen as “bleak locales of contemporary modernity: places of solitude (even in the presence of others), silence, anonymity, alienation and impermanence.”³⁴ But these are not opposites, but rather “palimpsests”³⁵ of negotiated relationships, according to Auge. He summarises that “an anthropological place create the organically social, non-places create solitary contractuality.”³⁶ This kind of localised definition of 'organic' is something that Wright had left behind many years before, as for him the 'democratic' non-place was the future of Usonian architecture. Indeed, globalisation offers a far more nuanced account of deterritorialised spaces. It acknowledges that culture is no longer tied to single a location but is interconnected within a fluid global network. Furthermore, the idea of a fixed history and identity which is only present in 'anthropological' place is also questionable, since history and culture are always



5.039 Santa Maria degli Anioli, Lugano, Switzerland (1499-1515)



5.040 Exterior view of Balmelli House, Canton of Ticino, Switzerland (1957) by Tito Carloni, image from Chicco, R. (2004)



5.041 Exterior view of Carloni House, Canton of Ticino (1957), image from Chicco, R. (2004)



5.043 Projecting balcony and eaves to Carloni House (1957), image from Chicco, R. (2004)



5.042 Side view of House at Mendrisio, Rancate, Switzerland (1972). 'Frank Lloyd Wright Inspired Masterpiece in Ticino' for sale by www.wetag.com/properties, Switzerland in 2010



5.044 Garden view of House at Mendrisio (1972)



5.045 Interior view of House at Mendrisio (1972)

informed by its connection to and relationship with other places and is mediated through the act of travelling.

I turned off the motorway to visit Heidelberg and could hear Wright preaching in my ear – the only need to stop one’s car in Broadacre City would be to “view the ruin” of the former city centre as a tourist.³⁷ I entered Heidelberg in the evening. It was a magical experience with the city lost in the darkness of dim street lighting, yet revealing a preserved medieval city inhabited by students and tourists, all seeming to enjoy living within a Romantic ‘ruin’. In the morning I walked up a narrow lane that had been excavated from the red sandstone escarpment, with great views over the compact old town, as well as the sprawling modern printing works and suburbia beyond. There was a sequence of secondary gates leading to the dramatic north elevation of the Friedrischsbau (1601-07) which was a late-Renaissance palace that would have only been recently completed when Inigo Jones arrived in 1613. The Great Terrace in front of the Friedrischsbau was busy with tourists making the best use of the vista to take photographs. Within the medieval fort was a main courtyard which revealed a mixture of Renaissance styles and scales. Beyond the old courtyard, and contained between the Ladies’ Building and the Thick Tower, was the classical Englischer Bau (1612-19) built for Elector Palatine Frederick V for his new English bride, Elizabeth. Frederick V was leader of the Protestant League, and his alliance with the powerful British monarchy was intended to consolidate and advance his ambitions. The neo-Palladian design of the Englischer Bau symbolised this new trans-European alliance, and was consciously meant as a progression from the regional High-Renaissance style of the Friedrischsbau. The Englischer Bau ruin has been described as “a regular, plain twelve-bay, two-storey elevation”, which displayed a severe classical form that some have even attributed to Jones – all of which forms part of the tourist myth – but of course no proof exists.³⁸ Similarly, it is claimed that the arched entry to the garden was designed and built by Inigo Jones in one evening as part of the elaborate wedding celebrations, an even more unlikely claim as the arch clearly displays a number of overtly Baroque overtones. The brutal Thirty Years War broke out in 1618 and Heidelberg was attacked in 1620, and the whole castle was gutted. The Friedrischsbau and other buildings were then gradually repaired, but the Englischer Bau remained a ruin, and a reminder of a lost neo-Palladian Protestant dynasty that once extended from Heidelberg to Britain.

I struggled to find my passport at the Swiss border and after a brief stop to exchange money to pay for the toll, I passed through Basel and entered Switzerland’s dramatic interior with the Alps now looming on the horizon. This was hyper-Switzerland, with a beautiful landscape and torturous tunnels all viewed at high speed. During Inigo Jones’ time, all travellers had to walk across a number of dangerous obstacles, including the ominously named Devil’s Bridge.³⁹ At the southern end of Switzerland, Lugano was situated on a large lake of the same name within the Canton of Ticino. It is a very affluent city, and a new casino on the lakeside today consolidates its reputation as the Monte Carlo of Switzerland. At the local tourist centre I was offered a *City Walk of Lugano*, and the first listing was the early-Romanesque church of Santa Maria degli Anioli (1499-1515) which Inigo Jones might well have visited on his Grand Tour.⁴⁰ The busy lakeside road passes in front of the church and greatly compromises its setting.

It was also within the Canton of Ticino that the work of Tita Carloni, a “neo-Wrightian,” was based.⁴¹ Carloni was born in 1931 and educated locally in Lugano. He graduated in architecture from Zurich in 1954 and opened his own practice the next year. Carloni was influenced by Zevi’s *Towards an Organic Architecture* and researched into Wright’s work using journals and books, consequently aligning himself in the post-war period of “cultural ferment” with Wright – in opposition to the native Le Corbusier.⁴² Carloni reflected a widespread influence in Wright as one of the ‘modern masters’, and he attempted to use Wright’s ‘organic’ mantra as a means of mediating a new cultural identity. Carloni stated: “[we] naively set ourselves the objective of an “organic” Ticino, in which the values of modern culture were to be interwoven in a natural way with local tradition.”⁴³ His early work adopted many of the principles of Wrightian architecture, considering the site as an inspiration and only using local materials, Brown-Manrique called these early homes a “Prairie-school revival.”⁴⁴ His first house, the Balmelli House (1957) embraced its sloping site to create an innovative sequence of spaces that were articulated using local stone and timber, and the façade expressed a subtle play of geometry. The subsequent Carloni House (1957) in Pregassona near Lugano, was openly inspired by Wright’s Prairie Houses with a cruciform plan form, and an elevation based on the Robie House, with a horizontal emphasis on cantilevered balconies and projecting eaves. It was certainly a worthy tribute and local manifestation of Wright’s global presence during the period.

Digital image permission
withheld by copyright holder

5.046 Carlo Scarpa, Frank Lloyd Wright and Bruno Zevi (1951) in Venice, in Venice (1999), image from Zevi, B. (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999)



5.047 Tourists outside the Ducal Palace, Venice

According to Frampton, Carloni was even an exponent of Critical Regionalism in terms of creating a “locally inflected manifestation of ‘world culture’.”⁴⁵ Critical Regionalism contains a number of historical ideas that were first explored within Romantic and Picturesque art and architecture emphasizing “a commitment to “placeness” and the use of regional design elements as a means of confronting a universalist order of architecture that is seen as dominating and oppressive.”⁴⁶ This commitment to place, also recalls the work of Heidegger and the notion of *genius loci*, and there were wider ideas of regionalism advocated by Lewis Mumford and others in America during the 1930s. The critical engagement embraced two perspectives; namely a reaction against mainstream global trends, and also to “raise questions in the mind of the viewer about the legitimacy of the very regionalist tradition to which they belong.”⁴⁷ Yet according to Crinson, the proposition by Frampton represents “a selective understanding of what could be used from the region as a source of identity; certainly not history, style or ethnography.”⁴⁸ Crinson calls for a re-engagement with the wider political discourse of Paul Ricoeur which underpinned Critical Regionalism, which articulated the anti-colonial movements that attempted to embrace modernity yet return to the sources of their original culture.⁴⁹ Within Ticino, although the ‘regional’ tradition reflected a mutation of Wright’s global organic architecture, and a dissolution of local character, it was yet another manifestation of the ‘trans-locality’ quality to Wright’s work. In addition, it is interesting to speculate if the local adoption of Wright reflected a cultural engagement with America or a means of defining the political aspirations of Ticino within the Swiss Federation. The official language in Ticino is Italian, and the promotion of Wright’s work by Zevi may well have represented a cultural aspiration to connect with the ‘mother country,’ and a reflection of the geographical connection with the Ticino River flowing from the Alps to the Po River. Thus, despite attempting to embrace Ticino into the concept of Critical Regionalism, Frampton emerges as an apologist for Wright’s ‘organic’ architecture.

Back on the road I enter Italy and descend from the Alps before encountering the vast plains surrounding Milan. I circumnavigate the city using the busy and expanded six-lane motorway; beyond the countryside seems idyllic with vineyards and outlines of small hill settlements. Venice however beckons and on 9th October 2008 I cross the causeway to the island city.

Venice

Venice’s period of splendid isolation was terminated by the Austrians in 1846, when they built a causeway for the railway line, and then again in 1931 by Mussolini when he completed the accompanying road crossing. As Morris observes, these bridges dissolved the last remnants of the old Republic and diluted the Venetian character. These links “shattered the myth”⁵⁰ and its residents have ever since continued the “perennial Venetian dispute about whether to modernise the *Serenissima*, or preserve her.”⁵¹ Venice emerged originally out of an unassuming collection of small islands within a shallow lagoon, inhabited by fishermen who also harvested salt from the shallow salt-plains. The invasion of the mainland by the ‘Barbarians’ in the late-sixth century made the wealthier residents flee from the mainland to the lagoon for security. Most of their new settlement was concentrated on the “island of Rivo Alto, or Rivalto, literally meaning high bank,” which continued to expand over the next two centuries, such that by 697 the emerging town formed an “independent military unit a *dux*, or doge.”⁵² Turning its back ever more on the mainland, the island settlement looked instead towards the Byzantine Empire for its trade and cultural inspiration; with routes to the Islamic nations and to China via the ancient Silk Road.

The Venetian Republic reached the height of its powers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Its thriving economic power and sense of democracy among its ruling classes was translated into a number of forays onto the mainland to consolidate its power, leading to a number of conflicts with other regional rivals. In addition, the city saw a dramatic increase in population and gradually the isolated islands which formed Venice began to merge together to form larger consolidated settlements. The canals and narrow lanes were retained and enhanced, and thus the rich organic pattern of the city was preserved and consolidated. Even the Renaissance as initiated in Florence was not initially adopted in Venice, and given its trading and cultural orientation as being traditionally towards the east, there was a greater appreciation of Classical Greek culture than that of ancient Rome. Venice however, supported the aims of the Counter-Reformation, and so the city took full part in the gradual mutation of the Renaissance into Mannerism and the subsequent Baroque period. Bruno Zevi manufactured a tantalising confrontation, for his own historiographical ends. When he found a hotel room for Wright in Venice, the master of ‘organic’ architecture was confronted with the supreme manipulation of the Classical tradition on the Grand Canal:



5.048 Ferry trip to Guidecca, Venice (2008)



5.049 AC Milan bar, Guidecca



5.050 Common entrance door to apartment, Guidecca



5.051 View from window, Guidecca



5.052 View of small canal in Guidecca



5.053 Narrow alley in Guidecca



5.054 Quayside, Guidecca



5.055 View from cafe, Guidecca

“In Venice Wright discovered the message of the Baroque. I had selected for him a room at the Hotel Gritti, just in front of Santa Maria della Salute by Baldassare Longhena. He was astonished by the octagonal shape of the church, by the crown of explosive volutes, and especially by the two cupolas. His hands followed slowly the different profiles from the top of the church to its base alongside the lagoon. For the first time, he grasped what, without knowing it, he had rejected a priori.”⁵³

A friend had found a spare room for me to rent for a few days in Venice on Guidecca island – it was not the Hotel Gritti for me! We texted each other and arranged to meet at the modern bus station, Piazzale Roma. We had a chat on the ferry ride to Guidecca:

Zara: That is the old Mulino Stucky factory. It's now a Hilton Hotel, and has a swimming pool on the roof, which is very popular with the tourists.

Gwyn: It must be great place to stay. I will have to book a room there next time! What are you studying in Venice?

I have finished my studies, so I am now researching and teaching. I studied Chinese culture and now I'm researching into Chinese literature.

That is very impressive, especially since you speak Chinese too. China is very popular in Britain today, with the 2008 Olympic Games, and there have been a number of major exhibitions being held to promote Chinese culture. Mind you, a lot of the interest is no doubt to increase trading.

In Italy, we are not so advanced in our commercial activities with China as the rest of the world.

Do you get the opportunity to visit China and stay there for your studies?

*Yes, I have lived in China for about two years. It is important to stay there for a time to get a good understanding of the culture. I taught English there for some time also.*⁵⁴

You are a modern-day Marco Polo! The strangest thing I always think about him is that he discovered China by land, which took so long.

We disembark at Guidecca, and Zara reminds me of the correct orientation of the ferry points – we walk along the quayside and then turn right at the AC Milan supporters bar. We proceed down a narrow alleyway to the end and lurch in the

darkness towards an old door. Zara puts her arm through a broken window in the door and opens it from the inside. My apartment was on the second floor and it was a long and thin layout with one space running into the next; it reminded me of the ‘street-car’ apartments from the film, *The Last Days of Disco*,⁵⁵ but no-one else here seemed to have heard of the film.

It was in Venice in 1951 that Frank Lloyd Wright gained the greatest adulation of his time in Italy, courtesy of the Venice School of Architecture under its director, Giuseppe Samona, its main design professor, Carlo Scarpa, and historian, Bruno Zevi. They were all advocates of Wright's ideas and promoters of ‘organic’ architecture. Zevi duly accompanied Wright during his 1951 visit to Florence, Venice and Rome, and his recollections provide an intoxicating tale of Wright's triumph within the Venice:

“When Wright walked in the calli or through the piazzette, or when he travelled by gondola, Venetians of all social strata recognized, greeted and applauded him. Wright was surprised and happy – such recognition had never happened to him before.”⁵⁶

In the morning I searched for the site of the Masieri Memorial, an unrealised project that Wright had begun in 1952. On the opposite side of the Guidecca Canal I spotted the Zattere apartment block (1954-58) by Ignazio Gardella, which was a contemporary of the Masieri Memorial, and both explored similar themes of situating a modern building within the historical fabric of Venice. The Zattere apartments now seem an inconsequential apartment block on the Guidecca canal. It has a solid mass which is respectful of its neighbours, and of similar size, with a defined solid white Istrian stone base, red-ochre rendered central mass, and moderate low-pitch tiled roof. The balconies were arranged asymmetrical and the white framed window openings were likewise varied. Yet the apartments had a modern aspect. Gardella believed that he had accommodated “the presence of the past”⁵⁷ in his scheme, which according to Kirk evoked “the atmosphere of an imagined Venice.”⁵⁸ Furthermore, Tafuri in considering the Torre Velasca in Milan (1950-58) by BPR, makes a commentary that is equally valid to the Zattere block, which was, “wrapped in its ambiguous aura of implied meanings rediscovered through analogies, is above all a symbol of Italian architecture in the fifties: in the great museum that is the



5.056 Entrance gate to Masieri Memorial, Venice (1970-83) by Carlo Scarpa



5.057 Covered path to Masieri Memorial (1970-83)



5.058 Entrance door to Masieri Memorial (1970-83)

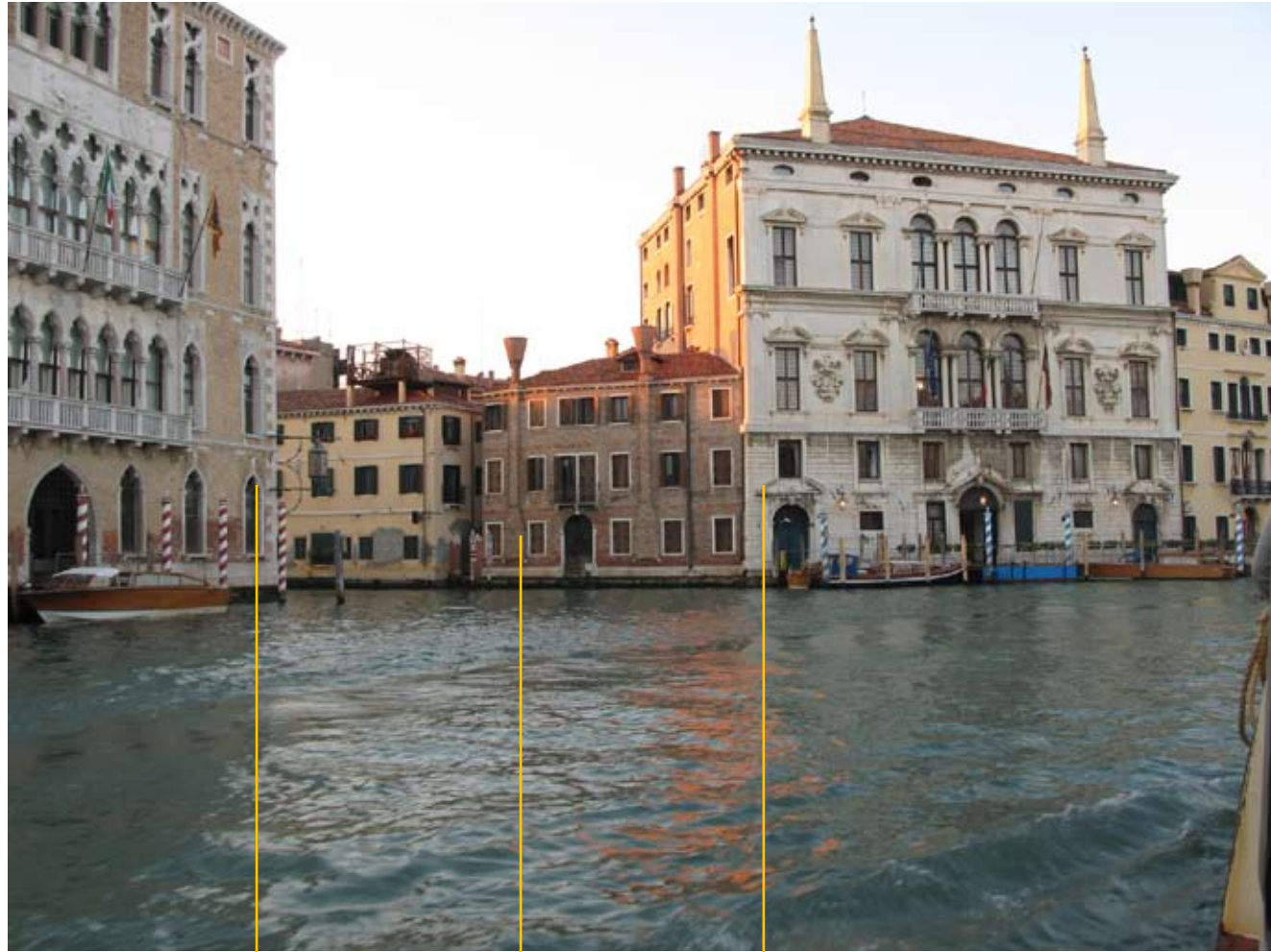
historical city, it seems fitting to find a “house” that gives signs consolidation for their alienation, that protects them from the future and reassures them of the validity of their “moral” stands.”⁵⁹

The Masieri Memorial was buried deep in the city fabric, and after many twists and turns and requests for directions I found a forlorn looking metal door, and pressed an electronic buzzer optimistically. The door opened and I entered a narrow alley with a distinctive semi-circular ceiling motif guiding me to another more highly crafted, metal door with inlaid stone and small circular openings. The building now belongs to the Venice University School of Architecture, and the administrator was friendly and said there was a conference taking place in the morning, so she would show me around in the afternoon. The Masieri family had owned the house for some decades, and Angelo Masieri had been living there when he studied architecture in the 1940s. It is claimed that Angelo then asked Wright to design a house and studio on the site when they met in 1951.⁶⁰ However, whilst travelling to meet Wright in 1952 to discuss the project in more detail, Angelo Masieri was killed in a road accident. His widow, Savina, wrote to Wright inviting him to design a memorial building on the site – either as an apartment block or a hostel for 16 - 20 students.⁶¹ Wright elected to design a hostel, and sent a sketch elevation and plan in 1953 to Savina. The plan showed the building pulled back from both boundaries, generating a path along one edge that led directly to the canal, and a thin lightwell along the other side against the Palazzo Balbi, thus breaking the continuous façade along the canal. The ground floor was to possess a central library space with dining facilities to the rear, and beside the side entry door Wright had resurrected his touchstone from his Prairie Style years – the symbolic hearth. Whilst the library was to be orientated to the south to engage directly with the Grand Canal, there was little evidence in Wright’s plans as to how it would actually function: there were no bookshelves, for instance, and only four desks placed against one wall. The double-height space was articulated with a mezzanine floor for four student dormitories with their windows facing the Palazzo Balbi separating wall, plus one corner dormitory looking onto the canal. On the first, second and third floors the layout for the student dormitory plans and central hearth were repeated, and there was a generous common sitting room that again engaged with the canal. Curiously, the original scheme dating from 1953 had a belvedere on the west side of the elevation with a roof garden that Wright had designed as his own pied-a-terre for whenever he visited Venice (according to

Raphael Moneo).⁶² Was this belvedere perhaps a tribute to the Villino Belvedere that Wright had rented in Fiesole with Mamah Cheney back in 1910? That had been a small house with a small intimate private terrace and captured the image of a past Italian idyll in Tuscany. Wright’s design for the Masieri Memorial was developed over the subsequent years, and at one stage the belvedere was moved to the east side against the Palazzo Balbi, a desperate move to show that the new memorial was subservient to the adjacent Mannerist palace.

Moneo recreated the Masieri Memorial building as part of his exhibition on *Absent Architecture of the Twentieth Century*,⁶³ and the published book offers a captivating record of assembling the artefacts and narratives regarding the project. Moneo’s recreation was based on Wright’s original 1953 sketch elevation, believing that this very first sketch best represented the design intent. But it was primarily the front elevation that was at the heart of all the controversy that surrounded the scheme, articulating a dialogue between Wright, Venice and Italian architecture in general. In his 1953 elevation, Wright adopted a seven-bay modulation with five balconies on the ground and first floors, diminishing to three balconies on the second floor and no projections at all on the third floor – plus of course the offset belvedere to the western side of the façade. Furthermore, at the corners Wright proposed glass inserts to emphasise the vertical aspect of the scheme. It would have made a theatrical addition to the Grand Canal; “Alongside the corner-feature a glass lighting-feature rises – lighting outside and inside by way of neon tubes (low candlepower) when appropriate.”⁶⁴ Wright described a reinforced-concrete construction founded on piles and the façade dressed with marble and made a poetic analogy with nature: “The intermediate piers of construction rise like reeds from the water and should be seen below the surface.”⁶⁵ Moneo considers the articulation of the façade with its “a-a-b-b-b-a-a” rhythm as a tribute to the “academic” architecture that Wright had always severely dismissed in the past as irrelevant.⁶⁶

By releasing his proposed designs in New York before they were presented in Venice, Wright provoked a harsh reaction from Italian conservationists, who objected both to Wright as a person and to the idea of a modern building on the Grand Canal.⁶⁷ Medina notes that the debates regarding the scheme were often personal and did not really consider the architecture on its merits. Furthermore, there was a long delay before any of the information was released, and this allowed the Italian

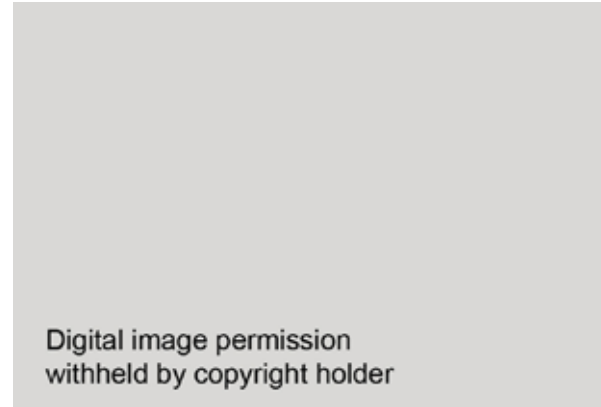


C: Ca Foscari

A: Masieri Memorial

B: Palazzo Balbi

5.059 View of the Masieri Memorial (1970-83) from the Grand Canal



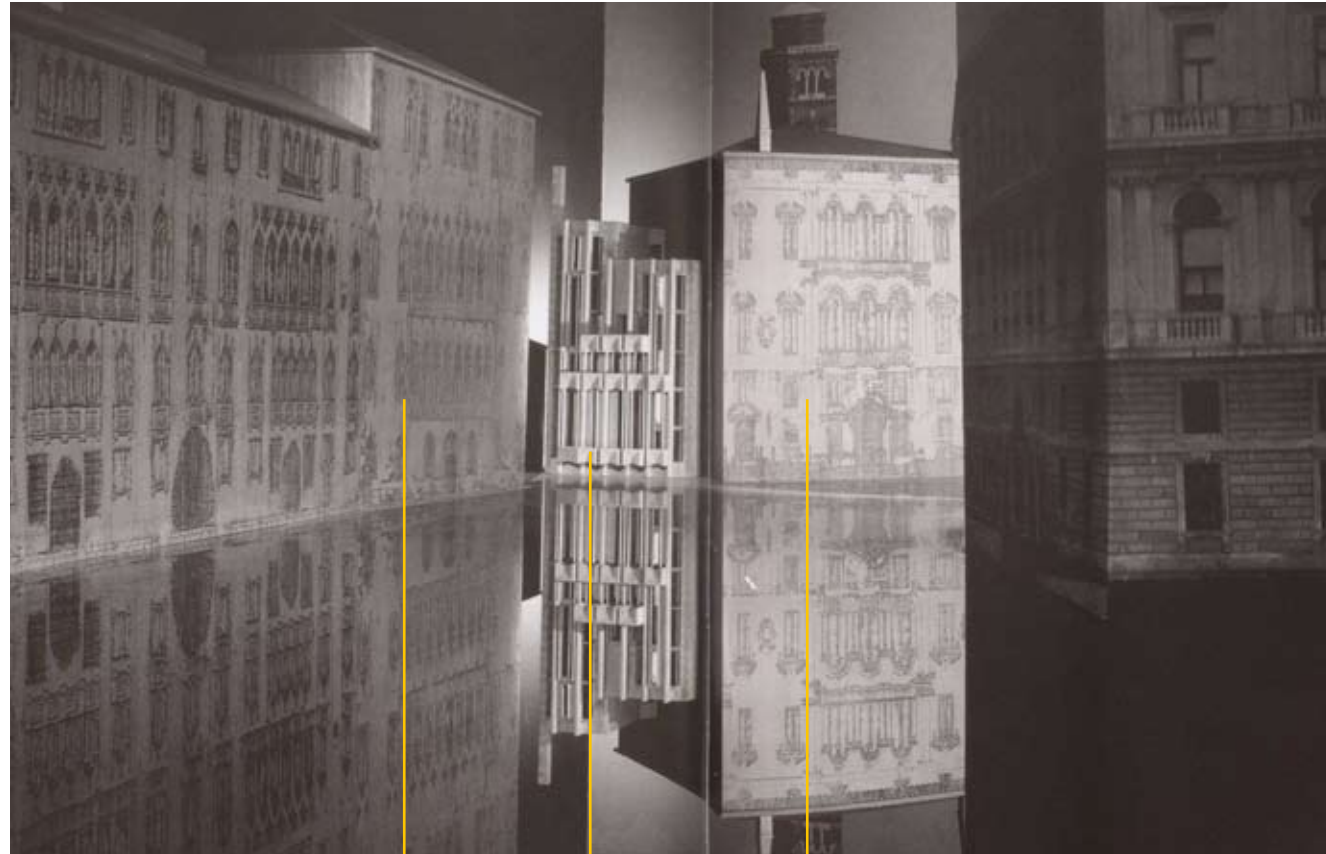
5.060 Location map of Masieri Memorial (1952-55), image from Wright, F. L. (1954) in *Metron*

press to escalate the personal attacks on Wright and spread misinformation about the scheme.⁶⁸ Even a special edition of the *Metron* (1954) under the guidance of Zevi was another ‘wasted’ opportunity to appease an architectural debate that was caught in a perfect storm of controversy.⁶⁹ Wright responded with a well-mannered letter in 1954, in which he sought to reassure Venetians that, “[the Masieri Memorial] is no ruthless sacrifice of an ancient culture to a modern ambition, but is, I am sure, a worthy tribute to you all and harmonious with your great tradition.”⁷⁰ As another former resident of Oak Park, in Chicago, Ernest Hemmingway said that he would personally allow the memorial to be built, but only if it was burnt down afterwards⁷¹ – to which Wright replied: “a mere voice from the jungle!”⁷² The controversy lasted for nearly three years and gathered worldwide press coverage before the scheme was finally rejected in 1955.

In the *Metron* journal issue, an essay by Sergio Bettini attempted to situate Wright within the historical Venetian context. Despite being a highly academic paper that was perhaps not accessible to those outside architecture, it addressed key issues: Venice’s character, its traditional architecture and Wright’s proposal itself.⁷³ Bettini made the valid point that “the anticlassical character of the city is in keeping with Wright’s tastes”⁷⁴ and thus his design was part of the richly ‘organic’ form that Venice possessed through its many layers of history and culture. One of the crucial features of the city were that “the façade sets up a closer figurative relationship with space of the canal or street, with basin or square, than it does with the building [to the] back of it.”⁷⁵ This disjunction between the elevation and the plan drew on the theatrical nature and character of Venice, which had earlier been explored by the votive churches and the carnival spectacles along the Grand Canal, and which Aldo Rossi was to brilliantly evoke with his floating theatre for the 1985 Venice Biennale. The façade surface as identified by Bettini within the context of the Masieri Memorial was also a tacit acknowledgment that Wright was actually designing a Mannerist – if abstracted, façade – onto the Grand Canal, and one which was not really connected to the buildings use. Bettini advanced the idea that the triangular site was naturally suited to Wright’s design methods since he had developed in a number of schemes based on a triangular module or plan form. However, these Wright schemes had expanded the triangular figure horizontally within the landscape, but confronted with a constrained site in Venice, he had naturally expanded it vertically to elaborate the façade.⁷⁶

According to Levine, “Wright was deeply impressed by the historical significance of the site, and his response was a very conscious act of architectural accommodation.”⁷⁷ Furthermore, Moneo says of the façade: “Wright’s proposal, is an architecture which, while emphasising the value of the visual elements, dissolves them in the most abstract section. What Wright proposes in this sketch ... is architecture regarded as a visual experience.”⁷⁸ Both Levine and Moneo feel that the scheme was driven by aesthetic factors, seeking to generate a visual scene on the already extremely theatrical Grand Canal, and on this basis it would have been successful. Yet I would question its integrity in demonstrating the principles of ‘organic’ architecture. Furthermore, the scheme could well have been condemned by Ruskin’s *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849); it was conceived as a memorial, and used the material of choice (marble), yet was eventually defeated by a conservation lobby. In his essay on the ‘Lamp of Memory,’ Ruskin noted: “Architecture [we] may live without her, and worship without her, but we cannot remember without her. How cold is all history, how lifeless all imagery, compared to that which the living nation writes, and the uncorrupted marble bears.”⁷⁹ The Masieri Memorial was thus part of Wright’s troubled legacy, one where his ‘organic’ mantra was no longer a unified architectural philosophy. He had departed from the structural ‘truth’ of the Gothic that Ruskin professed. According to Pfeiffer, Wright continued to work on the Masieri elevation for a number of years thereafter, attempting to reach a more correct “patina” for the stonework design.⁸⁰

I returned in the afternoon to visit the Masieri Memorial as eventually designed by Carlo Scarpa (1970-83), and the administrator began our tour in the dark and congested entry hall where all the circulation is concentrated. From this vantage point I experienced the space opening out to face the light glistening off the Grand Canal, which was framed by the central door opening. In keeping with tradition a metal grille protected the door, and Scarpa had pulled the glazing back to form an internal lobby that allowed the water to penetrate the facade during high tides. This indeed was the language for the whole project, with the facade acting as a screen in front of a new dual-columned steel structure that held the concrete floors and exposed services. Scarpa also indulged in judicious cutting back of the new floors to create a dialogue between them, expressing the qualities of the concrete, steelwork and servicing pipework – and thereby adding spatial play to the layers of materiality. The upper storeys possessed circular bathroom pods that were finished in blue and white

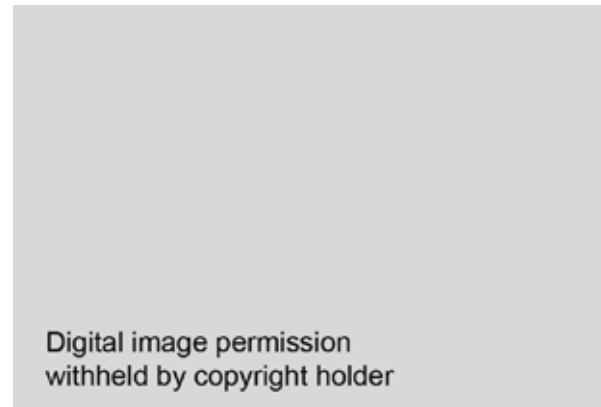


C: Ca Foscari

A: Masieri
Memorial

B: Palazzo
Balbi

5.061 Model of Grand Canal and Masieri Memorial
(1952-55) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from
Moneo (2008)



5.062 Rendered image of the, Masieri Memorial
(1952-55) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from
Wright, F. L. (1954) in *Metron*

polished plasterwork, and the open-plan offices sought to make the best out of the remaining spaces in a number of different desk configurations. For the design of the problematic Grand Canal façade, Scarpa found an old sketch by Canaletto and used it as a basis to placate the conservationists with their neo-Ruskinian desires, resulting in what can be called a neo-Venetian solution.

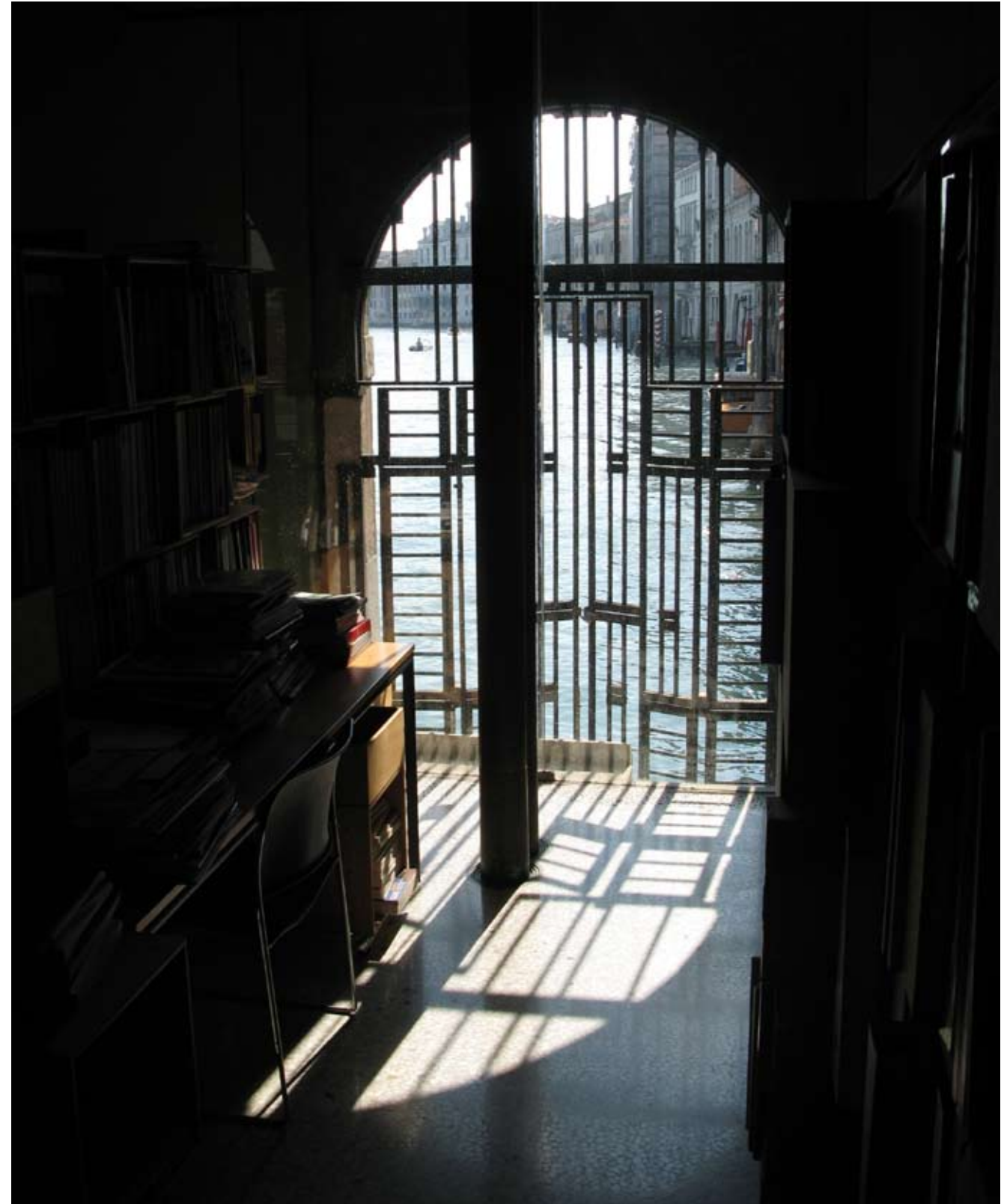
Carlo Scarpa was the natural choice to complete the Masieri Memorial. Angelo Masieri had been a pupil and collaborator of his, and their admiration of Wright was a common influence. Scarpa was born in Venice in 1906 and studied art at the Academy of Fine Arts in the city, before working briefly as an architectural assistant and also a designer for the glassmakers of Murano. He returned to the Academy to become Professor of Design in 1926 aged only 20 years old. His first exhibition design was for the Venice Biennale in 1928, and his first architectural commission, in 1935-37, was for headquarters of the University of Venice, the Ca' Foscari *Aula Magna*. It involved restoring and remodelling the Main Hall. Ca' Foscari (c.1450) was an impressive Gothic mansion built by Doge Francesco Foscari and which Ruskin called "the noblest example in Venice of fifteenth-century Gothic."⁸¹ The palace sat on the Grand Canal, north of the Accademia bridge on the Nuovo Canal and opposite the site of the Masieri Memorial. It possessed an impressive four-storey façade with a finely detailed central arcade on the first and second storey with marble tracery and Gothic detailing. The Ca' Foscari Palace was a typical example of Venetian domestic architecture, albeit at a large scale: "with their great central windows arcades lighting the huge halls behind, flanked by side wings of smaller rooms lit by single windows."⁸² Ever, since 1867 the Palace has been the home of Ca' Foscari University, and I entered the campus from the rear - its land side - into an enclosed internal courtyard with high walls, meeting the administrator on the ground floor. I was escorted up a wide medieval stair to the first-floor *piano nobile* where the vast Main Hall was revealed behind a large landing space. The screening designed by Scarpa divided the room in two, allowing the senate to meet in privacy and others to pass beside the hall to get to the rooms beyond. A number of abstracted 'tree' forms made from natural wood supported two layers of screens with a permanent glass barrier and a secondary hinged cloth screen. The abstracted trees were reminiscent of those in the Taliesin North and Taliesin West drafting studios, and were detailed carefully using simple square sections to generate an abstract geometry similar to Wright's own tectonic meditations. In the early morning, the light again reflected off

the Grand Canals, illuminating and animating the tri-lobed ogee arcade and casting shadows against the oscillating sheer blinds – thus, making the external façade dematerialise.

Los identifies three periods in Scarpa's career beginning with his work in Murano and the early exhibition commissions, which he identifies as an engagement with "artistic" and "figurative" influences. This led on to a second phase of cultural engagement with museum and exhibition spaces, and finally a third stage of "rediscovery of identity".⁸³ Within Scarpa's early period, other writers have noted his "infatuation with the work of Wright, an infatuation that became more discriminating with the passage of time."⁸⁴ But Scarpa proved able to develop beyond this early influence: "[his] encounter with the example of Wright did not conclude Scarpa's intellectual trajectory, though it was one important stage in it. Its relevance is, however, related to the maturation of a far deeper interest in the oriental tradition."⁸⁵ Los postulates that Scarpa's interest in Japan and the artefacts of the nineteenth-century Japanesieri is what first led him to investigate the works of Wright.⁸⁶ In addition, there were other common inspirations, such as the work of Otto Wagner and the Austrian Secession, as well as Josef Hoffman, whom both men knew. Examples of Scarpa's early period included the screen within Ca' Foscari and commissions carried out 'in collaboration' with Angelo Masieri. Scarpa's subsequent "critical" period focused more on "the design of museum spaces, installations of exhibitions, and composite architecture," which situates him as an example of a Renaissance sculptor/architect.⁸⁷ He reinvigorated historical spaces by juxtaposing restoration work with careful modern insertions, and interpreted these cultural spaces in a modern manner using innovative spatial manipulations to form distinctive spaces. Within the Castello Garden site for the Venice Biennale, the Venezuela Pavilion (1954-56) has an austere presence and a limited material palette of exposed concrete and glass, inspired perhaps by the Unity Temple in Chicago. Internally, Scarpa dissolved the corners between the wall and roof, as was reminiscent of Wright's use of glass to 'breaking up the box' in his Prairie Houses. The simple gallery spaces created by Scarpa are functional, modern and at a humane scale. As a cultural representation of Venezuela, the Pavilion may not be geographically specific but it does possess a distinctive identity. Similarly, the celebrated Canova Sculpture Gallery (1955-57) was a modern addition that was juxtaposed against the adjacent neo-Classical gallery. The gallery has a variety of spaces and lighting to display and articulate specific



5.063 Interior view of Masieri Memorial
(1970-83) by Carlo Scarpa



5.064 Interior view towards Grand Canal,
Masieri Memorial (1970-83)
When Frank met Francesco

pieces of sculpture, and the glass corner provides another skilful play of light that was a natural progression from the Venezuela Pavilion.

The even more famous Castelvecchio Museum in Verona (1956-64) and the Querini-Stampali Foundation in Venice (1961-63) were also insertions within the historical fabric, and displayed Scarpa's masterful manipulation of historical spaces. As Tafuri notes, "Scarpa enjoyed a private and metaphorical rich dialogue with history," – and history was often just a "pre-text" onto which Scarpa would make an ironic or humorous insertion such as elevating the statue of the Cangrande della Scala horseman at Castelvecchio.⁸⁸ The Querini-Stampali Foundation is set within a sixteenth-century palazzo and suffered from periodic flooding, so Scarpa manipulated this event to introduce channels within the gallery to direct and contain the water without troubling the gallery spaces. There is also an impressed display of interior craftsmanship, with each room possessing a unique character of sensuous opulence with highly polished stone and metal plates uniting a number of hidden screens with intriguing abstract geometries. Within the garden, Scarpa offset this interior opulence with rough-cast concrete walls in the Wright idiom. Finally, also within Venice, came his design for the entry to the University Institute of Architecture. This was a playful use of abstracted concrete displaying traces of Wright with its compressed entry sequence before the release of entering the university domain (1966,69,72). Tafuri called Scarpa "a Byzantine master who happened to live in the twentieth century," and alluded to a musical analogy for his work: "Scarpa's language, which is marked by gaps and interruptions, can be read as a musical score."⁸⁹ For me his work also seems to be a meditation on the city of Venice, exploring the ideas of the labyrinth and the fragment within the urban context.

The final phase of Scarpa's work – termed a "rediscovery of identity" by Los – can be seen as a reaction to visiting Wright's work in America, which led Scarpa to address a number of explicitly classical themes. A good example of this last period is the Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78), which "represents a culmination of past experience – a sort of grammar of Scarpa's architecture."⁹⁰ The Brion Tomb dominates a modest public cemetery at San Vito d'Altivole, wrapping itself around two sides of the old cemetery. It was also a modernist insertion using concrete, metal and fine mosaics to contrast with the traditional polished stones of the other cemetery elements. I entered a side chapel of the Brion Tomb that occupied one corner of the plot, and

which appeared to float within a pool of water. It had a simple square plan with an intimate internal space modulated by small intimate and playful details. Beyond, the site unravelled with a 'arcosolium' – an arch over the tomb – and then a pavilion space, raised in this case above a water pool. When entering the tomb from the public cemetery, the two overlapping circles represented a 'propylaeum', a portico, with the two eyes representing vision. The site represents a vision of journey, for according to Scarpa: "Architects are full of journeys."⁹¹ Tucked away beside the church was a narrow space where Scarpa himself is buried. Wrightian spatial experiences and details were present, but there were more prominent influences too. The simple spaces with rich gold inlay detailing reminded me of the Viennese Secession, whilst the fragmented planning and the rustic materiality offset with highly finished materials was reminiscent of Japan. However, Tafuri viewed this project quite differently, commenting: "the San Vito cemetery resembles a battlefield where forms – little temple evoking the Oriental, the small pavilion and the recovered passageway leading to the entryway, and the hermetic funeral arches covering the family sarcophagi – all play a partita with death."⁹²

The unique character of Carlo Scarpa's work was also classified by Tafuri as that of an "isolated individual" who cannot be contained within sustained historiographical analysis. Instead it maintains "the magic circle enclosing the architect and his own private codes."⁹³ Tellingly, the primary language adopted by Scarpa to articulate his architecture was that taken from Wright – and yet Scarpa, according to Tafuri, "cleansed Wright's syntax of all utopianism, turning it into a flexible means of meditation engaging convulsive and interrupted narrations."⁹⁴ Once more, Frampton cites Scarpa as another exponent of 'Critical Regionalism,' with all his work being concentrated within Venice and its surrounding region.⁹⁵ In addition, Scarpa's tectonic architectural expression, carefully articulated in the jointing of different materials, provides another means of understanding Wright's influence, as Frascari notes:

"Scarpa's architecture can be generically classified as the merging of the principles of the organic architecture as expressed by Frank Lloyd Wright with a learned distilling of Veneto craftsmanship with a blend of modern and ancient technologies. However, the definition is inadequate; whereas Scarpa's understanding of Wright's architecture was passive, based on an appreciation



5.065 Interior view, Alua Magna, Ca' Foscari (1935-7)



5.066 Exterior view of Venezuela Pavilion (1954-56)



5.067 Entry to University Institute of Architecture (1966, 69, 72)



5.068 Upper detail of Alua Magna (1935-7)



5.069 Corner detail to Canova Sculpture Gallery (1955-57)



5.070 Side view, University Institute of Architecture (1966, 69, 72)



5.071 Entry from public cemetery to Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78), San Vito d'Altivole



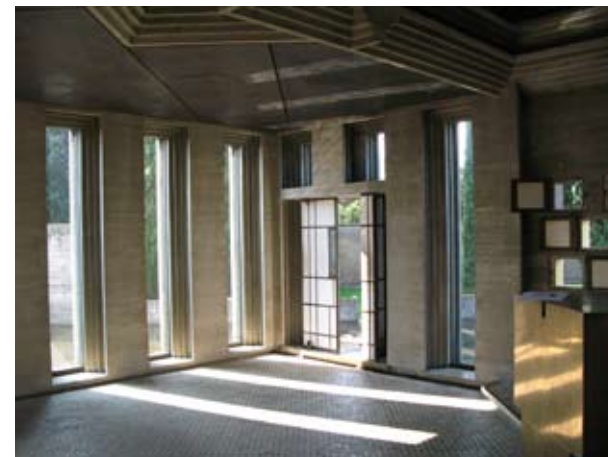
5.072 Chapel to Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78)



5.073 Ziggurat detail to Chapel at Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78)



5.074 Elevated tomb, Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78), San Vito d'Altivole



5.075 Interior of Chapel to Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78)



5.078 Ziggurat detail to Chapel at Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78)



5.076 Arcossolium to Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78)



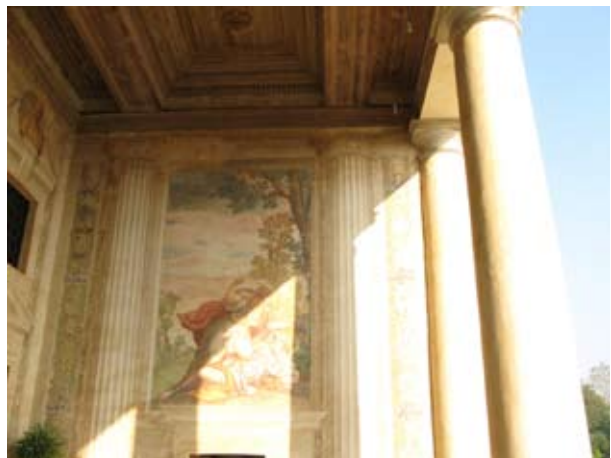
5.077 Interior of Chapel to Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78)



5.079 Entry Pediment, Villa Emo, Fanzolo (1556-65) by Palladio (1508 -70)



5.080 Rear Salon, Villa Emo (1556-65)



5.081 Entry Pediment, Villa Emo (1556-65)



5.082 Rear Salon, Villa Emo (1556-65)



5.083 Front Elevation, Villa Emo (1556-65)



5.084 Souvenir, Villa Emo

of photographs and drawings, his understanding of Veneto craftsmanship was active, based on his daily dealing with stonecutters, masons, carpenters, glassmaker, and smiths of Venice.”⁹⁶

Frascari considers the role of detailing and the articulation of the ‘joint’ as the key to his own tectonic appraisal of Scarpa, noting that the advent of the Industrial Revolution had two reactions: the increasing fragmentation of building work requiring details to be drawn by draftsmen, and the re-empowerment of workers as advocated by the Arts-and-Crafts movement.⁹⁷ This provides a further linkage with Wright. Many works by Scarpa clearly exemplify Wright’s influence in this way, and Frascari identifies the “ziggurat detail” as the leitmotif.⁹⁸ Frampton also supports an essentially tectonic reading of Scarpa’s architecture as a reaction, noting the “predominant tendency today is to reduce all architectural expression to the status of commodity culture.”⁹⁹ He concludes that Wright’s approach and the influence of this on later phases of the Modern movement have been underestimated - “for Wright was the primary influence behind such diverse European figures as Carlo Scarpa, Franco Albini, Leonardo Ricci, Gino Valle, and Umberto Riva, to cite only the Italian Wrightian line.”¹⁰⁰

Veneto

I collected my car and headed north-west from Venice towards the Veneto area to visit a number of Palladian villas and the works of Carlo Scarpa. Instead, I got lost in the sprawl of Mestre. This was made more difficult because it was Sunday and everything was shut. So I parked up and looked at my map, at which point a man called down from a nearby balcony offering to help. He produced a detailed map of the whole region and directed me towards the Villa Emo. From the map, the entire Veneto seemed to be structured according to an enhanced grid. Driving through the countryside, the landscape was inhabited with countless small farms and villages, mere cross roads in some instances – making it a Broadacre typology in its infancy. Andre di Pietro della Gondola (1508 -70) had trained and practiced as a stonemason up to the age of 30, when he met his mentor, Count Giangiorgio Tressino, who commissioned him to work on his villa. Tressino decided to educate Gondola as a humanist architect alongside his two own sons, and gave him a classical name,

Palladio.¹⁰¹ Their humanist education followed the precedents of classical treatises written by Vitruvius, as well as journeys to study ruins in Rome and other ancient sites.

Sixteenth-century Venice saw dramatic changes in its economic and political climate. With international commerce declining, the republic sought to increase agricultural production in its adjacent colonies by draining the land and farming it.¹⁰² A new class of Renaissance landowner/farmer emerged, and Palladio in his work articulated a new kind of country dwelling which embraced their aspirations. Over the course of his career, Palladio developed three different types of villas to express slightly different relationships between the villa and its landscape. The main characteristics of each type were in turn: a two-storey main mass with a colonnade and pedimented porch; a central temple façade and two arcaded wings; and a third type of more innovative forms that included examples such as the Villa Rotunda.¹⁰³ The pedimented temple was a bold statement by Palladio, since in antiquity it had been used for religious purposes only. Now Palladio adopted it to elevate the social status of the villa and its owners.¹⁰⁴ Another inspiration for Palladio was the relationship to nature, which he studied as part of his humanist training, thereby linking classical Roman architecture to God’s creation. In his celebrated treatise, *Quattro Libri*, he stated: “Since architecture, like all other arts, imitates nature, nothing (in it) can satisfy that is foreign from what is found in nature.”¹⁰⁵ From his detailed study of ancient precedents, Palladio developed a rigorous proportional system that Ackerman suggests was “more rationalist than the Romans.”¹⁰⁶ As a consequence, Palladio’s villas seem to be static compositions which enhance the importance of the owner, and are supported by a strict proportions that also tie them back to their ancient lineage.

The Villa Emo (1556-65) was a short distance from a nearby village of Fanzolo, and is now contained within its suburban zone. The villa is set back from the road and opposite some old farm buildings that shield it from the car park and tourist coaches. The Emo family were believed to be originally from Greece, and they moved to Venice in the tenth-century; by the thirteenth-century they were being noted as part of the ‘Patrician Order’ within the city.¹⁰⁷ They were also typical of the later ‘colonialist’ endeavours on the Italian mainland. They assembled an estate of 200 hectares in which “to implement Venetian policy to promote settlement on the mainland, but was



5.085 Street View, Giacomuzzi House, Udine (1947-50) by Angelo Masieri



5.086 Garden View, Romanelli Villa Udine (1950-55) Udine by Angelo Masieri and Carlo Scarpa



5.087 Street view and entrance to Romanelli Villa (1950-55)
310



5.088 Interior view on ground floor living room



5.089 Interior view on ground floor looking towards the garden with first floor wing above
When Frank met Francesco



5.090 Interior view on first floor looking back towards entry along 'wing'

especially important in encouraging agriculture by means of irrigation projects (1536) and the introduction of maize instead of sorghum which, until then, had been the staple diet of the rural poor.”¹⁰⁸ The Villa Emo was duly given an imposing scale. It possessed a central temple façade with pediment to provide its visual focus, whilst its long side pavilions embraced the landscape. The elevation and plans were organised according to the Venetian module. Yet behind these architectural symbols of affluence, the practical requirements of farming were integrated into the design – the entry steps had a proportion of 1:2, which was also ideal for threshing wheat, and the side pavilions were specifically for agricultural use. The Villa Emo was busy with coach trips on the day I went there, and the side wings were now given over to a new supporting role for any heritage site – in other words – a tourist shop, conference suites and meeting rooms. In the gift shop I purchase a pencil and ruler set as a souvenir of Palladio’s stately measured villa.

Behind the columns which support the pediment of the Villa Emo is a recessed porch that gives entry to a nine-room ground floor plan, with three rooms at the front, three in the middle and three rooms at the rear, all in a well-balanced but static composition. The main salon is located at the rear and is based on a perfect cube, while other rooms are proportioned either as a square-and-half, or a square-and-two-thirds.¹⁰⁹ The rooms were decorated with frescos by G. B. Zelotti (1565), which were remarkably vivid, with Classical narrative themes and optical illusions of classical architecture. As noted of the main salon, one then:

“entered through a triumphal arch with seated figures of Abundance and Prudence. The east and west walls are divided into four columns and have panels in monochrome. There are represented trophies of war (Emo’s victories, against the Lutherans and the Turks), prisoners with the elements of water, air, earth and fire and two sections illustrative of Roman attitudes. The first alludes to the generosity of Scipio and the other to a father preferring to sacrifice his daughter Virginia rather than abandon her to the viciousness of a Tribune.”¹¹⁰

The status of the sixteenth-century landowner was supported by such notable allusions, and the formal rear garden beyond also followed the rigorous geometry to create a united vision of the interior and the world outside.

Scully brilliantly describes how Wright later progressed beyond Palladian design principles to form a very different conception of the home: “The Palladian plan is an excellent expression of a pre-industrial, humanistic world where the human being occupied a fixed, central position. The Wright plan is an image of modern man, caught up in constant change and flow, holding on, if he feels he must, to whatever seems solid, but no longer regarding himself as the center of the world.”¹¹¹ Interestingly, the role of abstracted nature was applied in dramatically distinct ways by the two architects to develop their designs. Palladio adopted the Classical tradition to establish a rigid proportional system, whilst Wright generated a more flexible method of planning based on geometric modules. Ackerman also neatly summarises their two approaches to house designs, noting that Palladio’s villa “sets itself off from nature with pure, prismatic forms and clearly defined light-washed smooth surfaces” – whereas Wright’s homes “reflected the informality of nature in its irregularity, asymmetry, rich texture and contrast of colour of light and dark.”¹¹² Thus, the ‘organic’ architecture developed by Wright may be considered to be the opposite of Palladian architecture. Wright certainly sought to place himself beyond the ‘uncreative’ neo-Classical tradition, saying that he was reflecting a modern lifestyle with his informal and ‘organic’ planning.

I travelled on to the adjacent region of Friuli, to the town of Udine. It had been part of the western Roman Empire and was then conquered by the Venetian Republic in 1420, becoming the second city of the expanding regional power. To consolidate their influence, the new ‘town hall’ of the Loggia del Lionello (1448-1457) was built in the Venetian-Gothic style, essentially as a miniature version of the Doge’s Palace. Hence it was colonial architecture at its most literal. Udine today retains its own medieval identity with an enclosing perimeter wall, narrow winding streets, small piazzas and an abundance of street life. At the tourist centre, the work of Gino Valle is promoted as that of a famous local architect, and indeed Frampton typically promoted Valle as an exponent of ‘Critical Regionalism’ within the area.¹¹³ The work of Angelo Masieri is also acknowledged by a local listing plate, but he is clearly not that well known. Masieri’s Giacomuzzi House (1947-50) is a low-level insertion into a city block, with a low boundary wall, and is hidden from the street by two mature trees and an area for car parking. The house has an abstract cubic form and exhibits a definite horizontal quality through a sequence of terraces that recede towards the rear of the site. Externally it is finished with a natural coloured render with horizontal



5.091 Tourist Map of Lignano Pineta



5.092 Street view of shop on Raggio Dell' Ostro by Marchello D'Olivo (1921-91)



5.093 Street view of shop on Raggio Dell' Ostro



5.094 Street view of Villa Spezzotti (1958) by Marchello D'Olivo (1921-91)



5.095 View across spiral ramp and entry to Villa Spezzotti (1958)



5.096 Street view of Villa Minardis (1958) by Marchello D'Olivo (1921-91)
When Frank met Francesco



5.097 View of internal spiral to Villa Minardis (1958)

banding and patinated copper features. All in all, it is an interpretation of Wright mixed with Cubism, and thus similar to the work of the Dutch architects, W. M. Dudok and Jan Wills.

A short drive beyond Udine's old town wall is the Romanelli Villa (1950-55) by Masieri and Scarpa, again now set within a modern suburb. I had managed to make an arrangement to view the house with its owner. I instantly recognised the villa from the street, noting also that there were a number of other similar properties beside it – as if sharing its reflected glory. Beltrami claims that the house was conceived in the manner of Wright as an “antidote to the carton house”.¹¹⁴ The Romanelli Villa sits to the north of a 2,000 sq.m site, with its large garden to the south. To increase its exposure to natural light the house was then rotated so that its leading corner addressed the garden full on. A set of columns form an abstract order to the house and articulate the garden façade. On these columns lies an ‘abstracted pergola’ which embraces the entrance and is then carried through the house and into the garden. The owner welcomed me in and was evidently keen to show me around his house. We started at the garden, where the concept of the property was explained to me:

“It is a long wing that spans from one side of the property to the other. You have just entered via one part of the wing and at the other end is the garden. The house is in the middle ... The original design was by Angelo Masieri, but when he died in a car crash, the house was finished by Carlo Scarpa. The horizontal roof on the right of the house was introduced by Scarpa, as it was originally pitched.”¹¹⁵

Looking at the house from the garden, I could recognise that it had been inspired by Wright's Taliesin West (1938), with its geometrical spatial planning, while it also possessed certain details from the Prairie House period – i.e. the projecting roof forms, compression of the entrance space, and the corner window details. The concept of the embracing wing seemed to ground the design in its site, making me think of Palladio's own work within the same landscape. Thus, whilst the ‘organic’ architecture of Wright might be considered as the opposite to Palladian architecture, the Romanelli Villa seeks to reconcile this conflict. Once inside the Romanelli House, the owner opened up the shutters to show off the internal space to its

best advantage. Here the space flows seamlessly around the central hearth in the approved Wrightian manner. Part of the living room is a double-height space divided by the external wing, forming a close dialogue with the garden beyond. This space also extends into the dining area and links it back to the kitchen and utility area located towards the rear. The kitchen had since been adapted to cope with family demands, and the owner was proud to show me the new table that he had designed to fit the geometry of the site. I had to agree, it was a great addition to the ‘organic’ design. We returned to the entrance lobby to go upstairs to the bedrooms, which were all serviced off the upper part of the wing form. The master bedroom lies behind and faces the rear garden. The other bedrooms face out onto the street, but are set back from the road and its noise. This family house is very evidently still in use, although I noticed that the children had now grown up and left, contrary perhaps to usual stereotypes of Italian family life.

Lignano Pineta and Trieste

All in all, I visited a number of cities and regions across northern Italy to view examples of the ‘organic’ architecture tradition that had adopted Wright's manifesto and in light of Zevi's rhetoric. From my research I had decided to focus on the work of Marchello D'Olivo (1921-91), Luigi Figini (1903-84) and Gino Pollini (1903-91). All were architects who had used principles of ‘organic’ architecture in their projects. About 140 kilometres west of Venice, the settlement of Lignano Pineta had been planned as a holiday resort by D'Olivo. It was conceived around a spiral plan that sought to integrate the buildings into the landscape, and as such was a reaction against neo-Classical or grid-iron method of planning. The intention was that the spiral form would replace the traditional orthogonal beach esplanade, with its commercial hierarchy related to proximity to the sea, with a new form that could be more democratic and equitable. I arrived at the town in mid-October and found it deserted, with very little traffic and hardly anyone walking on the streets despite the warm weather. I gravitated towards the town centre, which was next to a roundabout. There I found a map posted on an information board with a church and a small post office behind, plus a petrol service station and some small shops opposite. The traffic island effectively formed the civic centre – this was at once unsettling and revealing, being a core without any imposing architecture or piazza, yet one that responded to the primacy of car ownership and its appetite for fuel and parking. The



5.098 Plan of Villaggio del Fanciullo (Children Village) (1949-57) by Marchello D'Olivo (1921-91), image from Furlani, T. (1952)



5.099 External view of the administrative building at Villaggio del Fanciullo (1949-57)



5.100 External view of the administrative building at Villaggio del Fanciullo (1949-57)



5.101 External view of the dormitory at Villaggio del Fanciullo (1949-57)



5.102 Street view of Olivetti Factory extension (1939-1940) and Social Services Building (1954-7) both by Figini and Pollini



5.104 Entrance to Social Services Building (1954-7)



5.106 Internal stair to Social Services Building (1954-7)
When Frank met Francesco



5.103 Undercroft to Social Services Building (1954-7)



5.105 Openings in the terrace for trees to project Social Services Building (1954-7)



5.107 Openings in the terrace for trees to project Social Services Building (1954-7)

town possessed the stilted atmosphere of the *Truman Show* or *Stepford Wives*.¹¹⁶ I inspected the well-crafted church, which had elements of 'organic' design in its dynamic roof form and exposed concrete trusses and brickwork. I also picked up a postcard just in case I could not find another one later. The remaining town was also planned around the car. The main curved street links the church to the sea, which has a low-level pavilion containing shops, cafés and offices that again exhibited a number of 'organic' features from Wright's late period – albeit used in a very playful manner. At the end of the street where it met the sea was the Piazza D'Olivo. This has a small fountain beside another roundabout and car-park, making a somewhat ironic and comical urban setting.

I knew there were a number of villas designed by D'Olivo in Lignano Pineta, and so I drove around the spiral plan, literally going around in circles looking for them. Next to the Ernest Hemmingway Park (he visited the town once) I found a real estate office that was open. When I asked about D'Olivo, the agent swivelled in his chair and brought out a book to point out the image of D'Olivo with Saddam Hussein. He laughed loudly. After a good humoured encounter, the estate agent pointed me towards the Villa Spezzotti (1958) and the other homes completed by D'Olivo. The Villa Spezzotti adopted the urban form of the town, having a spiral ramp that climbs up around a large circular property. The house has blue-and-white rendered elements with abstract feature patterns based on a sunflower motif. It was difficult to make out any other features of the property as the creeping vegetation obscured my view. The adjacent Villa Minardis (1958) was another circular house, but with an inverted form to the Villa Spezzotti with a central entry ramp around a circular void. This use of circular planned homes made the town seem even more surreal and futuristic, similar perhaps to some of Wright's rendered images and his circle-inspired projects such as Pleasantville NY. An article of the time noted: "D'Olivo clearly draws inspiration from F. L. Wright, of whom he is an enthusiastic, if indirect follower. His constant experimentation, search for new forms, and even questionable decorative features, can be justified by the need for creative liberty, so strongly felt in Italy after decades of academic reactionism."¹¹⁷ Whilst D'Olivo developed the "curved line and the spatial continuity that Wright developed for his second Jacob's House", he also worked in a more abstracted and formal way generating spaces that in the end were subservient to the geometry.¹¹⁸ He thus seemed to have lost the point of 'organic' architecture somewhere along the line.

Later that afternoon I travelled further east to Trieste, climbing up small hills and passing through tunnels, being mindful to turn off the motorway before I reached Slovenia. It was within the small suburb of Opicina that I gained directions for the Villaggio del Fanciullo (Children Village) (1949-57) by D'Olivo. The project was built to house juvenile delinquents and neglected children, and so D'Olivo tried to remove "all reminders of the old-fashioned prison-like edifice, and generally speaking of all vertical structures" and to preserve the existing site to encourage an "open-air life."¹¹⁹ It was another example of D'Olivo's all-embracing vision of architecture, with the triangular plan of the Villaggio also informing the site planning of individual pavilions and buildings as if it was an integrated design solution. The site is still used intensively today with many cars dropping off children at the adjacent gymnasium, and within the complex there are dormitories, a refectory, a school, a workshop space, and a printing shop. I recognised the main administration building with its dynamic geometrical form and upturned roof slabs terminating as pointed wings, but it was now being repaired and so hidden behind a protective fence. Nonetheless, I could see that the original 'organic' staircase was being restored. Nearby were the residential pavilions, I noticed that some children were playing chess outside with an adult supervisor. I went up and asked about the Villaggio, and the ongoing restoration work.

Gwyn: Is the village under repair? What is happening to the administration block?

Supervisor: "The administration block is now almost finished repairs.

Unfortunately, the school is now closed and you should try to email or telephone them to arrange a visit."

What is it like to live here?

"These pavilions were designed by a good architect. You get good sunshine most of the day, and all the rooms get some sunshine."¹²⁰

Ivrea

During my later stay at the British School in Rome, I arranged a visit to see the Social Services Building (1954-7) by Figini and Pollini that was part of the expansive Olivetti factory. I caught an express train from Rome, and then regional train to Ivrea. It is about one hour north of Milan, and Ivrea acts as the home of the Olivetti Factory, in a complex that was initiated by Adriano Olivetti as a paternalistic industrial settlement



5.108 Approach to Villa Molin, near Pauda (1597)
by Vincenzo Scamozzi



5.109 View beside canal Villa Molin (1597)



5.110 Pediment to Villa Molin (1597)



5.111 Exterior view of Basilica of San Minato al Monte (c. 11th to 13th century)



5.112 Interior view with raised choir to Basilica of San Minato al Monte
When Frank met Francesco



5.113 Interior view with inlaid geometric patterns to Basilica of San Minato al Monte

based around the manufacture of typewriters. The company had been founded in 1908 by Camillo Olivetti, and was then extensively developed by his son, Adriano who inherited a business with 30 employees working within a single workshop, and built a large modern factory designed around Taylorist philosophy. The architects, Figini and Pollini, were responsible for designing many of the new Rationalist buildings to represent modern manufacturing techniques. Their extension to the Olivetti Factory (1939-1940) was based on the works of the famous American industrial architect Albert Kahn, who had designed the main Ford factories. However, Adriano Olivetti sought also to project “a ‘social’ image of the firm” and responded by employing other more progressive architects.¹²¹ After the war, Olivetti implemented his architectural and political philosophy by using the more ‘organic’ image promoted by Zevi. Olivetti employed Figini and Pollini once more to design the Social Services Building for the plant’s workers.

I had made an appointment with the Olivetti Foundation to visit the building and hoped to see a number of the buildings at the Olivetti site, but when I arrived there was no-one at the railway station to meet me! Thus, I had to navigate around the site myself. As I approached the complex, I found the ‘organically’ inspired Social Services Building standing opposite the factory extension, both of course by Figini and Pollini – it was a dialectic for the ‘social image’ of the Olivetti company. The Social Services Building was well maintained and in the dim light of an overcast day it gradually came to life as the lights were put on. I sheltered from the drizzle beneath its extended terrace, and entered a cramped office at one edge of the building. After some lengthy discussion I managed to find someone from the Olivetti Foundation to escort me around the Social Services Building. This Wright-inspired project is based on a hexagonal planning module and is divided into two masses at a slight angle to each other, responding to a turn in the road. Wright had used the hexagon module for the Hana House (1936-7), and claimed that it was more flexible than the square or triangular module, which Figini and Pollini obviously also believed.¹²² One wing was for cultural functions and social welfare whilst the other wing acted as a health centre.

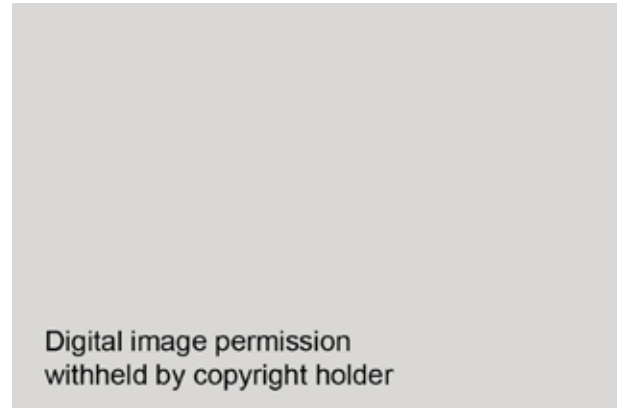
My escort from the Olivetti Foundation arrived in the twilight and took me into the edifice. I could see that it still possessed a number of the original features, such as a hexagonal central staircase with exposed treads and hexagonal skylights above. I met the local supervisor and she was slightly bemused by my interest in the building.

However, she allowed me to walk along the first-floor terrace. It was beginning to age badly, with some of the concrete joints opening up with weeds. The terrace had large hexagonal openings to allow trees to penetrate from beneath, which made an interesting interplay between the real living tree and its hexagonal abstraction. In the fading light on the terrace, the human scale of the Social Services Building was juxtaposed against the more impersonal expanse of the factory; despite its brutal materiality, the Social Services Building reflected an architecture that wished to begin a new kind of social order.

Florence

Returning to my ‘Grand Tour’, I left Venice in the late afternoon and travelled south-west towards Florence. The horizontal and fertile landscape was at its best advantage in the evening. I turned off the motorway south of Padua to look for Villa Molin (1597) by Scamozzi, which Inigo Jones had visited and studied extensively, deriving elements of the design for the Queen’s House (1616) in Greenwich. I found the Villa Molin within the encroaching modern sprawl of Padua. It lies behind a high-level canal embankment and I easily recognised its imposing pediment temple front. The villa retains a sense of gentle country life, out of step with the harsh realities of the twentieth-first century, with Italian teenagers zipping up and down the road on their mopeds. The villa seemed to be in private ownership with little to identify the site or any information concerning visiting times. Nonetheless, I felt an emotional connection with the original Grand Tour, being there 365 years later with the excitement of a new episode at the next destination. I returned to the motorway, crossing the wide River Po delta in the twilight. The night closed in as I crossed the Apian Mountain and arrived late in Florence. I followed a tour coach towards the city centre and as it pulled up close to the railway station I decided to join the horde and book myself into the Leonardo de Vinci Hotel. It was dark as I went to bed, and so I waited with trepidation for the morning to see if my room had a view.

In the morning I drew back the curtains. What view would be revealed? I found myself looking onto an apartment block and a railway viaduct – this would have caused much anguish for the early-twentieth century travellers parodied in E. M. Forster’s book *A Room with a View* (1908).¹²³ I could well imagine Maggie Smith giving a very perplexed look! Wright’s first visit to Italy in 1910 was almost concurrent



Digital image permission
withheld by copyright holder

5.114 Perspective drawing of Milwaukee Public Library and Museum Competition entry (1893) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Pinnell, P. (2005) in McCarter, R.



5.115 Street view of Palazzo Strozzi, Florence (1489-1538)



5.116 Street view of Palazzo Strozzi, Florence (1489-1538)



5.117 Street view of Auditorium Building (1887-89) by Louis Sullivan

When Frank met Francesco



5.118 Street view of Auditorium Building (1887-89)

with that of Lucy Honeychurch, the lead character in *A Room with a View*; he was on a parallel romantic adventure with his mistress. Yet for Wright there was also the pressing matter of preparing the drawings, renderings and written text for his Wasmuth folios to be printed in Germany later that year. Wright assembled his temporary atelier in Florence with two draftsmen – his son, Lloyd, and Taylor Wooley – and in March 1910 they hired Villino “Fortuna” beneath Piazzale Michelangelo, near to the basilica of San Minato al Monte.¹²⁴ San Minato was dedicated in 783 AD and preserves a relic of the martyred saint. In the eleventh century the church was rebuilt in a Romanesque style, with a simple rectangular form, a raised choir and a distinctive white marble facade which was “typical of the Romanesque style in Tuscany.”¹²⁵ Alofsin notes that this “example of monumental religious architecture and ornament in an amalgam of medieval traditions” would have been a new experience for Wright, and might even have led him to experiment with geometric patterning in his subsequent schemes.¹²⁶ Whilst working for Wright, Wooley recorded a number of visits to the city to see famous examples of the Renaissance, including the Duomo and the church of San Lorenzo.¹²⁷

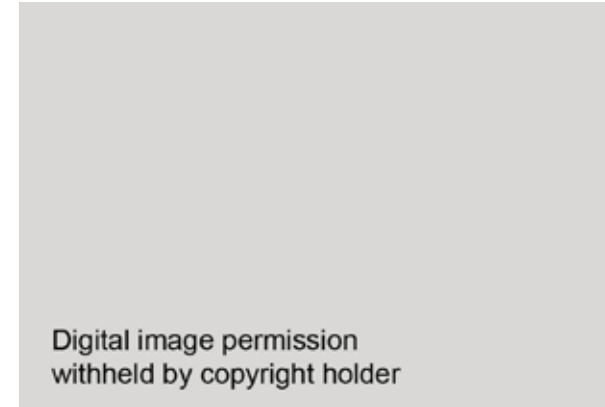
Centred on Florence, the Renaissance was based on a reappraisal of Classical texts and monuments, and as such was essentially “a cult of antiquity” that touched most cultural spheres with political and educational reforms.¹²⁸ Why did Wright choose to work in Florence, and Italy, during his first visit to Europe? His distaste for the Renaissance was already well known, and so to visit the home of its origin was a curious choice. The idea of visiting Italy had been discussed with his friend Charles Ashbee in 1908; he had invited Wright view the villa he was designing in Taormina, Sicily,¹²⁹ and then to journey with him around the rest of Italy.¹³⁰ Another inspiration for Wright may have been his ‘Leiber Meister,’ Louis Sullivan, who devoted a whole chapter in *The Autobiography of an Idea* to his European adventure – mostly describing his time at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, but with a short passage on Florence and Rome. Sullivan had visited Florence in 1874 and stayed there for six weeks, noting (in the third person): “Louis saw Florence and does not know how he came to break the golden chains that bound him there, a too willing captive.”¹³¹ The robustness and scale of the Renaissance palazzos built by the Medici (1444), Pazzi-Quaratesi (1462-70) and Strozzi (1486) were to influence Sullivan’s Auditorium Building (1887-89) in Chicago, which possessed a heavy rusticated base with a severe Romanesque elevation, topped with a tower. It is very plausible that

Sullivan might have suggested the pleasures of Florence to Wright during the time they worked together on the Auditorium Building and other commissions. The other reasons for choosing Florence were its liberal social attitudes and Wright’s desire for anonymity after being discovered by a *Chicago Tribune* reporter in the Hotel Aldon in Berlin with Mamah Cheney. Levine notes that Florence at the turn of the twentieth-century had a thriving “expatriate artistic community,” and these artists endorsed Shelley’s view that the city was “the paradise of exiles and the retreat of Pariahs.”¹³²

In 1887 Wright had run away to Chicago to become an architect and he famously described, in *An Autobiography*, pawning a “finely bound set of Gibbon’s ‘Decline and Fall [of the Roman Empire]’... and a mink collar that had been his mother’s.”¹³³ It’s an evocative statement – Wright set out to rid himself both of neo-Classicism and his mother’s influence. While his mother followed him to Chicago some years later, Wright claimed he always battled against the might of neo-Classicism as mediated through the Beaux Arts movement in America. In independent practice from 1893, Wright’s initial success brought the unwanted attentions of Daniel Burnham, known affectionately as ‘Uncle Dan,’ the organiser of the Beaux-Arts dominated Columbian World exhibition of 1893 and an outspoken promoter of ‘City Beautiful’ principles. As one last temptation, Burnham offered Wright a four-year education at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris followed by two years in Rome, but Wright declined claiming that the Classical tradition was “uncreative.”¹³⁴ Yet, within Wright’s vast output there was the example of a particular Beaux-Arts inspired scheme for the Milwaukee Public Library (1893). Pinnel proposes that the design was inspired by a number of precedents including the Fine Arts Building by Charles Atwood (1891) for the Columbian Exposition, the east front of the Louvre (1673) by Claude Perrault, and the Erectheion, Athens.¹³⁵ Atwood’s Fine Arts Building was the most admired in the Chicago Exposition, and Wright simplified the design for his library design. In order to develop greater unity across the façade, he “commits what for the contemporary canon of classicism was the deadly sin of running the same entablature across two different height column groupings.”¹³⁶ Levine considers that the Milwaukee Public Library design had caught Burnham’s eye when exhibited in 1894 at the Chicago Architectural Club, and it underlined Wright’s ability to design in a neo-Classical language, in addition to the kind of work he had done for Sullivan.¹³⁷ Furthermore, by refusing Burnham’s offer, Wright was essentially rejecting the opportunity to design



5.119 View of Villino Belvedere from Via della Doccia



5.120 Catalogue of Centenary Exhibition (2010) by Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010)



5.121 View of Villino Belvedere with small plaza as the street divides



5.122 View of Villino Belvedere from Via Motececeri



5.123 Villino Belvedere entry door and bell

When Frank met Francesco



5.124 Commemorative plaque on adjacent house

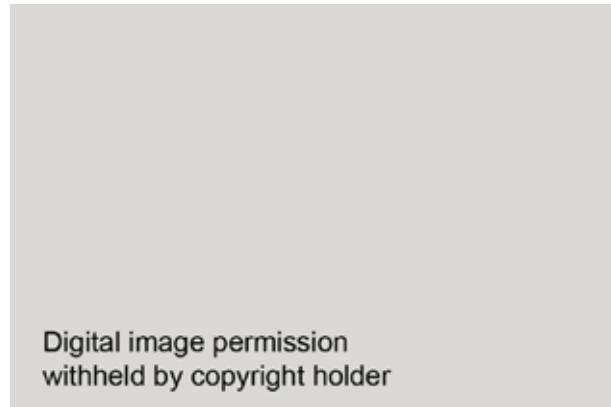
new commercial and institutional buildings (in a neo-Classical style), and stating his preference to use his residential schemes to develop his 'organic' architecture.¹³⁸

Furthermore, Pinnel points out that the early homes designed by Wright had certain academic undertones, such as the Winslow House (1893-4) with its symmetrical façade and its stables, which share a three-quarter corner articulation with Palladio's Villa Zenò.¹³⁹ In addition, for the *Architectural Review* publication in June 1900, Wright used a Beaux-Arts inspired *analytique* composite drawing to present his residential work, thus promoting the 'monumental' importance of the American suburban home, and displaying the unity and beauty within the design – a clear response to the neo-Classical demand for: beauty, durability and propriety.¹⁴⁰ Hence, rather than berating neo-Classicism and the Beaux-Arts, Wright in his early years was propagating its expansion within America as part of its own globalising process, whereby the tradition had passed from Greece to Italy, to France, and finally to America.¹⁴¹ The Milwaukee Public Library entry was rejected, and consequently Wright became more like a vengeful spurned lover, unable to pass any opportunity to avenge his competition defeat.

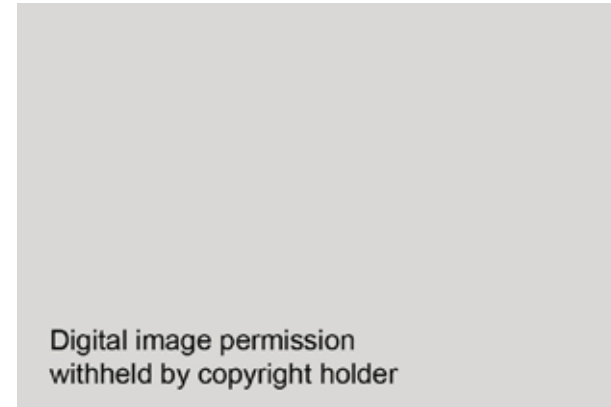
I caught a local bus from Florence to Fiesole and met an American woman who was undertaking an intensive Italian language course. She was familiar with Fiesole and described a number of local attractions within the small town, including the archaeological site, museum and monastery. I told her that I was looking for a house where Frank Lloyd Wright had resided when he ran away with his mistress – she shook her head with disdain and called him a "a philanderer."¹⁴² The 30-minute bus ride took meandered up a steep hill to Fiesole; in Wright's time there was an electric tram, apparently the first to be used in mainland Europe.¹⁴³ The small town had an air of antiquity, The site was first settled during the Bronze Age and the Etruscans presence can be traced back to the 7th century BC. The archaeological area has a museum and a number of well-preserved sites that include a Roman Theatre (1st century BC), Thermal Baths (1st century BC), and assorted temples (3rd century BC). The main Piazza Mino is divided into two parts, with the local bus terminating at the lower section next to the Duomo. The upper part was recently paved with an allegorical statue, with the fourteenth-century Palazzo Pretorio (Town Hall) behind.

I had made an appointment to see an official at the Commune who wanted to talk about a new exhibition of Wright's work in 2010 to celebrate the centenary of his visit to Florence and Fiesole.¹⁴⁴ We discussed my research and he produced a copy of a small book prepared by Giapaola and Filippo Fici which described Wright's time in Fiesole.¹⁴⁵ We exchanged details and set off to visit the Villino Belvedere where Wright had resided in 1910, during the spring and summer months. Via Verde rose steeply from the main piazza and only one small car could pass at a time. After about 400 metres, there was a small plateau with an open vista, with olive-tree groves below and Florence sheltering beneath the dramatic dark autumn clouds. The road divides into two at the small piazza: the southern Via Della Doccia descends down the hill, whilst the northern Via Motececeri proceeds to climb upwards. Consequently, Villino Belvedere has its entrance at the first floor, and the main floor and garden are below and enjoys an uninterrupted southern view of Florence. The Villino has been much altered with the projecting south-facing balcony now fully enclosed. Yet the north entrance and the garden that Wright had seen were still retained. Unfortunately the current owners did not consent to a visit for me, and the officer told me that even Wright's cousin had previously been turned away. We returned to the main piazza, stopping to laugh at a commemoration plaque to Wright that was placed on the wrong house – something which should hopefully be corrected by the centennial celebration.

Wright described his idyllic hideaway in *An Autobiography*. In a chapter entitled 'In Exile,' he recalls the romantic poet Shelley, and expands upon his own particular situation: "In ancient Fiesole, far above the romantic city of cities, Firenze, in a little cream-white villa on the Via Verdi, the rebel. How many souls seeking release from real or fancied domestic woes have sheltered on the slopes below."¹⁴⁶ Wright's romance with Cheney was thus played out within this modest town and small Villino: "Walking hand in hand together up the hill road from Firenze to the older town, along the way in the sight and scent of roses, by day."¹⁴⁷ In addition, the passage expands upon Wright's time in Florence and his wider 'Grand Tour' through Europe: "Together again tired out, sitting on benches in the galleries of Europe, saturated with plastic beauty, beauty in buildings, beauty in sculpture, beauty in paintings, until no Chiesa however rare and not further beckoning work of human hands could waylay us any more."¹⁴⁸ It was within this blissful existence that Wright composed his 'Introduction'



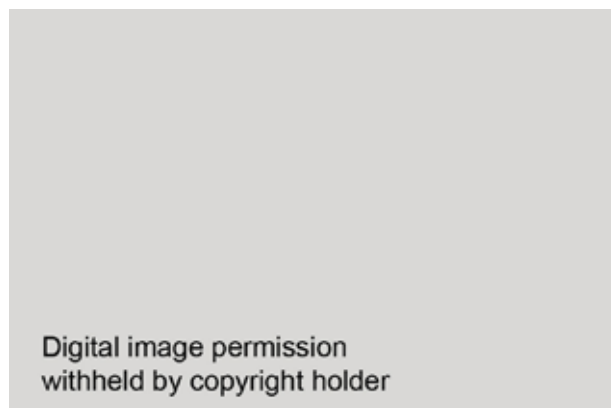
5.125 Plan and elevation for an artist studio (1910) 'preferred option' by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010)



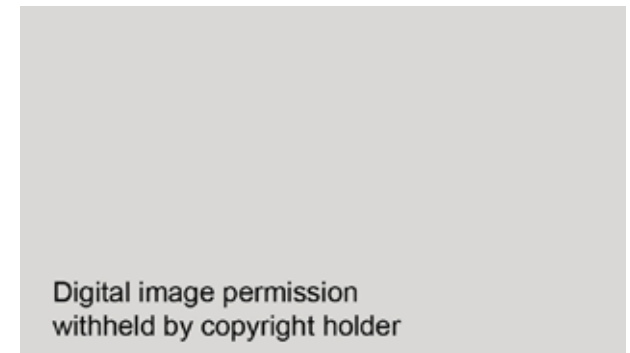
5.126 Plan and elevation for an artist studio (1910) hipped roof option by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010)



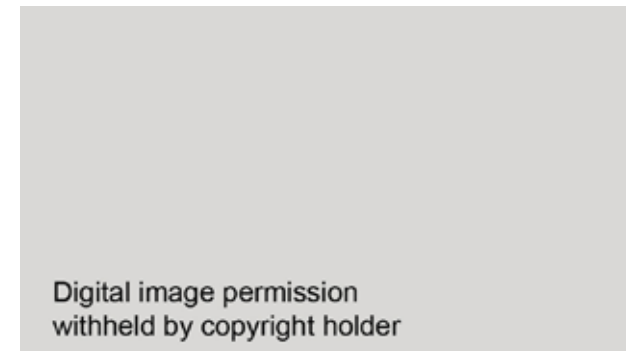
5.127 Exterior view Villa Medici, Fiesole (1455) by Michelozzo di Bartolomeo



5.128 Street perspective Artist studio (1910) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010)



5.129 Aerial perspective Artist studio (1910) by Wright, image from Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010)



5.130 Aerial perspective Artist studio (1910) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010)

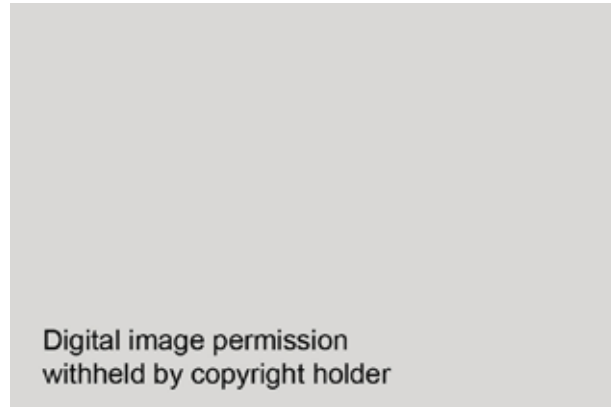
to the two-folio volume monograph: *Studies and Executed Buildings – Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe von Frank Lloyd Wright* (1911).

Wright situates his introduction in Florence in order to acknowledge the importance of the city in art and architectural history: “what these men of Florence absorbed from their Greek, Byzantine and Roman forbears, they bequeathed to Europe as the kernel of the Renaissance; and this, if we deduct the Gothic influence of the Middle Ages, has constituted the soul of Academic fine arts on the Continent.”¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, Wright notes the proliferation of the Italian “flames” spread across Europe which lit “myriads of French, German and English lights.”¹⁵⁰ However, for Wright the academic proliferation of the Renaissance had questionable results beyond Italy: “those buildings were more or less “professional” embodiments of a striving for the beautiful, those buildings were “good school” performances, which sought consciously to be beautiful.”¹⁵¹ Wright constructs a counter-position, taking his inspiration from wider surroundings, that exclude the academic approach. He proposes that “The true basis for any serious study of the art of architecture is in those indigenous structures, which are to architecture what folklore is to literature or folksongs to music”.¹⁵² Wright therefore reflects on the indigenous, vernacular architecture that he had experienced: “No really Italian building seems ill at ease in Italy. All are happily content with what ornament and colour they carry, as naturally as the rocks and trees and garden slopes which are one with them.”¹⁵³

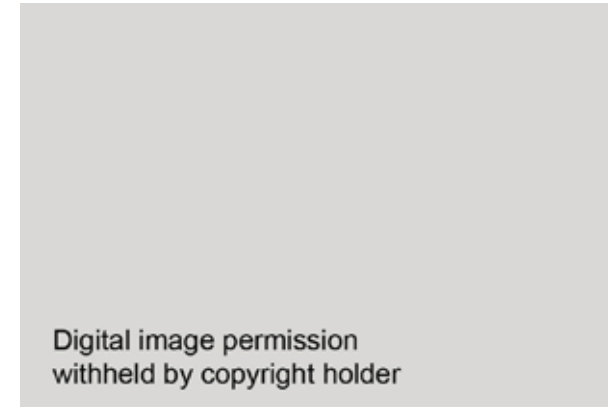
The designs in *Studies and Executed Buildings* developed Wright’s ‘organic’ architecture, by dismissing the neo-Classical, calling for a revived Gothic spirit, and outlining the initial ideas about ‘organic’ architecture. The re-evaluation of antiquity had confused academic pursuit, according to Wright, claiming the embodiment of ‘good school’ Renaissance was a “corrupt style ... from false education, from confusion of the curious with the beautiful.”¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, Wright was unable to separate the Italian Renaissance from the derivative forms promoted by the Ecole des Beaux Arts and City Beautiful movement in America: “The Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, the styles of the Louises [sic, a reference to the various neo-Classical styles used by French rulers such as Louis XIV] are not developed from within. There is little or nothing organic in their nature; they are put on from without.”¹⁵⁵ Wright’s attack on neo-Classicism was essentially a reaction to his experience in Chicago. Despite his stay in Florence, he was unable or unwilling to

consider that the Italian Renaissance might represent a progressive and democratic movement which created the role of the artist, and that Wright was himself a direct imitator of such an artist. Wright lamented: “American architects take their pick from the world’s stock of “ready-made” architecture and are most successful when transplanting form for form, line for line, enlarging details by means of lantern slides from photographs of the originals.”¹⁵⁶

Whilst resident in Fiesole, Wright produced designs for an artist’s studio and home. Levine has identified a thin site down the hill from Fiesole, next to the Villa Medici (1455) by Michelozzo di Bartolemeo, which if so would have made a tantalising confrontation. The site was subsequently sold to another American, Charles A. Strong in 1911, and Pinsent and Scott designed a new villa.¹⁶⁰ There were two design options proposed by Wright in his plan and elevation, they were differentiated by having different roof treatments; one had a low-pitched roof solution, whilst the other had a pitched roof terminated by tall flank walls. The latter design was developed in more detail with four perspective views from the street drawn by Wright. Yet the hipped-roof design had a small sketch of a Sullivan-esque entry arch, a tribute to his former master and to the city of Florence itself. This version of the villa had an elongated rectangular plan with two internal courtyards; one acted as an entrance and the other was a private space for the ‘artist’ and his/her guests. From the entry courtyard a hallway, kitchen and office formed a spine across the plan, and beyond were the private dining room and bedroom. All the private spaces looked out onto the private courtyard, and had a private terrace looking out on the city of Florence. The whole scheme was based around the traditional Italian home, such as the Villino Belvedere, integrating a number of sheltered and private gardens and courtyards into an internalised artist’s studio. Furthermore, the private terrace recalls the adjacent Villa Medici, thus acknowledging the touristic obsession for a *Room with a view!* The external elevation to the street of the scheme had limited articulation, but had some curious neo-Classical details such as a frieze above the entrance door and above the office window. The design was no point of departure for Wright, but seemed to be a useful exercise in consolidating his Italian influences and thoughts. When Wright returned to America, he was clearly inspired by his Italian adventure and designed Taliesin (1913) in Wisconsin for his new family. With its hillside setting, and series of courts and gardens, Levine claims that “the concept of Taliesin recalls the Villino Belvedere”¹⁶¹ – and served as his own artist’s studio and home.



5.131 Opening of 'Sixty Years of Living Architecture' exhibition (1951) at Palazzo Strozzi, image from Casciato, M. (1999) in Alofsin. A. (1999)



5.132 Bruno Zevi, Count Carlo Sfora, and Frank Lloyd Wright at opening of exhibition (1951) emerging from behind 'Potporri' panel, image from Casciato, M. (1999) in Alofsin. A. (1999)

Wright returned once more to Florence in June 1951 to open an exhibition of his work entitled *Sixty Years of Living Architecture*. Casciato describes how the exhibition had been conceived in the corridors of power in America as a response to an upsurge in Communism in Italy.¹⁶² Arthur C. Kaufmann, head of Gimbel's Department Store, and Congresswoman Clare Luce made plans for "a cultural project that would serve a double purpose: to propagandize the creative power of an American genius and to demonstrate that this genius developed as a result of life in a free country."¹⁶³ Wright was the perfect candidate. Conceived as a retrospective of Wright's career, but whilst he was still alive, the exhibition included 800 drawings and 28 models and occupied fifteen halls within the Renaissance-style Palazzo Strozzi.¹⁶⁴ It covered Wright's development as an architect, beginning with his first houses in Chicago and concluding with a model of the Guggenheim Museum in New York. Dominating the main space was the large refurbished model of Broadacre City. Wright promoted his dis-urbanist theories in a talk to accompany the exhibition, and as Casciato notes of his message: "the ideas underlying Broadacre City could be applied in any country, they were a potential source of inspiration for Italian urban planners."¹⁶⁵

Despite all the publicity, the exhibition was viewed rather critically at the time, not least by the left-wing, with the Florentine critic Nicco Fasola questioning Wright's whole approach.¹⁶⁶ With regards to nature, Fasola noted that Wright had formed "a new relationship between humans and nature ... [nature] was now a myth that had acquired almost a religious value,"¹⁶⁷ essentially branding Wright as a kind of cult figure who worshipped nature. Furthermore, Fasola described Wright's career as "involution" whereby the "early liberty" was now overtaken by "a comfortable formalism stuffed with pleasing aesthetics."¹⁶⁸ Likewise, it was argued that the democratic American and individual values propagated by Wright could not be transferred from the mid-West to the traditional collective principles of Italian society. Michelucci confronted the issue directly when he said that "individual problems do not exist outside of society."¹⁶⁹ In addition, in the *Metron* there were numerous instances when Zevi had to answer criticisms that 'organic' architecture was an ill-defined term, imported from America, and consequently not relevant to Italy, plus that it was romantic and thus not in tune with the harsh realities of post-war rebuilding.¹⁷⁰

Wright's two visits to Florence thus highlighted a number of contradictions that are endemic in any analysis of his work and writings. In Fiesole in 1910, Wright

concluded his Prairie House period, and began upon his reinvention as a global architect – not wishing to be dismissed and discarded as a regional architect, as Sullivan had been. Wright thus began to advocate an 'organic' architecture that was based on universal 'folk' theme, but which embraced the individual practice of the architect. His first 'Grand Tour' in 1910 was an example of Wright using a European journey to 'valorise the other,' yet ironically his tour was to lead to professional isolation and less prestigious work. On his return to Florence in 1951, Wright had essentially become a global brand promoting his own individualist American view of architecture without any regard for local 'culture or place'. And Wright's deterritorialised suburban Broadacre scheme was therefore being questioned on every level by his Italian critics.

Rome

Rome lay at the end of my Grand Tour in October 2008, and I then returned to that city again in October 2009 as the Giles Worsley Travel Fellow at the British School in Rome – making me perhaps the ultimate Grand Tourist! Whilst in Rome I was able to research into the work of Bruno Zevi; the greatest champion of Wright's work outside America. Zevi was born in Rome in 1913 and shortly afterwards his family moved to Via Nomentana 150, where the Zevi Archive is presently located on the third floor of the former family home. Zevi enrolled at the University of Rome in 1936 and became involved in many anti-Fascist activities. In 1939 he attended the Architectural Association in London and had a short period of residency in Paris, joining another anti-Fascist group. Because of the war, in 1940 he emigrated to America and attended Columbia University and then the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University, the latter under the tutelage of Walter Gropius. Throughout the Second World War, Zevi engaged in anti-Fascist movements and presented radio programs denouncing the Mussolini regime. He returned to Rome in 1944 and established the Association of Organic Architecture (APAO), which aimed to redefine the term 'organic' with a more pluralistic reading. Furthermore, he wrote about Wright in many of his publications on architecture, including *Towards an Organic Architecture* (1950), *Architecture as Space* (1957) and *The Modern Language of Architecture* (1978).¹⁷¹ After the war Zevi, built up a successful academic and architectural career, holding teaching posts in both Rome and Venice, and finally gaining a professorial appointment in architectural history at the University of Venice. His own architectural



5.133 Photograph of Palzzoino, Via Pisanelli, 1, Rome (1952), image from Bruno Zevi archive



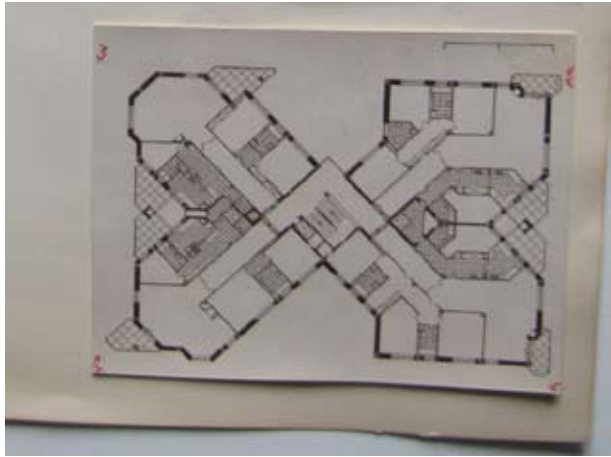
5.134 External view of Palzzoino (1952)



5.135 Corner balcony to Palzzoino (1952)



5.136 Central balcony to Palzzoino (1952)



5.137 Plans of Palzzoino, Via Pisanelli, 1, Rome (1952), image from Bruno Zevi archive



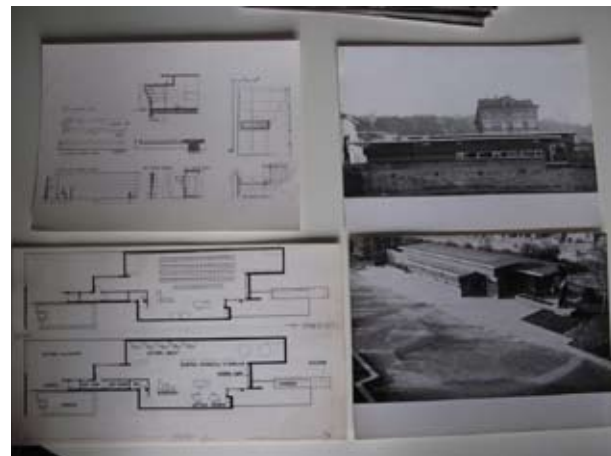
5.138 Entrance to Palzzoino (1952)



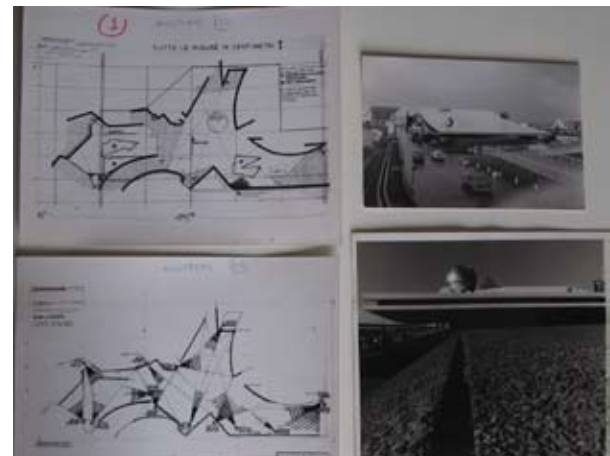
5.139 Entry hall to apartment in Palzzoino (1952)



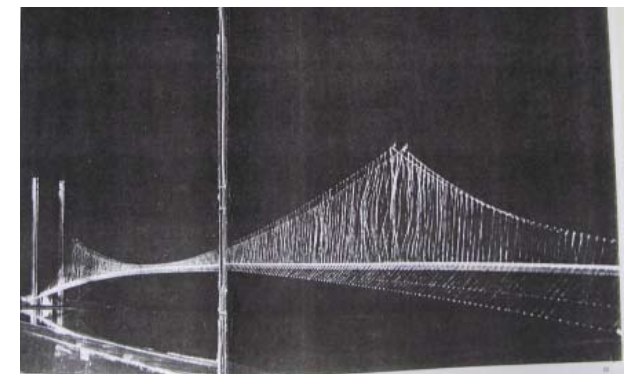
5.140 Balcony view from living room in apartment in Palzzoino (1952)



5.141 Library project by Bruno Zevi, image from Bruno Zevi archive



5.142 Italian Pavilion at Montreal Expo (1967) by Bruno Zevi, image from Bruno Zevi archive
When Frank met Francesco



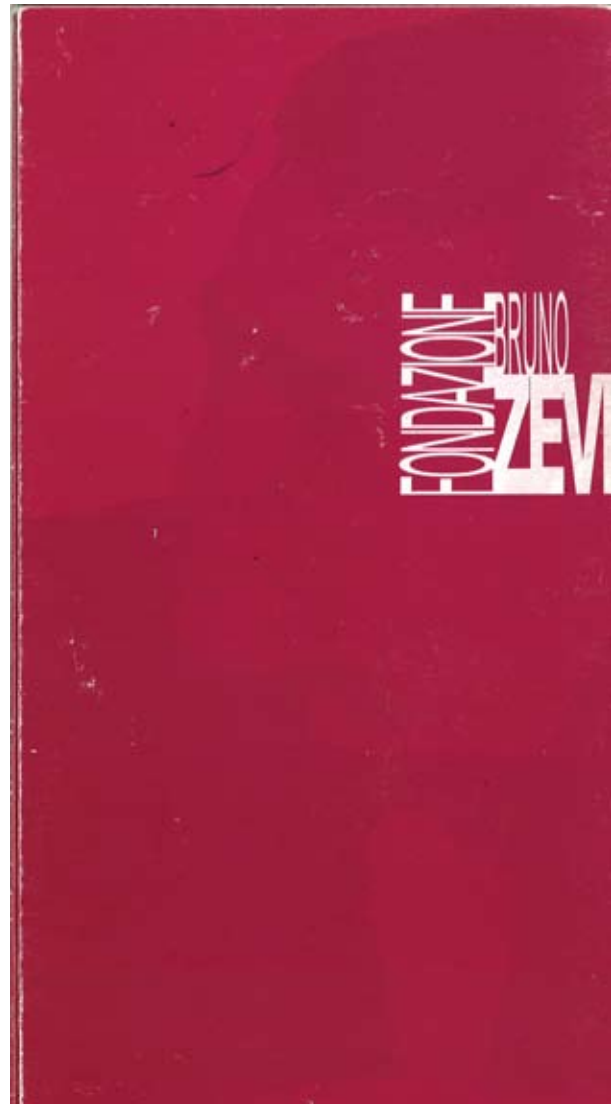
5.143 Bridge to Sicily Competition (1972) by Bruno Zevi, image from Bruno Zevi archive

works were not so well known but included apartment blocks in Via Monte Paioli 15 (1947) and Via Pisanelli 1 (1952), both in Rome, an entry for the Naples Railway Station competition (1963), the Italian Pavilion at Montreal Expo (1967) and a competition design for a major bridge over to Sicily (1972).¹⁷² Zevi continued to write as a critic and columnist for many years before his death in Rome in 2000. In his obituary in *The Guardian* it was claimed that “he became Italy’s most celebrated polemicist for architecture as a means of exposing what he saw as the evils of classicism.”¹⁷³

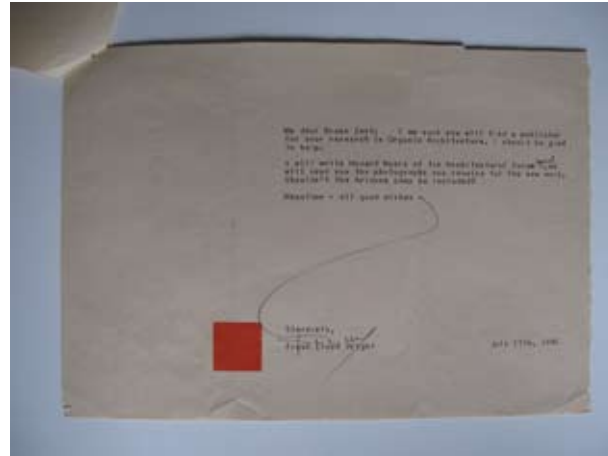
As a researcher I spent numerous weeks at the Bruno Zevi Archive, and it proved to be a valuable source for Zevi’s correspondences and writing. Wright’s correspondences with Zevi were short and specific. For example, Wright wrote a telegram requesting that he book a hotel in Rome in 1951 and then a lift to Florence. In addition, Wright used Zevi as an assistant to check his text for the catalogue of the *Sixty Years of Living Architecture* exhibition. Olgivanna Wright sent longer letters to Zevi, such as, to thank him for his help and to express some recollections on their time in Italy. I visited the six-storey Palazzina (1949-51) apartments by Zevi at Giuseppe Pisanelli 1 in Rome, which occupied a corner site close to ancient city walls. Its overtly expressive angular form was clearly at odds with the traditional orthogonal neighbours, and the projecting angular balconies covered with planting gave the block a dynamic and earthy character. It had a cruciform plan which optimised the natural daylight in all its apartments, and at ground floor the shopfronts and offices established a lively dialogue with the street. Furthermore, at the entrance there was a dynamic concrete canopy that provided shelter as another crafted ‘organic’ form. I had arranged to visit the Dominican Republic Embassy inside an apartment on the second floor. As I waited in the hallway, which acted as a reception for the embassy, I noted that the apartment was essentially dual-aspect, and each room had a generous window opening. The Ambassador’s office was previously the living room – it was a long drawn out space with an imposing desk and another small table for small meetings. There was also a private balcony space with a number of potted plants. I met the Ambassador and he listened politely as I explained my research, yet seemed to be indifferent to my interest in the building. Whilst the overall form of the apartment block is heavy and the balconies appeared bulky, it is also rather playful and questions the apparent legitimacy of its traditional neighbours.

A number of authors have over the years sought to define Italy’s relationship with Wright’s work. Whilst his 1910 visit went essentially unrecorded, the earliest publication on Wright came in 1921 in the journal, *Architettura e Arti Decorative*, of which Casciato notes that Wright was discussed within the context of Dutch Cubism. A link was also postulated between Wright and the Italian Futurist architect, Sant’Elia, “emphasising the fantastic nature of both men’s work.”¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, Lehmann notes a “free assonance” between Frank Lloyd Wright and Italian architecture that was mediated by Otto Wagner’s work and other Austrian architecture of the period – in particular noting that a 1908 villa design by Sant’Elia had “compositional analogies to Wright’s Unity Temple,” and, that the new offices for the Società dei Commessi in 1931 by Sant’Elia “can be compared to the Larkin Building.”¹⁷⁵ Lehmann, hence postulates that “the adoption of similar formal solutions probably occurred, once again, through the mediation of Wagner’s example, which Sant’Elia undoubtedly became acquainted with during years of his formation.”¹⁷⁶ Other early examples of indirect influences include: Terme Berzieri (1914) by U. Giusti and G. Chini, the Fiat Garage in Verona (1919) by E. Fagioli, and Villa Gagliano in Milan (1919) by G. Greppi.¹⁷⁷ Another interesting anecdote is that of Moisei Ginzburg, the Russian Constructivist architect who studied at the Bera Academy in Milan, where he “discovered Wright” and went on to design the Lokshin Villa in 1917 – again pointing to a possible connection with western architectural journals or the *Wasmuth folios*.¹⁷⁸

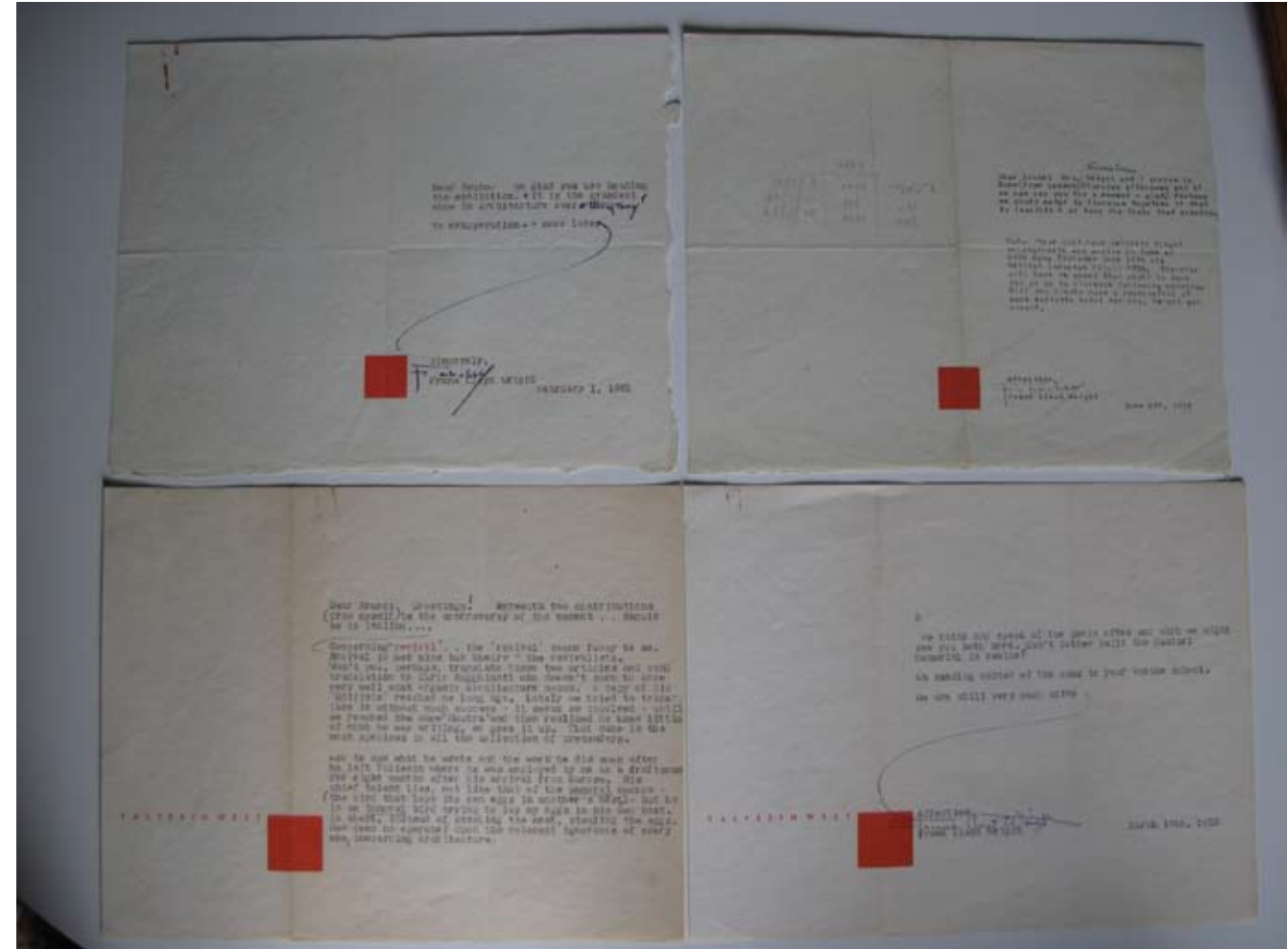
By the 1930s there was a far wider appreciation of Frank Lloyd Wright in Italy, beginning with the Milan Triennale V in which Wright’s work was included among the “forerunners of contemporary architecture”, albeit basically suggesting that Wright’s work was somewhat isolated and that his architectural career was already over.¹⁷⁹ However, in 1935 the critic Edoardo Perisco in a lecture titled ‘Architectural Prophecy’ brought Wright to the very forefront of architectural, cultural and political discussions within Italy.¹⁸⁰ His talk reviewed the innovative nature of Wright’s work, and as such concentrated “on the spirit of stimulating Wright’s architecture: his appeal for liberty and his rejection of the authority principle.”¹⁸¹ In addition, Perisco made a compelling analogy of Wright with Impressionism. He suggested that “Wright’s work had in the history of modern architecture the same breaching function that Impressionism had had for academicism in painting,” thereby linking Wright to Cézanne.¹⁸² Despite this eulogy to freedom during the tyranny of Mussolini’s Fascists, Wright was also regrettably involved with the Fascist movement in Italy. He sent a message to the



5.144 Foundation Bruno Zevi leaflet, image from Bruno Zevi archive



5.145 Correspondance from Wright to Zevi concernig text to 'Organic Architecture' (1945), and possible publisher, image from Bruno Zevi archive



5.146 Correspondances from Wright to Zevi concerning the 'Sixty Years of Living Architecture' (1951) and catalogue text, image from Bruno Zevi archive

Congress of International Architecture in 1935 in Rome advocating his Broadacre City scheme and offering support to the ruling regime:

“Mussolini and his architects will lead their country to a new lease of life by abandoning the old academic order and working to establish the more natural and humane order.”¹⁸³

It is difficult to establish how much Wright knew about Perisco’s support for him, or indeed about the political climate in Italy under Fascism. But one of the most telling and contradictory messages within the Broadacre scheme was the role of the architect as tyrant, or at least a figure who was allied to one. Wright knew that to establish Broadacre City it would require a political will to nationalise all property, and indeed Wright saw himself as “the logical interpreter, perhaps the only one who can show us the way is an organic modern architecture.”¹⁸⁴ Broadacre City needed a centralised power such as Mussolini’s Fascist Party (or Stalin’s regime) to undertake this utopian vision. It was a direct contradiction of the ‘democratic’ freedoms that Wright advocated.

During the 1930s there were very similar political and social motivations between the Italian L’Argo Pontino towns and the American ‘New Deal’ settlements, as both sought to alleviate urban overcrowding and promote more dispersed land ownership. Following the ‘Great Depression’ both the American and Italian governments undertook programmes of mass resettlement to reduce unrest within dense industrialised cities, and to re-establish the supposed virtues of land-based capitalism. These undertakings had clear ideological and political messages. In ‘New Deal’ America the myth of the frontier small-holding was promoted, while in Fascist Italy the state modelled itself on republican Ancient Rome and so stressed the idea of resettling “discharged veterans with farm land in the mother country and in newly conquered colonies.”¹⁸⁵ This common aim to disperse the city was widely discussed also within the climate of 1930s Italy: “The idea of a decentralized nation, forever cleansed of slums, congestion, traffic, vice, and disorder, also found a ready audience in Italy. Luigi Picciotto, one of the designers of the Fascist New Town, Sabaudia, drew from Wright’s proposals and the inspiration not only for Sabaudia and its relation to other Agro Pontino towns, but also for a fully decentralized Italy of the future.”¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, both the American and Italian governments regarded

these new dispersed settlements as being “projected ideal images of sites for human habitation and communal life – ideal cities, in short.”¹⁸⁷

The Agro Pontino towns were all situated in the reclaimed marshes south of Rome, an idea that had first begun with Pope Pius VI. Mussolini’s planned towns sought to establish a new rural economy with brand new roads, farms and settlements. Furthermore, they sought to repopulate the area with war veterans, itself a direct quotation from Imperial Rome. But in practice it was found that these veterans were ill-suited to agriculture and a number of incentives needed to be introduced to encourage them to move there, including free holidays and radio sets.¹⁸⁸ Ghirardo describes the two traditions which underpinned the planning of the Agro Pontino Towns, noting that the urban form was based on traditional Roman military or provincial towns whilst the aesthetic appearance was that of the medieval commune. She concludes that “the Fascists erected a medieval skyline on a Roman ground plan.”¹⁸⁹ The regional capital of Latina was established in 1932 as a rural focus, and had a number of specific precedents including Roman road planning, the medieval vision of a circular cosmos, and Filarete’s plan for the ideal city of Sforzinda (itself based on Milan).¹⁹⁰ Yet the Agro Pontino towns also needed an identity beyond just good planning ideals, so for Latina the main feature was a town hall with a huge tower and clock, to act as symbols of the Fascist power and progress: “The gesture of the Fascist salute – the right arm thrust out slightly up – corresponds to the gestural function of the tower.”¹⁹¹

When I went to visit Latina, I discovered that it was situated a few kilometres from the modernist railway station, so I caught a slow and bumpy bus ride through the flat landscape to the centre of town. At the main square I was reminded of Letchworth Garden City, and indeed Ghirardo notes a connection between Unwin’s *Town Planning in Practice* (1909) and Latina – they are certainly related in their sense of scale and civic focus.¹⁹² The main square of Latina is dominated by its over-scaled town hall and clock tower, and civic offices with a dramatic colonnade of stone columns. Beyond the main square the other civic functions radiated out, with a modernist post office and sports stadium, a traditional-style church, a neo-Classical opera house, and an art gallery within a leaky garage. A second ring-road bounded this civic core, and thereafter were the low-rise, low-cost modernist housing units (Casa Popolari) built from 1934-36 by G. Nicolosi.¹⁹³ Despite looking a bit neglected



5.147 City plan of Littoria (renamed Latina) (c. 1932) by Oriolo Frezzonetti, image from Cefaly, P. (2001)



5.148 Town Hall from Civic Buildings, Latina (c.1932)



5.149 Civic Buildings Latina (c.1932)



5.150 Post Office, Latina (1932) by Angiolo Mazzoni



5.151 Railway Station (1932), Latina by Angiolo Mazzoni



5.152 Casa Popolari, Latina (1934-36) by G. Nicolosi
When Frank met Francesco



5.153 Casa Popolari (1934-36)

today, these housing clusters possess innovative spatial arrangements, some having internal courtyards that engage with the street, while others have dynamic bridging structures to enclose their intimate internal courtyards. The modernist housing areas had also developed small informal timber constructions now being used as bars and cafes, those essential components of Italian life. The bus station lay nearby and created a great display of dynamic modernism that elevated its mundane purpose into a point of real departure. Beyond the third ring of my exploration was a street named after Le Corbusier, consisting of a wide expanse of wasteland with tall residential blocks beyond. As a built example of a dispersed settlement, was Latina perhaps Wright's Broadacre vision made real? Whilst Wright's support for Mussolini was supposedly due to the latter having 'abandoning the old academic' order, Latina constantly referenced Italy's Classical past.¹⁹⁴ The city itself lived in co-existence with its Fascist ideal, and beyond the rhetoric of the civic centre, there was a rich urban form that has expanded and been filled in over the past 80 years. Thus, Zevi summarised that the nearby Agro-Pontino town of Sabudia was a "democratic city on a human scale."¹⁹⁵

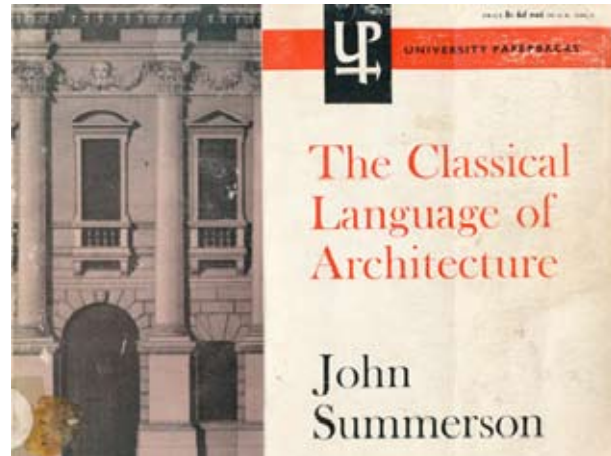
In the period leading up to the Second World War, Wright continued to be widely promoted by Perisco, and *Casabella* dedicated a special edition to Wright in 1938. It contained an essay by R. Giolli, who advocated a reappraisal of Frank Lloyd Wright by engaging with his architecture and his writing as a "polemicist".¹⁹⁶ More importantly, Giolli sought to reappraise Wright on his own terms, instead of relying on "interpretations that attempt at explaining Wright only by referring his work to European cultural movements [which] are in fact inadequate, as they do not allow an in-depth comprehension of his architecture."¹⁹⁷ Wright's later works such as Fallingwater were thus seen as a clear indication that he was still an active and relevant practitioner who could offer a different modernism to the strict functionalism being endorsed by the Fascists. Italy's alliance with Germany in 1937 resulted in a number of racial and political persecutions and *Casabella* was temporarily closed down in 1943 – but not before Wright's *An Autobiography* had been reviewed in its 1941 edition.

Following Giolli ideas of reappraising Wright on his own terms, Zevi published *Towards an Organic Architecture* (1950). It was a direct attempt to reclaim the spirit of modernism away from Le Corbusier's functionalist manifesto, and instead

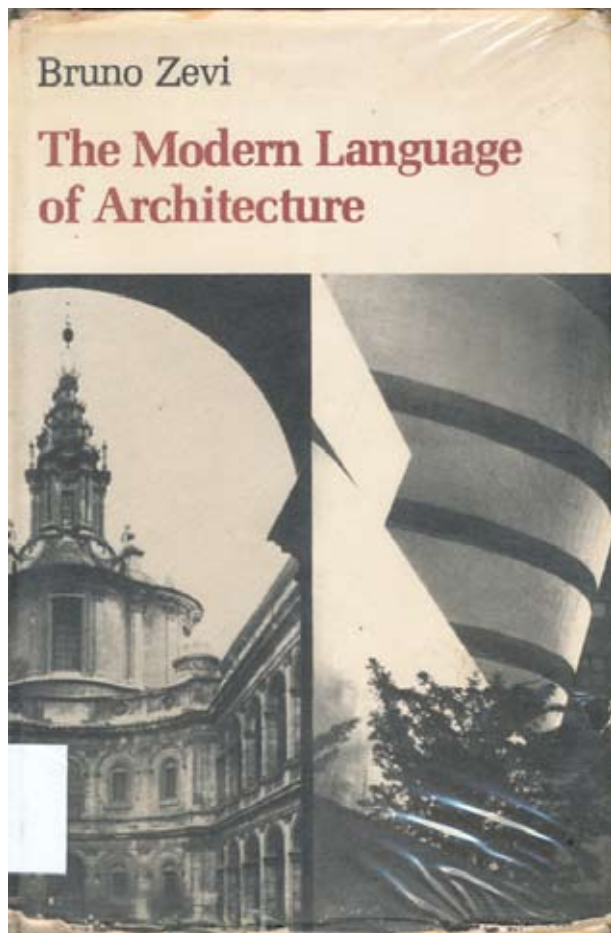
concentrated on new history of 'organic' architecture that could be applied in post-war Italy. In the book, Zevi devoted a short chapter to the "Meaning and Scope of the Term Organic."¹⁹⁸ He noted a number of commentaries, such as Louis Sullivan claiming that 'organic' was a "searching for realities – the ten-fingered grasp of reality," even though William Lescaze had argued that Sullivan's phrase was meaningless.¹⁹⁹ Zevi then cited Gideon's dialectic definition: "Throughout history there persists two distinctive trends – the one toward the rational and the geometrical, the other toward the irrational and the organic."²⁰⁰ This approach of defining 'organic' as being in opposition to 'inorganic' was also used by the historian Behrendt. To amplify his case, Zevi listed fifteen items, beginning with a reference borrowed from Goethe, to show why organic may be considered a "formative art" and inorganic a "fine art".²⁰¹ Furthermore, Zevi sought to add some historical depth to his argument by bringing Vasari and Alberti into his discourse. He also warned against two fallacies that do not adequately explain organic architecture; the use of the terms "naturalistic" and "biological".²⁰²

The text in *Architecture as Space* (1957) presented a general review of architectural history and criticism, with Zevi giving Wright's work prominence within a wide discussion about different methods of perceiving architecture. In *The Modern Language of Architecture* (1978), Zevi explicitly confronted *The Classical Language of Architecture* (1964) by John Summerson, itemising seven "invariables" to modern architecture that describe and communicate an "anti-classical language."²⁰³ Again, Zevi did an expert job in condensing the idea of 'organic' architecture into a realistic proposition, something that Wright himself often made obtuse. The seven variables cited by Zevi were: listing content and function; asymmetry and dissonance; anti-perspective; fourth-dimension decomposition (after De Stijl); cantilever, shell and membrane structures; living, dynamic, fluid space; and continuity with the landscape.

Using this new language, Zevi sought to make a definite break from neo-Classical history by embracing "the heresies and dissonances of history, those countless "exceptions to the rule" which have finally been emancipated and which can provide the back bone of an alternative language."²⁰⁴ Furthermore, Zevi wanted to realign Italian historiography with modernist architecture and to "interpret history in a modern [way] ... so as to make it act effectively as an incentive to creativity."²⁰⁵ Zevi illustrated his new approach to historical interpretation by juxtaposing "the Middle Ages and



5.154 *The Classical Language of Architecture* (1964) by John Summerson



5.155 *The Modern Language of Architecture* (1978) by Bruno Zevi



5.156 Internal view of Il Gesu Church, Rome (1568) by Vignola and Della Porta



5.157 External view of Il Gesu Church (1568)

the Arts and Crafts movement, Gothic and Art Nouveau, Renaissance and modern rationalism, Baroque and organic architecture.”²⁰⁶ As such, it is worth testing out Zevi’s historical case to ascertain the validity of his methods.

The Roman Baroque is generally accepted to have emerged from the Renaissance period, and was mediated by a Mannerist period in which Wolfflin identified the emergence of a “painterly quality.” noting that “architecture strove after effects which really belong to a different art-form: it became ‘painterly.’”²⁰⁷ This search by Mannerist architects in Italy for new effects to enliven Renaissance design in the sixteenth-century coincided with a number of religious and political events – for example, with the Council of Trent setting out the Catholic Church’s response to the Protestant Reformation, as well as the establishment of new Catholic orders such as the Jesuits. By the turn of the seventeenth-century, Baroque architecture had emerged as the dominant Counter-Reformation form to reassert the Catholic Church as the dominant global religion. As such, its spread was supported by the colonial endeavours of the Jesuits and their missionary work across the world. Whilst the architectural qualities of the Baroque can be identified as a continuation of the “painterly style”, it was also distinguished by its grand style, massiveness and sense of movement, according to Wolfflin.²⁰⁸ Hence the Baroque also represented the full rhetoric of the Catholic Church, the dominance of its vision, and its global view of its own power. The headquarters of the Jesuits was the Il Gesu Church (1568) in Rome, designed initially by Vignola and thereafter by Della Porta. This represented the last of the Mannerist Churches, and also established a number of important precedents taken up by the Baroque, such as an elongated rectangular plan with wide nave, a linear series of subsidiary chapels, and a dominant dome over the crossing with the apse.²⁰⁹ Within the Il Gesu Church, the abundance of painting and sculpture made for an intense experience, and this theatricality is still confirmed today by a ‘light-and-music’ performance, in which the Church becomes inhabited by a surreal show of characters who literally appear from the walls pre-recorded music score. It is quite a show!

The explosive arrival of Michelangelo in Rome helped to push on from Mannerist architecture, and he is thus widely credited as the ‘Father of Baroque’ because of his inventive manipulation and combination of Renaissance and Classical precedents. This however, was an assertion that Zevi disputed, preferring to call Michelangelo an ‘agitator’ of the “sixteenth-century walled box.”²¹⁰ The rebuilding of the Capitol in

Rome (1538) around the ancient statue of Marcus Aurelius was a brilliant exhibition of Michelangelo’s talent in generating innovative urban space. During my visit to the Capotoline Museum there was an exhibition proclaiming Michelangelo as ‘The Architect of Rome,’ with drawings and models illustrating the work he produced for the city. In the exhibition there was a wooden model and a number of drawings which showed the changes that Michelangelo made to the planning of St Peter’s, especially the innovative design for its central dome. Wright openly acknowledged the brilliance of Michelangelo as a Renaissance artist, sculptor and architect, but also castigated the dome at St Peter’s as “unnatural”.²¹¹ By establishing the tallest dome to that date, Michelangelo “had divorced the dome from the mere matter of reality,” and the solution of placing the elevated dome on columns pushed out and caused it to crack before chains had to be added – further proof to Wright of its ‘inorganic’ construction.²¹² Wright regarded the dome as a piece of sculpture and a dubious symbol, concluding that “in fact, the great dome was just the sort of thing that authority had been looking for as a symbol.”²¹³ For Wright, the subsequent proliferation of domes such as that on the Capitol in Washington or in his home town of Madison, Wisconsin were only symbols of government tyranny: “Domed or damned was and is the status of official buildings in all countries, especially ours.”²¹⁴ In *An Autobiography*, Wright recalled the collapse of the Madison State Capitol during construction and he graphically described mangled and bloodied workmen beneath a pile of white rubble.²¹⁵ For Wright, this collapse merely proved his point that the neo-Classical was “inappropriate; so any human edifice reared up on it was likely to fall down like the Capitol.”²¹⁶

Others have been more subtle in their analysis. The Baroque according to Harbison, was driven by “an interest in movement ... which is a frank exhibition of energy and escape from classical restraint.”²¹⁷ Furthermore, Zevi conceived the Baroque as representing “the liberation of space. It is mental revolt from the rules of treatises, from convention, elementary geometry and immobility. It is liberation from symmetry and from the antithesis between interior and exterior space.”²¹⁸ Within architecture, the constraints of structural statics makes such a frank display of motion difficult, but the architects of the Baroque period were highly inventive in generating spatial effects to reinforce the cultural disruption of the period; they sought an architecture which could engaged with the emotions of its congregation. Francesco Borromini (1599-1667), together with Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), were the two Baroque



5.158 View of Piazza del Campidoglio, Capitoline Hill, Rome (1536-46) by Michelangelo



5.159 View of Oratory di S. Filippo Neri, Rome (1637-50) by Francesco Borromini (1599-1667)



5.160 St Peter's Piazza and Collonade, Rome (1547-64) by Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680)



5.161 View of optical illusion to Palazzo Spada, Rome (1632) by Borromini



5.162 Interior view of ceiling to S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane(1634-46) by Borromini



5.163 St Peter dome by Michelangelo



5.164 S. Agnes, Piazza Navona, Rome (1652-57) by Bernini and Borromini

masters practising in Rome, and it was the former who Zevi identified as the exponent of Baroque architecture most closely related to Wright. In his essay 'A Recollection' (1999), Zevi described his last day with Wright during the 1951 visit; "wandering much of the afternoon around Rome, where he met the architect I love most after Wright, the Baroque master Francesco Borromini."²¹⁹

Blunt identifies three "authorities" that appealed to Borromini, these being Michelangelo, the ancients, and nature.²²⁰ Borromini understood and advanced many of Michelangelo's concepts, such as dissolving the side chapels into the main nave space and emphasising the central composition of the whole internal space.²²¹ Following Renaissance precedent, many architects of the time were engaged in selective reading of ancient ideas. Borromini was particularly interested in "late Imperial Architecture" from the "Eastern Empire."²²² Lastly, it was Blunt's claim that Borromini "believed that architecture was based on Nature"²¹³ – a concept that was traceable to Galileo, who had written that "the great book of nature is written in the language of mathematics, and its characters are triangles, circles, and other geometrical figures."²²⁴ Borromini therefore looked beyond the more static Renaissance method of interpreting nature via classically proportioned columns and regulated space. Instead, his ideas were "consistently geometric" and his plans were "generated by shapes that are divided into geometric subunits, irrespective of modular proportions."²²⁵ In this way, Borromini developed a more flexible means of exploring different geometries that he used to generate new spatial relationships.

During my residence in Rome I was fortunate to view a number of Baroque works, many by Borromini works, such as Palazzo Spada (1632), S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (1634-46), S. Ivo (1642-60), Oratory di S. Filippo Nervi (1637-50), S. Agnes (1652-57) and Collegio di Propaganda (1648-65). They were all exceptional pieces of architecture, but most remarkable were the small insertions Borromini had made within larger edifices, which remained intact despite centuries of remodelling and adapting. The perspective illusion in the Palazzo Spada is still convincing, so much so that photographs were not allowed in case one might dispel the myth (and dent sales of postcards). At the Oratory a guide assisted me in unravelling a complex plan which has been much adapted and changed over the centuries, and we debated for some time the relative merits of a Borrominian refuse area! Nevertheless, we visited a sequence of internal courtyard, small chapel, and secret staircase – all of

them disjointed spaces, yet part of a functioning religious establishment. S. Carlo was a marvellous small church that is hard to reconcile with the bombastic tones of the Baroque. The purity of the spaces created by Borromini was revealed in the geometric arrangement, generating a dynamic sense of movement and animation. St Ivo della Sapienza is encircled by an austere defensive wall, and is set within a giant scale two-storey cloistered courtyard that houses a library and other academic functions of Sapienza University. The Church mutates from a concave form in its lower two storeys to a convex drum form above the cloister, and to complete this dramatic geometric transformation it is topped off with a dome and a lantern in the form of a ziggurat.

For Zevi the Baroque and 'organic' architecture shared the same "linguistic phenomenon" because they were derived from similar sources: the Baroque represented the dissolution of Renaissance rigour, mediated by Mannerism, and similarly Wright's 'organic' architecture offered a break from the rationalism of Chicago's industrial architecture by adding the 'fourth dimension' of Cubism.²²⁶ Provokingly, Zevi compared the internal and the external manifestations of St Ivo della Sapienza (1642-60) with the Guggenheim Museum (1946-59), similar to the cover image to *The Modern Language of Architecture*. This analogy establishes a number of themes: the spatial qualities of Baroque and 'organic' architecture, and the evocation nature within Borromini and Wright's work. The internal planning of St Ivo is based on the intersection of two triangles "to form a hexagonal six-pointed star – the symbol of wisdom – and a hexagonal central space."²²⁷ Wright used a similar abstraction of nature within his schemes to develop spatial continuity. For example, at the Hana House Wright used a hexagonal planning module, as did Figgins at the Olivetti Social Service Building. For the Guggenheim, Wright's brief was to display a sense of linear development and continuity for a given artist or artistic movement.²²⁸ He thus adopted a circular planning module and an inverted ziggurat form. This idea, according to Scully, demonstrated the synthesis of two of Wright's overriding concerns; the protected and enclosed ideal 'hollow' and the eternal meaning of the circle and its concomitant spiral forms.²²⁹

There were certainly examples of Baroque tendencies in Wright's early work. In the Unity Temple the centrality and massiveness are emphasised, whilst for the Robie House its elevation seems to be in a state of perpetual movement and distortion.



5.165 Exterior view of St Ivo della Sapienza (1642-60) by Borromini



5.167 Exterior of Guggenheim Museum (1946-59) by Wright, photograph by Bernard Cox (RIBA3072-36)



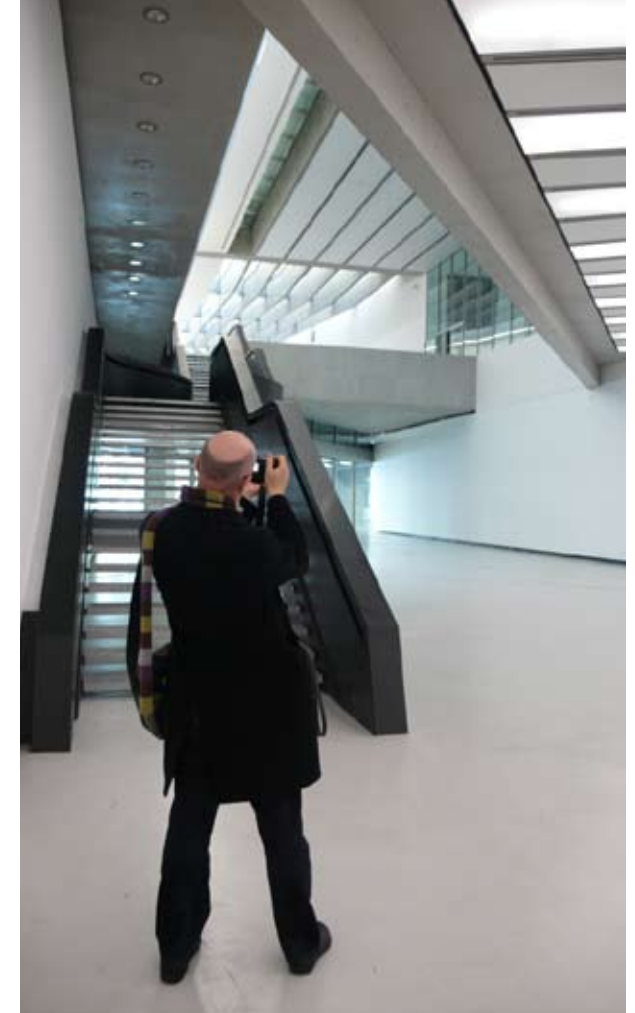
5.168 Exterior view of Ara Pracis (2006) by Richard Meir



5.169 Exterior view of MAXXI, Rome (2010) by Zaha Hadid



5.170 Interior view of Ara Pracis (2006)



5.172 Interior view with author, MAXXI (2010)



5.171 Entry view of Ara Pracis (2006)

However, towards the end of his career, Wright displayed a more worrying tendency with bombastic Baroque-Rococo designs such as the Baghdad Cultural Quarter scheme. Charles Jencks wrote: “Wright loses control of his geometry and allows it to contradict function, material, construction, structure, freedom [and] ... organic architecture.”²³⁰ Thus by adopting a more Baroque style at the end of his career, Wright only contradicted his own principle of ‘organic’ architecture, by applying curious cultural motifs to ponderous circular masses. Another teasing comparison was made by Scully, who attempts to locate Wright within Ancient Rome by noting similarities in the planning of Hadrian’s Villa in Tivoli outside Rome with Wright’s dispersed campus at Florida Southern College (1938).²³² Scully notes other convergence between Wright and Hadrian. They were men “who deeply felt the fluxes and changes which time brought to human life,” and consequently both sought “to recall the engulfing shapes of the ancient Mediterranean religion of the goddess of the earth.”²³³ In addition, Scully attempts to justify Wright’s circular forms with ancient Greece, but it is a more questionable analogy.

Zevi’s juxtaposition of St Ivo and the Guggenheim provided another innovative narrative, namely the displacement of religion by the new ‘cathedral’ of culture, the art gallery. The Baroque rhetoric of the Counter-Reformation had indeed found a natural successor in the iconic Guggenheim Museum. Cultural production, dissemination, display and commodification have become the new global tendency dominated by global institutions like the Guggenheim. In Rome itself, a number of art galleries and museum spaces that have been recently completed reflect this present crisis of globalisation and a linked search for Italian identity. The Ara Pradis (2006) by the American architect, Richard Meier, reflects the “museum [as] a place of memory, composed of material and immaterial entities that document cultural life.”²³⁴ Meier is a global practitioner who modulates his designs with careful analysis of the site; within Rome he explains that by “Bisecting the distance between the present center of the mausoleum and the original site yielded a four-square urban grid that was used as a proportional frame to reorganise the piazza and its surroundings.”²³⁵ It is unfortunate that this almost neo-Palladian analysis of urban geometry was not articulated formally into more distinctive form of architecture, since Meier maintained his usual palette of white rendered massing offset with glazing and natural stone features. The resulting museum displays a transcendental spatial characteristic, evocative of Wright’s own American buildings, according to Frampton.²³⁶ The architecture, although carefully

crafted, becomes merely another Meier museum related to others around the world – now Rome can also claim to be part of this global branding of cultural life, sharing in the reflected glory of possessing a trans-national Meier museum.

More recently still, the completed MAXXI Museum (2010) marks the latest incarnation of Roman Baroque combined with the iconic form generated by one of the most fashionable globalised architects – Zaha Hadid. The principles of spatial dynamics, manipulation, play of light, massiveness and grand scale are all represented here; Hadid has certainly paid an inadvertent tribute to the Baroque, Borromini and Wright. Furthermore, the curving and tilting walls within the MAXXI museum make exhibiting art as problematic as it was for the Guggenheim in New York. They share a similar iconic presence, except that one is set within a dynamic urban city while the other in residential suburb. The sense of disruption is however possibly greater within suburban Rome than in central Manhattan. The global Baroque rhetoric continues with the MAXXI; it demands to be heard, to be a global presence with or without art. The museum is the art, a global art form. It has even led Pope Benedict to complain recently to an audience of 500 design practitioners including Daniel Libeskind and Zaha Hadid “that modern ideas of beauty were often “illusory and deceitful, superficial and blinding, leaving the onlooker dazed.”²³⁷ In other words similar to the colonial Baroque of the Catholic Church. The Baroque is dead, long live the Baroque!

I decided to shorten my return journey by taking a more direct route through France, stopping off in Strasbourg as it was almost half-way. Strasbourg is the capital of the Alsace region in eastern France, and possesses a well preserved old town with a strong German architectural traditions. As such it is the ideal home for functions of a European Union dominated by those two European powers. Architecturally the city merges two traditions: a red sandstone Gothic Cathedral (1176-1439) from Northern France and timber gabled homes that seemed to be of German origin. Strasbourg Cathedral was the tallest structure in the world in the fifteenth-century when it was completed, and remains the sixth tallest church today. I thought of John Ruskin instead of Inigo Jones as my spiritual guide here. Ruskin mentions the cathedral in his book the *Stones of Venice* (1851-3), in the chapter on the Nature of Gothic, he states that, “Strasburg (sic) Cathedral is Gothic, and St Peter’s is not.”²³⁸ And Ruskin considers that the “characteristic or moral elements of Gothic” consist of the



5.173 Exterior view of Strasbourg Cathedral, France (1176-1439)



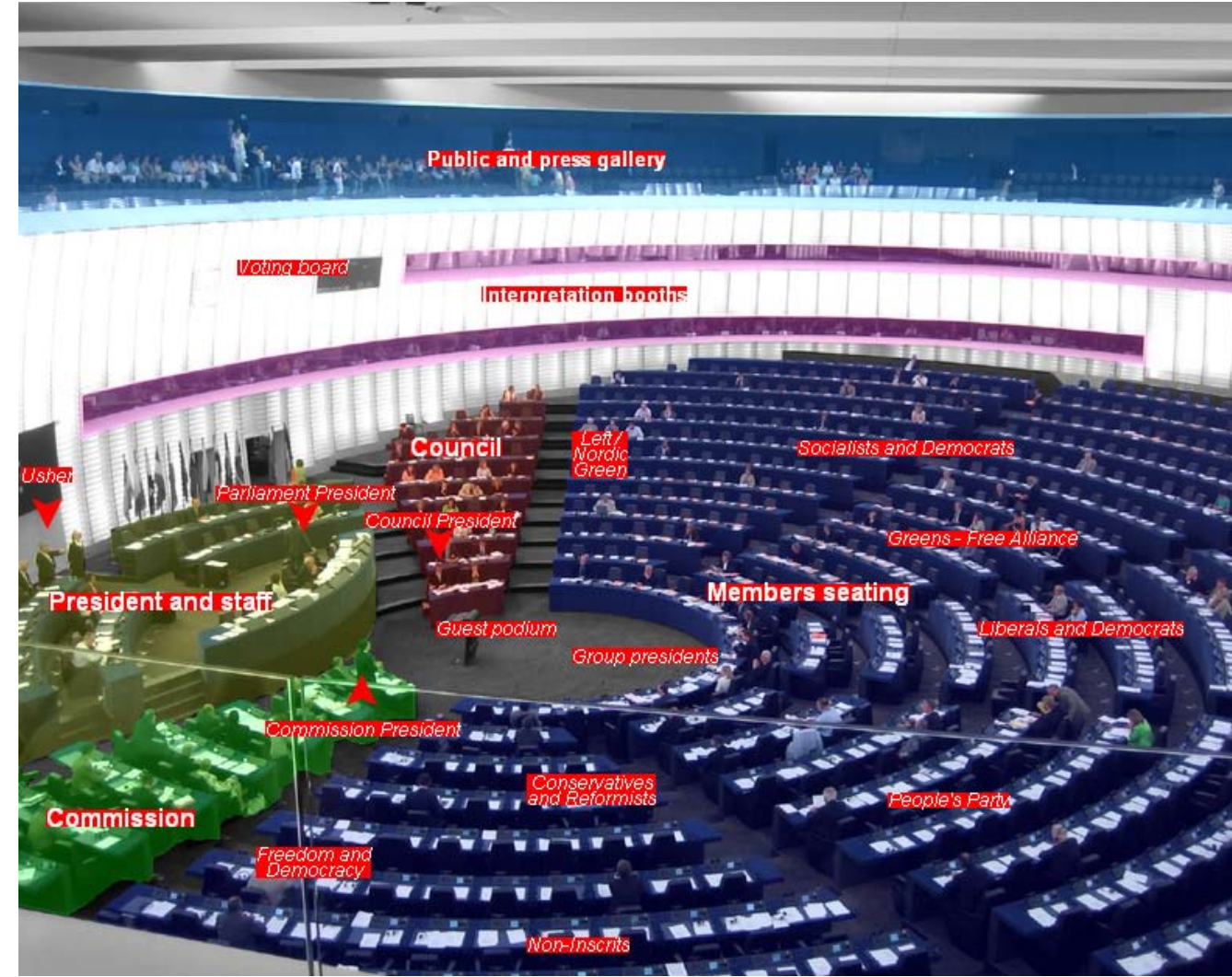
5.174 Exterior view of European Courts of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France (1989-95) by Richard Rogers Partnership



5.175 Exterior view of European Members of Parliament building (1991-99) Architecture-Studio



5.177 Interior view of European Members of Parliament building (1991-99)



5.176 Internal view of European Parliament with different political affiliations in Beck (2010), image from www.wikipedia.co.uk

following; “1. Savageness. 2. Changefulness. 3. Naturalism. 4. Grotesqueness. 5. Rigidity. 6. Redundance.”²³⁹ Indeed it was this evocation of the ‘Gothic spirit’ that Wright called for when setting out his ‘organic’ manifesto in *Studies and Executed Buildings*.

Beyond the old town, the modern institutions of the European state were largely lost in morning fog, yet the European Courts of Justice (1989-95) by Richard Rogers and the European Parliament (1991-99) building figured ominously. The parliament design was conceived by the Paris-based Architecture Studio and their concept recalls the rhetoric of neo-Classicism. The design contains the “three grand architectural figures”: “the arc, the dome and tower” and the geometry is based around “the circle containing the ellipse,” which it is claimed was a “dialectic between a classical reference and a baroque reference.”²⁴⁰ The evocation of a dome for housing the new parliament would have repulsed Ruskin and Wright – just another case of being ‘domed and damned’ by a government bureaucracy.²⁴¹ Its circular tower contains offices for the Members of Parliament and was partially open to stray ‘Grand Tourists.’ It has an empty central void, perhaps a metaphor for a new Europe? The broken and unfinished tower roof has led many to identify the edifice with the Tower of Babel, a doomed parable of enforced integration and over-ambition.²⁴² Back on the motorway, I blasted through France with less stops for coffee – I was heading home and had a boat to catch. The car seemed to be going so well, but there were some worrying signs coming from the dashboard. I made it to Calais and was ushered to the head of queue, then directed onto a boat that left immediately. On the English side two miles out of Dover, my car ground to a halt. I called the Automobile Association (AA) and they informed me that my alternator was not working and unfortunately my European breakdown cover did not include Britain. It seems that even the humble AA struggles to define its relationship within the wider continent!

Summary

The metaphor of the journey is commonly used in architecture, Scarpa claimed that “Architects are full of journeys,”²⁴³ and likewise Hadid has reflected on her commission in Rome: “There can be no progress without an element of uncertainty and without a sensation of embarking on a journey into the unknown.”²⁴⁴ Thus, the journey with all its inherent excitement and uncertainty can be a useful means

of describing architectural production and, I would also suggest, as a means of unravelling architectural history. As noted by Landasky: “Invariably, the study of tourism complicates the practices of architectural history.”²⁴⁵ My trip to and around Italy with Wright revealed a dynamic dialogue between Italian architecture and his emerging concept of ‘organic’ architecture. Furthermore, Wright’s travels were a means of generating and consolidating his global persona. Wright set out to become an ‘organic’ visionary in Fiesole in 1910, and on his return to Venice in 1951 he had become a global brand who wanted to leave his lasting legacy on the Grand Canal.

Wright’s *Studies and Executed Buildings* was a retrospective manifesto of his Prairie works in Chicago, and also a statement of intent for a new American architecture. His reaction to the Renaissance was already well known, but more intriguing was his positive response to Italian vernacular architecture beyond the masterpieces. Here Wright was at his most assertive in attempting to assemble an anti-academic architectural manifesto that would eventually formulate into his ‘organic’ creed. In Florence in 1951 Wright was a global practitioner, and his ideas had been overtaken by his ‘second coming’ in the Arizona desert to embrace a totalised view of ‘organic’ architecture that he called Usonia. During post-War reconstruction, Broadacre City became marginalised as Italy used the historical context of its cities as a locus for modern architecture. Yet suburban expansion also continued unabated beyond these theoretical discussions. Wright’s only real triumph in Florence was that he was still alive to open his own retrospective. His disurbanist scheme for a white middle-class utopia was of limited political value, and the idea that Wright might dissuade a Communist uprising by offering houses in the suburbs was doomed from the beginning.

For certain, Zevi was Wright’s most persistent supporter and presented ‘organic’ architecture in an innovative manner. Zevi proposed a new understanding of history based on the countless “exceptions to the rule” which he finally ‘emancipated’ and to provide the backbone of an alternative language.²⁴⁶ Thus, my journey to Italy revealed a number of different views of Wright’s influence and the sites influenced by Wright presented a real dialogue across time and between cultures. My ‘Grand Tour’ was not a narrow Classical or modernist history, but a collection of tales which negotiated a deterritorialised experience of contemporary travel. The sites questioned the meta-narratives of architectural history within a globalised condition



5.178 Interior view of ceiling with two intersecting triangles generating a hexagonal module within St Ivo della Sapienza (1642-60) by Borromini



5.179 Interior view of hexagonal skylights to Olivetti Social Services Building (1952) by Figini and Pollini

in which the omnipresent experience questions the very role of history. Many of the buildings I visited adopted elements of Wright's work but were also sensitive to their settings, thus revealing the global reach of Wright's work but giving it noticeable local character. The journey allowed for detours to investigate these different tales of Wright and unearthed an influence in Italy that was hidden, specific and episodic – a counter-history to the modernist orthodoxy by embracing the less travelled routes of history.

6. A Short Taxi Ride around the Persian Gulf



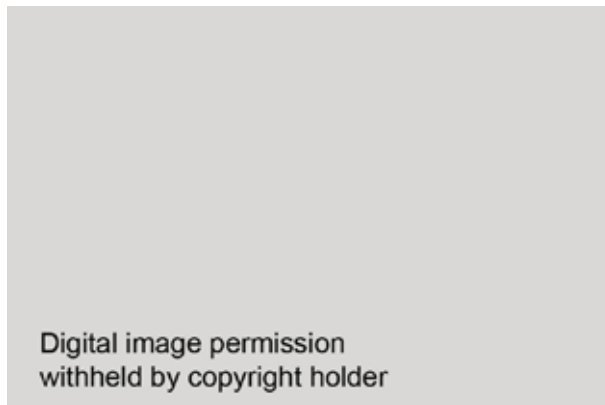
6.001 Kuwait souk and Liberation Tower



6.002 Persian Gulf route (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).

Route:

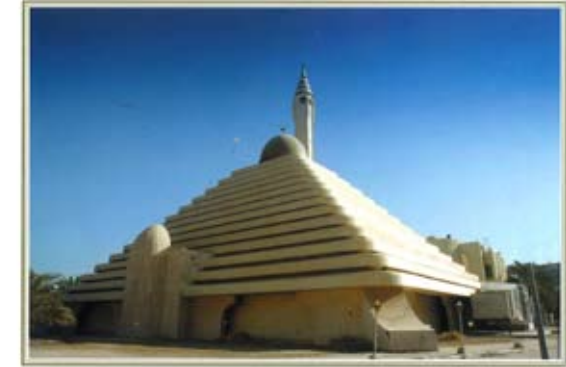
- A: Kuwait 9th Septemer 2009
- B: Dubai 12th Septemer 2009
- C: Abu Dhabi 13th October 2008



6.007 Thesiger's Route , image from Thesiger's *Arabian Sands* (1947)



6.003 Postcard Kuwait



6.004 Postcard Kuwait



6.005 Postcard Dubai



6.006 Postcard Abu Dhabi

This chapter explores Frank Lloyd Wright's legacy by considering his imagined fantasy and projects within the Middle East. His work was prophetic of a search for architectural identity within the region around the Persian Gulf, and he will be analysed as a global architectural practitioner who claimed he respected the architecture of the region, yet viewed the Orient as one entity and often muddled his way between Arabian and Persian precedents. For instance, he mused in his 1937 book, *Architecture and Modern Life*: "... the opulent Arab wandered, striking his splendid, gorgeous tents to roam elsewhere. He learned much from the Persian; the Hindu, learning from the same origins."¹ In addition, Wright often quoted his admiration for *The Arabian Nights* tales,² and indeed within Wright's home in Oak Park there was an illustration from 'The Fisherman and the Genii' in his children's playroom. Wright was so captivated by the stories that he identified himself as 'the young Aladdin' in *An Autobiography* and recalled that a childhood "party grew so real in his imagination, as he rubbed his lamp."³ Wright equated his own powers of creativity with Aladdin's, and the lamp becomes a symbol of his imagination.⁴ So when Wright was invited to Baghdad in Iraq to design an opera house in January 1957, it was a chance to prove unequivocally his creative genius despite possessing a ruling monarch. The opera house was typically developed into a grander 'Cultural Quarter' – an unrealisable personal fantasy, but prophetic of the fantastical schemes and the search of identity presently being undertaken on a lavish scale within the Persian Gulf.

The thesis was first conceived in 2004, after Iraq had been invaded in 2003 by an American-led coalition, leading to the Third Gulf War. The country has remained notoriously unstable thereafter, and consequently my field trip to Baghdad was never realised. I attempted to travel to Iran in 2009, where there are some examples of Wright's work, as a researcher for the Human Habitation Conference (HHC). Unfortunately the election in June 2009 then de-stabilised that country and a visit was not considered advisable. However, as a researcher for the conference I was able to visit Kuwait, Dubai and Abu Dhabi, and although not following directly in the footsteps of Wright I was still able to experience the region and to reflect on Wright's impact within these emerging cities. The chapter is hence a summary of my six-day visit to the Arabian Peninsula, in which a number of taxi journeys to specific sites provides a narrative about Wright's influence in Kuwait, Dubai, Abu Dhabi, and the wider Middle East region. In addition, Wright's legacy practice, Taliesin Architecture Associates

(TAA), have since designed a number of projects in Iran. The brevity of my visit and the use of taxi rides to sites acknowledges that these observations are preliminary and speculative – yet a different view can be shed on the current bombastic architecture within the Persian Gulf region.

The Arabian Peninsula

Situated at the centre of the region named the Middle East by Eurocentric governments, the Arabian peninsula was the home of several ancient civilisations and global trading routes that helped to foster early global encounters. The region of Mesopotamia was part of the 'fertile crescent' that linked the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea, and there was evidence of an advanced Mesopotamian civilisation on Failaka Island, near Kuwait, in 3000BC.⁵ The Arabian race as such were first noted in 850BC by Assyrian writers, who described them as a 'nomadic people of the North Arabian desert'; these were of the Adnanais stock, whilst there was also a second fairly settled grouping called the Qahtanis to the south and west of the peninsula.⁶ Alexander the Great famously expanded his Greek Empire eastwards during the 3rd century BC, establishing a fortress on Failaka. The Romans later took command of the whole region at the start of the 1st century AD, and remained dominant over the next three centuries protecting their pre-modern trade road, the 'Silk Route' – that linked Asia and Europe. The Roman Empire was succeeded by Byzantine and Persian dynasties.

The Prophet Mohammed was born in 570 or 571 AD in Mecca, and he was to have a lasting religious and cultural impact on the surrounding region and globally. The Prophet established the Islamic faith, which Muslims believe to be "the ultimate faith, which completes and perfects the two other heavenly religions – Judaism and Christianity."⁷ The Prophet extended the role of Islam into all aspects of life so that "there is no separation between religion and politics" and the Holy Koran forms the basis of their religion.⁸ The new faith propagated quickly and by the time of his death in 636 AD, the Prophet Mohammed "had succeeded in welding the scatter and idolatrous tribes of the peninsula into one nation worshipping a single, all-powerful god."⁹ Thereafter, the Caliphates expanded the Islamic faith, such that by 711 AD it extended from Spain to Persia. This religious movement had a number of cultural consequences that were closely related: Arabization and Islamization.¹⁰ The Arabic



6.008 Three taxi journeys in Kuwait

language contained in the Koran began to dominate, and “Arab’ began its gradual change from the name of a beduin [sic] nomad of the Arabian peninsula to its present meaning of anyone whose culture and language are Arabic,” meaning that now one-fifth of all Muslims speak Arabic.¹¹ Islam was always adaptable to local cultures and was adopted for instance in Persia without replacing the local language.¹²

The Islamic Caliphate rule lasted for two centuries with its capital located initially in Damascus and then Baghdad, and they established an Islamic architectural movement that embraced and adapted existing buildings, and later developed new distinctive forms, decorations and constructions.¹³ One of the most remarkable early Islamic constructions was the founding of the capital city by the second Caliph al-Mansur in 762-766AD. The so called ‘City of Peace’ lies within present-day Baghdad and possessed a circular plan form with the royal palace and mosque at its centre. It was mentioned in literary sources but with no substantive evidence of its built form.¹⁴ The rule of the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258) was viewed as a ‘golden age’ in Baghdad and Iraq, “when the country was the domain of the caliph, or the head of Islam.”¹⁵ The son of Caliph al-Mansur was Harun al-Rashid (786-809), and it was during his rule that Baghdad flourished as “a commercial and intellectual centre” – and of course this was the court setting of *The Arabian Nights* tales, which in fact date from the ninth century.¹⁶ Defeat at the hands of the (Christian) Crusaders in the tenth century, and later attack from Mongols to the east in the thirteenth century, made Arabians withdraw into comparative ‘retreat and isolation’.¹⁷ However, another great Muslim Empire, founded by Turkish warrior princes, was begun in the thirteenth century and conquered the last remnants of the Byzantine Empire before proceeding to annex Persia and the coastal Arabian states. For Arabians, the four centuries of Ottoman rule were doubly disappointing, since they had lost their status as rulers of the Islamic world and Arabic was no longer the dominant culture.¹⁸

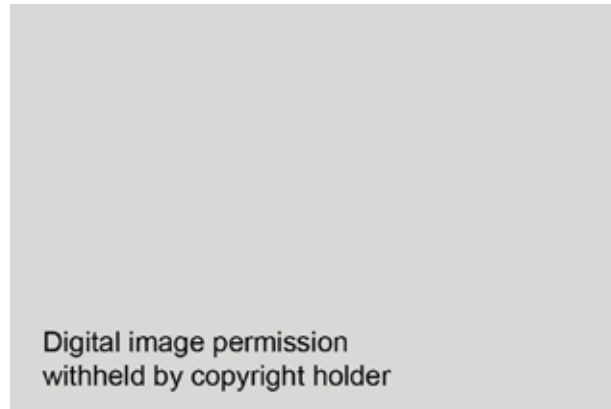
Orientalist perceptions of the region were captured in a number of literary colonial texts that established an imagined and exotic Middle East. Furthermore, Said notes that “every major work belonging to a genuine if not always academic Orientalism took its form, style and intention from the idea of pilgrimage there.”¹⁹ Despite every pilgrim claiming to see “things his own way,”²⁰ these travellers were contributing to an established “system of knowledge”²¹ whereby:

“... the Orient is less a place than a topos, as set of references, a congeries of characteristics, that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of a text, or a citation from someone’s work on the Orient, or some previous imagining, or an amalgam of all these. Direct observations or circumstantial description of the Orient are the fictions presented by writing on the Orient..”²²

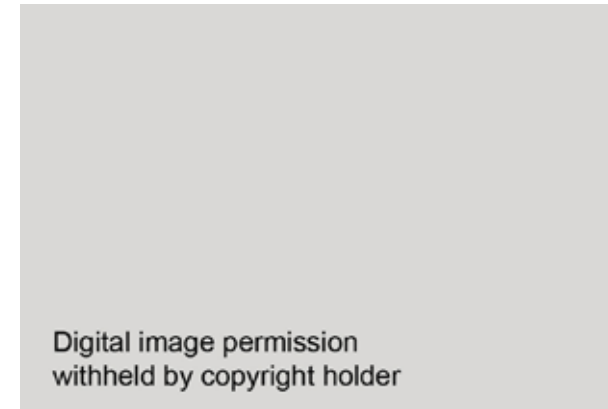
Thus, a pilgrimage to the Middle East merely consolidated existing prejudices and referenced previous encounters, so that it essentially became “a form of copying.”²³ Underlying these texts was the “Romantic idea of restorative reconstruction”²⁴ of the region, whereby the Orient was consistently remade in the eyes of the westerner.

The literary accounts from these nineteenth-century pilgrims were either a detached ‘scientific’ analysis or a ‘personal’ fantasy,’ both of which built on previous readings of the region.²⁵ In addition, after the defeat of Napoleon, two different perspectives about the Middle East emerged from English-speaking and French-speaking pilgrims: “for the former the Orient was India, of course, an actual British possession; to pass through the Near Orient was therefore to pass en route to a major colony ... the Orient was defined as a material possession.”²⁶ This contrasts with “the French pilgrim [who] was imbued with a sense of acute loss in the Orient.. the Orient of memories, suggestive ruins, forgotten secrets.”²⁷ Thus the French writer, Gustav Flaubert, contributed to the ‘exotic’ perception of the region, an “imaginative, unrealizable (except aesthetically) dimension.”²⁸ His letters recorded his ‘exotic’ adventures that included nights spent with prostitutes, and his detailed account of his journey informed the realist literary tradition.

There were hundreds of ‘travel books’ by the mid-nineteenth century on the region and Said notes they could be divided between “the delights, miscellaneous exploits, and testimonial portentousness of individual pilgrims” and the “authoritative reports of scholarly travellers, missionaries, government functionaries and other expert witnesses.”²⁹ The latter accounts were gleaned by learning the native language and being resident for extended periods within the region. Said considers the adventures of Sir Richard Burton (1821-90) in the Orient as embracing both the French and English traditions: “he is present as the principal character of these works, as much the center of fantastic adventure and even fantasy (like the French writers) [and] as the authoritative commentator and detached Westerner on Oriental society and



6.009 View of the 'The Fisherman and the Genii' in the Children's Playroom Wright House, Oak Park (1895-8) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Trebier, D. (2008)



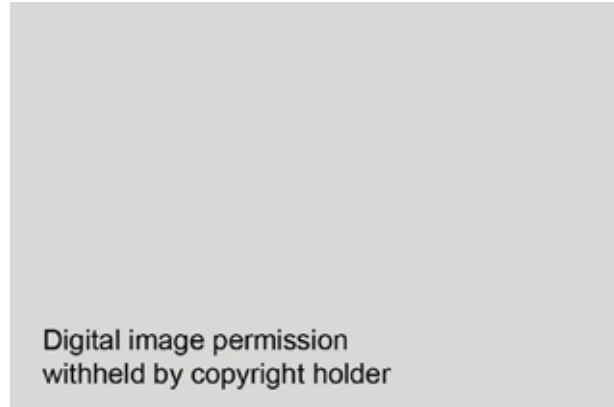
6.010 Detail of the 'The Fisherman and the Genii' by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Trebier, D. (2008)

customs (like Lane [an English writer]).³⁰ Burton was a prototypical example of a colonial adventurer whose roles included “explorer, spy, linguist, sexologist, translator and a writer.”³¹ His most famous book was a record of his pilgrimage to Mecca, titled *A Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah* (1855-6).³² Burton was part of the expansionist British Empire, yet he rebelled against its stifling Victorian morals and instead sought refuge in the Orient, learning to speak Arabic and to embrace its culture: “he knew that the Orient in general and Islam in particular were systems of information, behaviour, and belief, that to be an Oriental or a Muslim was to know certain things in a certain way, and that these were of course subject to history, geography, and the development of society in circumstances specific to it.”³³ In addition, Burton translated and compiled a full version of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (1885), also known as *The Arabian Nights*,³⁴ thus transplanting into the mind of millions of children the mythical world of Aladdin and the Genie – and of course that of one particularly imaginative minor in mid-West America, Frank Lloyd Wright.

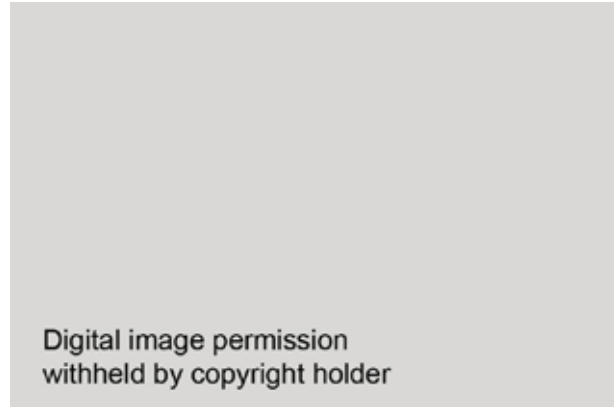
Two later colonial adventurers within the Middle East created two very different Arabic identities. They were T. E. Lawrence (1888-1935) and Wilfred Thesiger (1910-2003). Lawrence originally set out as an archaeologist to survey a number of Crusader castles in the region, but his mapping and linguistic skills made him an ideal British spy, and he became the leader of the Arab counter-insurgency against the Ottoman Empire in 1916-18. Said sees a new form of Orientalism as the European powers extended their power struggle into the region: “now the Orient must be made to perform, its power must be enlisted on the side of “our” values, civilisation, interests, goals.”³⁵ Who better to direct this new role than a ‘white agent’ such as Lawrence, who becomes “the maker of contemporary history ... the Orientalist has now become a figure of Oriental history, indistinguishable from it, its shaper, its characteristic sign for the West.”³⁶ In the text of Lawrence’s, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1922)³⁷ there is an overbearing vision, “a holistic view of the Orient (description, monumental record)” that is a static, reductive, and simplistic vision of the region.³⁸ The imperial Orientalist-as-agent was enshrined in David Lean’s *Lawrence of Arabia*³⁹, an iconic film in which Lawrence stimulates “the Orient (lifeless, timeless, forceless) into movement” and imposes a “Western shape” onto the uprising – and then finally attempts to “contain the new and aroused Orient in a personal vision.”⁴⁰ It could be argued that such colonialist attitudes are still prevalent within the region.

Against this more static western colonialist vision, Said identifies the potential of a narrative approach “which introduces an opposing point of view, perspective [and] consciousness.”⁴¹ The explorer Wilfred Thesiger (1910-2003) travelled extensively in the ‘Empty Quarter’ of Arabia, documenting the vanishing life of the Bedouins in his book, *Arabian Sands* (1959).⁴² The book records five years of exploring the largest sand desert in the world between 1945-50. It is a narrative that confronts the colonial legacy that commodified the desert by recording the traditional nomadic life of desert dwellers. Stewart however, identifies a limited remit within the book. It excludes women, children or normal migrations, and instead it focused on “the most extreme aspects of life and landscape... [and] His love of freebooting life of the raiders encouraged him to believe all modern development was for the worst and modern cities were ‘an Arabian nightmare, the final disappointment.”⁴³ Yet, by undertaking these long harrowing journeys by foot or with a camel within the featureless interior, Thesiger experienced with his Bedouin guides a collective “sense of equality” and “comradeship”⁴⁴ that he was unable to experience within the west. It was thus another Middle Eastern escapist fantasy.

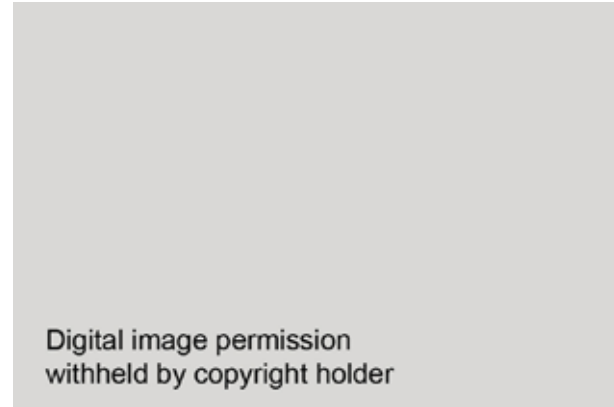
Grube has identified two general concepts that epitomise Islamic architecture: these were the absence of any specific form for a specific function, and a concentration on the design of interior space.⁴⁵ Consequently, he notes: “Islamic architecture is given to hiding its principal features behind an unrevealing exterior; it is an architecture that does not change its forms easily, if at all, according to functional demands, but rather tends to adapt functions to preconceived forms, which are basically the contained interior space.”⁴⁶ In addition, with the exception of formal domed structures, there is no formal axial direction or balanced plan within Islamic architecture. Indeed there are often oblique turns upon entry, and the plan is the result of accretion, thus displaying the “principle of organic growth.”⁴⁷ The importance of the interior space is articulated by its all-enveloping decoration, which serves to provide a different spatial conception whereby it creates a “non-tectonic” surface which “is a true negation of architecture as conceived in Europe, that is, of structure; it aims at a visual negation of the reality of weight and the necessity of support.”⁴⁸ The use of tiles and mosaics include “geometric abstracted shapes to full-scale floral patterns, from minutely executed inscriptions in a full variety of calligraphic styles to the monumental single words that serve as both religious images and decoration.”⁴⁹



6.011 Textile block Assembly by Wright, drawn by Neutra, R., image from Sweeney, R. (1994)



6.012 Textile block Millard House (1923) by Wright, Patent drawing, image from Sweeney, R. (1994)



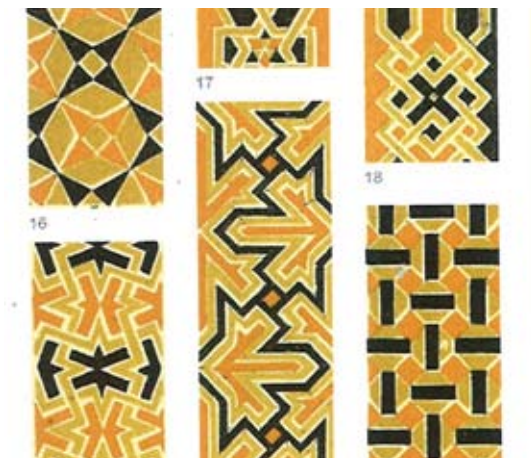
6.013 Textile block Alice Millard House (1923) concrete block assembly by Wright, image from Sweeney, R. (1994)



6.014 Persian Ornament after Owen Jones (1856), image from Jones, O. (2008)



6.015 Persian Ornament after Owen Jones (1856), image from Jones, O. (2008)



6.016 Arabic Ornament after Owen Jones (1856), image from Jones, O. (2008)

Similarly, Frank Lloyd Wright was to develop these basic elements of Islamic architecture into his own work, particularly the internalised inner space, free planning, and the use of decoration. A number of scholars have identified the internally concentrated spaces within Wright's architecture, especially his non-residential designs, which in his case were largely derived from Japanese architecture.⁵⁰ Wright used thick enveloping masonry walls to remove occupants from the city and to define his internal spaces. In this there are clear spatial similarities to traditional Islamic space, but of course Wright never acknowledged any such link. His informal planning whilst seemingly similar to the Islamic tradition of adding spaces, but Wright underpinned his spatial plans with a carefully controlled modular planning module, that was again taken from Japan and the tatami-mat method of planning.

Frampton identifies the importance of Owen Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856)⁵¹ in disseminating 'other' cultures to a wider audience of aesthetic thinkers and producers. The book was a "transcultural, imperialist sweep through the world of ornament demonstrated by implication the relative inferiority of the European/Greco-Roman/medieval legacy compared with the riches of the Orient."⁵² Furthermore, Owen Jones, Louis Sullivan and Wright were Celtic 'outsiders' who "searched for an "other" culture with which to overcome the spiritual bankruptcy of the West" – and indeed it was believed that Celtic art had originated in the East.⁵³ Frampton expands on how Jones's book influenced these Chicago architects, such that "Sullivan and Wright believed in the possibility of a modern civilisation that would be comparable in its spiritual intensity to the great theocracies of the antique world. The implicit theology of their work, its intrinsic texts, depended, in its reticulated surface, on the translation and iteration of organic morphological processes, a conscious fusion of nature and culture."⁵⁴ Thus they established a method whereby their buildings contained a "cryptic language or as a petrified textile in which the walls were as much written as they were built."⁵⁵

As noted by Grube, Frampton points out that "in Islamic architecture, the written, the woven, and the tectonically inscribed are frequently fused together." Wright's work sought such an integrated ideal.⁵⁶ Wright thus developed the textile block as a means to unite a number of long standing concerns: the blocks could be mass-produced by the machine – thus attaining his early aspirations for 'The Art and Craft of the Machine' (1901). It was cheap to build and thus egalitarian; and the inscribed abstract

pattern was a fusion of nature and culture.⁵⁷ Essentially the construction involved the assembly on site of textile blocks with a steel wires acting as reinforcement to support the blocks and the wall. Their first proposed use was in the desert setting of Death Valley for Albert M. Johnson (1921), but it was finally built for the Alice Millard House (1923), also in California. Yet the textile tile had two distinctive identities: "the otherworldly, Xanadu-like grandeur" of Wright's grand schemes in the desert of America, and "the down-to-earth, democratic economy" of his single residential schemes.⁵⁸ Frampton concludes by claiming that Wright's 'Text-tile tectonic' was inherent in the Usonian Houses and was to reach its pinnacle in Broadacre City: "an infinite "oriental rug" as a cross-cultural, ecological tapestry writ large, as an oriental paradise garden combined with the Cartesian grid of the occident."⁵⁹

When reflecting on past architectures in *Architecture and the Modern Life: Some Aspects of the Past and Present of Architecture* (1937)⁶⁰, Wright attempted to remap ancient history to accord with his 'organic' manifesto. He plotted a persuasive history of masonry construction, noting an admiration for the Byzantine arch that informed a "sophisticated building act resulting in more sophisticated forms."⁶¹ He admired the method of restraining the arch with heavy walls, so that it could support a "low, heavy, stone dome,"⁶² of which "St. Sophia is the greatest remaining, but a late example."⁶³ It is not known whether Wright ever visited Turkey to see the Hagia Sophia but he did view the Byzantine Cathedral at Monreale, Palermo, in Sicily during his first journey to Europe in 1910.⁶⁴ His admiration for the Hagia Sophia must have derived from secondary sources, such as Lethaby's book on *The Church of Sancta Sophia* (1894)⁶⁵ – Wright had noted an affinity for Lethaby to an English visitor to Oak Park.⁶⁶ Lethaby had identified within Hagia Sophia "the principles of rational construction and a dynamic understanding of materials."⁶⁷ Furthermore, he claimed that the Byzantines had considered "afresh the prime necessities of material, and a rational system of craftsmanship, opened a great quarry of ideas in constructive art which is exhaustless. In a hundred years architecture became truly organic, features that had become mere (vestiges) dropped away, and a new style was complete..."⁶⁸ This was another example of an architect using the indigenous architecture to support their own aesthetic construction.

Likewise, Wright waxed lyrically about the "domed buildings of Persia we see the Byzantine arch still at work."⁶⁹ The Persians, according to Wright, were from the



6.017 View of Al-Soor Street and gate within roundabout



6.018 View of gate and city behind



6.019 Kuwait City (2009) view from hotel room

“valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris.”⁷⁰ He thus confused the ancient civilisations of Mesopotamia with its later Persian conquest and subsequent Arab occupation. Following Lethaby, Wright admired the materiality and construction of domes that were supported by integral masonry walls that resisted the outwards thrust of the dome without the need for concealed chains or a corniced ring beam; he remarked approvingly that their ‘masonry dome was erected as an organic part of the whole structure’.⁷¹ The blue colour of the dome captivated Wright too, and he claimed that they possessed a mystical power.⁷²

Wright confuses himself once more when he stated: “what mystic romance this Persia! Aladdin with the wonderful lamp? The wonderful lamp was Persian imagination.”⁷³ The tale of Aladdin had in fact been added to *The Arabian Nights* by the French translator, Galland. Within the first version of the story, Aladdin was actually Chinese and the setting for the story embraces an early global perspective that extended from China (perhaps Turkestan) in the East, to the Maghreb (North Africa) in the west.⁷⁴ For Wright, the Arab was the nomadic tent dweller who had learnt his architecture from the Persian, with “terraces and domes of masonry or copper or gold ... but [they] seemed to lack the pure and simple synthesis of form and clear pattern and colour achieved by the Persian.”⁷⁵ Wright’s historical narrative then concludes with Persian architecture passing to “China, Java, Bhutan, and Thibet (sic)” by way of the “Buddha.”⁷⁶

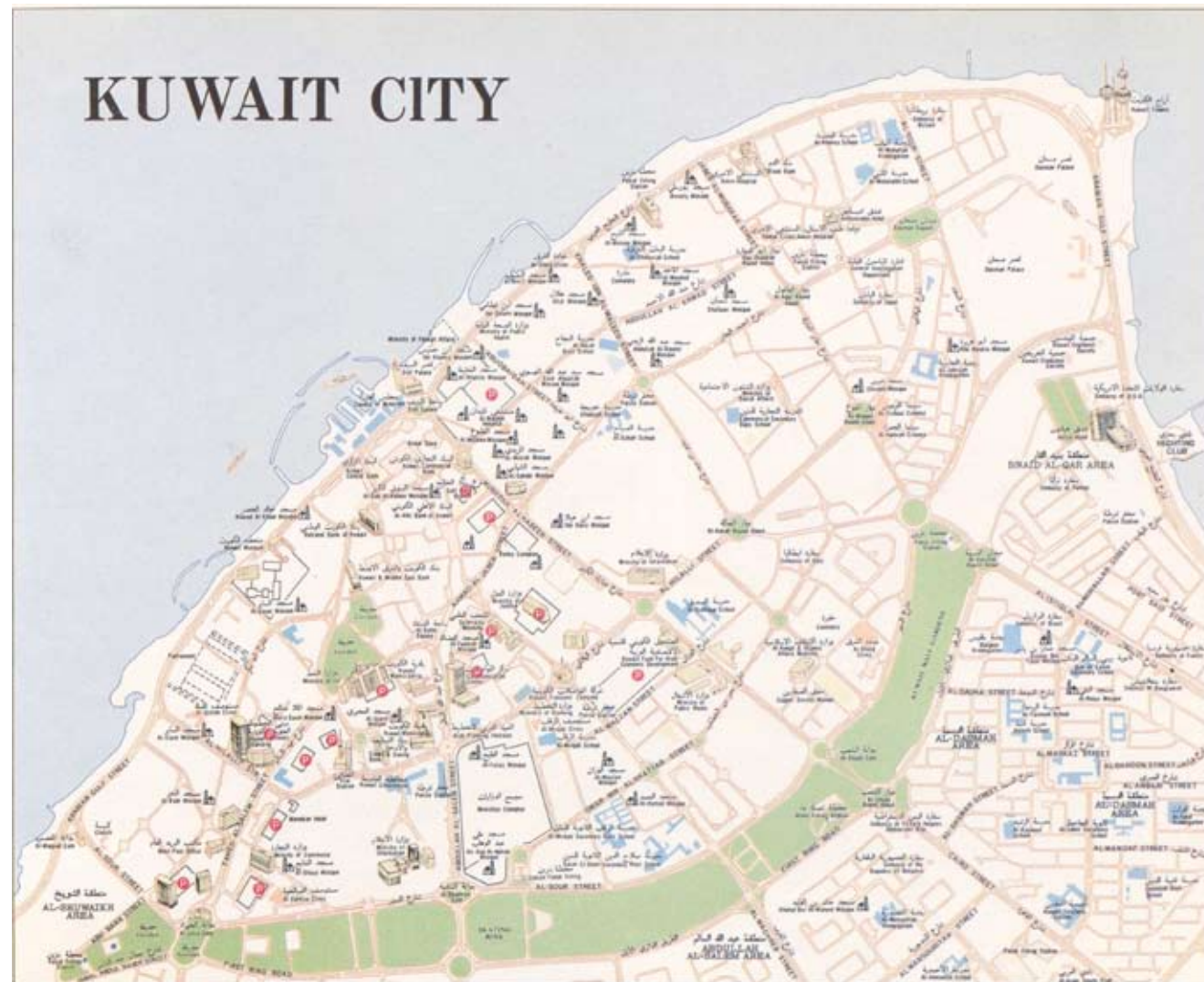
The dome, however, was the most formal of Islamic architectural devices that was used for tombs and the mausoleum, and Wright neglected to see the wider benefits of Islamic architecture – such as its informal and non-axial method of planning. Wright believed that the work of the “the Chinese, Japanese, Persians and the Moors, Orientals all, developed a somewhat different sense of building.”⁷⁷ And whilst he respected these buildings, he also saw them all as essentially one ‘Oriental’ identity. To this “Oriental sense of building,” Wright ascribed “plastic” qualities derived from the “spirit,” meaning that consequently “the building was treated more consistently as a unit or consistent whole.”⁷⁸ Thus, he believed that ‘Oriental’ buildings were “organic,” and he used their alterity to dismiss the formal and “classic” buildings of Greece and Rome.⁷⁹ It is also tempting to speculate if Wright’s evocation of the Persian dome was derived from the Romantic poem, *Kubla Kahn* (1816), by

Samuel Coleridge, in which “the pleasure-dome” becomes the symbol of harmony that “combines ecclesiastical and secular architecture, palace and religious dome structures.”⁸⁰ If it was not a direct source for Wright’s ideas of the Persian dome, it certainly provided another fantasy narrative for him to follow.

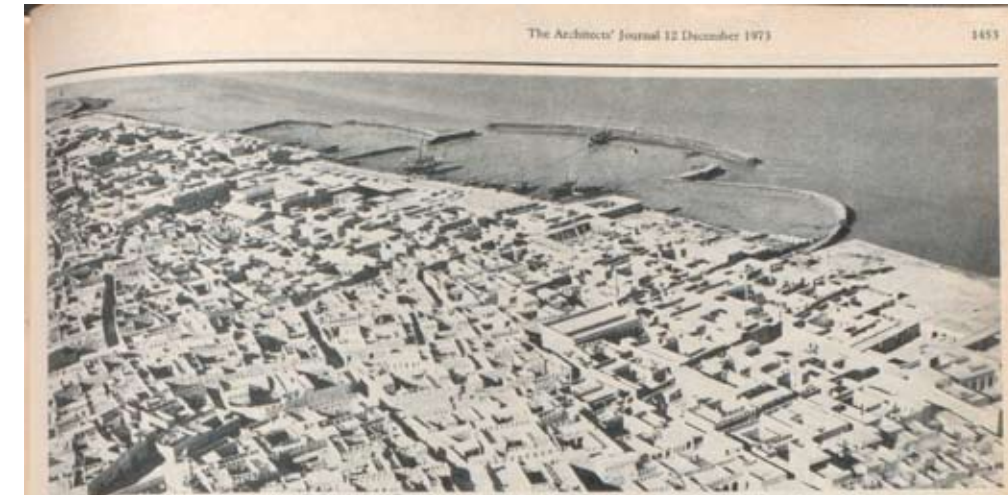
Kuwait

Despite the importance of Failaka Island in the history of the Persian Gulf, it is known that Kuwait City – which sits opposite Failaka on the mainland – developed separately. Under the Islamic Caliphate the town of Kathima was established at the end of Kuwait Bay, and it was invoked in a number of Arab histories, poetry and song.⁸¹ Kuwait was probably in existence at this time but it was really to gain prominence “when the sheikhs of the Bani Khalid, in the interior chose it as their summer resort, c.1670 AD.”⁸² A sub-tribe “of the ‘Anaza’ then migrated to Kuwait in 1710, and its descendants became the ruling al-Sabah family.”⁸³ In 1756, a Danish explorer reported that it had 10,000 inhabitants ‘who live on the produce of peals and fishing’, with a fleet of 800 sailing boats.⁸⁴ Kuwait was derived from the Arabic for ‘a small fort,’⁸⁵ and its existence relied on connections back to the desert together with sea commerce. Yet as the town prospered it became embroiled in more regional conflicts. The conquest of Basra by the Persians in 1776 led to Kuwait becoming the main Arab port at the head of the Persian Gulf.⁸⁶ Furthermore, Kuwait became involved in disputes with the Wahabi of central Arabia and there were a number of attacks on the town.⁸⁷ By the late-18th century the British were active as maritime traders keen to protect their emerging Indian interests and focussing on Basra in southern Iraq. In 1859, Kuwait signed a pact with the Ottoman Empire, but was somewhat wary of the latter’s power, so in 1899 it signed a new treaty with Britain which gave greater protection to Kuwait’s sea trade.⁸⁸

In wake of the First World War, the defeat of Germany and fellow Axis powers led to the break-up of the already declining Ottoman Empire. Mansfield identifies two contrary trends in the following years among Arabs: on the one hand, the desire to develop a sense of territorial nationalism to support the states newly freed from Ottoman rule, and on the other a contrasting demand for ethnic ‘protection and unity’, particularly in light of the growing Zionist movement in Palestine.⁸⁹ Whilst Kuwait’s borders were already fairly defined and strongly supported by Britain by this point,



6.020 Plan of Kuwait City as a Garden City, image from Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.



Kuwait round the port at the time of the 1951 plan.

for planning activities was finally recognised.

The 1951 plan—the first mistake

The Government, inexperienced in such matters, found it necessary to plan more scientifically and to take foreign professional advice. Early in 1951, a town plan accompanied by a short report was prepared by a foreign town-planning firm. These consultants had nothing to work on other than aerial photographs and the fact that the work was done in far away London compounded the problem. The resulting plan brought about a situation of grave concern. The proposed road system was almost a duplicate of the dense pattern of streets found in the old city. But the new roads were much wider than the existing streets and resulted in the ruthless destruction of the closely packed pattern of courtyard houses and other established sections of the city. Making way for the violent intrusion of the motor car, the new street system disrupted the socio-economic structure of the city and destroyed the traditional ways of life of most people. New shops were developed along the wide busy streets and resulted in confusion and conflict between pedestrians and vehicles.

This situation partly arose from the short time given to the problem by the foreign consultants who, commissioned in April, offered a draft plan in July and a final one in November'. This first master plan was simply the imposition of western technology onto an established Arab society. The consultants believed that the 'development of an efficient road system', whereby 'fleets of showy American cars, buses, and huge

ex-Army lorries' could operate effectively should be the plan's goal, even if this meant 'the demolition of numerous buildings' in the city, which in itself 'offers no special difficulties'.

More foreign ideas and developers

Also in 1951, a group of five foreign construction companies were engaged to carry out work which involved building roads, schools and hospitals. Thus, foreign workers and professionals of all disciplines were brought in to rebuild Kuwait as if the country were in ruin or in a desperate situation. This work was done in a piecemeal fashion rather than as a comprehensive economic development programme. Hundreds of houses were bought at this time by compulsory purchase and demolished without any consideration of their structural quality or historic value. As a result, many large parcels of land were left vacant, and there has been no use for them except for parking cars. However, this fragmentary system of development by foreign construction companies proved too expensive and was soon abandoned.

The basic design of the 1951 plan has remained the guiding principle for urban expansion until the present time. The system of 'ring roads' and radial roads leading into the heart of the city established the lay-out of the expansion areas, and neighbourhoods, based on the garden city concept stretched out from Kuwait city to quintuple the city's original size. As this development continued to be on a piecemeal basis, attempts were made to control such *ad hoc* expansion. Two development boards (one in 1953 and one



Kuwait round the port as a result of the 1951 plan.

6.021 Aerial view of Kuwait City 1951 and 1973, image from Jamal, (1973), K. *Architects' Journal*, 12th December, 1973

its newer neighbours tended to consist of amalgamations of different tribes and alliances within national borders which had simply never existed previously. These new nations – Iraq, Iran and Saudi Arabia – were engineered largely by the British Empire as an attempt to dilute Arab influence, a solution which unsurprisingly has not led to long-term peace in the region. Again, in 1920, Kuwait came under attack from neighbouring tribes, requiring the building of a new city wall to control the access to its capital city from the interior.

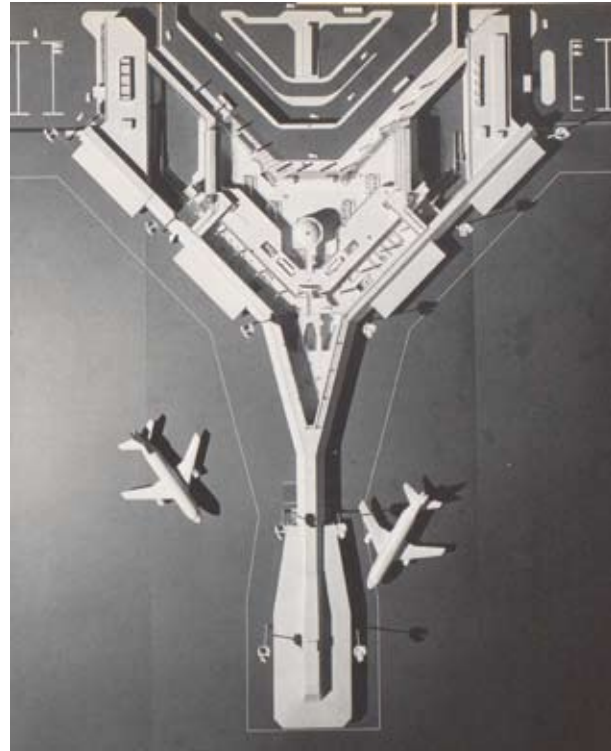
There have been three successive Gulf conflicts rooted in the contradictory aspirations of separate national identity and the concept of a pan-Arabic state. The First Gulf War was between Iraq and Iran (1980-88), and was an opportunistic assault by Iraq led by Saddam Hussein that sought to take advantage of a weakened Iran after the Islamic Revolution.⁹⁰ Iran resisted, and eight years of attrition led to a military stalemate. The Second Gulf War (1990-91) began when Hussein's Iraqi forces occupied Kuwait under the premise of creating a wider Ba'athist Arabic movement.⁹¹ Iraq also claimed that Kuwait, having been part of the Ottoman province of Basra, was an inherent part of Iraq anyway. A coalition of forces led by 'Pax America' liberated Kuwait, and, conveniently for the western powers, managed to restore the agreed boundaries and the all-important distribution of oil reserves. However, the west's lingering obsession with the region continued when another American-led coalition invaded Iraq in 2003 to depose Hussein, their former ally, and to enforce a regime change. It is a region that has suffered greatly because of its strategic oil wealth and the west's fixation with the commodity.

Oil had been first discovered in Kuwait in 1934, but it was not commercially extracted until after the Second World War. Kuwait City had hitherto been an excellent example of an integrated desert settlement with a protective outer wall, an organically ordered town plan formed by layers of accretion, close-knit low-rise buildings with narrow lanes, and a visibly democratic city, generally no higher than two-storey structures. Even the mosques of Kuwait City were low-lying; in 1912 it was noted that "they hardly show above the houses."⁹² However, within the grain of the fabric there remained a subtle differentiation of status and power. Lewcock identified that the most prominent homes were the merchant homes at the sea-front with smaller homes behind and beyond the city wall was inhabited by migrant workers and Bedouin.⁹³ The seafront homes were in some instances extensive, with Bayt al-Badr

(1837-47) possessing five internal courtyards for a male reception area, a kitchen, an animal court, a private court and a business court.⁹⁴ But externally the house retained a simple blank façade with only the doorway exhibiting any indication to the status of the homeowner.

The organic pattern within a Muslim urban settlement was never structured according to an overriding design ethos, but rather exhibited the well-formulated social structure whereby 'tradition' was the dominant principle.⁹⁵ Thus, the form of the settlement developed incrementally with "respect of custom, ownership, and the Muslim's right to visual privacy."⁹⁶ In addition, Kuwait City was a town that exhibited many characteristics of a "vernacular, anonymous, spontaneous, rural" settlement, as noted by Rudofsky.⁹⁷ It was communal settlement yet lay within an established hierarchy, and fitted into its coastal setting with an open sea-front and protective outer wall to the desert. The homes were anonymous, yet they displayed an inventive use of space that accommodated the climatic conditions and used earth bricks for their construction.⁹⁸ However, with this mud-wall construction and no tradition of masonry buildings within the town, Chadirji considered Kuwait to be a peripheral settlement with "simple vernacular craftsmanship,"⁹⁹ one which "never developed sophisticated culture nor production nor architecture."¹⁰⁰ Consequently, Chadirji claims that Kuwaiti identity was derived from "Arabic poetry, Islamic religion, and the Arabian tribal hierarchy."¹⁰¹ Whilst Chadirji acknowledges that mud architecture has a history dating back to Mesopotamia, and can produce remarkable and 'picturesque' architecture, he is surely correct in identifying that Kuwait did not possess any sophisticated architecture or an urban society – and as such it would consequently struggle to cope with the modernist demands of the twentieth century.

By 1950, Kuwait's population had leapt to 150,000, of which almost a half were now immigrant workers, and traffic congestion was becoming acute. This led the Kuwaiti government in 1951 to commission Minoprio, Spencely and Macfarlane (MSP) to prepare a master-plan. This new vision for Kuwait City was based on the British New Town precedent, with a new road network, clear zoning for different uses, and a protective 'green belt'. MSP had recently completed the plan for Crawley in West Sussex, with Minoprio admitting: "We didn't know anything much about the Muslim world and the Kuwaitis wanted a city – they wanted a new city ..."¹⁰² Gardiner explained the new form which was designed: "... the city plan was primarily a road



6.023 Model of Kuwait International Airport (1967-1970) by Kenzo Tange, image from Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.



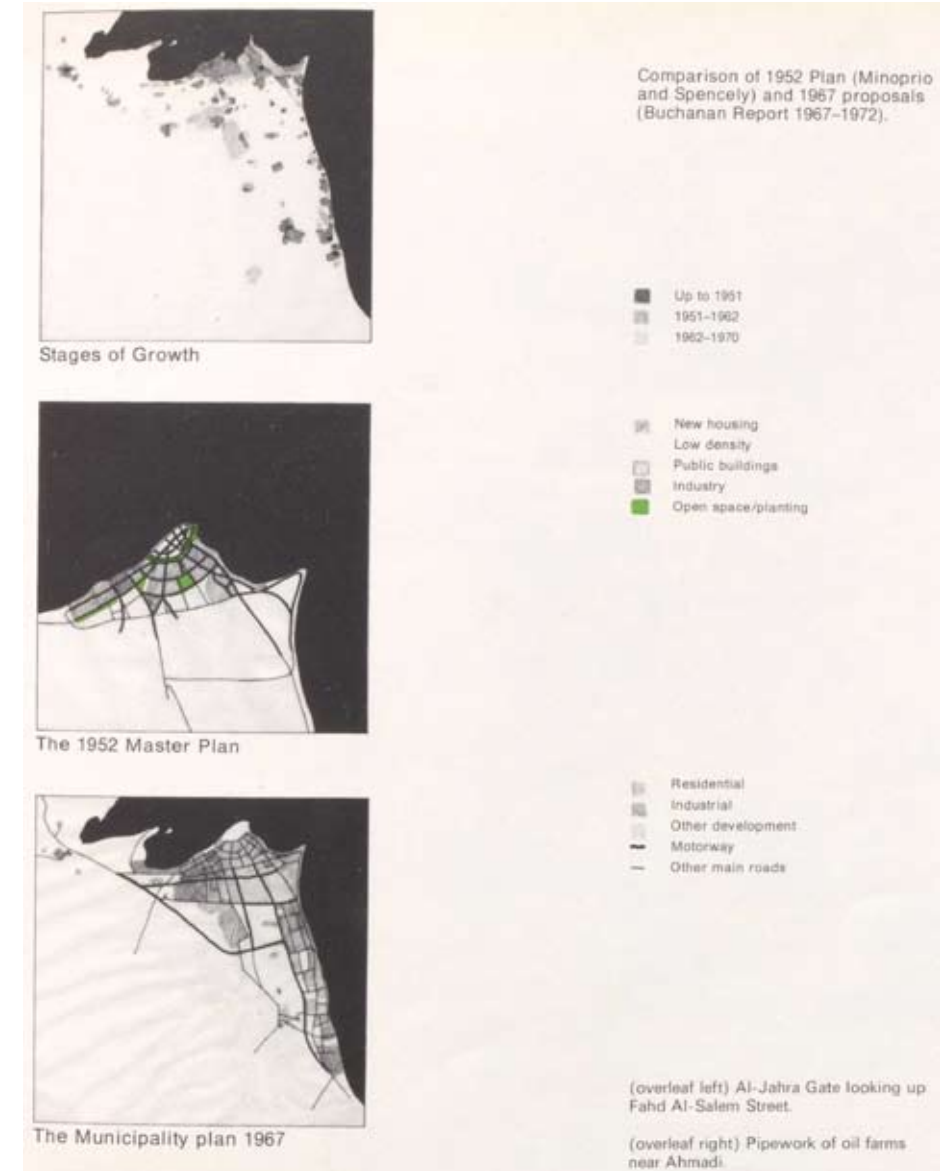
6.024 Image of arrival hall, at Kuwait International Airport, image from Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.



6.025 Departures, hall at Kuwait International Airport



6.026 Image of Kuwait International Airport Proposal (2011), image from Norman Foster & Partners



6.027 Kuwait City growth and planning 1951-70, image from Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.

plan – [it] arose from the five gateways of the wall; the roads radiated out from these gateways and, together with three intersecting ring roads, formed the boundaries of the new township (or neighbourhood units).¹⁰³ Another aspect of Kuwait's new city plan that tied it to the New Town Movement in Britain was the role of a new kind of welfare state, Kuwait's oil revenue provided a new paternal educational, health and housing provision for its residents as a birth-right. A review of the aerial images in the *Architects' Journal* in December 1973 shows the dramatic change that was happening in the city. But as Jamal wrote acidly of this first MSP master-plan, it "was simply the imposition of western technology onto an established Arab society."¹⁰⁴

Kuwait City's gained independence in 1961 and its urban growth continued. By 1970 its population was 733,000, of which only 47% were Kuwaiti. Hence, a second master-plan was commissioned by Colin Buchanan and Partners (CBP).¹⁰⁵ However, this time around neither the design process nor the resulting master-plan proved at all successful, given that indigenous Kuwaiti architects and planners were now beginning to question the wisdom of bringing in foreign consultants. This debate highlighted a clear issue of cultural confrontation. In the same 1973 *Architects' Journal* article, discussing this second master-plan, Jamal identified the major flaws in western urbanisation:

"Rapid urban growth resulting from implementation of the plan will speed up material changes in the society without compatible cultural change. Traditional Kuwaiti character will not be reflected in the new urban and physical environment, while the traditional environment will deteriorate further ... Generally speaking, Kuwait should not assume that economic growth equals, or automatically brings, personal social happiness. The Kuwaitis' way of life should not be geared to consumption or wasteful living as seen in the West."¹⁰⁶

Colin Buchanan's firm published a subsequent rebuttal in the *Architects' Journal* in May 1974¹⁰⁷ which addressed three problems associated with the master plan: "1 the negative impact of western technology on other cultures; 2 a lack of public participation within the process; 3 the need to develop more local expertise."¹⁰⁸ Whilst acknowledging the cultural disparity in the new scheme, CBP made the point that clients in the developing world want similar plans to those undertaken in western cities.¹⁰⁹ As for the issues of local democracy and participation, CBP

confirmed that "the concept of participation by anyone other than the ruling family or junta is a comparatively recent origin."¹¹⁰ However, a third article on the subject in the same magazine, this time from October 1974, dismissed their master-plan as a failure. The article noted that "all copies of the plan have been lying locked up ... for the past three years", on the grounds that it couldn't be understood, approved or thus implemented by Kuwait City's planning authority.¹¹¹ Additional master-plans were prepared by western consultants in 1977 and 1983, and then by the Kuwait Municipality itself in 1993. The most recent master-plan, drawn up in 2003, was produced in collaboration between CBP and the Kuwait Engineering Group.¹¹² Despite all these attempts at official planning, however, the destruction of the old democratic building fabric in Kuwait City continued, and thus the passionate cry by Jamal for a period of reflection in the mid-1970s was never heeded.

I landed at Kenzo Tange's Kuwait International Airport (1967-1970). It is shaped in the form of an airplane, which must amuse all the incoming airline pilots. But inside the airport was already dated, with its intimate scale and very plain finishes – it was an airport for the innocent days of early international travel, not for the present global consumption. I read with interest that the Norman Foster has generated an architectural rendering for an airport as a global edifice for Kuwait's next metamorphosis.¹¹³ A tiresome process of form-filling and payment allowed me get a short-term tourist visa, and I caught a taxi to Al Salymia. The taxi driver was Arabic with a long white shirt and red head-dress. All the other taxi drivers were recent migrants, yet they all exhibited an aggressive driving style, and we raced off down a motorway towards the city. The taxi was to be my sole means of transport and, as a friend had warned, it would also become a solace from the pervasive heat. At 41 degrees celsius, I was constantly looking for some shade and a cool interior.

Using the internet I had booked a room at the Ghani Palace Hotel (2002) by Saleh Al Mutawa. It was modelled on a conventional Yemeni town house, with whitewashed walls, inset coloured glass, intricately detailed timber screens and balconies, and projecting timber joists and water spouts. Inside, its thin atrium made allusion to a traditional alleyway, with an open arcade of shops and projecting screened balconies giving it an Arabic cultural representation. Dr Yasser Mahgoub told me that Al Mutawa's work embodies "Kuwaiti traditional architecture in his buildings," while also pointing out that of course such forms are part of a wider Arabic consciousness.¹¹⁴



6.028 View of Facade to Ghani Palace Hotel (2002) by Saleh Al Mutawa



6.029 Street view of Ghani Palace Hotel (2002), note the classical inspired mall at the centre



6.030 Elevation detail and upper tower to Ghani Palace Hotel (2002)



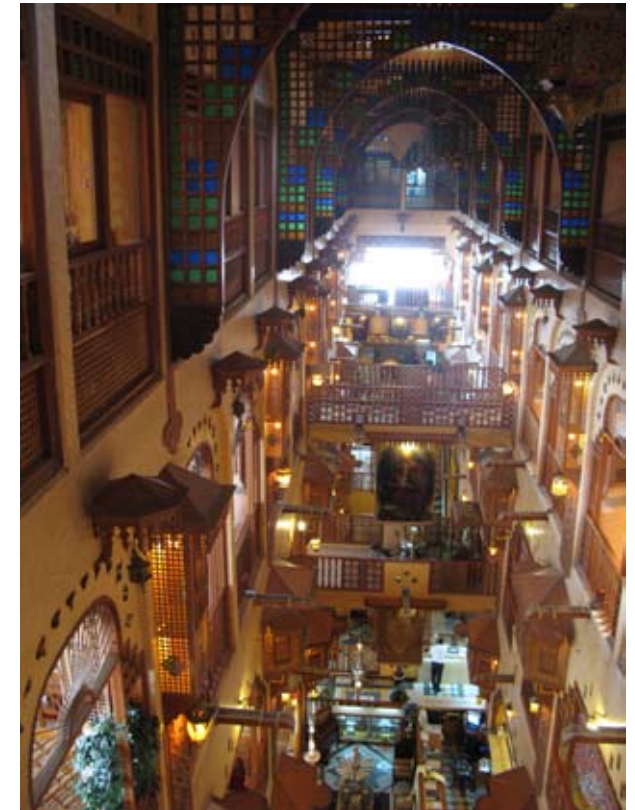
6.031 View of City from upper tower to Ghani Palace Hotel (2002)



6.032 Reception to Ghani Palace Hotel (2002)



6.033 Internal archade to Ghani Palace Hotel (2002)



6.034 Internal souk to Ghani Palace Hotel (2002)

I couldn't help feeling that the hotel was like staying at the Imperial Hotel (1913-23) in Tokyo by Wright because of the heightened sense of cultural intensity. From my bright two-storey studio room on the sixth floor, I viewed Kuwait City confronting the Persian Gulf, but a six-lane motorway mediated the connection – a legacy of the city designed for the highway.

I had a short rest and in the afternoon I caught a taxi to meet Omar Kattab at the Department of Architecture, College of Engineering and Petroleum, University of Kuwait, on the Fourth Ring Road. I entered a controlled gate and then went into a low-level masonry building set within a sea of parked cars. Kattab welcomed me into his office and we discussed a number of ideas concerning Wright. It seems that although Wright's projects for nearby Iraq and Iran were well known within the Gulf region, there wasn't any record of him ever visiting Kuwait, or designing anything within the city.

Gwyn: Do you think that the design of Kuwait in any way follows Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre idea?

Dr Kattab: The early plan was certainly based on the Garden City idea and now we are on the third revision of our masterplan. There are new developments planned for Silk City, but it is a government initiative and so can take a long time.

Are there any 'organic' inspired buildings in Kuwait City which follow Wright's manifesto?

*There were no buildings built by Wright in the Gulf, but a few architects use 'organic' architecture. I would suggest that Mohamed Makiya from Iraq and Charles Correa from India as two architects that exhibit some elements of 'organic' architecture.*¹¹⁵

Mohamed Saleh Makiya was born in Iraq and educated in Britain in the 1940s, and his early work attempted "a new beginning for architecture in harmony with the spiritual and cultural identity of the Iraqi people."¹¹⁶ Following his success in designing an extension to Khulafa Mosque (1960-5) in Baghdad, he designed the Kuwait State Mosque (1983), which is a monumental edifice for 7000 worshippers and possesses a 74m-high minaret. Externally there was not much evidence of Wright's influence: it was static mass that was focused on the "emerging symbolism of Arabic

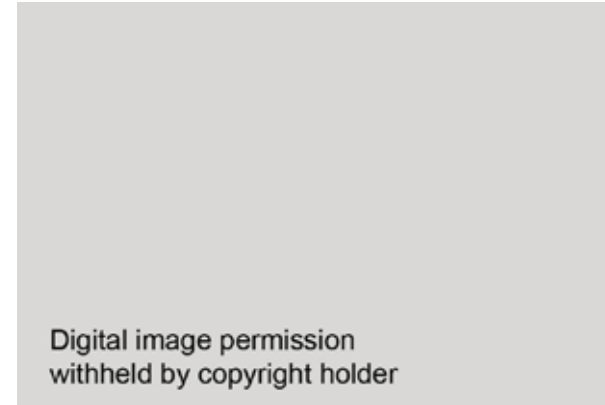
architecture."¹¹⁷ And this Arabic symbolism and monumental presence was deployed for Makiya's competition design for Saddam Hussein's vanity project for the Baghdad State Mosque (1983), which was intended for 30,000 worshippers. The competition was inconclusive. Sudjic claims "Hussein ... was more interested in having his own way with the design than in allowing an architect the chance to use it as a means of self-expression."¹¹⁸ In contrast, Charles Correa operates on scale that is more in tune with Wright. He has designed a number of innovative housing schemes for the poor in India, and indeed they share Wright's concerns for simple designs with natural materials. Furthermore, Correa's designs incorporated passive techniques and provide a progressive interpretation of Wright's 'organic' mantra.

Omar Kattab offered me a lift in his air-conditioned car to see a number of city landmarks, and we progressed down one of the main radial thoroughfares. At one set of traffic lights, we paused to view the impressive capitalist skyline of tower blocks gleaming against the blue sky. Kostof argues that the skyline is the "shorthand of urban identity ... when the city centre ends up an aggregate of tall office buildings, we recognise that the city image has succumbed to the advertising urges of private enterprise."¹¹⁹ The view was proof that Kuwait had followed the western capitalist development model, just as Jamal's had prophesied in the 1970s.¹²⁰ At the First Ring road, Al Soor Street, we slowed down to view the site of the former city wall – a remnant from the 1920s fort now lying forlorn within a roundabout. The mythical 'green belt' of the master plan was in reality a wide strip of desert, with no garden or shade just the memory of a lost town of Kuwait, in terms of the old fort.

Inside the old gate were the original 1960s buildings from the first master-plan on Fahad al-Salem street. They were confident modernist structures with exposed concrete frames and infill cladding – reminiscent of many British post-war New Towns, except that the climates were diametrically opposite! The buildings embraced the street with an open colonnade of shops at the ground and office blocks sitting on elevated pilotis above. The colonnade provided some shade beneath the deep overhang, but the sun's heat was pervasive and it was a relief to visit a shop. The Al-Watiya area is now inhabited by migrant Indian and Filipino workers. It is a forgotten inner city district that had been left behind as the affluent Kuwaitis had escaped to suburbs. Nevertheless the district is now very vibrant, colourful and noisy, and a 'little India' in character. I attempted to walk towards the Old Souk which was relatively

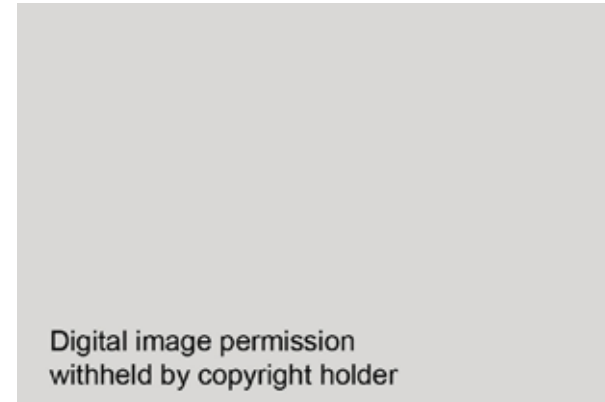


6.035 View of downtown with Kuwait City with Liberation Tower towards the centre of image



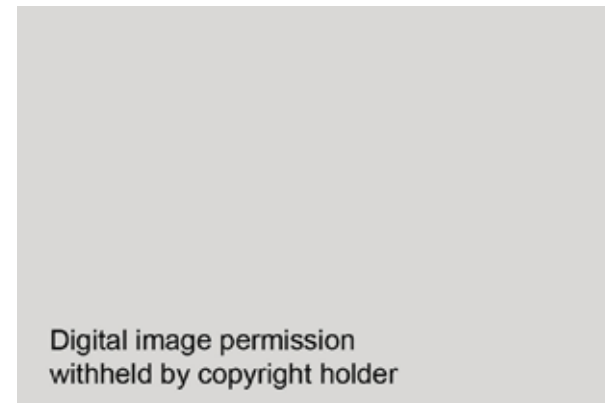
Digital image permission withheld by copyright holder

6.036a Rendered image of Kuwait Government Buildings proposal (1968-72) by Alison and Peter Smithson, image from Smithson A. & P. (2005)



Digital image permission withheld by copyright holder

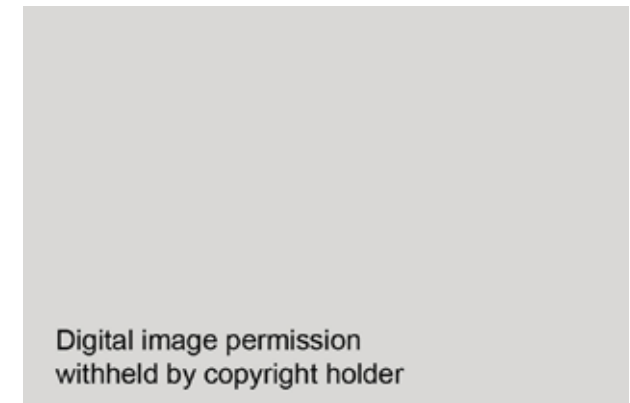
6.036b Rendered image of Kuwait Government Buildings proposal (1968-72), image from Smithson A. & P. (2005)



Digital image permission withheld by copyright holder

6.037 Plan of mat arrangement to Kuwait Government Buildings proposal (1968-72), image from Smithson A. & P. (2005)

Short Taxi



Digital image permission withheld by copyright holder

6.038 Interior perspective of internal street to Kuwait Government Buildings proposal (1968-72), image from Smithson A. & P. (2005)

short distance away, but it was a punishing journey in the heat of the day. The city fabric became more open with isolated towers, open parking areas and vacant lots that provided no shade. So I took a short taxi ride where I could discreetly drink some water in the back seat.

I was dropped off in a car park, and then I recognised an opening with the brown rendered building and began to explore the Old Souk Al Mubarakeya. The Souk had recently been remodelled after the Iraqi occupation yet it retained a familiar typology with open market stalls on each side and a floating timber to dampen the sunlight and the heat. It was quiet inside during prayer time in the adjacent mosque. Some of the stalls were shut, whilst some shoppers were taking the opportunity to sleep on nearby tables. The souk formed a compelling labyrinth and I became disorientated within the covered space. There were different areas within the souk for meat, vegetables, fabric and gold merchandise. The meat and vegetable souk made for a more intense experience, with an overpowering smell and humidity (with water being sprayed to keep the meat cool). It was a sensation that we seem to have forgotten in the sanitised west where everything is sealed and packaged. The gold market, Souk ad-Dahab al-Markazi, was a disappointing array of glass-fronted shops and not the wild trading experience that I had imagined as the coveted metal was openly traded and arguments became duels – perhaps I had been reading too many Arabian Night tales myself!

On the Persian Gulf coast there is a small inlet full of fishing dhows and the new brick faced Fahaheel Fish Market that sat remote from the Old Souk. It had a formal door as its entrance and the interior was cooled with mechanical plant. In the evening the market was busy with traders showing off their iridescent catch, but there were only a few shoppers. Beside the market was Sharq Souk, which externally looked like an up-scaled Arabian dwelling with fake wind towers that were arranged to accentuate a symmetrical classical formal plan. I entered the souk via an underground car park and, with the relief of a cool interior I realised that I was within a modern shopping mall and not a souk of any description at all. Inside the mall followed all the latest retail design with curved shopping arcades, and bridges that linked the upper levels, and the usual multinational outlets of McDonalds, Pizza Hut and Debenhams were well represented. The British department store famously claimed to be 'Styling the

Nation,' which was copied directly to Kuwait, exposing a heavy-handed approach to globalisation. There were only a few white expatriates in the mall when I visited, and indeed it was nearly deserted. However, further up the coast the Atlantic Shopping Mall bestrode Arabian Gulf Street and spilled out onto Hamad al-Mubarak Street, it was a dated megastructure but was busy with Kuwaiti shoppers. The activity was a welcome stimulation from the sullen spaces I had just experienced before. As I left the mall and walked down al-Mubarak street where there smaller brightly illuminated market stalls with lurid signs that lined the street. Further on the cafés contained a young crowd of Kuwaitis who were relaxing in the coffee shops, and there was real sense of community within the city: it was 21st century *diwaniya* (gathering).

Following the earlier urban mater-plans, Gardiner identified an 'architectural plan' that was directed jointly by two architects, the Englishman, Leslie Martin, and the Italian, Franco Albini.¹²¹ Martin recalled being approached in 1967 by the Kuwaitis, who wanted to give their city an architectural identity, and "were anxious for quality but that they didn't have much idea how to go about getting it."¹²² Martin and Albini organised four internationally-known architectural practices to analyse the existing city plan and to work up designs for specific case studies. Together, they summarised their key architectural proposals under five points: maintaining the waterfront as a recreational area; turning the area around the Seif Palace into a special historical site; reintroducing residential areas to the city; preserving and expanding the traditional souks and bazaars; and maintaining the old city wall as a 'green belt' zone.¹²³ The design by Alison and Peter Smithson for the Kuwait Government Buildings was a poetic vision and also a critique of architecture within the city and the Gulf beyond. They proposed an open systems approach, with a new urban fabric based on a 'mat' typology, which contained an orthogonal grid orientated towards existing mosques.¹²⁴ The Government Buildings were low forms with overhanging roofs that would provide shade for pedestrians beneath. The openness of the Smithson's scheme reflects the systems approach that embraced a "holistic and organic" approach in opposition to the deterministic 'rational' method of design.¹²⁵ There was also the hint of a return to the low-level democracy and self-regulation of the old town of Kuwait, but perhaps it was too subversive for a centralised Gulf state and its ruling family. Its low-level discreet three-storey elevation was the anti-thesis of the vertically enhanced modern Persian Gulf city. The dramatic rise in the oil prices



6.039 View public space to Old Souq Al Mubarakeya



6.040 Clothes shop to Old Souq Al Mubarakeya



6.041 View public space to Old Souq Al Mubarakeya



6.042 View of Old Souq Al Mubarakeya with city towers behind



6.043 View of covered arcade to Old Souq Al Mubarakeya



6.044 View of vegetable souk within Old Souq Al Mubarakeya



6.045 View of meat souk within Old Souq Al Mubarakeya



6.046 View of textile souk within Old Souq Al Mubarakeya



6.047 Street view of Sharq Souk shopping mall



6.048 Interior view of Sharq Souk



6.049 Street view of Central Mall



6.050 Interior view of Central Mall



6.051 Street view of shopping wall on Hamad al-Mubarak Street



6.052 Interior view of shopping mall



6.053 Street vendors on Hamad al-Mubarak Street



6.054 Street vendors on Hamad al-Mubarak Street



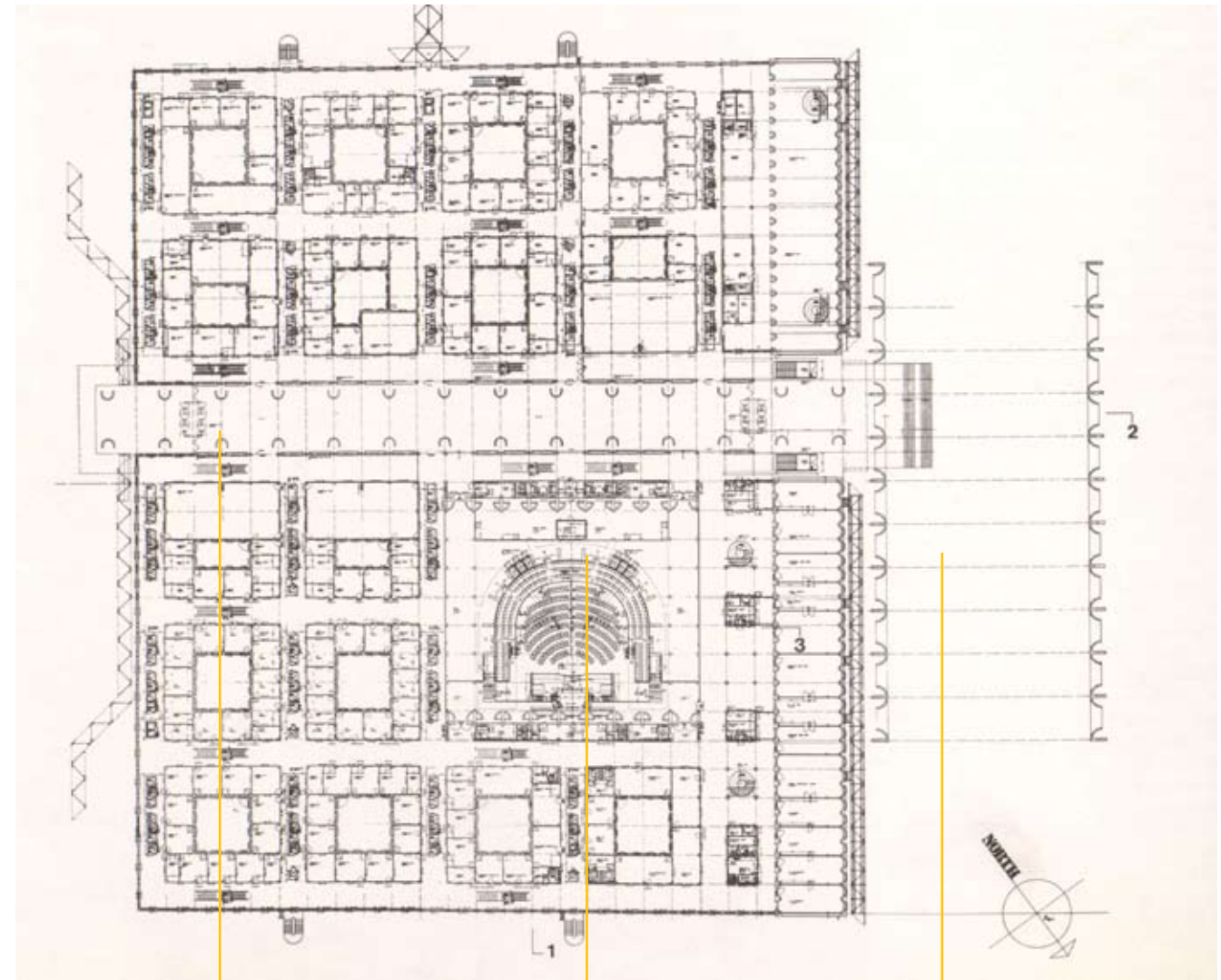
6.055 Entry Canopy detail to National Assembly Building (1985) by Jorn Utzon



6.056 Security at entry to National Assembly Building (1985)



6.058 Elevation to Arabian Gulf Street, National Assembly Building (1985)

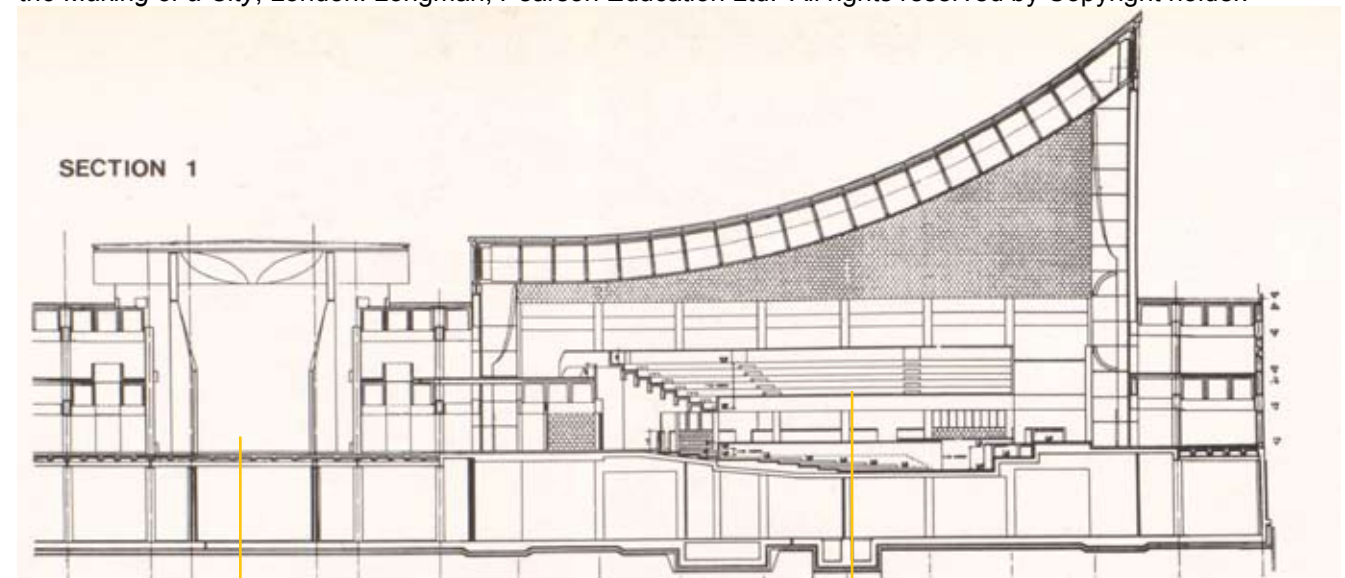


Central street

Assembly chamber

Entry canopy (without Mosque)

6.057 Plan to National Assembly Building (1985) in Garner, S. (1983), image from Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.



Central street

Assembly chamber

6.059 Section thru the central street and assembly chamber to National Assembly Building (1985) image from Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.

after the 1973-74 'Oil Crisis' boosted Kuwait's income further, and allowed a number of the case studies to be progressed – but not, however, the Smithson's intimate and subversive proposal.

The next day I took a taxi in the evening to Arabian Gulf Street, with the heat gradually waning and a breeze coming off the Gulf, so that I could look at the National Assembly Building (1985) by Jorn Utzon. He had of course come to prominence by winning the design competition for the Sydney Opera House, and I have always felt that he followed a Scandinavian tradition of 'organic' architecture. Hence I was keen to his icon of European democracy in Kuwait. But Wright had been scathing in his review of the Sydney Opera House: he called it was a "reckless design ... [with] neither rhyme or reason,"¹²⁶ seeing it as an "inorganic fantasy."¹²⁷ Wright's criticism, though, must be balanced against his towering ego and sense of entitlement. He of course believed that such a prominent design should have been given to him by right! The Kuwait Assembly Building was now closed for tourists, and fortified with high railings and security guards within pillboxes. From the opposite side of the four-lane highway that makes up the Arabian Gulf Street, I took some photographs of the sweeping canopy and noted a future extension being made to the Assembly.

Kuwait built the National Assembly to project a progressive and democratic identity within the region, yet in the late-1980s only 70,000 'first-class' Kuwaitis from a population 2 million were allowed to vote.¹²⁸ These voters were male, over 21 years old, and with parents or grandparents who had been resident since 1920.¹²⁹ Historically, an informal means of democracy had existed alongside the ruling family of Al Sabah, with the local merchant class forming a 'majlis, or advisory council' to discuss affairs of state.¹³⁰ But the delicate balance of power was altered significantly when oil revenue began to be directed solely through the Emir and his ruling family, and an early democratic forum in 1938 was disbanded. Consequently, the Emir initiated a 'welfare state' from the 1950s whereby he and the ruling elite distributed oil wealth to build new schools and to improve the infrastructure – thus making the Kuwaitis passive recipients of welfare. As noted earlier, this process caused resentment among the Kuwaitis, and they demanded greater participation in government, as a means to reaffirm their national identity.¹³¹ Kuwait gained independence in 1961, with the Emir as a constitutional monarch, thus establishing a

paternalistic ruling dynasty that has since been copied in other Gulf states. Elections were held the following year for a 50-seat National Assembly, which was charged with checking legislation proposed by the Prime Minister. However, the 'democratic' Assembly has had only a fitful existence, having been disbanded by the Emir on a number of occasions – it is perhaps a victim of its own success!

The Kuwait Assembly Building was funded by the increased oil revenue from the 1970s and was the subject of a limited competition that was overseen by Leslie Martin. The two leading contenders were Utzon of Denmark and Rifat Chandirji from Iraq, but Chandirji believed that he was rejected because of his Iraqi background at a time of inter-border tension.¹³² Utzon's winning design sought to reflect "three aspects of "traditional Arabic" architecture – i.e. the nomad's tent, the Bazaar and the covered square."¹³³ Yet Vale notes a number of contradictions. For example, was the bold sweeping entry canopy merely a simplistic western reference to an Arabic tent?¹³⁴ or was it a tacit acknowledgement of the Emir's Bedouin past? Moreover, the tent is traditionally a transitory element, usually black or brown, and not a ponderous white reinforced-concrete construction, as it is here.¹³⁵ Wright was also guilty of propagating this rather narrow view of Arabia: as noted he often marvelled at the "Arab and their wonderful tents."¹³⁶ The organising plan principle for the National Assembly was a "central street" that was based on a traditional bazaar. Various government departments were thus housed in "modules of various sizes built around small patios or courtyards – connected to the central street by side streets."¹³⁷ Furthermore, these departments and offices were located within a two-storey edifice, underscoring their democratic function, and "only the rooflines of the ceremonial spaces break this plane."¹³⁸ Utzon emphasised the "additive" character of the scheme that embraces a flexible expandable plan and informed a dynamic elevation.¹³⁹ However, for Vale the central street remains a disappointment. Rather than a gathering place for the public and the its government representatives, it has become a cold empty corridor: "a bureaucrat's bazaar shares little with a merchant's souk."¹⁴⁰ Even more damning is the fact that the central street has no connection and no dialogue with the surrounding city or its citizens.¹⁴¹

The Assembly Chamber itself is the main ceremonial space and possesses another soaring roof construction with a feature wall behind the prime minister and cabinet. The wall is articulated with an abstract palm fronds pattern, but Vale notes that this



6.060 View towards 'Arabian Gulf' from gallery in Water Towers (1979) by Lindstorm, Egnell and Bjorn



6.061 Approaching Water Towers (1979) on Arabian Gulf Street



6.062 A cluster of Water Tower beside the highway



6.063 View looking upwards of the Water Towers (1979)



6.064 A cluster of Water Tower beside the highway



6.065 Dining at the Water Towers (1979)

Short Taxi

Arabic precedent was taken from the nearby Marsh Arabs in Iraq, and indeed the palm fronds were displayed upside down.¹⁴² To support democratic participation, Utzon designed a covered plaza, a typically western symbol of democracy, such that the “Central Street leads towards the ocean and out into a great open ‘hall,’ a big covered square, in the shade of which the people can meet their leaders.”¹⁴³ Interestingly, the original scheme for the National Assembly had a mosque placed beside the main entry, thus giving the sweeping canopy some relevance as a place of congregation.¹⁴⁴ In addition, Utzon claims that there was a tradition of “direct and close contact” with their leaders, and the new covered square would support this form of contact.¹⁴⁵ However, most gatherings take place after dark in Kuwait City, thereby negating the need for any shading from the sun.¹⁴⁶ Thus, for Vale the remade Bedouin tent has become a “monumental carport ... [where] leaders meet their chauffeurs.”¹⁴⁷ The National Assembly is nonetheless seen as a progressive icon within the Persian Gulf, despite the various contradictions identified by Vale and others, and great care was taken after the hostile invasion by Iraq to restore its image.

Further along the Arabian Gulf Street are other elements of Kuwait’s constitution: the Seif Palace, Foreign Ministry, Grand Mosque and Stock Exchange. The original Seif Palace was built at the turn of the twentieth century, and its neighbouring extension looked a rather interesting low building with abundant Islamic surface decoration – although I couldn’t see much further, as it is so heavily fortified, just like all the other public institutions. It was disappointing that these state buildings are so detached from each other and from ordinary Kuwaitis. Any uprising in Kuwait would need to reclaim the Arabian Gulf Road, a symbol of the city and its key means of division and rule. At the Foreign Ministry, however, the guards outside were preparing a small feast because the sun was now setting, and they kindly offered me a drink to join them. So I shared some Vimto and dates, and we chatted briefly. But since my Arabic is not very good, I had to keep my observations to the climate – i.e. complaining that I found it all too hot! They wanted to know where I was from and whether I liked Kuwait, before asking: “Do you like Muslims?”¹⁴⁸ It was a rather personal enquiry, but one that reflects an ongoing sense of tension between the Middle East and western countries.

I considered the National Assembly to be a successful integration of ‘organic’ architecture into the Persian Gulf, with its open plan and abstracted low-level elevation. Furthermore, it does attempt to foster wider democratic participation and its prominent location means that it acts as a focus for any discontent. Within the National Assembly, gradual change has been achieved: in 2005 women were allowed to vote; in 2006 the roles of Crown Prince and Prime Minister were separated; and in 2009 three women Members of Parliament were elected. The voting base has been expanded, but even so only about 10% of the Kuwaiti population of 3 million are currently allowed to vote. The recent ‘Arab Spring’ has resulted in a number of demonstrations with some calling for a new prime minister, but not a change of regime, and likewise Bedouins have called for improved rights.¹⁴⁹ These protests were appeased by legislators promising to look at civil rights, and so seemingly a reduced form of democracy does function within Kuwait.

Later on in the evening I visited the iconic Water Towers (1979) by Lindstorm, Egnell and Bjorn. I travelled along the Arabian Gulf Road and here I could experience the dual identities of Kuwait: the dusty oil rich capitalist city to the south and the hazy blue waters of the Persian Gulf to the north. I was impressed by the futuristic design of the Water Towers, and it is claimed that their design was inspired by an Arab perfume burner with a long tall neck and spherical reservoir for the base; this is a plausible enough connection, and now it would seem that perfume burners in the city were being made in the image of Kuwait Towers! Kultermann has commented on the progression from architectural function to cultural expression: “the water towers in ... Kuwait ... are significant signs of a shift from technology and its dominating negative impact on the human environment towards a positive use for necessities, entertainment and beautification.”¹⁵⁰ It was a design that clearly fulfilled its role as an international icon, yet was immensely practical, and at 180m in height the observation tower became the tallest structure in the Gulf in 1977. I entered the larger of the towers and got into a golden lift carriage which took me up 120m to the observation level. This deck was completely glazed within a triangulated space frame, and from it I could see all of Kuwait City and the Gulf beyond. At the lower level were a set of photographs documenting the damage caused by the Iraqi invasion in 1990-91, and up a curved staircase was another observation level with a rotating floor. It was now twilight and the sun was setting rapidly over a city that was now illuminated by tall office towers. Being the festival of Ramadan, the fading light



6.066 External view of Tareq Rajab Museum



6.067 'Arabic' styled villa above basement Tareq Rajab Museum



6.068 Screened window detail to Tareq Rajab Museum Villa



6.069 Villa adjacent to Tareq Rajab Museum, with a combined modern and Arabic aesthetic



6.070 Different villas within the suburbs of Kuwait, showing classical, modern and Arabic influences

also brought respite for residents from the day's fast, and at 82m I found a restaurant serving a hot buffet. Most of the diners were well-dressed Kuwaitis whilst most of the servants were Indian or Filipino.

The next morning I met with Yasser Mahgoub of Kuwait University at the classically-inspired Central Mall, which sits next to the Ghani Palace Hotel. He kindly offered to drive me to a museum of my choice, and so we agreed to visit the Tareq Rajab Museum. We passed a number of water towers on route. These were designed as giant representations of palm trees, often grouped together as if to form an oasis. It is a brilliant idea for retaining water, with genuine architectural presence in their conception and scale, and I was thrilled to see them by the roadside. Gardiner claims that there is a passing reference to Wright's dendriform columns in the Johnson Wax Administration Building,¹⁵¹ which seemed true. They both carried out similar functions, the water towers stored water whilst in the Johnson building they acted as downpipes for rain water. This inversion was confirmed when one considers that Wright's columns were pin-jointed at their base, and would thus topple over in Kuwait!

The Rajab Museum was located along the 5th circular highway in the Jabriya district – House 16 in Block 12 on Street 5, to be precise – and we got lost for a short time whilst negotiating the suburb. We eventually found an imposing villa. It was also the one that exhibited the most Islamic character on the street with projecting screened openings displaying an Islamic pattern and heavily decorated timber doors. Beside the villa there was a well-decorated ornamental door with two guards outside. They opened the door for us and we proceeded down the stairs to the basement where the artefacts were displayed. It was the basement setting that saved that museum during the Iraqi occupation: apparently they could not find it in all the chaos. These were perhaps the hidden remnants of Kuwaiti culture. There was an eclectic mix of high quality artefacts from across the Islamic world, in terms of garments, jewellery, pottery, guitars, old doors, firearms and antique copies of the Koran. We discussed Wright's legacy, and I tested out a number of ideas regarding his appeal in the Persian Gulf region.

Gwyn: Are there any distinctive building types in Kuwait City which you think use an 'organic' design?

Yasser Mahgoub: There are no buildings built by Wright in the Gulf.

Have you heard of the Minou Island Resort^{m,211} project by Taliesin Associates, which is not so far away on the Iranian coast of the Gulf?

I know about his work in Iraq and Iran, but not of Minou Island.

Do you think that the planning outside the city centre here, with its dispersed motorised suburbs, bears any relation to Wright's Broadacre City?

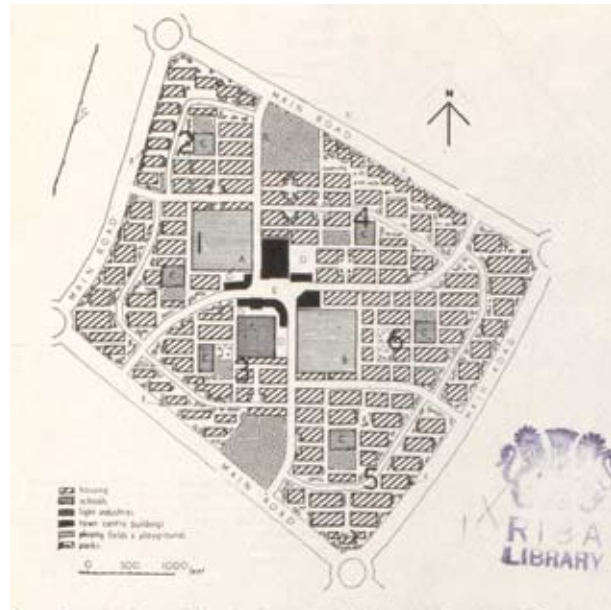
No, not at all; here the city planning was based on the Garden City typology, but not Broadacre.

But I think that the Mile High Tower by Wright was a concept that has caught on in the Gulf with the Burj Dubai, and now there is a 1001-metre tower proposed for the new Silk City scheme. The size of that tower is inspired by the 1001 Tales from the Arabian Nights.

That's really fascinating. Wright talked a great deal about *The Arabian Nights* while doing his Baghdad projects, and he used it to try to convince the client of his cultural awareness – despite of course his usual habit of confusing Persia with Arabia!¹⁵²

Despite the fondness of Gardiner, Kattab and Mahgoub¹⁵³ for Garden City principles, the real inspiration for Kuwait's planning was Britain's post-war New Towns with their car-based principles, which was heavily influenced by America, as Fraser shows.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, Kuwait developed as a typical 'City on the Highway' possessing all of the 'four main foundations' for a motorised suburb: new roads to open up more land, zoned land uses, government-provided mortgages, and a population boom.¹⁵⁵ Wright often eulogised the virtues of America's road network, declaring that "along these grand roads as through veins and arteries comes and goes the throng of building and living in the Broadacre City of the Twentieth Century."¹⁵⁶ His vision for Broadacre City was based on a decentralised mode of settlement that was part prophetic and part-trend planning that already existed in Los Angeles in the 1920s and 30s. As such, it represented a particularly American viewpoint about travel, democracy, freedom, and architecture's role within all those. As Wright proclaimed, the city of the future could be "everywhere and nowhere."¹⁵⁷ I would contend that Kuwait is now similarly affected by possessing a suburban condition which lacks any identity specific to its geographical location or environmental conditions.

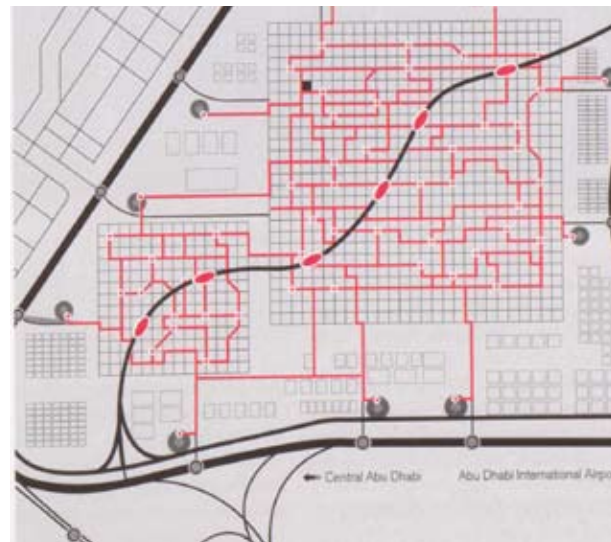
Frampton argued convincingly that Broadacre City attempted to attain an "oriental paradise garden"²⁴ whilst Wright claimed that it was a "democratic" expression of



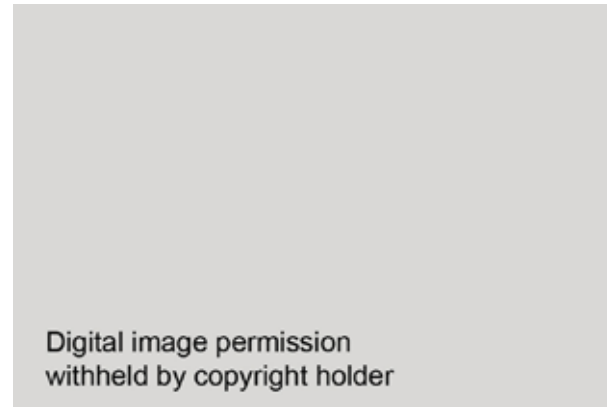
6.071 Plan of Neighbour hood unit, Kuwait (1957), image from Squire, R. (1957)



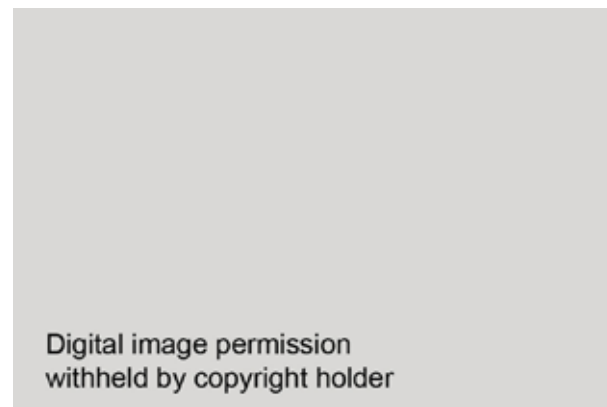
6.072 Plan of the Palm, Dubai (2009) (postcard image)



6.073 Plan of Madsar City, Abu Dhabi (2009), image from Norman Foster & Partners in Hartmand, H. (2010)



6.074 Perspective for Amery House, Tehran proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, N. (1999) in Alofsin, A.



6.075 Perspective for Amery House, Tehran proposal (1957), image from Sweeney, R. (1994)



6.076 Storer House, California, (1923-4) by Frank Lloyd Wright, photo by Danielle Tinero (RIBA33241)

the future – but neither of these ideals were visible in Kuwait. Its suburbs had no engagement with the landscape, and they were just westernised villas dominating the whole plot with congested roads full of parked cars. They were drab and colourless without any metaphorical garden or greenery. In addition, only affluent Kuwaitis are allowed to own property, so there is no underlying egalitarian ethos. Kuwait City is thus divided between the affluent suburbs for the Kuwaitis and an abandoned city centre for the migrant poor, and the neglected desert for the Bedouin and the other nomads. The city neatly summarises the inequality of globalisation within the region, whereby the indigenous Arabs enjoy the benefits of oil wealth whilst the migrant and the nomad are all but excluded. It also underlines the narrowness of Wright's vision for Broadacre City which required a broad-based property-owning democracy to support its agrarian vision. However, it may also be claimed that Broadacre was the ultimate subversive architecture of change, which challenges the inequities of contemporary Kuwait to achieve a lasting inclusive democratic solution.

In nearby Dubai and Abu Dhabi two new suburban typologies have emerged that focus on two very different ideas of residing within the desert: the Palm Dubai and Masdar City. The Palm is an offshore appendage of a breathtaking scale that has doubled Dubai's coast line from 42 miles to 84 miles. Each frond of the Palm is a mile long, and when completed it will have homes and hotel rooms for 65,000 people.¹⁵⁹ It is an 'exotic' utopian hydro-suburb that maximise the beach front to each suburban dwelling, propagating a 'not in my backwater' sense of exclusivity. It was marketed at 'the eighth wonder of the world' and the ultimate aspirational suburb with an exclusive set of homeowners, all set within the 'exotic' Middle East. Edensor notes that "the exotic remains tethered to those consistent themes that emerged under colonial conditions, an imagined, alluring non-Western alterity embodied in styles of clothing, music, dance, art, architecture, and food."¹⁶⁰ Yet this 'exotic' paradise has a mundane reality with an eight-lane highway connection to the mainland that is often congested, and the summer heat can reach 48 degree Celsius so that most plant life withers without constant maintenance. Among the new suburban pioneers, the biggest gripe was that the homes were too close together¹⁶¹ – alterity was clearly not to be shared.

Masdar City is located 17km from the city centre of Abu Dhabi and aims to be a carbon-neutral, zero-waste city planned and designed by Foster and Partners. The city is focused around an Institute of Science and Technology that will develop low-

carbon technologies and provide spin-off commercial ventures. It has a planned population of 50,000 residents, plus 40,000 commuters, at a density of 135 people per hectare.¹⁶² A perimeter wall will contain the city and provide protection against the desert winds, and discontinuous streets will also help disperse any prevailing wind. To service the city, there is a podium that elevates the living plane, and puts the transportation and servicing beneath the podium. An electrical rapid transit system is proposed for residents within the city so as to liberate the city from the car. At once it seems to a rebuttal of Wright's Broadacre City, with the car rejected altogether: hence Wright's democratic model collapses. Furthermore the density of the city at 135 people per hectare is over ten times the planned concentration of Broadacre (at approximately 10 people per hectare). Consequently the servicing requirement is very high, and Masdar needs to rely on a high-tech model for desert living. It is a mono-technological and very costly solution, and a more balanced integration of technology and passive desert dwelling would be a more viable model.

The suburban villas in Kuwait display a mixture of eclectic styles: classical Palladian, modern and Arabic. Abraham al-Shaheen has attempted to map a progression in the design of suburban villa: "in the nineteen-sixties, everyone wanted to build a Western-style villa. In the seventies, people began to ask for old-fashioned Islamic arches and tradition Arab lines. Now [in the late 1980s] the trend is to return to Kuwaiti-style."¹⁶³ It seems that back in 1980 the spectre of post-modernism was not foreseen in Kuwait, and the trend towards 'copying and pasting' global historical forms was simply never anticipated. Yet within the Middle East suburban context in the 1950s, Wright designed the Amery House (1957) in nearby Tehran for his former student, Nezam Amery. The Amery family was part of the ruling elite in Iran before Shah Reza Pahlavi came to power: thereafter Nezam Amery sought his education in America and came to know Wright's work and joined the Taliesin community. Amery assisted Wright's design for the Greater Baghdad scheme (1957-8) and also contributed to the design of his new family house. The Amery House was based on the Millard House (1923-4), a California Textile Block scheme, but it was rescaled to metric dimensions.¹⁶⁴ The plan attempted to update the traditional Islamic dwelling with an open ground floor, a formal living space with a balcony on the first floor, and the private bedrooms on the second floor. Furthermore, it was claimed that the home was made intentionally narrow to allow for cross ventilation, although with the advent of affordable air-conditioning, I would question if it that was ever considered. The



6.077 External view from plane of Terminal 3, (2008) Dubai Airport



6.078 Internal view of Terminal 3, (2008) Dubai Airport



6.079 Crowded station concourse at Dubai Metro (2009)



6.080 Platform edge doors to Dubai Metro (2009)



6.081 Mostly male passengers on the Dubai Metro (2009)

Short Taxi

house reflected the changing social mores and imported new building technology to deal with it – two elements that Chadirji had identified as problematic in any commission in the Middle East.¹⁶⁵ The informal internal planning displayed the emergent progressive affluent middle-class and the use of Wright's textile block reflected his admiration of 'Persian' masonry, endorsing Frampton's analysis of the Textile-Block system as a combination of Islamic text and texture. Indeed it was the ideal choice of material. However, it was also yet another imported cultural aesthetic and technology from America, and another example of Wright's global ambitions for his architecture.

Dubai

The seven Trucial States formed under British Mandate at the end of the First World War joined together to form a federation in 1971 called the United Arab Emirates (UAE), when Britain withdrew from the region. An Emir from each Emirate has a representation at the Supreme Council of Rulers, which elects the Prime Minister (usually from Abu-Dhabi) and the cabinet. An elected advisory body was also begun in 2006, as the first democratic institution within the federation. The UAE now has a population of 4.5 million, with about 80% of them migrant and expatriate workers.¹⁶⁶ As the most urbanised Emirate, Dubai, has a population of 1.5 million and the second largest income from oil. The city has expanded beyond all recognition from its modest settlement on Dubai Creek to embrace international shipping, property development and tourism. The original development was led by the leadership of Sheikh Rashid Be Saeed Al Maktoub, who increased the shipping capacity within Dubai Creek and founded the largest man-made harbour at Jebel Ali as an economic 'free zone.' Property development within Dubai has expanded along the coast, inland and on artificial islands within the Gulf. Tourism has thrived due to the continuous sun, with resort hotels offering exotic niche experiences and extensive shopping opportunities. Ideally situated with a seven-hour flight from London and Hong Kong, Dubai can justly claim to be at the crossroads between east and west, but a recent 'sex on the beach' incident exposed a clash of cultures, an "ideological schism" that questions the intentions of both cultures.¹⁶⁷

Dubai was masterplanned at a number of intervals, but these plans were never enforced or updated to maintain control. Instead it was left to free-market

mechanisms such as land speculation coupled with tax concessions to direct development. The first masterplan in the 1970s extended the old settlement in Dubai Creek outwards using the existing routes, and tried to maintain the character and grain of the old city. Subsequent plans have also sought to control the expansion to the west of the city, but they have been so often overtaken by new developments. The Vision 2010 plan is a set of planning goals, reminiscent of a mission statement.¹⁶⁸ The free-market concessions allow foreign ownership to promote a Media City and Internet City, and despite their 'free city' title, both have adopted the typical capitalist high-rise glass-clad building typologies, which is a really disappointing form of 'free' expression.

I arrived in the evening at the cavernous and glitzy Terminal 3 at Dubai International Airport (2008). Its scale and ambition certainly made Kuwait seem totally provincial in comparison. There was a short queue for tourist visa booth, and I had one of my few encounters with an indigenous resident who wore traditional Arabic clothing. I searched the airport for a station on the newly inaugurated Dubai Metro system. But not everything was going to plan. At the metro station, despite displaying the presence of two new metro lines, only ten stops on one of the lines were actually in operation. I joined the other confused tourists and migrant workers around the ticket booths trying to buy economy-class tickets. Curiously there were two tickets types that divided the passengers between Gold (residents) at the front carriages with leather seats, and Economy (migrants) with the plastic seats behind! Once we were on board, the excited passengers began to take photographs of each other using their mobile phones: it was a very touching shared experience. The service was very smooth, but significant problems have plagued the metro system, and in a good-humoured article, the local English paper, *The National*, challenged four reporters to cross the city using various transport options. The winner of course was the reporter who used their car, followed by the taxi, then the metro (which had broken down), and finally the bus.¹⁶⁹

The following morning I explored the old settlement around Dubai Creek. What was once the old Fort now had a basement extension which contained Dubai Museum. It was sun-baked upstairs and ultra-cool downstairs. In the museum I followed a path around a number of Arabian experiences, including: a Bedouin tent, small workshops, a fishing dhow, a pearl diver and a gift shop. There was a special presentation about



6.082 Entrance to Dubai Fort



6.083 Exterior view of Dubai Fort with Dubai Museum beneath



6.084 Interior view of Dubai Fort with old fishing boats



6.085 Defensive wall to Dubai Fort



6.086 Recreated 'traditional' street experience within Dubai Museum



6.087 Recreated 'Bedouin' experience within Dubai Museum



6.088 Recreated boat building and pearl fishing experience within Dubai Museum



6.089 Gift shop and exit to Dubai Museum



6.090 Textile souk, Bar Dubai, walking towards Dubai Creek



6.091 Crossing Dubai Creek to Deira



6.092 Street view, Deira



6.093 Street view, Deira



6.094 Ice rink within Dubai Mall



6.095 Star artium within Dubai Mall



6.096 Fashion catwalk atrium within Dubai Mall



6.097 Aquarium and underwater zoo within Dubai Mall



6.098 View of Burj Khalifa Tower from taxi

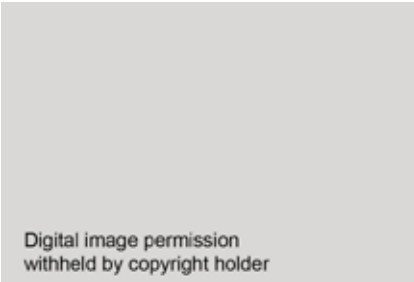


6.099 View of Sheik Zayed Road, from taxi



6.100 View of Burj Khalifa Tower from taxi

6.101 Mile High Tower, Chicago proposal (1957) by Wright, image from Cleary, R. (2009)



Short Taxi

6.102 View of Burj Khalifa Tower (2010) by SOM, Chicago



the city's rapid development and the leadership of the ruling family over the last 50 years that made a convincing case of manifest destiny, Dubai-style. The historical Bastakai quarter was nearby with a collection of recreated traditional homes turned into cafés, restaurants, galleries and administration centres. I wandered around the narrow lanes unhindered, although it was slightly unnerving with no other people around and only the occasional door and projecting screened balcony.

These 'traditional' Dubai houses have plain facades, simple doors, no windows, and a profusion of wind towers with projecting timbers at each corner. They were all finished in a uniform light brown earthen hue. Inside these renovated homes were common courtyards with either a tree and or a cloth cover for shading from the sun, and despite this being a manipulated tourist experience, the courtyard spaces were also evocative of an obsolete lifestyle. However, one house had a bank of metal louvres that hid a mechanical chilling plant, and the illusion of a return to organic planning and courtyard housing was instantly dispelled. I carried on walking towards Dubai Creek, down some narrow streets with a number of small shops and a souk selling fabrics. I recalled that Thesiger had visited Dubai in 1948 after completing his second crossing of the 'Empty Quarter.' Similarly, Thesiger noted a thriving cosmopolitan mercantile culture around the Creek:

"Behind the diversity of house which lined the waterfront were the suqs (sic), covered passageways, where merchants sat in the gloom, cross-legged in narrow alcoves among their piled merchandise. The suqs were crowded with many races – pallid Arab townsmen; armed Bedu, quick-eyed and imperious; Negro slaves; Baluchis, Persians, and Indians... These people still valued leisure and courtesy and conversation. They did not live their lives at second hand, dependent on cinemas and wireless. I would willingly have consorted with them, but I now wore European clothes. As I wandered through the town I knew that they regarded me as an intruder; I myself felt that I was little better than a tourist."¹⁷⁰

Present-day Dubai offers a frenetic trading experience that has fully embraced the tourist, and indeed an array of global inhabitants from emerging nations. Thesiger's souk has been updated to include Deria and the contemporary Dubai Mall. The small ferryboats that cross the Creek to Deria cruise past traditional dhows that still operate

along the Persian Gulf, mostly to and from Iran. Deria is a bustling commercial district under the glare of the afternoon sun, and there was not the relaxed informality of Thesiger's covered souk. The modern buildings with open streets made for an inhospitable environment, but there was also a thriving street culture full of migrant workers who were busy talking, meeting, and shopping. After an hour or so of walking the open streets and browsing in the shops and souk, I was getting very hot and so I caught a taxi for cool respite. I glimpsed my destination on the skyline – the Burji Khalifa – the world's tallest tower. The taxi crawled out of the traffic around Deria and onto Sheik Zayed Road, an impressive canyon of homogenised high rise skyscrapers, which is best summarised as the "monotony of the exceptional."¹⁷¹ We pulled off the highway into an underground car park and entered the exquisite world of the Dubai Mall complete with its ice rink, cinema, aquarium, restaurants (all closed for Ramadan), clothing shops and department stores. It was a fully integrated leisure destination that is carefully climatically and socially controlled – an escapist dream from the scorching sun, desert, and migrant workers. In other words, it is the opposite of Deria, but the ultimate realisation of a derivative 'second hand' experience that Thesiger had long ago derided.

At the information desk I was told that the best view of Burj Khalifa – still unfinished while I was there – was from the Star Atrium, but even from this viewpoint it was impossible to contain the soaring tower within my camera viewfinder. Having the world's tallest building carries a certain status that Dubai obviously craves. The Burj Khalifa Tower is 829m tall, the ultimate expression of global identity, branding and boasting. It was designed by the global American architectural practice, SOM, built by migrant labourers from poor emerging nations, and constructed in the Middle East for offices and apartments that may well be occupied by a multitude of nationalities. It's a contemporary Tower of Babel built on sand! It is the tallest building in the Arab world since 1311, when the spire of Lincoln Cathedral overtook the Great Pyramid of Giza. There was a similarly ambivalence towards the cheap labour used to build these ancient and modern symbols of power, and even in the twenty-first century some Arabians claimed that "we need slaves to build monuments."¹⁷² There are several hundred of thousands migrant workers living on low wages in congested work camps within the UAE, which certainly questions the integrity of these architectural monuments. In addition, the environmental cost is great as Dubai possesses the highest per-capita carbon footprint in the world. Before it opened in 2010, there



6.103 Passengers sleeping on bus journey to Abu Dhabi



6.104 View of Internet City, Dubai from bus



6.105 Billboard in the desert



6.106 Power station in the desert



6.107 Abu Dhabi bus station

was dramatic change of name from the Burj Dubai to Burj Khalifa Tower – an acknowledgement that the nearby Emirate of Abu Dhabi (under the rule of Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed al-Nahyan) had effectively bailed out Dubai as the latter was unable to payback its short-term loans and was becoming crippled by its own debt during the global recession. It is a dubious monument to anything other than debt-fuelled avarice and ego.

Wright's Mile High Tower (1957) was undoubtedly prophetic of the present need to build ever-taller towers, as Dr Mahgoub had mentioned to me.¹⁷³ The Burj Khalifa is certainly similar to the Mile High Tower with a triangulated plan, diminishing mass and a stepped profile. It was said that Wright's initial brief had been to design a television antennae, but that he had developed it into a tower that would contain "all Illinois state government offices and consolidate commercial, governmental, and civic functions."¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, Wright claimed it "would mop up what now remains of urbanism to leave us free to do Broadacre."¹⁷⁵ It was a curious building for Wright to design, as he often denigrated the city and the skyscraper – but the Tower of Babel neatly frames the debate regarding tall buildings, as a parable that highlights the futility of attempting to build any tower to reach the heavens, and the hopelessness of imposing a universal language, including an architectural one.

The idea of the tower has long captivated the human condition and has long been part of a fantasy architecture, with the ancient Babylonians creating tall structures that were in "harmony with the universe and reminder of human limits."¹⁷⁶ In the medieval period the tower became an "architectural vision"¹⁷⁷ which symbolised power and security particularly in the hill towns of northern Italy. But it was during the Renaissance that the Tower of Babel was to become "a model of for architects ... as a self contained miniature city, a vertical city within the city."¹⁷⁸ Following the Industrial Revolution, the Renaissance ideal became reality in America, with Louis Sullivan, Wright and others struggling to give the behemoth an architectural identity. Thus, Wright's Mile High Tower can be seen as a reaction to commercial, government and civic institutions and to a universal modern architecture. For Wright, the Mile High Tower was to be an asylum for bankers, civil servants and academics. And it was also a critique of the universal language of the 'International Style' architecture that sought to impose a single architectural language. Wright's tower was a rich brocade of glass and copper, and not the severe language of international modernism. More

importantly, his tower was pushed to the ultimate dimension of one mile – a symbolic height that implied infinity and immortality, and hence it was a prototypical legacy project.

Abu Dhabi

As the richest Emirate, Abu Dhabi has a population of 1.6 million with the largest land mass and the greatest oil reserve and associated income. Its citizens are amongst the very wealthiest on the globe. The city consists of number of islands that are connected by road bridges and a rationalist grid divides these islands into real estate parcels. Under the rule of Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan, the city has followed a careful development ethos. Ever since the Second World War, it has been planned for a population of 600,000 and extra oil and gas income was invested overseas. When the aged patriarch died in 2004, he was succeeded by his son Sheikh Khalifa bin Sultan al-Nahyan, and the next stage of development became enshrined in the Abu Dhabi 2030 masterplan (2007). In this plan, "infrastructure is thoughtfully planned and, in all cases, precedes programmatic developments. Density levels are judiciously aligned to public-transport options. The coastlines of Abu Dhabi's natural island formation are cleverly exploited."¹⁷⁹ In short, the plan attempts to be everything that Dubai is not! Yet, property development remains a cornerstone of the overall vision, with land values tripling since the publication of the master-plan, and there are incentives to get the projects built quickly to reduce exposure to inflation.¹⁸⁰ Beyond property development there are some other 'niches' that Abu Dhabi wishes to exploit. These include "financial centre, trade hub, a conference nucleus, a manufacturing base, and even an international media voice."¹⁸¹ In addition, the Emirate has diversified into tourism, cultural and sporting activities within region, offering again a contrasting image to Dubai. During my visit, the English newspaper, *The National*¹⁸², recorded a football match between two English teams that were sponsored by two very different Emirates; Manchester City backed by Etihad airlines of Abu Dhabi against Arsenal supported by Emirates Airlines of Dubai! It seems that a local rivalry has a global dimension that extended beyond oil and gas reserves.

At Dubai bus station there was a queue of migrant workers waiting for a bus to Abu Dhabi. They were the marginalised occupants of the city without the essential symbol of freedom – the car. Following a crush at the coach door, I was lucky to get onto the



6.108 Side view from the car park of National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81) by TAC (The Architects Collaborative)



6.109 Internal courtyard to National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81)



6.110 Internal arcade to National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81)



6.111 Ceiling detail to exhibition space within National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81)



6.112 Stair leading to mezzanine floor within National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81)



6.113 Bedouin tent on stari landing in National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81)



6.114 Bedouin weavers and examples of handcraft in National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81)



6.115 Bedouin weavers and examples of handcraft in National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81)



6.116 Advertisement for bed space at bus stop in Abu Dhabi



6.117 View from taxi approaching Emirates Hotel with billboard of ruling family



6.118 Entry gate to Emirates Hotel with gardeners



6.119 Front elevation of Emirates Hotel with fountains



6.120 Internal view of central atrium to Emirates Hotel



6.121 Internal view of central atrium to Emirates Hotel



6.122 Internal view of central atrium to Emirates Hotel

bus and find a seat. Beside me was a Filipino worker who was visiting his sister in Abu Dhabi. He slept for most of the journey but was very cheerful and chatty when he awoke. In fact most of the passengers immediately drew their curtains and fell asleep. Being a tourist I opened my curtains at every opportunity to get a view of the desert beyond. But there was hardly any break in the linear urban sprawl during the journey, and we duly passed through the Internet City, power stations, docks, billboards advertising new developments, and fenced-off areas that were perhaps the infamous labour camps for migrant workers. As we approached the city of Abu Dhabi I glimpsed its airport, the new Grand Prix racing track, a large building with a circular form that looks like a giant plate on edge, and the Grand Mosque. Abu Dhabi bus station was somewhat dated with a number of repeated arches supporting a roof canopy. Indeed, it reminded me of Wright's Marin County Administration Building (1957-70) building with its repeated arch motif. I waited patiently in the searing heat for a taxi, while reading the many advertisements for shared apartments and bedrooms between migrants.

Thesiger also visited Abu Dhabi in 1948, and his first impression on emerging from the desert was thus:

“Salt-flats ran far out to sea, but yellow haze made it impossible to distinguish where the salt-flats ended and the sea began. The scene was colourless, without tones or contrast ... A large castle dominated the small dilapidated town which stretched along the shore. There were a few palms, and near them was a well where we watered our camels.”¹⁸³

Thesiger approached the fort and waited outside until the Sheikh was able to receive him. They became friends, yet the Sheikh remained wary, with Thesiger noting that of the “fourteen previous rulers of Abu Dhabi only two had died peacefully in their sleep.”¹⁸⁴ Similarly, my first destination was the old fort but it was closed for restoration. Next to the fort was the National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81) designed by The Architects Collaborative (TAC). It was a successful modern interpretation of an Arabic building and was modelled on the fort typology; hence it was built with massive perimeter walls, which enclosed an open courtyard with an perimeter arcade. The walls had discreet openings and were finished with exposed concrete, and their arches were lined with magnificent blue tiles. The main entry gate

was closed so I entered from the car park into a covered arcade with boutique shops lining one side, and leading to the main open courtyard with a fountain and the formal entrance to the Cultural Centre. Inside the centre there was a similar play of materials with finished concrete, expanses of decorative tiles and dark-stained timber detailing.

I was hoping to view the exhibition on Saadiyat Island, but the ground floor was deserted, so I ventured upstairs to look around. At the landing I was confronted by a black Bedouin tent with a number of women dressed in long black garments weaving gifts. It was an unsettling scene, a tent within an air-conditioned space and the women themselves seemed ill at ease with the spectacle. They were there as living artefacts within the Cultural Centre, a defeated nomadic culture on display. Beyond was an open gallery that displayed more cultural artefacts which included model boats, doors and keys. There was the air of lethargy, with no exhibitions during Ramadan, I enquired about the Saadiyat Island exhibition and the guard suddenly became animated. He told me to visit the Emirates Palace Hotel – a “beautiful building,” he enthused, where apparently “I would wear out my camera taking photographs!”¹⁸⁵ It did not seem appropriate to say that I rather liked the Cultural Centre too.

At the bus stop, I had another long wait reading the personal advertisements. I eventually secured a taxi and we navigated the gridded city towards the dramatic ‘corniche,’ with its glimpses of the sandy bay and the Persian Gulf beyond. The city was intimate and the buildings appeared dated: it felt like a regional centre with an air of neglect. As I approached the Emirates Palace Hotel, I recognised a triumphal arch with a large image of the ruling family. The hotel itself had a strangely civic character and the scale and architecture was reminiscent of Mogul architecture from say Pakistan and India. Inside it was very polished and I began to tidy myself up to look more presentable: I didn't want to get thrown out for looking too poor. Despite its claim to be a people's palace, the hotel seemed more exclusive than inclusive to me. At the reception I was ushered towards the exhibition spaces, and at another long desk four receptionists greeted me, and an overly eager Australian woman offered to show me around. She proceeded to recap the official view of the scheme and I listen attentively whilst she proudly explains the five sections to the exhibition: introduction, inspiration, context and masterplan, and cultural vision – with detailed models and drawings of the four new cultural icons. She introduced the concept of the Cultural



6.123 Entrance to Saadiyat Island exhibition (2009) at Emirates Hotel , Abu Dhabi



6.124 Model of Saadiyat Island development



6.125 Model and images of Guggenheim art gallery by Frank O. Gehry



6.126 Model of Guggenheim art gallery by Frank O. Gehry



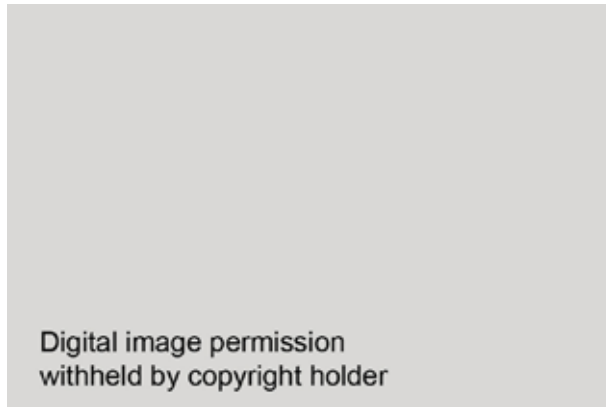
6.127 Model of Maritime Museum by Tadao Ando



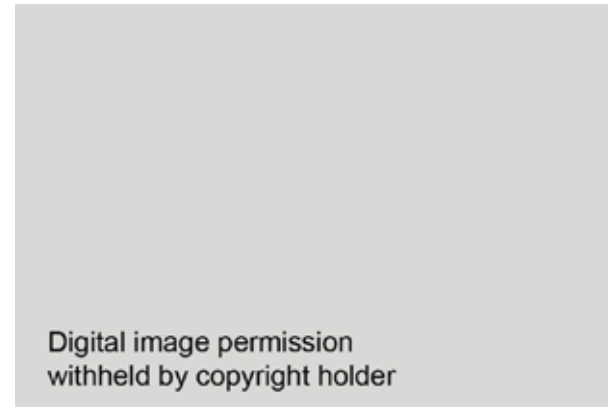
6.128 Model of Louvre art gallery by Jean Nouvel



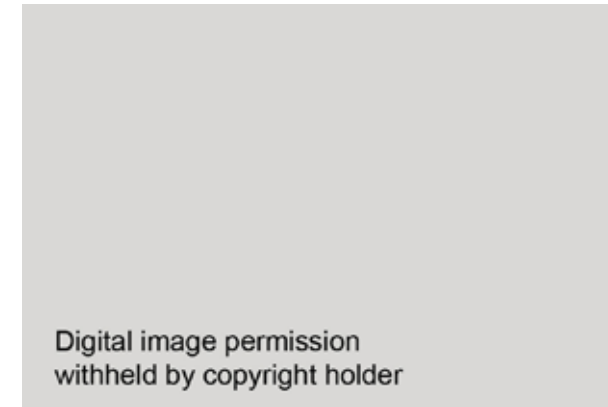
6.129 Model and images of Performing arts centre by Zaha Hadid



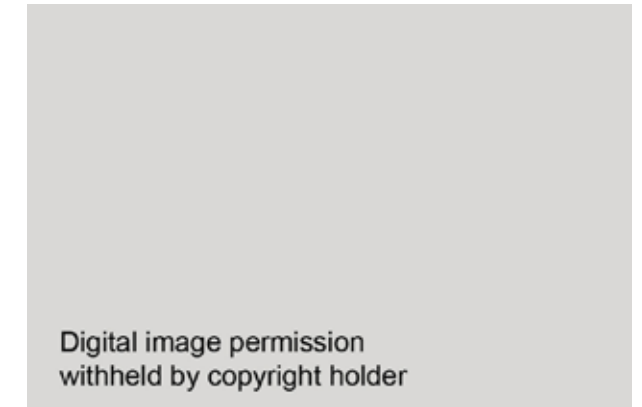
6.130 Elevation of Monument to Harun al-Rashid, Baghdad proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



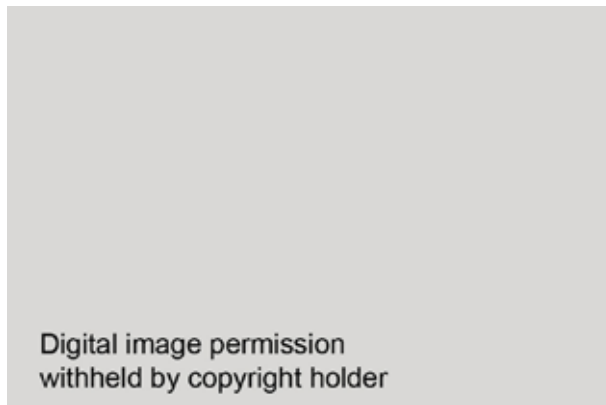
6.131 Plan of Greater Baghdad proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



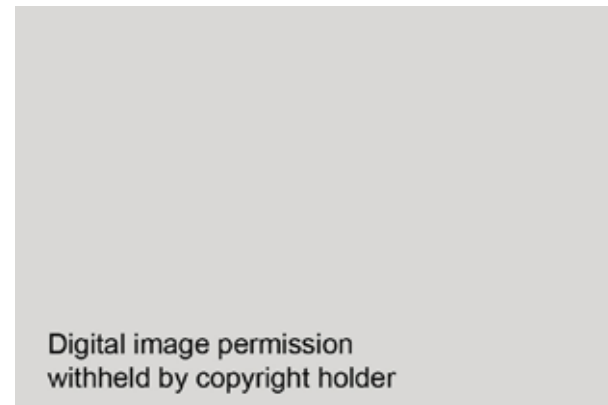
6.132 Sketch of Greater Baghdad proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



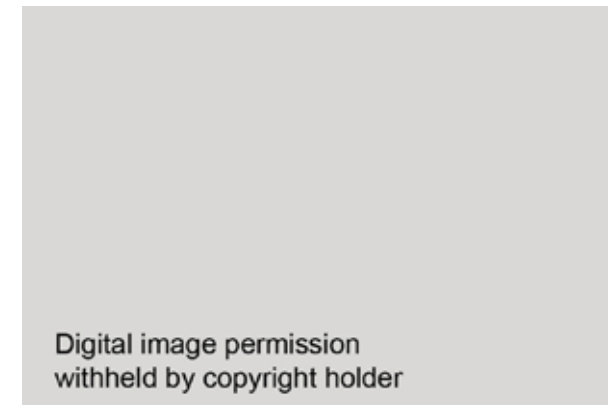
6.133 Cover of *Architectural Forum*, May 1958



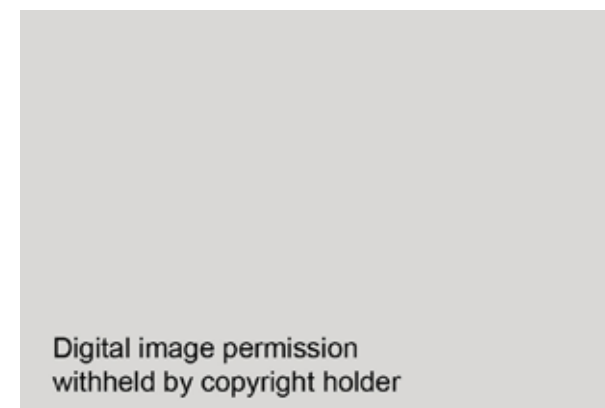
6.134 Perspective view of University proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



6.135 Perspective of Art Gallery proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



6.136 Perspective for Museum proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



6.138 Perspective of Plan for Greater Baghdad (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

Quarter on the island, the careful analysis contained within the master-plan, and the 'four pearls' by the latest masters of the contemporary architecture: "Gehry, Nouvel, Hadid and Ando."¹⁸⁶ At the end she mentioned the term 'community,' a curious expression for a deserted island, but she regained her composure and remarked that the final design was not yet finished.

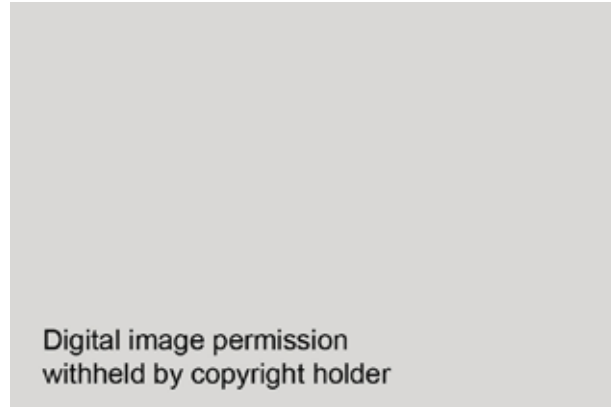
According to the marketing information, the 27 sq km Saadiyat Island development comprises seven themed experiences which include the Cultural Quarter, Al Marina, Saadiyat Beach, Saadiyat Promenade, Saadiyat Reserve, Saadiyat Lagoon, and South Beach.¹⁸⁷ The description of the concept recalls a set of random global spatial experiences. For example, the expected total population of 150,000 on the island would be similar to those living in Hollywood or Oxford, and each district will be marketed as a known identity – South Beach in Saadiyat would be like Daytona Beach in Florida.¹⁸⁸ Within the Cultural Quarter, the "four pearls" are to be located on their own island projecting into the Gulf, and looking back towards Abu Dhabi, they are the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi by Frank Gehry, the Classical Museum (Louvre Abu Dhabi) by Jean Nouvel, the Performing Arts Centre by Zaha Hadid, and the Maritime Museum by Tadao Ando.¹⁸⁹ The master-plan also intends to support a biennale modelled on the Venice model, and a new university is planned with an academy of fine arts focussed on teaching Arab students.¹⁹⁰ Whilst the expansionist Guggenheim Museum has no difficulty in subscribing to another global franchise, there were 5,000 French petitioners objecting to sale of the Louvre overseas rights – it was claimed that the French institute was paid \$548m just for the privilege to use its name.¹⁹¹ Underlying the whole concept was the premise that Abu Dhabi was a brand and that culture was a commodity that could be freely traded, and that tourists would willingly fly to Abu Dhabi to experience an Arabian setting for western art.

In nearby Iraq back in 1957 there was a similar attempt to remake the city of Baghdad into a western cultural enclave. Iraq had nationalised oil after the Second World War and a development board was inaugurated in 1950 to distribute its newly acquired wealth. Whilst the first six-year plan (1951-6) focused on providing infrastructure and institution buildings, the second six-year plan (1955-60) included cultural representations such as "the royal palace, the house of parliament and the Iraqi Museum."¹⁹² Minoprio, Spencely and Macfarlane (MSP) were appointed in 1954 to draw up a new master-plan for Baghdad, and they established a number of zones

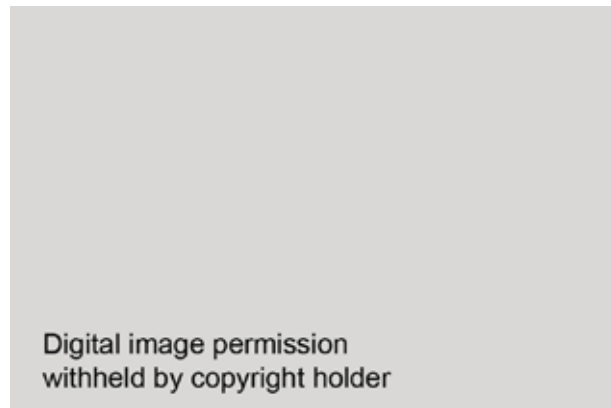
for development and widened roads to bring order to the city and to allow for future expansion. Chadirji notes that Baghdad had been the historical centre of Arabic culture during the Abbasid Empire, but it was also destroyed twice by invaders – consequently, "its cultural gap is that it is a culture with a very extended continuity."¹⁹³ The tradition of brick architecture within the city dates from antiquity, which sustained "craftsmen of great skill ... the creation of imaginative spatial interrelationships of great aptitude, by structural ingenuity, and by a mastery of the monumental."¹⁹⁴ Chadirji views Baghdad as still possessing an indigenous, sophisticated and urban culture. Thus, the MSP master-plan was essentially yet another invasion, this time by western modernism that sought to bring order to the city. MSP planned a new government centre to the west bank of the river Tigris, a civic centre to the east, and a new university to the south.¹⁹⁵

As Levine notes, the Hashemite rulers were keen to "maintain authority and to counter the constant threat of insurrection," so that 'visible' development became a priority to show that the vast oil income was being fairly distributed.¹⁹⁶ A Development Board pamphlet in 1957 described the aspirations of the state, what with "Walter Gropius to design the university, Le Corbusier to design the stadium, Alvar Aalto to design the museum, and Gio Ponti to design the office building headquarters of the Development Board."¹⁹⁷ Wright was not initially included, but "an executive board member and music aficionado, Abdul Jabbar Chalabi "pushed for Wright," recommending him specifically for the a new opera house for Baghdad."¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, another supporter was Mohammed Fadhel Jamali, who was a "pro-Western and anti-Communist," and he impressed upon the Americans to engage with a wider cultural exchange with Iraq. He secured a performance from the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra in a garden beside the river in 1957.¹⁹⁹ Thus, the Iraqi monarch was engaged in a careful balancing act to prove their commitment to the nation building, whilst also being embroiled in Cold War intrigue.

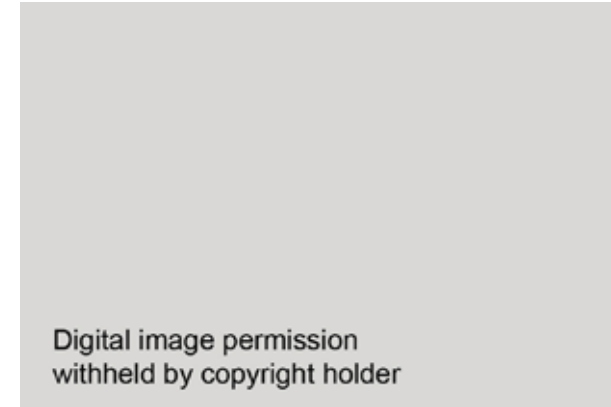
The designs by Gropius, Le Corbusier, Aalto and Ponti were all in the dominant 'International Style' architecture of the period, and were derived from previous schemes with superficial solar shading to guard against the omnipresent sun – this multinational approach was common amongst architects in the 1950.²⁰⁰ Marefat believed that Wright offered a more nuanced and contextual approach with his design. When addressing architects and engineers in Baghdad, Wright claimed he



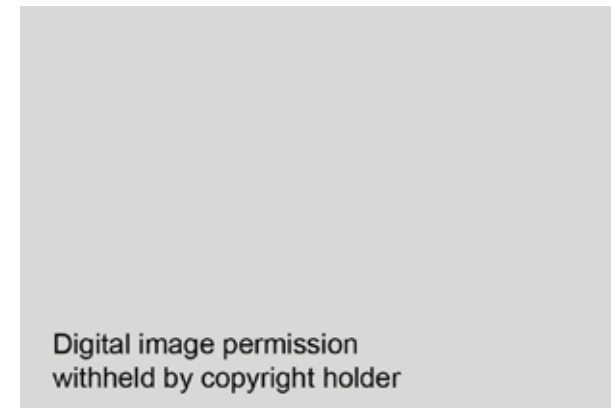
6.139 Perspective view of Midway Gardens (1913-14) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon (1991)



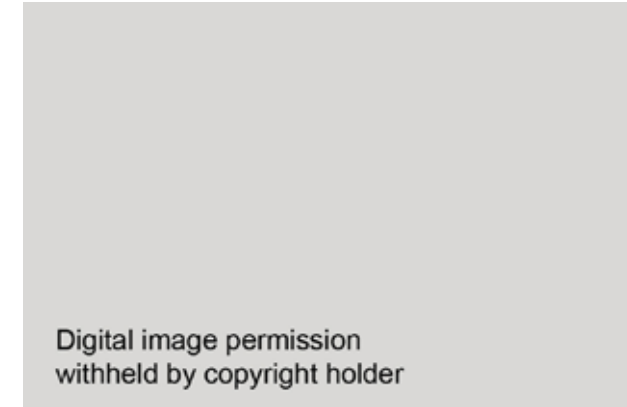
6.142 Perspective view of Barnsdall Cultural Centre (1916-21) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Cleary, R. (2009)



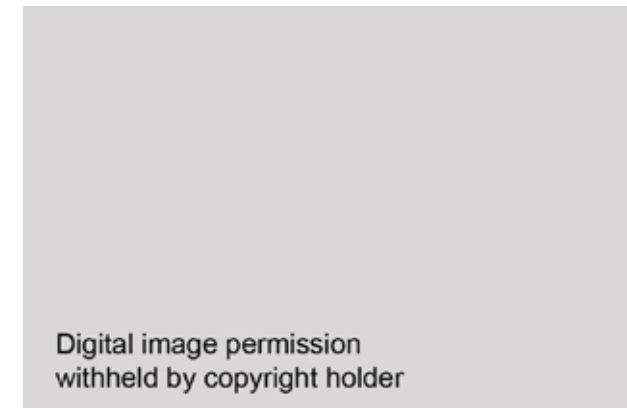
6.140 Formal entry and cubic composition to Midway Gardens (1913-14), image from Anon (1991)



6.143 Interior view with Pueblo / Mayan references to Barnsdall Cultural Centre (1916-21), image from Levine, N. (1996)



6.141 Interior view to Midway Gardens (1913-14), image from Anon (1991)



6.144 Interior view to Barnsdall Cultural Centre (1916-21), image from Levine, N. (1996)

was “one of the ‘subjects’ of Harun Al-Rashid by way of the tales of ‘The Arabian Nights.’”²⁰¹ Wright called on Iraqis to “preserve your own spiritual integrity according to great oriental philosophies.” He also claimed that “the greatest inspiration of my life was Lao Tze.”²⁰² Furthermore, his designs for Baghdad “demonstrate that if we are able to understand and interpret our ancestors, there is no need to copy them” – and he also warned against adopting “the materialistic structures called “modern” now barging in from the West upon the East.”²⁰³ Thus, Wright viewed Iraq in the 1950s in the same light as he did Japan in 1913, equating the ‘Orient’ as one vast related identity, possessing an indigenous culture that he alone could expose and recover. The proposed opera house was to be an updated Imperial Hotel, and intense Wrightian manifestation of universal cultural. Wright thus saw himself as the visionary ‘white agent’ once more in the Orient. When introducing his scheme in a 1957 issue of *Architectural Forum*, the editor proclaimed: “For Frank Lloyd Wright, here was a chance to demonstrated what he had tried to teach in Japan and to preach in the US – that a great culture deserves not only an architecture of its time, but of its own’.”²⁰⁴

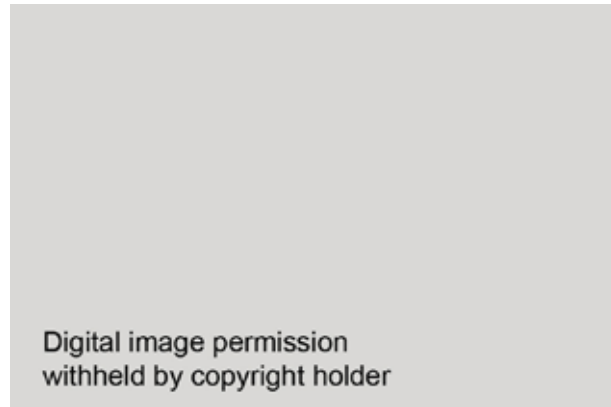
During Wright’s visit to Baghdad in May 1957, he saw the site for the opera house in the old city, but then contrived to nominate an island in the Tigris River as an alternative location. He made no reference to experiencing the old city, the sights, smells or heat. Instead, as part of a typical modernist narrative, Wright identified his new site on Pig Island whilst flying over the city on his approach,²⁰⁵ a metaphorical flying-carpet view of the city! Pig Island was a low-lying island to the south of the city in the Tigris that was prone to seasonal flooding, and was so called because only the marginalised swine were allowed to inhabit it. Marefat also notes that Wright had marked on top of the MSP master-plan²⁰⁶, implying that he had already selected the site as an appendage to the old city. Having secured the use of Pig Island during an audience with King Faisal II, Wright then typically expanded the commission into a much larger plan for Greater Baghdad. It was a full-scale cultural assault on the capital that consisted of:

“... the opera house doubling as a civic auditorium, a landscaped park with fountains and cascading waterfalls, a three-tiered parking ziggurat, museums for both monumental ancient sculpture and contemporary art, a grand bazaar, the King Faisal Esplanade, various bridges, big and small, lined with shops,

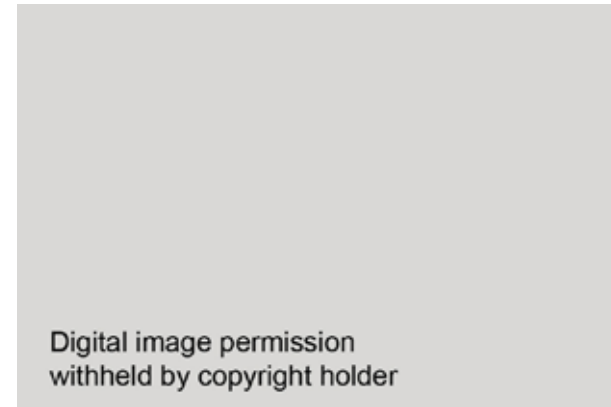
a monument to Harun al-Rashid, a botanical garden and zoological park, a casino and amphitheatre, a university complex, and several radio and television towers.”²⁰⁷

In addition, Wright secured the design commission for the new Post and Telegraph Building in the old city, making it a particularly remarkable and fruitful client meeting. On his return, Wright did share some doubts about the scheme with his associates – but despite this he proceeded to develop a personal fantasy that would be the culmination of his 60 years in practice.²⁰⁸

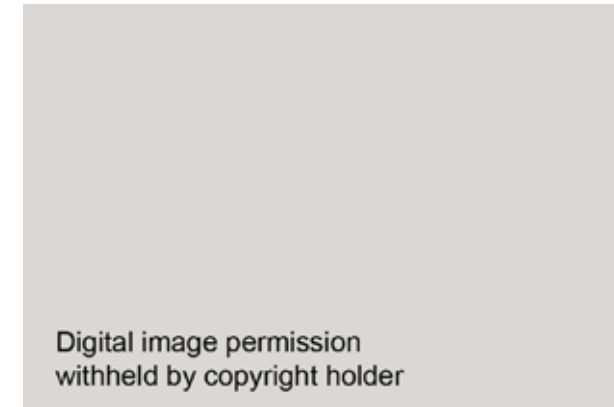
Wright’s Greater Plan for Baghdad represented a singular vision for the identity of the city. He assumed the mantle of cultural arbiter as the original brief for an opera house became a full-blown Arabian myth. What is essentially ‘fantasy architecture’ involves “reconstructed pasts, ruined presents and fantasy futures,”²⁰⁹ and Wright acknowledged a rich ancient heritage to fit into, citing the ancient region of Mesopotamia, and dedicating his drawings “to Sumeria, Isin, Lars and Babylon.”²¹⁰ In his view, Babylon had long been an architectural fantasy, “a metaphor for the big city per se.” However, it was also condemned by St John in Revelation as “BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH” a city of religious and moral degradation.²¹¹ In addition, the court life of Haroun Al-Rashid that was parodied in the *Arabian Nights* became a recurring theme for Wright²¹² as architecture, archaeology, fiction and urbanism become entwined. As for the present, Wright stated that “instead of flood or invasion, Baghdad is threatened by the increasing thousands of motor cars”²¹³ This was a starting point for any urban analysis by Wright, in that the control of traffic was the means by which he developed urban plans – after all, he had even proposed a similar approach for re-planning London in 1941. Yet Wright did not acknowledge the diversity of contemporary Iraq that was made up of three old Ottoman provinces of Mosul to the north, Basra to the south, and Baghdad in the centre: rather he supported the imposed rule of the Hashemite. Thus, having invoked the historical past, and all but rubbished the present, Wright was ready to act out the fantasy. He was perhaps uniquely placed to deliver such a project considering his previous work in America, and his own mythical resurrection in the fields of Wisconsin and then the desert of Arizona.



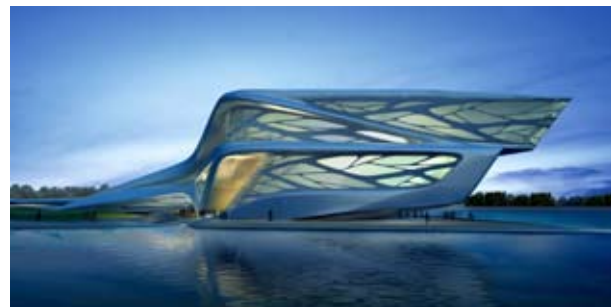
6.145 Perspective view of Crescent Opera and Civic Auditorium proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright



6.146 Plan of Crescent Opera House (1957) orientated towards Mecca



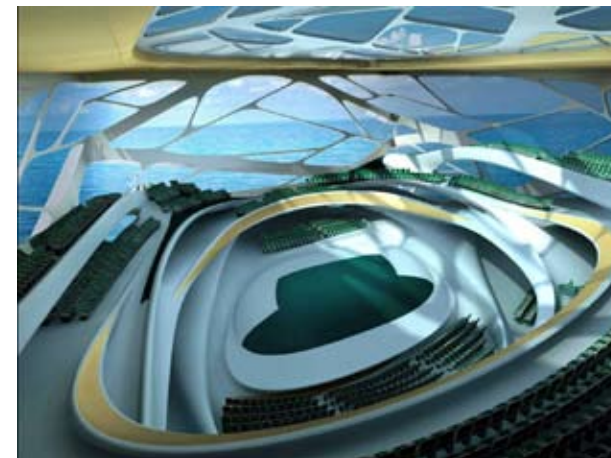
6.147 Section through Crescent Opera House (1957) with 'Aladdin' above the auditorium



6.148 Perspective view of Performing Arts Center (2009) by Zaha Hadid, image from www.zaha-hadid.com



6.149 Perspective view of model of Performing Arts Center (2009) from land side of Island



6.150 Interior perspective view of stage for Performing Arts Center (2009), image from www.zaha-hadid.com



6.151 Facade and auditorium, view of model for Performing Arts Center (2009)

Wright designed a number of fantastical schemes during his career, and he took on the persona of Aladdin to realise these magical projects. They include the Wolf Lake Amusements (1895), Cheltenham Beach (1899), Midway Gardens (1913-14), Imperial Hotel (1913-23), Barnsdall Cultural Centre (1916-21), Pittsburgh Point Park (1947) and Monona Terrace Civic Centre (1938, 1955). In *An Autobiography*, Wright recalled the design of Midway Gardens in 1913, when Ed. Waller (Junior) outlined his concept – “a beautiful garden resort ... [where] people would go there and, listen to good music, eat and drink ... an outdoor garden something like those little parks round Munich where German families go.”²¹⁴ Wright could not contain his excitement:

“Well, Aladdin and his wonderful lamp had fascinated me as a boy. But by now I knew the enchanting young Arabian was really just a symbol for creative desire, his lamp intended for another symbol – imagination. As I sat listening I was Aladdin. Young Ed? The genie. He knew apparently where all ‘the slaves of the lamp’ could be found. Well, this might all be necromancy but I believed in magic. Had I not rubbed my lamp with what seemed wonderful effect, before this? I didn’t hesitate.”²¹⁵

So Wright dreamt up a bold and formal symmetrical plan with “a system of low masonry terraces enclosed by promenades, loggias and galleries at the sides, these flanked by winter gardens.”²¹⁶ He contextualised the scheme as working beyond the sensual ‘European Art Nouveau’ to exhibit “the straight line ... and the flat plane”²¹⁷ such that the whole composition became a three-dimensional cubic abstraction. The scheme sought a return “to first principles – pure form in everything; weave a masonry fabric in beautiful pattern in genuine materials and good construction, bring painting and sculpture to heighten and carry all still further into the real of the Lamp in the same Spirit. A synthesis of all the arts.”²¹⁸ Wright was to be the leader, of course, and the magician – i.e. the Mid-Western Aladdin.

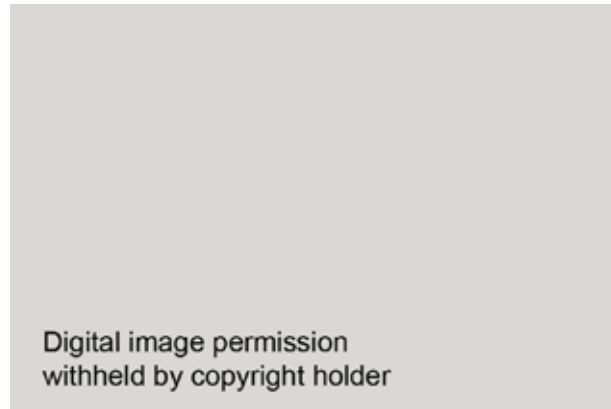
The Barnsdall Cultural Centre (also known as the Olive Hill Cultural Centre) in Los Angeles was another fantasy scheme but one that was to be built in the home of make-believe Hollywood. A block away from the Barnsdall site was “D. W. Griffith’s Babylonian palace for [the film] *Intolerance*, built in 1916 on Sunset Boulevard,”²¹⁹ such that “Nebuchadnezzar [and Babylon] was the next-door neighbour.”²²⁰ This had a certain resonance for the Wright’s project, as the Barnsdall House (also known as

the Hollyhock House) and an extensive Cultural Centre (focused on the theatre) that was developed into a ‘monument,’ with Barnsdall encouraging Wright to “put your freest dreams into it, won’t you.”²²¹ So Wright invented in a new regional aesthetic that was based on either “the native forms of Precolumbian Mexico and the American Southwest”²²² according to Levine, or the Native American pueblos as claimed by Banham (that may have been Rudolf Schindler’s idea).²²³ Thus, Wright generated a new distinctive ‘theatrical’ identity in the “desert of shallow effects,”²²⁴ as he called Los Angeles. And its construction was to be in keeping with the deceit, in that the main house was built using a timber frame and finished with applied stucco, something that Wright would have condemned in his earlier Prairie Houses. Despite the great prose and a remarkable abstract cubic composition, these two ‘entertainment’ designs were given a classical symmetrical plan and spatial articulation, it was a disappointing basis onto which Wright projected his freest fantasies.

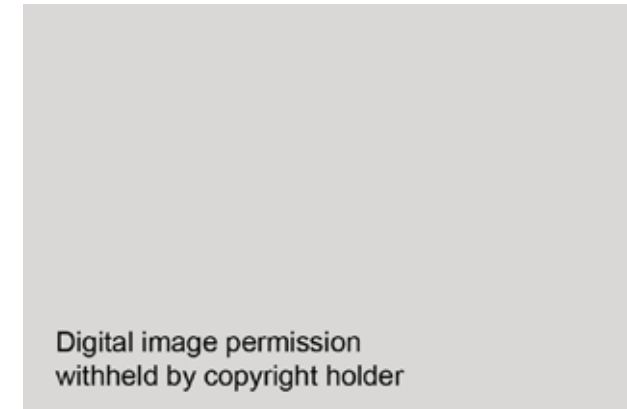
Following its own almost Biblical narrative arc, Wright’s career was resurrected by his encounter with the deserts of south-west America according to Banham. The desert schemes that renewed Wright included the Johnson Desert Compound (1923-25), Six Beach Cottages (1927) in Egypt, Biltmore Hotel (1928), Ocatilla Desert Camp (1929), San Marcos-in-the-Desert (1928-9), and Taliesin West (1938). Banham summarises that following his elopement with Mamah Cheney in 1909, Wright had experienced professional, personal and regional exile, and it was an estrangement that lasted for 15-25 years.²²⁵ However, Wright was to find new freedom in the desert environment:

“... it was in the desert, the true wilderness, that Wright was ultimately to achieve freedom in planning: freedom from axial planning, from right angles, from centralised spaces, which had persisted in the geometry of all his earlier work...”²²⁶

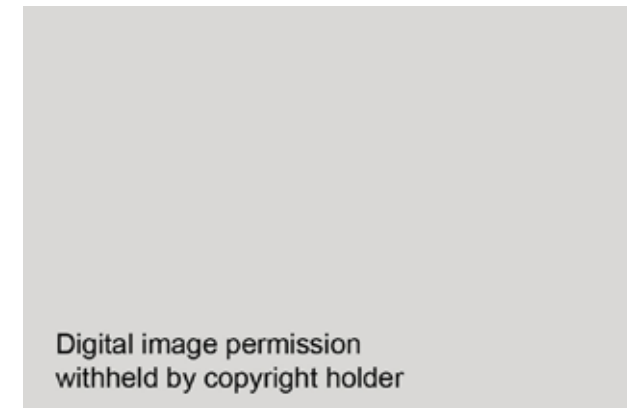
The Johnson Compound, and meeting Death Valley Scotty, alerted Wright to the freedom of the desert environment and to the attraction of the road – “nature staged a show for us all the way.”²²⁷ He designed a curious scheme for the Johnson compound, an hermitic dwelling that may even be considered neo-Egyptian in character.



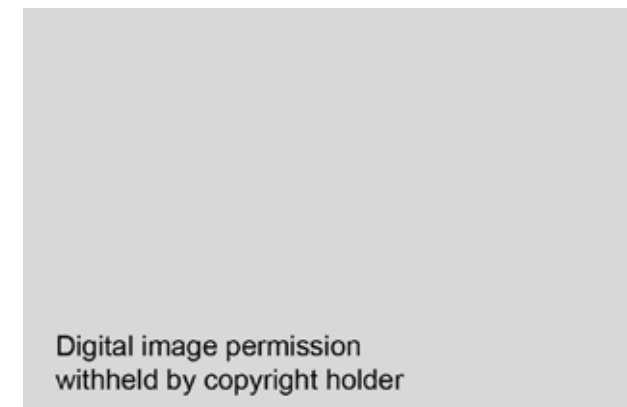
6.152 Plan and elevation for Six Beach Cottages / Tents on the Beach. Ras-el-Bar, Damietta, Egypt (1927) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Johnson, D. (1990)



6.153 Plan of Ocotillo Camp, Arizona (1929) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Johnson, D. (1990)



6.154 Image of Ocotillo Camp (1929) during construction, image from Johnson, D. (1990)



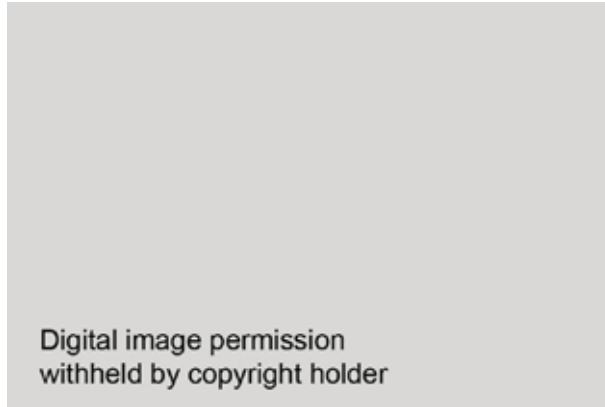
6.155 Image of Ocotillo Camp (1929), image from Johnson, D. (1990)

Wright also engaged at times with Islamic culture, proposing a rich geometric design for Six Beach Cottages / Tents on the Beach (1927), at Ras-el-Bar in Damietta, Egypt, a beach resort 30 miles west of Port Said and the Suez Canal. The cottages were to be a prefabricated timber and canvas design that were bolted to a permanent concrete raft foundation and designed to be dissembled each year during the spring floods. They had a square plan laid out on a three-foot module, and the “three-dimensional form was derived from a geometry related to a square, a continuation of Wright’s persistent use of the square as a design generator.”²²⁸ Together the six cottages were “set in a circle angled as 60-degree spokes of a pin-wheel.”²²⁹ According to Storrer, the cottages had an abstracted form that “looked like origami butterflies,” whilst Johnson considers them “strangely complex” and “awkward.”²³⁰ The designs revealed a playful use of temporary lightweight structures set within a strict geometrical frame – perhaps even inspired by Islamic geometry and patterns? The cottages were a precursor to Wright’s Ocatilla Desert Camp where he fully expressed his new-found freedom, with “one of the classic personal statements of 20th-century architecture” according to Banham. It was also a design that was inspired by the sahuaro cactus, which provided Wright with a “full-blown organic analogies drawing from Nature” that he used to describe his subsequent projects.²³¹

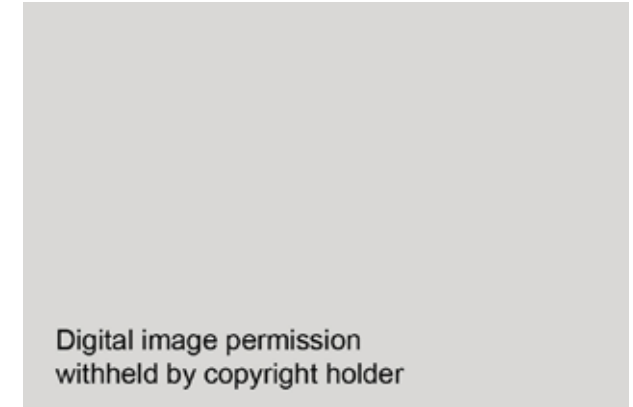
Thus Wright’s entertainment projects and his ‘desert rebirth’ were points of departure for his ultimate Baghdad ‘fantasy,’ whereby he claimed inspiration from the original eight-century circular ‘City of Peace’ within Baghdad, but wrongly claims it was designed by Haroun Al-Rashid²³² (it was in fact Al-Mansur). Nevertheless the imposed idea of circular geometry dominates the project. Wright believed that traffic congestion could be alleviated by enhanced ziggurat traffic islands that circulated around the Opera Auditorium and the University Campus, which were to be used for both circulation and parking. Within the context of Iraq, with its ancient ziggurats forms, this had a peculiar logic.²³³ It was a solution that he had already developed in his Strong Automobile Objective (Sugarloaf) project (1924-5), in which the ziggurat became an enhanced car journey with a planetarium at the top. Thus, as Marefat notes, the ziggurat becomes the “main organising principle” for the Baghdad scheme and “was a conscious means of blending architecture and landscape.”²³⁴ The scale of the intervention was overwhelming. Wright proposed an axial road, to be called King Faisal Esplanade, which would link the civic west bank of Baghdad directly to the opera house. He even orientated the road towards Mecca. Marefat can see no

precedent in Islamic architecture for such an orientation,²³⁵ but for Wright, directing the car towards the Islamic shrine was regarded as reverential. The Esplanade also contained a series of commercial kiosks, another form of the roadside market that Wright had advocated for Broadacre City, and the aerial rendering of the scheme is directed away from the old city towards a Broadacre-style paradise garden.

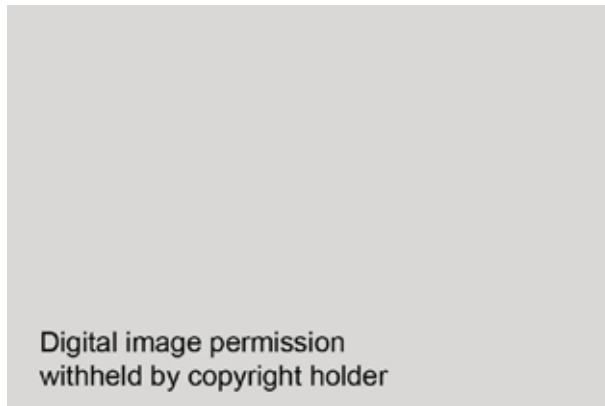
The outcast Pig Island that Wright had appropriated for his design was to become the Isle of Edena – a new Garden of Eden – and in this way Wright aimed to restructure and re-colonialise Baghdad into an Old Testament utopia. The centrepiece of the ‘Cultural Quarter’ on the Isle of Edena was of course to be the Grand Opera and Civic Auditorium. This building was again orientated towards Mecca thus giving it quasi-religious function that Siry attempts to justify as a “temple to culture.”²³⁶ The auditorium had a defined circular geometry, and indeed most of Wright’s theatre designs possess an overwhelming geometry (the Ginza and the Barnsdall Theatres were both octagonal). For Baghdad, Wright based his design on the intersection of two circles, one for a revolving stage and other for an auditorium with 1,600 seats for an opera performance, plus there were an additional 3,700 seats for “conventions or patriotic celebrations.”²³⁷ Siry argues convincingly that the plan was an update of Sullivan’s Chicago Auditorium, whereby two similar circles establish the relationship between the stage and the audience.²³⁸ Another item reused from the Chicago Auditorium was the expressive proscenium, which Wright extended beyond the building to become an expressive “great crescent arch” springing from two pools of water and to be “decorated with metal-sculptured scenes from the classic ‘A Thousand and One Nights.’”²³⁹ Whilst the Crescent is a symbol of Islam, and maybe it recalled the ancient ‘fertile crescent,’²⁴⁰ its use by Wright was decorative and not structural, and its articulation was yet another indulgence. And to crown the whole extravaganza, there was to be at roof level directly “above the auditorium, a crenelated (sic) dome shelters the golden figure of Aladdin [Wright] and his wonderful lamp, the symbol of imagination.”²⁴¹ In July 1957, however, there was a military coup led by General Abdul Karim Kassem, and King Faisal and his son were assassinated. Wright’s fantastic scheme was unsurprisingly rejected by the new leaders, more than likely because of its references to the monarchy and its excessive decoration, which were not in keeping with the new republican ideals. The other modernist architects from the west (TAC, Ponti and Le Corbusier) however managed to continue their work under the new Iraqi military leadership.



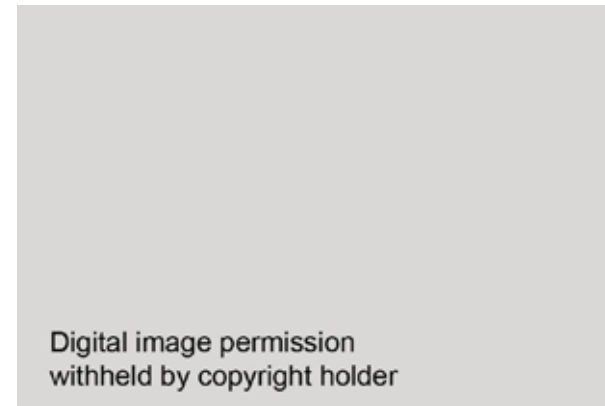
6.156 Perspective view of Central Post and Telegraph Building, Baghdad (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



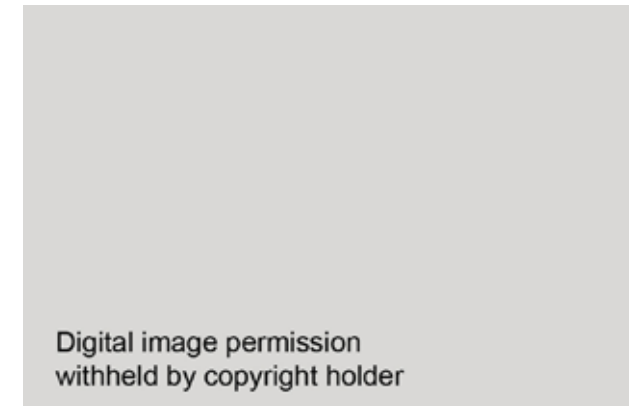
6.157 Section through Central Post and Telegraph Building (1957), image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)



6.158 View of built Central Post, Telegraph and Telephone Administration Building, Baghdad (1971) by Rifat Chandirji, image from Chandirji, R. (1986)



6.159 View of built Central Post, Telegraph and Telephone Administration Building (1971), image from Chandirji, R. (1986)



6.160 Front elevation drawing of Central Post, Telegraph and Telephone Administration Building (1971), image from Chandirji, R. (1986)

Wright's plan for Greater Baghdad was thus a fully blown 'Orientalist' project, with Wright as the 'white agent' of change who imposed his own set of westernised cultural references and ideas onto the city and the nation. Even Marefat, an ardent supporter of the scheme, confesses that the Greater Plan with its invented inventory of cultural institutions amounted to a theme park a metaphorical; "Wrightland," he imagined, would be as entertaining for tourists as Disneyland was for children."²⁴² Charles Jencks comments: "Wright loses control of his geometry and allows it to contradict function, material, construction, structure, freedom [and] ... organic architecture."²⁴³ Furthermore, it was also a cathartic end for Wright's actual career, in that it was similar to the Broadacre City model, and thus all his old designs (both real and imaginary) were integrated into a single idealised landscape – except this time Baghdad that was the recipient of Aladdin's last fantasies.

Similarly on Saadiyat Island, in Abu Dhabi, Zaha Hadid is charged with producing a new Performing Arts Centre containing another expression of western culture, the Opera House. Arabian states seemingly can't get enough opera! Interestingly, Hadid was born in Baghdad, and she sets out a less dramatic concept:

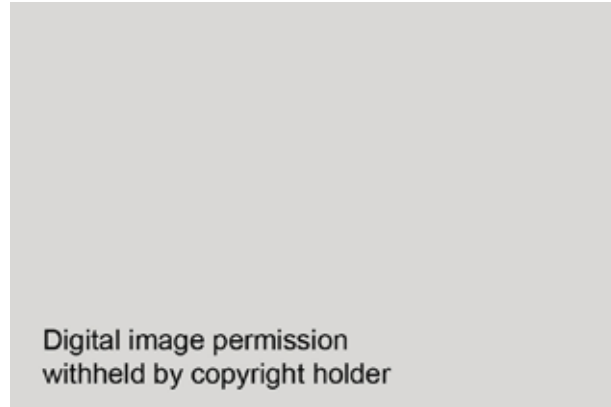
"[the Performing Arts Centre] emerges from a linear intersection of pedestrian paths... gradually developing into a growing organism that sprouts a network of successive branches ... the performance spaces, which spring from the structure like fruits on a vine and face westward, towards the water."²⁴⁴

Hadid claims that her Performing Arts Centre's design "will have five theatres, a music hall, opera house, drama theatre and a flexible theatre with a combined seating capacity of 6,300."²⁴⁵ Wright and Hadid's 'organically' inspired designs for musical auditoria display a potent architectural image. Hadid's scheme may be considered more sensual and 'organically' inspired, but it also lacks any functional and material integrity. For Wright, the Greater Plan for Baghdad was intended as a continuation of imagined cities from the past, whereas Hadid's scheme engages with the imaginary identity of a city belonging to the future and is rooted in computer-aided design.

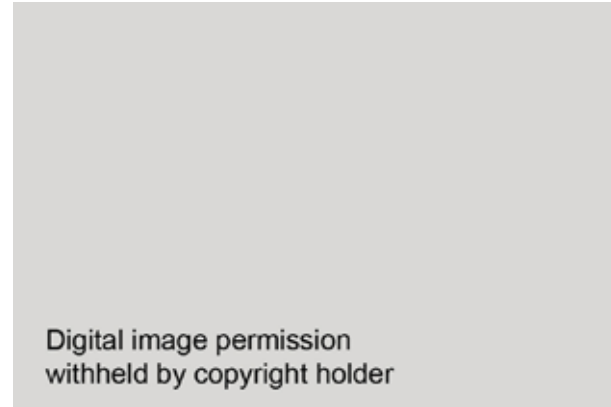
Legacy in Iran

In Iraq, General Kassem was then displaced in 1961 by yet another coup, leading to a fitful democracy after that. During this period, the Central Post, Telegraph and Telephone Administration Building (1971) was designed and built by the Iraqi architect, Rifat Chandirji. Wright had also prepared a design for the Central Post and Telegraph Building (1957), but it was an uninspired design during his last years of practice that had no relation to its urban context or its setting in the Middle East. This simple scheme had a rectangular plan and an open central courtyard, and Wright claimed that "the basic aim of this design has been to produce a building by extremely economical methods and greatly simplified construction."²⁴⁷ There were to be three main floors; a public ground floor and two full floors with additional mezzanines for offices above. The central garden was placed at basement level and the roof also possessed a garden and projected beyond the lower floors to provide shade. Additional shading was provided by "steel tubes hung in front of the great glass walls" and an overhead trellis at the roof terrace.²⁴⁸ Wright claimed that "the whole structure provides a translucent, well-lighted interior space under adequate shelter in the hot climate of Baghdad. Trees planted in the interior court may be seen from the street through the diaphanous structure."²⁴⁹ Disappointingly, the whole scheme was decontextualised with no adjacent buildings or structures shown, and each elevation had a similar treatment. Just as Wright had dismissed 'International Style' architecture, this scheme was no better in that it was a pavilion building that could potentially exist within any city.

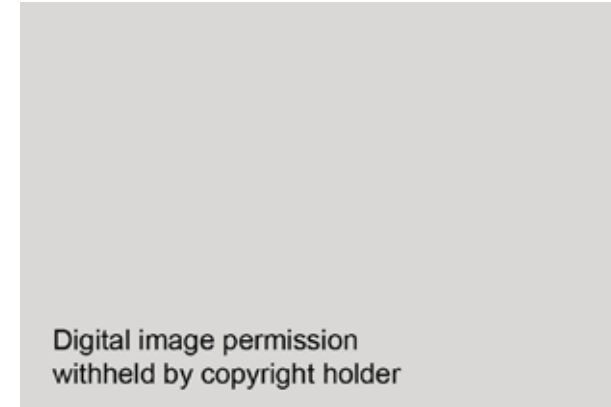
By contrast, the scheme built by Chandirji had a far richer vocabulary and architectural expression, and indeed was much bigger – a fifteen-storey edifice that was modulated by a three-storey base plinth and an eleven-storey tower element. The elevations were set into an expressed reinforced-concrete frame, with brick infill and precast concrete features. Vertical brick and concrete fins accentuated the building's height and broke up the roofline as well as providing some depth to the elevation. The openings were controlled and discreet: most possessed a rounded arch at their head that varied in width, while the more important openings had concrete arches. Chandirji noted two contrasting precedents to the scheme, these being the Mosque of Sheikh Luft Allah at Isfahan, Iran (1601-8) and Mies van der Rohe's Seagram Building (1958), in New York.²⁵⁰ I would also cite the work of the American Brutalist architect, Paul Rudolph as well, whereas Vaughan suggests "a Louis Kahn-inflected Modernism."²⁵¹ The Telegraph Building by Chandirji was certainly a more rigorous



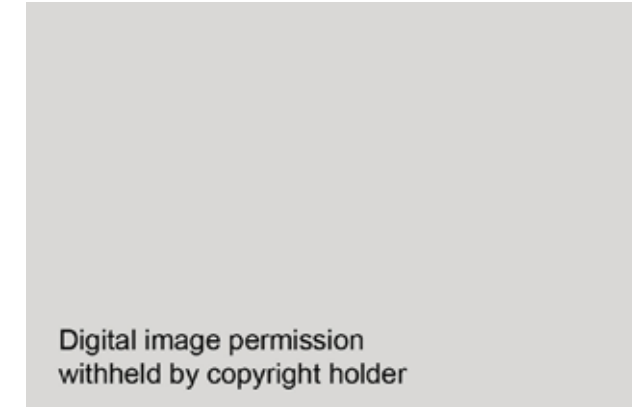
6.161 Perspective view of The 'Pearl Palace' (1973) by TAA, image from Bantzer, E. (1977)



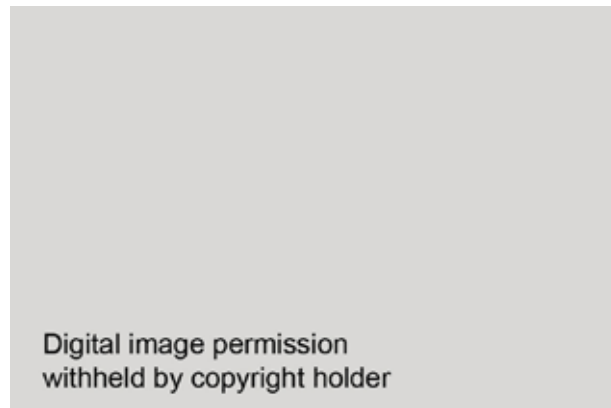
6.162 Interior view of 'smaller' dome within 'Pearl Palace' (1973), image from Bantzer, E. (1977)



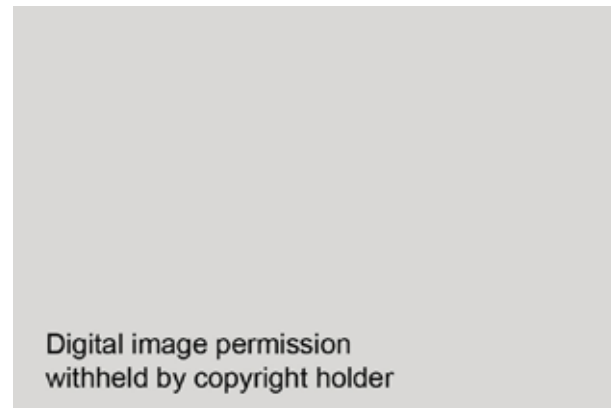
6.163 View of stair within 'Pearl Palace' (1973), image from Bantzer, E. (1977)



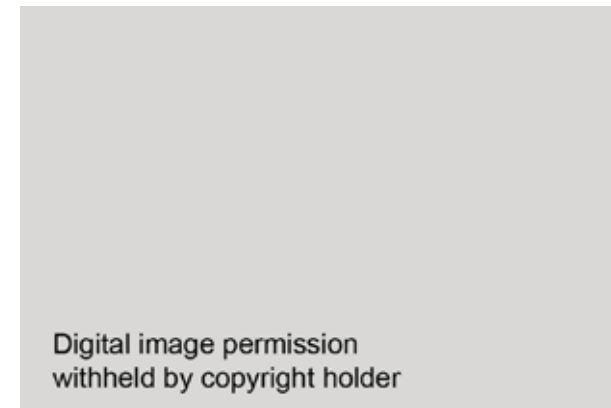
6.164 View of dining area within 'Pearl Palace' (1973), image from Bantzer, E. (1977)



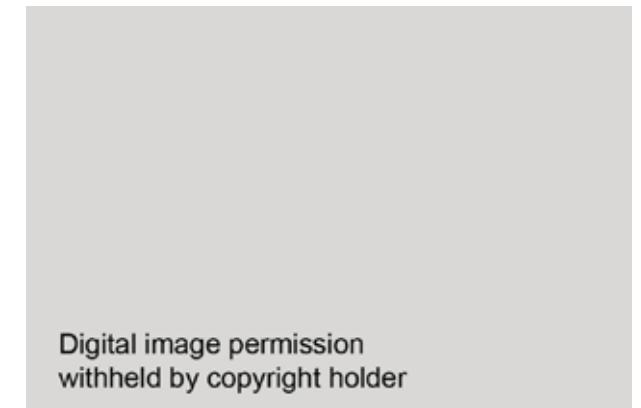
6.165 Perspective view of Villa Mehrafin (1974) by TAA, image from Rattenbury, J. (2000)



6.166 View of entry to Villa Mehrafin (1974), image from Rattenbury, J. (2000)



6.167 Perspective view of Damavand College (1978), image from Rattenbury, J. (2000)



6.168 Image of completed Damavand College (1978), image from Rattenbury, J. (2000)

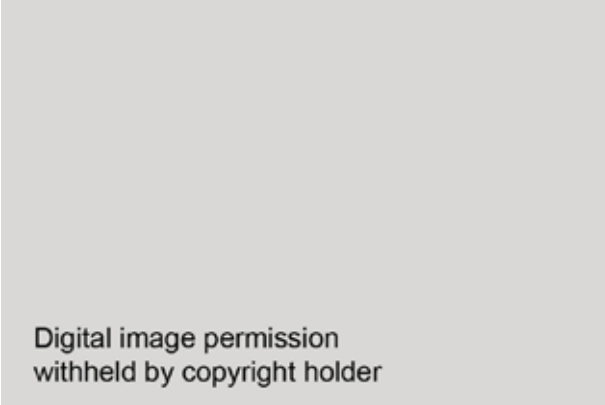
design than Wright's pastiche, in that the design drew from the Islamic precedents of muted external features, and adopted the western modernist tower with its emphasis on verticality.

Chadirji was born in Iraq in 1926 and studied architecture at the Hammersmith College of Art and Building in London. He returned to Iraq in 1952 and "by the 1970s had offices across the Middle East."²⁵² But his architectural practice was curtailed by political developments in Iraq. He was imprisoned in 1978 and then released by Saddam Hussein in 1980 so that he could master-plan the city for a conference of Non-Aligned Countries in 1982. This plan was again supported by foreign architects, but it was also doomed by more political upheaval, and so he left the country in 1982 to pursue an academic career in America. Chadirji's writings articulate the struggle for a regional identity within the Iran, Iraq and the Gulf States. He believes that the architectural needs of society and the technology of the region are "in a state of confusion."²⁵³ In addition, within the Middle East there is a greater "cultural gap between existing and incoming cultures."²⁵⁴ In the pre-modern era there was a "slow interaction, which allows the receiving culture sufficient time for adaptation and interpretation, and single origin of the imported ingredients" – as a kind of gradual "cultural osmosis."²⁵⁵ However, in this modern globalised era, with its saturation of cultural sources, global connectivity, and modern means of construction, any host country becomes overwhelmed. Chadirji notes an imbalance between the external cultural forces and those of his native region, claiming that "Iraq suffers from the disadvantage of not having experienced the Renaissance."²⁵⁶

Within Iran, the Pahlavi Dynasty pursued a similar course of modernisation to Iraq, and remodelled Tehran by expanding to the north of the city with a civic centre. Sudjic notes that it "accentuated the divide between a westernised, affluent, northern city and an ancient city of narrow lanes, courtyard houses, mosques and bazaars that was slipping out of the State's control."²⁵⁷ Wright's legacy practice, Taliesin Associated Architects (TAA), followed Wright's lead in Iraq, by supporting a ruling monarchy and adapted some of the 'master's' previous designs for new clients. TAA designed two villas for Princess Shams Pahlavi, the sister of the Shah of Iran. The so called 'Pearl Palace'(1973) in Karaj, 17 kilometres west of Tehran, is an extravagant home that was closely related to Wright's Baghdad scheme in all its bombast, and was 'borrowed' from an unwanted design by Wright for Arthur Miller

and Marilyn Monroe – another Hollywood fantasy transplanted to Arabia.²⁵⁸ The TAA's lead designer for this \$6million scheme was Wes Peters, of whom Wright had quipped "Wes is more!"²⁵⁹ It is a truly excessive design whereby a metaphorical 'pearls' appeared in countless circular motifs that extends from the landscape into the formal plan of the palace, and culminates in a circular bed for the Princess.²⁶⁰ Two translucent domes and a ziggurat articulate an Arabian fantasy with the larger 36 metre diameter dome embracing a reception and exotic gardens, whilst the smaller dome cover a pool and lounge. Indeed, the Palace was the realisation of the 'pleasure dome' from Xanadu. A ramp within the larger ascends past a marble panelled banquet suite and a library, before reaching a special crescendo in the suite for 'Her Imperial Highness' contained within a ziggurat. Astonishingly all this was built! However, after the fall of the last Shah, it is now in the hands of a local militia, and some blogs are complaining that they are not looking after the property. What exactly are they meant to do in the palace?

The second house, Villa Mehrafin, this time partially built, was sited in Chalus in the north of Iran, near to the Caspian Sea. It was designed as a summer retreat set within a 40-acre site, with an informal L-shaped layout that enclosed a number of pools and gardens. This design recalled some of Wright's more expansive homes during the Prairie House period such as the Avery Coonley House and the McCormick House, whilst the dominant roof form referenced the Lake Tahoe Resort Project (1923-4). But the project was never completed and the Islamic Revolution in 1979 brought the decadent 'Peacock rule' of the Shah to an abrupt close. Damavand College (1978) was a women's university campus to the north of Tehran that specialised in liberal arts training. The campus buildings were planned as a "Madresseh, or Persian school"²⁶¹ around garden courtyards and with a repeated arch motif. The full campus plan was to be a realisation of Wright's view of Persian architecture, with a number of blue domed buildings, and the images of the completed buildings confirm that it was a literal interpretation of Wright's words. No images of the Minou Island Resort were found during my research, but it would apparently have "bore a striking resemblance to the Baghdad concept." However, it was never developed because of its proximity to Iraq, and was overtaken by the success of the neighbouring island resort at Kish.²⁶² What emerges from these



6.169 View of stair within 'Pearl Palace' (1973),
image from Bantzer, E. (1977)

designs by TAA was a pastiche and recycling of Wright's late designs without any critical engagement: in other words, they contributed to a troubled legacy rather than inspiring a new one.

Summary

My own short trip along the western coast of the Persian Gulf also helped to contribute to the myth of Frank Lloyd Wright within a region where he attempted to secure his legacy through truly fantastical visions. As Frampton notes, there was a universal tendency in Wright's and he did not adapt his architecture to engage with different environments. In this sense, the failed opera house for Baghdad was realised in Arizona, Aladdin's second home! The Grady Gammage Memorial Auditorium (1959-64) is indeed a reduced and bastardised version of the Baghdad Opera House designed by TAA Architects.

Wright was a typical 'Orientalist,' but he was also an admirer of the Orient and its architecture. Within the Middle East context he endorsed Persian architecture but it was more of a passing glance than a detailed knowledge of the architecture within the region. *The Arabian Nights* were used as a metaphor for his own creativity and for his own view of the region. As a made-up Aladdin, Wright believed in his own magic and in his view the region was waiting for him to appear on his magical Broadacre carpet to turn it again into a (suburban) garden paradise. Yet Broadacre City's inherent democratic ideal was entirely beyond comprehension in the affluent and elitist suburban developments in places like Dubai and Abu Dhabi. The mythical paradise based on an idealised Broadacre suburb perhaps reached some kind of conclusion with the Palm Jumeirah in Dubai, but the reality is an exclusive society not a democratic one. Furthermore, Masdar City in Abu Dhabi perpetuates a rationalist urban typology with a technological fetish to overcoming its desert setting and does not attempt to live within the environment.

When Thesiger returned to Abu Dhabi in 1977, he was "disillusioned and resentful" to see the city that had been destroyed by oil and the introduction of "motor transport, helicopters and aeroplanes."²⁶³ For him, the town "symbolised all that I hated and rejected; at the time it represented the final disillusionment of my return to Arabia."²⁶⁴ Yet, Wright's idea for developing a cultural identity was prophetic of

the architecture undertaken recently in the Persian Gulf region, as development has accelerated within the region since Thesiger's time. Wright's Mile High Tower was a fantasy scheme that, whilst critical of the skyscraper and urbanism, was also a purely symbolic edifice and its function secondary. With its crowning height of one mile, it was the ultimate myth of eternity. The Greater Baghdad scheme can also be considered a critique of 'International Style' modernism in all its decontextualised architecture. Whilst Wright's scheme drew from random sources of antiquity, it also became itself a single vision of Iraq that supported a puppet monarchy. A better critique of the 'International Style' might have been a locally inflected design and not yet another imposed western fantasy.

Minority Reports



7.001 Entrance to House at Meer en Bosch (1920)
by Duiker & Bijvoet



7.002 Gallery to Yamamura Villa (1918)
by Frank Lloyd Wright and Arata Endo

My thesis set out to reevaluate Frank Lloyd Wright's cultural impact beyond his homeland of America, and to explore how people are living and coping with Wright's legacy today. Working within the meta-narrative of globalisation has allowed my research to make new connections, to uncover new aspects of Wright's architecture within very different cultural contexts. For this study I recreated six journeys to sites that were connected with Wright as a means – a spatial device, as it were – to reveal his global concept of 'organic' architecture. My journeys reflected on six very diverse contexts that included three western and three eastern destinations. Each of the cultural contexts was negotiated using similar methods of engagement, even if the outcomes were very different, and new perspectives emerged to deconstruct Wright's architecture. Above all I was interested in Haraway's¹ ideas of situated knowledge, as translated by architectural interpreter's like Jane Rendell² and her notion of 'site writing.' All the global sites of Wright's architecture were places where his 'organic' mantra was interpreted and translated, often with very different results to what he had intended, and hence this thesis reflects on how his architecture was made indigenous by followers around the globe. By considering the 'situated knowledge' contained within and around these sites I was able to unearth new intelligence for re-evaluating Wright's work in ways that previous scholars have been unable to achieve. The sites that Wright had visited, designed for, and built in have also of course mutated and changed over the decades since his death in dialogue with much wider global trends and often complex local circumstances. In some respects my research method was intended as a reversal of Wright's globalising tendencies, whereby the sites themselves were not the end point of my journey, but the sources of new knowledge to analyse and deconstruct Wright's work, especially that final, third phase of his which I have defined as his 'Legacy' period.

My thesis therefore responds to and questions Wright's globalising intent by engaging in a journey to the very sites where his 'organic' architecture has been transformed by its different sitings, especially in terms of how it has adapted overtime to its context and condition in ways that Wright could never have predicted. The six journeys in themselves generated a number of new travelogues, which were researched thoroughly in their planning stages but always open to chance and modification in practice, and thus I used these to interrogate Wright's legacy in the six very different contexts. My intention always was to generate an original and multi-perspectival view of Frank Lloyd Wright's architecture and influence, in a way that also included many

different academic fields of study. On reflection, I am surprised at the cultural diversity that I encountered during my visits, since each country required a negotiation of customs and language. In addition, the different means of travelling to each country informed different perspectives and relationships with people that I met while I was there. My aim throughout was to embrace these different perspectives and diversity and to use them within my thesis as a critical and creative method of analysis. If anything is needed to prove the falsity of the idea that globalisation is leading us to one singular world culture, this study is it.

Contested Sites

In its six chapters, my thesis negotiates a recurring dialectic between Wright's globalising ambitions and the actual sites of his architecture. To gain new insights into this paradox I consciously generated different themes for each chapter, and this also assisted me in maintaining a focus for these distinct parts of my research. Yet all the themes were linked to my meta-narrative about Wright and early-globalisation, and each chapter contributed to a new and innovative perspective in which we can view Wright and his architectural contribution. These strategic moves assisted greatly in structuring the whole thesis, and in turn it assisted me in realising this research project. I sought to be contingent and incorporate any relevant diversions that appeared on my route, and I would summarise my conclusions from each chapter as follows:

a. Japan

Wright was indebted to Japanese architecture in developing the first phase of his career, that of the suburban Prairie Houses, which laid the foundation for his remarkable career. Yet, the "cross-cultural confusion"³ that Isosaki identified in Wright's interpretation of Japanese architecture also highlights the difficulty that Wright faced in absorbing the cultural ideas from another country, especially at a time when there were great barriers to gaining such understanding – although maybe it was these misunderstandings that led him into a creative dialogue. The act of translating architectural influences is always interpretative, critical, and partial. I found the Yamamura Villa (1918) by Wright, in the city of Kobe, to be a paradigmatic site that has experienced cultural translation, mutation, and adaptation. As such, the project can be seen as prophetic of a hybridised culture and the processes which allow for an indigenous



7.003 House at Meer en Bosch (1920) by Duiker & Bijvoet

adaptation of globalisation. The Yamamura Villa was conceived by Wright in effect as a 'late' Prairie House, along with some hints of Secession influence, and then it was completed and adapted by his assistant on the Imperial Hotel, Arata Endo, to include a sequence of more ostensibly Japanese spaces. Hence it exposed two very different spatial conceptions within one house, a dialogue between Wright's western material construction and Arata's immaterial sequence of spaces. The site can thus be seen as revealing an early-global encounter in which cultural translation and interpretation, so fluid and nuanced in their operations, were made manifest through the medium of architecture.

b. Holland

At the turn of the twentieth century, Wright's Prairie Houses with their innovative spatial layouts and dynamic elevational compositions encouraged two very different readings from architects in Holland. Today it seems curious that Wright was simultaneously adopted as a rationalist and an expressionist, but that indeed was the case. Berlage, one of leading Dutch architects, however came to question Wright's ability "to reveal the universal in the particular,"⁴ and as such concluded that Wright was far too much of an individualist, laden down with artistic pretensions, to have any lasting universal value for the modernist project. This of course illustrates the reductive and essentialist nature of early-modernism, and consequently it indeed became a limited, self-referential projection of western values and a globalising movement that led to the so-called 'International Style.' Wright's response to his exclusion from this kind of 'objective' modernism was simply to expand the remit of 'organic' architecture into a rival global manifesto. Both of these global visions sought to capture the zeitgeist of the assumed superiority of western thought and practice, as if an expression of the "infinite vision" that Haraway calls a 'god-trick.'⁵ Yet set against these rival global visions, far more interesting was the actual architecture built at a local level, such as the Meer en Bosch housing development in the suburbs of The Hague as designed by Duiker and Bijvoet (1920). They were inspired by what they saw as the progressive image of Wright's Robie House (1908-10), as an early expression of American modernity, and they wanted to adapt the design to their site. Furthermore, the suburb was planned to mediate against the prevailing winds, giving it a specific Dutch feel, and the homes were built for multiple occupants and the houses used local materials – the use of thatch for the roof covering was particularly inventive, disturbing and humorous. Duiker and Bijvoet openly grounded their modernist aspirations in the reali-

ties of their site. It is revealing that their response also reclaimed a sense of 'organic' architecture that Wright himself had left behind as he followed his own ego and his futile competition with mainstream international modernism.

c. Russia

Cohen asserts that Wright was a "useful hostage"⁶ to the Soviet regime, or, as has been shown, more honestly an unwitting apologist for Stalin. Wright's engagement with Stalin and Mussolini shows that many leading architects have scant regard for democratic rights or freedom of speech, just so long as their own designs are vocalised; it is sadly a trend that continues to this day. Wright took his vision for the planned deterritorialised utopia of Broadacre City to Russia, as he knew that it needed a powerful state which was capable of restructuring capitalism to realise his ideal settlement. Thus, Wright engaged with Stalin and Mussolini as a fairly desperate attempt to fulfil his vision. This of course was all part of Wright's global persona, as an architect who was hawking around a deterritorialised city that claimed to be "everywhere and nowhere."⁷ The planning ideas of the disurbanists in Russia were similarly intended to create a dispersed city that was seamlessly integrated into the landscape; theirs was yet another utopia, but this time for the internal colonisation of the vast Russian landscape. Magnitogorsk was the ultimate planned Soviet city, having been conceived as the largest steelworks in the world and built by forced labour in an attempt to surpass and defeat those in the USA. But the Soviet planned economy and the planned city of Magnitogorsk floundered due to a bureaucracy that was too remote and inflexible, and over the last 75 years the city has therefore experienced a dizzying sequence of modernist housing initiatives, idealised American suburbs, Stalinist neo-Classicism and Khrushchev's massive super-blocks. As a result it is best viewed as a contingent city that has managed to accommodate these different approaches to create its own varied urban environment and living spaces. It has long outgrown the imposed plans, and embraced a number of distinct architectures to support its inhabitants. To some extent the city had taken possession of its own circumstance, and to paraphrase Dewey, it represents a "continuously planning society."⁸ However, Wright remained in favour of an architect-planned society along his own peculiar ideas, as exemplified in the cult of the Taliesin Fellowship, Wright's first Usonian community and for some interpreters the starting point for his ideas about Broadacre City. As Stalin's daughter later remarked, life in the Fellowship was remarkably similar to that in her father's Russia.⁹ Wright's singular and simplified view



7.004 Wedding at Magnitogorsk

of a planned city that could span across the world showed him to be a prototypical global architect with a “disembodied vision,”¹⁰ an homogenised globalised view of architecture which few others can share.

d. Britain

Wright empathised with the plight of the urban poor in Chicago in the late-nineteenth century and as such was part of a progressive and pragmatic movement within the emergent industrial city. Yet the Prairie Houses became the mainstay of an affluent middle-class clientele in the Chicago suburbs, and it was others of Wright's colleagues who best developed a more affordable Arts-and-Crafts home. In the economic turmoil of the 1930s, Wright did not engage directly with the 'New Deal' programme, but he supported many of its radical aims, such as rural resettlement and some form of redistribution of wealth through spreading land ownership. Thus when Wright came to visit the RIBA in 1939, ostensibly to promote his dispersed Broadacre City manifesto, it proved to be a kind of 'future shock' for the architectural profession in Britain. The technologically progressive Wright was confronted by an academic and anaemic British profession, and his stream of 'organic' conscious thought was too much for his audience to comprehend, so they deemed him out of touch. Yet, in post-war Britain, the nascent Welfare State was not the vision of social justice that Wright had been promoting in 1939, with its overbearing 'establishment' and its rigid official modernist language. Wright passed harsh judgement on his first homecoming to Wales through his critique of the Brynmawr Rubber Factory. Thus, Wright's influence in Britain never came through Welfare State modernism, which was of course the dominant mode for at least three decades after the war, and hence any substantial influence in Britain cannot be proven by historical analysis. His influence in Britain was partial and quixotic. However, beyond the Welfare State were a few individual architectural admirers who designed modest homes for informed clients in the 1960s and 70s that were clearly inspired by Wright's 'organic' mantra, often in semi-rural or at least suburban settings. Despite Wright's claim that his Broadacre City was “everywhere and nowhere,” in Britain the best examples of 'organic' architecture were thus highly particular and specific. These sites also had a limited engagement with the concept of social justice, but then again, they were designed to articulate a specific brief – the comfort of middle-class life – and not a simplistic Welfare State manifesto.

e. Italy

My contemporary 'Grand Tour' from London to Rome was not a road of cultural discovery that followed the old Classical narrative, but rather a mundane encounter with super-modernity and homogenised 'non-places' without identity, relation or history.¹¹ Well that is one perspective, and yet beyond the motorway and service stations, it was notable that the cities and the towns which had been visited long ago by Inigo Jones and other cultural tourists had maintained their very different traditions. Thus my journey was an opportunity to consider the traditional historiographical connection between a place and its rooted history. This is in keeping with the central thrust of my thesis, which is to relook at the opportunity offered by globalisation to dis-embed history from its sense of fixed location, and thereby to consider new dynamic connections which can be created away from the dominant capitals and centres of culture. In 1910, Wright embraced vernacular Italian culture when he visited Fiesole, and when he later returned to Florence in 1951 he had become a global star-architect who was being called upon as part of US cultural policy in the Cold War to convince ordinary Italians not to heed the insurgent Communist Party. Wright's Broadacre offering of a pleasant Usonian house in the suburbs was not however sympathetic to the traditional urban cultures of Italy, nor was it ever going to pacify the Communists. Nonetheless, Zevi's call for an alternative historiography of modernism which could include the marginalised and excluded architectures that existed beyond the mainstream proved particularly relevant to this thesis.¹² In my research I found many houses that were informed by Wright, and the Villa Romanelli in Udine (1950-55) by Masieri and then Scarpa, was a particular example of a suburban house which attempted to combine the older Italian influence of Palladio with Wright's concept of 'organic' architecture. Viewing all these sites questioned the static role of architectural history in its often narrow approach and dogmatic categorisation. The Wrightian sites that I was able to visit in Italy instead unearthed a hidden history which was specific and episodic, and which notably embraced the less travelled routes of history. Reviving these kinds of forgotten initiatives in turn helps to create, in retrospect, a counter-history to the dominant meta-narrative of modernism.

f. Kuwait

The original 'organic' fabric of old Kuwait was displaced from the mid-twentieth century by a modernist city on the highway. It hence became a planned suburban city with a comprehensive road network and the seemingly equitable distribution of services, just as were meant to be contained within Wright's Broadacre City manifesto.



7.005 Orchard House Entrance (1959)
by Robert Harvey

And having conquered the desert with road-building and air-conditioned homes, the search for an identity in Kuwait and other Middle-Eastern countries becomes even more acute. As a self-styled 'Aladdin' figure, Wright believed in his own magical powers, and for him the Middle-Eastern region was waiting for him to appear on his magical Broadacre City carpet to provide architectural icons which might define a new cultural identity. At the ostentatious Emirates Hotel in Abu Dhabi, I visited the Saadiyat Island exhibition and a scheme for a new Cultural Quarter there, but it was all too reminiscent of Wright's own Greater Plan for Baghdad (1957) which also included a Cultural Quarter full of western cultural forms. Wright's vision drew upon random sources of antiquity from Iraq and Iran and elsewhere, so that his Greater Plan became an entirely fantasy vision of Baghdad which was being planned to support a puppet monarchy. Wright was by then attempting to secure his legacy through such fantastical designs, yet it was also clearly a scheme that was so far removed from the concept of 'organic' architecture as to be incredible. What the Baghdad project confirmed was that Wright's global ambition to make his name was always deeper than his regard for any site or its particular indigenous culture.

The originality of this thesis is in showing, all too clearly, the achievements and misconceptions of Frank Lloyd Wright as the prototypical architect of early-globalisation. Wright realised many of his global ambitions, in that he designed and built examples of 'organic' architecture overseas, he lectured widely, and exhibited his ideas and presented his work to an international audience. Yet Wright's vision was also so overwhelming and singular that his architecture overseas ended up becoming a pastiche. When other architects who were inspired by Wright attempted to follow his 'organic' ideas in the different countries where he exerted an influence, they inevitably enriched the architecture by contributing a personal reflection to a specific site in a way that the 'master' never could do. Furthermore, the lectures and talks that Wright presented in Moscow and London represented a global deterritorialised manifesto for dispersed living which has in many ways been realised in the kinds of post-war suburban sprawl that afflicts most cities in developed or developing countries nowadays. Wright's 'Legacy' period thus demonstrated an even more disturbing global reality in which so-called 'organic' buildings showed a complete lack of any inherent 'organic' engagement with their sites, as can be seen in the deluded schemes by today's global practitioners. Even if the most fantastical schemes for Venice and Baghdad were

never built, they serve even more as critical examples – indeed warnings – of the problems of Wright's ego and eccentricity. Today's starchitects ought to take note.

Researching 'organic' architecture

My methodology was explicitly set up to evaluate the impact of Wright's architecture not as an abstract category of architectural history but as a means of testing and analysing his cultural impact on specific buildings on specific sites. Perhaps above all, I wanted to know just how people were living with the consequences of 'organic' architecture today, and what was it like to inhabit, and to live beside and to be around his architecture? The research was therefore consciously based on my personal exploration of Wrightian sites. However, I also believe that a number of the methods that I have used can be used by others in their attempts to deconstruct architecture and to draw new meanings and insights from different architects. My thesis needs to be seen as a particular example of a PhD by Design, one which is broadly part of what Rendell has classified as 'site writing',¹³ in which I constructed the form and content of my thesis to derive a broader understanding about Wright's journeys beyond his native America. These journeys were all planned to follow as closely as possible Wright's own journeys, wherever possible, and the trips then informed both my initial research and my subsequent writing. The journeys in effect generated my spatial narrative, and this in turn informed the central narrative that I have sustained throughout the thesis. But, crucially, the trips also always allowed for necessary detours and additions to my schedule to inform and deepen the findings of this thesis.

Each of the journeys and the sites I visited were rewarding in terms of gaining new knowledge, yet the problem throughout was to be able to edit this mass of information and streams of thought into a structured account. By considering only six journeys to reveal the impact of Frank Lloyd Wright's journeys beyond America, it allowed the research to become more focused on specific themes within the current meta-narrative of globalisation. This strategic move assisted greatly in structuring the research process, and thus in realising the thesis. Each of the journeys to the different countries was rewarding and each provided a very different context to negotiate. However, each nation also had a substantial amount of architectural context to negotiate, and it became a major task for me to review, collate, and reflect on this knowledge. I often found the works of indigenous writers and critics to be the most



7.006 Romanelli Villa (1950-5) by
Angelo Masieri and Carlo Scarpa

insightful – whether that was Isosaki, Saint or Zevi – in providing valuable critical analysis of Wright’s work in, for example, Japan, Britain and Italy. Furthermore, each of the buildings I looked at in person was another rich source of information for my research endeavours. This kind of ‘site knowledge’ and ‘site writing’ has allowed me to be original, specific, contemporary and insightful in my investigations into Wright’s architecture beyond America.

My open positioning of myself – i.e. my conscious presence – within the research also reflects my method of researching and learning. Haraway stresses the need for positioning in order to learn from ‘situated knowledge.’¹⁴ Furthermore, she advocates methods of ‘learning from below’ as an essential means to question the lazy assumptions of what we regard as objective knowledge.¹⁵ Likewise Rendell advocates that the focus for site-writing should include both the experience from afar and from the close-up encounter.¹⁶ I used both of these theoretical principles to ensure that my positioning in my research was sensitive and responsive to each site. Given that I wanted to explore how Frank Lloyd Wright’s architecture was presently being inhabited and experienced, often the most insightful knowledge was gained by engaging with local people who happened to have in-depth and relevant knowledge of these sites. I also wanted to hear what they really said about these buildings, rather than try to co-opt them into being quasi-architectural historians, and my aim has been to give a flavour of this in my various chapters. Throughout the research I have attempted to maintain an enquiring stance and open-minded demeanour so that I could be receptive and sensitive to the different sites and cultural contexts. In addition, my research was also about being open to change and to be responsive to different opportunities and to new insights.

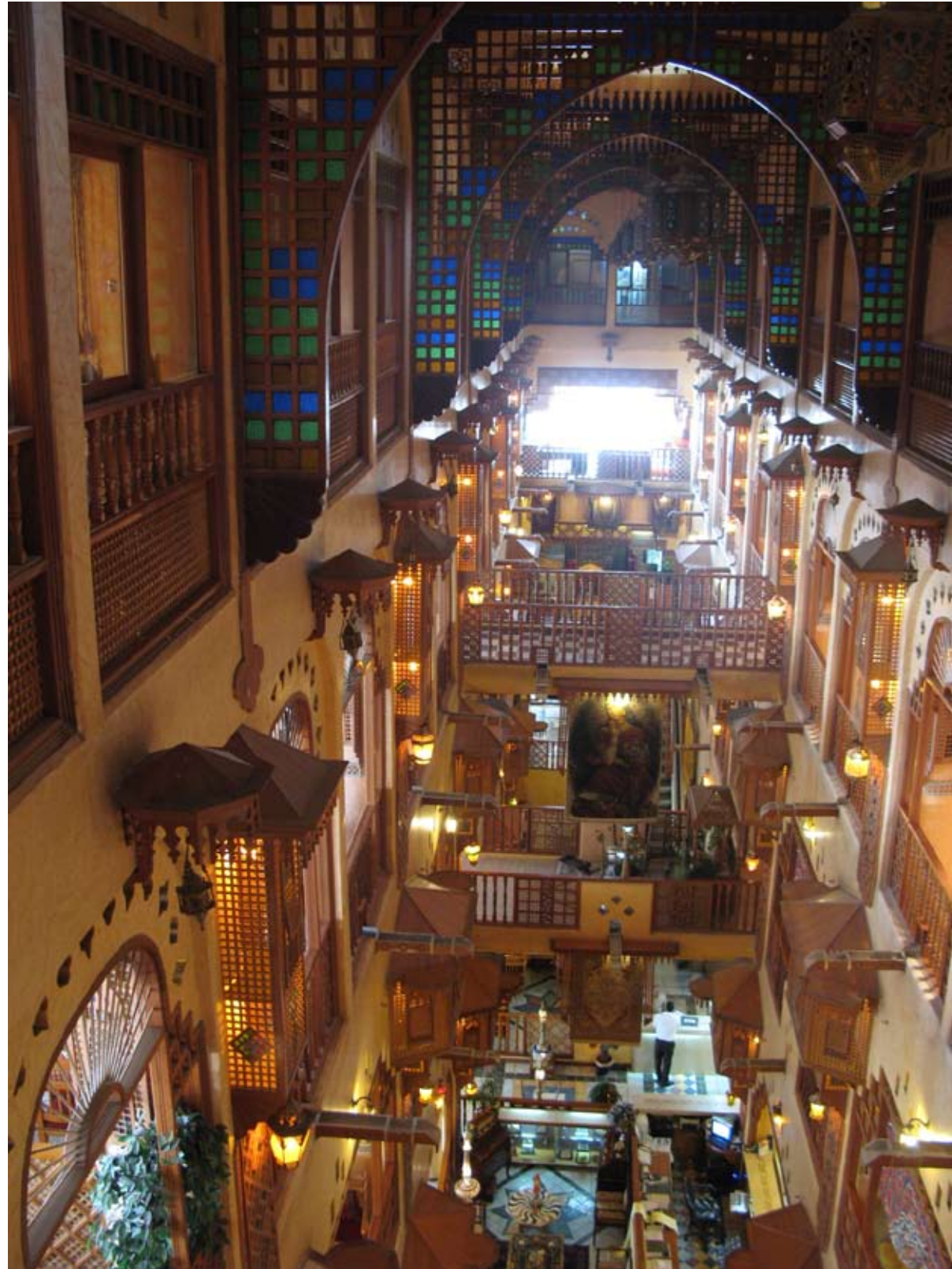
There are of course limitations and problems in this approach. My research could of course have been better informed by spending a longer time in these different contexts, and also by learning the languages better, and in talking to a wider catchment of people – yet to some extent by travelling as a white male English-speaking architect, I was also very much following Wright’s own experience of travel. We were both reliant on others translating different languages for us to comprehend and to interact within these different cultures. My short trips also replicated Wright’s journeys both as a tourist and a promoter of a global ‘organic’ architecture, as opposed to the more anthropological approach of living and secretly detecting the structural systems of a

given society. The troublesome spectre of ‘Archi-tourism’¹⁷ was embraced from the start of my study. Wright was in his own time a typical archi-tourist; and on similar terms I visited a profusion of sites of ‘organic’ architecture during my journeys. Again, my method of trying to retrace Wright’s journeys as exactly as I could, and of searching out the buildings and sites that were most related to him in the different countries, provided me with points of convergence and for departure within the research. My methodology aimed to follow and update Wright’s own visits, yet allow autonomy for me to add in what would also be fruitful where necessary, and this is a technique that might well be used by other researchers wishing to engage in similar exploratory journeys.

In taking this methodological approach, I believe that my methodology is directly relevant to an expansion of concepts of architectural research and practice. The abstracted structure which I set up for the thesis, based on the writings of Perec¹⁸ and other novelists, allowed me to develop a different focus on Wright’s architecture that he undertook overseas without conforming to the more usual tropes of architectural history. Whilst the contexts of the six journeys were always difficult to negotiate, it was indeed helpful to have a contemporary focus for my thesis. The overall methodology of my research, which includes both solid and more traditional academic research and the act of personal interaction with and learning from specific sites is an approach that has proved successful within this thesis, and which others could follow: the former is ostensibly more objective and the latter is more nuanced and negotiated. Hence my site positioning and my site writing become creative intellectual practices that could well be replicated by others to gain tangible, particular and specific knowledge and learning.

Reclaiming ‘organic’ architecture

I was invited to make a presentation on my research at the RIBA in London as part of their Tuesday evening lecture series in May 2012. For the purpose, I chose to focus on Chapter Four of this thesis, ‘Whatever happened to Frank Lloyd Wright,’ since I felt that Wright’s engagement with ideas of ‘social justice’ and his particular influence in Britain would be of most interest in the context. The talk brought together a good mixture of people of different ages, and went well, with the question-and-answer session afterwards revealing that there is still a lot of interest in Wright, and that



7.007 Internal souk, Ghani Palace Hotel (2002) by Saleh Al Mutawa

his work remains well known and well understood. Many in the audience of course rightly questioned the definition of 'organic' architecture given the rich diversity of interpretation of that concept. Some equated it as being related to the careful siting of a building, while others clearly believed that 'organic' buildings needed to display an environmental consciousness. Likewise, some regarded Broadacre City as an expression of 'organic' character from Frank Lloyd Wright, whereas the younger architects present seemed to view contemporary digital form-making as a valid exploration of 'organic' design. These are of course all valid interpretations which show that 'organic' architecture is certainly able to embrace many 'shades of meaning,' supporting as it does what can perhaps be best defined as a complex overlaid palimpsest of architectural definitions and values.

From the outset of this study, I wanted to develop a new mode of writing that would make architecture more nuanced and accessible. In addition, I was particularly fascinated by the way that the sites of architectural production become places for multiple readings of human inhabitation and experience. This certainly reflects Levine's claim that Wright's architecture was able to support various 'shades of meaning.'¹⁹ My six journeys hence became a crucial armature for my thesis structure and for my writing. Within this apparently fixed structure, however, I was able to construct a multi-perspectival narrative which brought in insights from a number of academic fields. In addition I deliberately incorporated both academic research and personal experience, so that both forms of learning could be included within the thesis. I developed a descriptive method to record my sequence of site visits, and then used the outcomes of these travels as a flexible mode of writing to establish a more critical position. These separate narratives were then brought together to allow Wright's architecture to be reviewed critically against its actual site conditions. In this sense, the buildings and their sites – as well of course as the grand unbuilt projects – became the agents for unravelling Frank Lloyd Wright's globalised view of architecture. I am also the first to coin the idea of a third, final, 'Legacy' period of Wright's architecture to describe that stage of his career from the mid-1940s until his death at the end of the 1950s – one that complements the widely accepted Prairie House period from 1893 to 1910 and his Usonian phase in the 1930s.

Hence this thesis provides an original narrative that includes the already known aspects of Wright's life and buildings, as well as other historical constructions, to generate a fresh new story about Wright's cultural legacy beyond America. In turn it shows the tensions of architectural design and production from the late-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, precisely during the early phase of what we know today as globalisation. The thesis is informed both by more traditional desk-bound academic learning and in-the-field situated knowledge drawn from others so as to include their views and voices about how they experience the impact of so-called 'organic' architecture. Hence a multi-perspectival and globalised narrative is generated that embraces and negotiates many academic fields and genres to provide a fuller picture of the meaning and consequences of Wright's 'organic' architecture. The overall story of my six journeys seeks thereby to re-situate Frank Lloyd Wright's architecture beyond America. And in doing so, my layered narrative provides an alternative reading of Wright's global ambitions contrasted with tales of contemporary resistance which manage to reclaim the term 'organic' from being a bland global phenomenon to a highly articulated local expression of difference.

References

Route Finder.

1. Heynen, H. (2006) (Ed.) 'Unthinkable doctorates?' *Journal of Architecture*, **Vol. 11**, No. 3, June 2006
2. Rendell, J. chapter in Rendell, J. et al (2007) *Critical Architecture*, London: Routledge, pp.87-91
3. Rendell, J. (2010) *Site-Writing: The Architecture of Art Criticism*, London: I. B. Tauris.
4. Perec, G. (1975) *Species of Space*, London: Penguin, pp.40-56.
5. Frampton, K. (1992) *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 3rd ed. London: Thames and Hudson.
6. Ibid., pp.57-63.
7. Ibid., pp.186-191.
8. Twombly, R. (1979) *Frank Lloyd Wright his Life and his Architecture*, NY: John Wiley & Sons, pp336-367.
9. Levine, N (1996) *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright*, Princeton,NJ: Princeton Univeristy Press, pp.365-417.
10. Twombly, R. (1979) op. cit., pp.303-335.
11. Zevi, B. (1950) *Towards an Organic Architecture*, London: Faber & Faber, pp.66-76.
12. Sullivan, L. cited and paraphrased by Zevi in Zevi, B. (1950) op. cit., p.68.
13. Wright, F. L. (1908) in Twombly, R. (2009) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Essential Texts*, NY: W. W. Norton & Co., p.102.
14. Twombly, R. (1979) op. cit., p.303.
15. Ibid., pp.304-311.
16. Wright, F. L. (1908) in Twombly, R. (2009) op. cit., pp.135-157
17. Wright, F. L. cited in Twombly, R. (1979) op. cit., p.315.
18. Twombly, R. (1979) op. cit., p.319.
19. Wright, F. L. in Pfeiffer, B. ed. (2008) *The Essential Frank Lloyd Wright: Critical Writings on Architecture*, Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press, p.52.
20. Ibid., p.56.
21. Levine, N. (1996) op. cit., p.72.
22. Ibid.
23. Tomlinson, J. (1999) *Globalisation and Culture*, Cambridge, UK: Polity, pp.27-28.
24. Ibid., p.17.
25. Ibid., p.29.
26. Wright, F. L. (1939) cited and paraphrased in Zevi, B. (1950) op. cit., p.66.
27. Zevi, B. (1950) op. cit., pp.68-69.
28. Vasari, cited in Zevi, B. (1950) op. cit., p.68.
29. Zevi, B. (1950) op. cit., p.76.
30. Wright, F. L. (1970) *An Organic Architecture: The Architecture of Democracy*, London: Lund Humphries, p.36.
31. Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge.
32. Frampton, K. (1992) op. cit., p.58-9.
33. Nute, K. (2000) op.cit., p68.
34. Isosaki, A. (2006) *Japan-ness in Architecture*. Cambridge, USA: MIT Press. p.5.
35. Berlage. H. P. (1925) chapter in Wright, F. L. et al (1992) *The Complete 1925 "Wendigen Series"* NY: Dover, p.80
36. Wright, F. L. (1945) *An Autobiography*, London: Faber & Faber, p.150.
37. Twombly, R. (1979) op. cit., pp.186-87.
38. Zevi, B. (1978) *The Modern Language of Architecture*, Seattle, USA; London: University of Washington Press, p.65.
39. Levine, N. (1996) op. cit.
40. McCarter, R. (1997) *Frank Lloyd Wright* London: Phaidon
41. Twombly, R. (1979) op. cit.
42. Gill, B. (1988) *Many Masks – A Life of Frank Lloyd Wright*, London: Heinemann.
43. Secretst. M. (1998) *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Biography*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
44. Scully, V. (1960) *Frank Lloyd Wright*, NY: George Brailer.
45. Treiber, D. (2008) *Frank Lloyd Wright*, Basel: Birkhauser
46. Zevi, B. (1950) op. cit.
47. Alofsin, A. (1999) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond*, USA: University of California Press.
48. Alofsin, A. (1993) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Lost Years, 1910-1922* Chicago USA: University of Chicago Press.
49. Johnson, D. (1990) *Frank Lloyd Wright versus America*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press.
50. Sergeant, J. (1984) *Frank Lloyd Wright's Usonian Houses: Designs for Moderate Cost One-Family Homes*, NY: Whitney Library of Design.
51. Wright, F. L. et al (1992) *The Complete 1925 "Wendigen Series"*, NY: Dover.
52. McCarter, R. (1991) *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Primer on Architectural Principles*, London: Phaidon

53. Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (1992) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Collected Writings, Vol. 1 1984-1930*, NY: Rizzoli.
54. Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (2008) *The Essential Frank Lloyd Wright: Critical Writings on Architecture*, Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press.
55. Twombly, R. (Ed.) (2009) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Essential Texts*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
56. Ibid., p.21.
57. Levine, N. (1996) op. cit., p.192.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.322.
61. Tomlinson, J. (1999) op.cit., p.29.
62. Haraway, D. J. (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, London: Free Association Books, pp.183-201.
63. Ibid., p.187.
64. Ibid., p.191.
65. Ibid., p.195.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., p.194.
68. Ibid., p.198
69. Foucault, M. cited in Ockman, J. chapter in Ockman, J., and Frausto, S. (Eds.) (2005), *Architourism: Authentic, Escapist, Exotic, Spectacular*, Munich, Germany: Prestel, p.161.
70. Rendell, J. chapter in Rendell, J. et al (2007) op. cit., p.151.
71. Wright, F. L. (1957) in Pfeiffer, B. ed. (2008) op. cit., p.426.
72. Ockman, J. chapter in Ockman, J. and Frausto, S. (Eds.) (2005) op.cit., p.161.
73. Traganou, J. chapter in Traganou, J. & Mitrasinovic, M. (Eds.) (2009) *Travel, Space, Architecture*, Farnham, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, p.21.
74. Ibid.
75. Wright, F. L. (1957) in Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (2008) op. cit., p.424.
76. Lanasky, M. in Lanasky, M. and McLaren B. (Eds.) (2004) *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance and Place*, Oxford: Berg p.5.
77. Rendell, J. (2010) *Site-Writing: The Architecture of Art Criticism*, London: I. B. Tauris, p.72.
78. Ibid., pp.72-3.
79. Hughes, R. chapter in Rendell, J. et al (2007) op. cit., p.92.
80. Grillner, K. cited in Hughes, R. (2006) 'The poetics of practice-based research writing,' chapter in Heynen, H. (2006) (Ed.) op. cit., p.291.
81. Levine, N. (1996) op. cit., p.431.
82. Ibid., p.433.
83. Ibid., p.431.
84. Ibid.
85. Benjamin, W. cited in Levine, N. (1996) op. cit., p.431.

1. Unusual Views of Outstanding Sites

1. Wright, F. L. (1945) *An Autobiography*, London: Faber & Faber, p.173.
2. Tanigawa, M. chapter in Birk, M. (Ed.) (1996) *Frank Lloyd Wright's Fifty Views of Japan: the 1905 Photo Album*, San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, p.19 and pp.15-17.
3. Said, E (2003) *Orientalism*, London: Penguin, p.1.
4. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.173.
5. Isosaki, A. (2006) *Japan-ness in Architecture*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press, p.3.
6. Alofsin, A. (1993) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Lost Years 1910-1922* Chicago, USA: University of Chicago Press, p.62 and pp.313-316.
7. Okakura, K. (2005) *Book of Tea*, Tokyo: Kodansha Int., p.59.
8. Isosaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.5.
9. Said, E (2003) op. cit., p.167.
10. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.173.
11. Ibid.
12. Secret, M. (1992) *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Biography*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.187.
13. Gill, B. (1988) *Many Masks – A Life of Frank Lloyd Wright*, London: Heinemann, p.185.
14. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., pp.173-4.
15. Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge, pp.22-5.
16. Ibid., pp.22-5.
17. Ibid., pp.36-46.
18. Ibid., pp.38-44.
19. Okakura, K. (2005) op. cit.
20. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.111.
21. Nute, K. (2000) op. cit., p.55.
22. Ibid., pp.59-60.
23. Stewart, D. (1988) *The Making of Modern Japanese Architecture: 1868 to Present*, Japan: Kodansha Int., p.73.
24. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.183.
25. Ibid., p.184.
26. Taut, B. (1938) *Houses and People of Japan*, London: Gifford, p.2.
27. Koolhaas, R. (1995) *S, M, L, XL.*, NY: Monacelli Press, p.88.
28. Tange, K. cited in Coaldrake, W. H. (1996) *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, London: Routledge, p.272.
29. Isosaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.17.
30. Coaldrake, W. H. (1996) *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, London: Routledge, pp.269-272 and pp.274-277.
31. Sasaki, K. chapter in Miles, M. et al (Eds.) (2004) *The City Cultures Reader*, London: Routledge, p.37.
32. Richie, D. (1999) *Tokyo*, London: Reaktion Books, p.18.
33. Seidensticker, E. (1985) *Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake, 1867-1923*. London: Penguin, p.8.
34. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.188.
35. Seidensticker, E. (1985) op. cit., p.34.
36. Richie, D. (1999) op. cit., p.25.
37. Shelton, B. (2012) *Learning from the Japanese City: Looking East in Urban Design*, London: Routledge, pp.8-10.
38. Bartes, R. (1982) *Empire of Signs*, NY: Hill & Wang, p.33.
39. Ibid., p.30.
40. Anon, (2003) *The Imperial Hotel - A Legend in Photos*, Tokyo: Imperial Hotel Ltd.
41. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., pp.190-200.
42. Coaldrake, W. H. (1996) op. cit., p.208.
43. Ibid., p.216.
44. Ibid., p.209.
45. Ibid., p.217.
46. Ibid.
47. Seidensticker, E. (1985) op. cit., p.37.
48. Ibid.
49. Stewart, D. (1988) op. cit., p.22.
50. Fujimori, T. chapter in Conder, J. (2002) *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokyo: Kodansha Int., p.231.
51. Seidensticker, E. (1985) op. cit., p.68.
52. Ibid., p.97.
53. Anon, (1912) 'The Hotels of Japan: Their Characteristics (The Welcome Society),' *The Times*, 19 July 1910, p.69.

54. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.172.
55. Smith, K. in Nute, K. (2000) op. cit., p.151.
56. Tanigawa. M. chapter in Anon, (1991) *Frank Lloyd Wright Retrospective Tokyo: Mainichi Newspapers* p.62, (Exhibition Catalogue).
57. Isosaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.8.
58. Tanigawa. M. chapter in Anon, (1991) op. cit., p.62.
59. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., pp.112-113.
60. Wright, F. L. (1923) In the Cause of Architecture: The New Imperial Hotel, Tokio, *The Western Architect*, 32 (April 1923) in Twombly, R. (2009) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Essential Texts*. London, NY: W W Norton & Co. p.189.
61. Ibid., p.192.
62. Ibid., p.193.
63. Nute, K. (2000) op. cit., p.153.
64. Stipe, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (Ed.) (1999) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond* Berkeley, USA: University of California Press, p.31.
65. Lipman, J. chapter in Anon, (1991) op. cit., p.29.
66. Wright, F. L. (1954) *The Natural House*, in Pfeiffer, B. ed (2008) *The Essential Frank Lloyd Wright: Critical Writings on Architecture*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p.361.
67. Isosaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.8.
68. Stewart, D. (1988) op. cit., p.82.
69. Levine, N (1996) *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p.115.
70. Wright, F. L. (1923) op. cit., pp.192.
71. Blake, P. (1960) *The Master Builders*, London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., p.254.
72. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., pp.190-200.
73. Ibid., pp.190-200.
74. Quinan, J. (2008) 'Field Notes: Frank Lloyd Wright, Preservation, and the Question of Authenticity,' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, **Vol. 67**, No.1, March 2008, p.96.
75. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.198.
76. Gill, B. (1988) op. cit., p.264.
77. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.194.
78. Raymond, A. (1973) *An Autobiography*, Rutland, USA: Charles E. Turtle, pp.70-71.
79. Ibid. pp.70-71.
80. Anon, (1922) *Christian Science Monitor* cited in Stipe, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.30.
81. Raymond, A. (1973) op. cit., p71
82. Wright, F. L. (1922) *The New Imperial Hotel*, in Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (1992) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Collected Writings: Vol 1 1922-1930*, NY:Rizzoli, pp.162-4.
83. Fujioka, H. chapter in Anon, (1991) op. cit., p.68.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid., p.69.
86. Ibid.
87. Isozaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.8.
88. Ibid., p.9.
89. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.462.
90. Blake, P. (1960) op. cit., p.257.
91. Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.254.
92. Nute, K. (2000) op. cit., pp.154-55.
93. Frampton, K. chapter in McCarter, R. Ed (2005) *On and By Frank Lloyd Wright: A Primer of Architectural Principles*, London: Phaidon, p.164.
94. Isosaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.6.
95. Ibid.
96. Ponti, G. (1968) 'Tokyo Imperial Hotel, 1922-1967,' *Domus*, Feb 1968, pp.5-11.
97. Anon, (2002) "'Myonichikan' Honors its Name,' *Frank Lloyd Wright Quarterly* **Vol.13**, No.3 p.17.
98. Ibid., p.16
99. Ibid., p.20
100. Ibid.
101. Anon, (1992) *New York Times*, cited in Anon (2002), op.cit., p.21
102. Raymond, A. (1973) op. cit., p.70.
103. Anon, (2007a) Apprentices, from WAAJ available from http://wrightinjapan.org/eng_wij/e_appentices/follow_e.html (The Wrightian Architectural Archives in Japan website accessed 31.08.2007).

104. Ibid.
105. Severns, K. & Mori, K. (2005) *Magnificent Obsession: Frank Lloyd Wright's Buildings and Legacy in Japan*, Chicago: Facets Video, (DVD media)
(see, www.magnificent-obsession.org).
106. Wright, F. L. (1908) *In the Cause of Architecture*, in Twombly, R. (2009) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Essential Texts* NY: W. W. Norton & Co., p.83.
107. Junko (2005a) and Yohei (2005b) discussion with the author about Wright in Japan.
108. Meech, J. (2001) *Frank Lloyd Wright and the Art of Japan – The Architects Other Passion*. NY: Abrams, p.28.
109. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.173.
110. Ibid., p.183.
111. Nute, K. (2000) op. cit., p.108.
112. Wright, F. L. (1912) *The Japanese Print: An Interpretation*, in Twombly, R. (2009) op. cit., pp.135-157.
113. Ibid. pp.138-139.
114. Nute, K. (2000) op. cit., p.106.
115. Stewart, D. (1988) op. cit., p.75.
116. Ibid., p.76.
117. Ibid., pp.75-6.
118. Meech, J. (2001) op. cit., pp.50-73.
119. Wright, J. L. (1946) *My father who is on earth*, NY: G. P. Putnam & Son, p.98.
120. Meech, J. (2001) op. cit., p.140.
121. Ross, M. (1978) *Beyond Metabolism: The New Japanese Architecture*, London: Mc Graw Hill, p.8.
122. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., pp.175-79.
123. Taut, B. (1938) op. cit.
124. Shelton, B. (2012) op. cit., p.29.
125. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.175.
126. Ibid.
127. Ibid.
128. Ibid.
129. Nute, K. (2000) op. cit., p.44.
130. Isosaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.27.
131. Ibid., p.249.
132. Taut, B. (1938) op. cit., p.291.
133. Taut, B. cited in Isozaki, A. (2006) op. cit., pp.12-13.
134. Taut, B. cited in Isozaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.13.
135. Isozaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.257.
136. Banham, R., Kobayashi, K. and Suzuki, H. (1985) *Contemporary Architecture of Japan (1958-1984)*, NY: Rizzoli, p.16.
137. Isozaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.264.
138. Ibid., pp.44-45.
139. Treib, M. & Herman, R. (1980) *A Guide to the Gardens of Kyoto*, Tokyo: Shufunotomo Co. Ltd., p.186.
140. Wright, F. L. (1931) *Modern Architecture, Being the Kahn Lectures*, in Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (2008) op. cit., p.175.
141. Ibid., p.175.
142. Treib, M. & Herman, R. (1980) op. cit., p.185.
143. Anon (2005c) guide from Women's University at Koshien, Osaka.
144. Ueda, K. (received 2005) *Shinto Tokyo: The Association of Shinto Shrines* (pamphlet) p.2.
145. Jencks, C. (1980) *Later Modern Architecture and Other Essays* London: Academy Edition, p.101.
146. Tanigawa, M. chapter in Anon. (1991) op. cit., p.60.
147. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., pp.190-200.
148. Tanigawa, M. chapter in Anon. (1991) op. cit., p.61.
149. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.151.
150. Burns, K. and Novick, L. (1998) *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Film* PBS Home Video.
- 151a. Stewart, D. (1987) op. cit., p.124.
- 151b. Tanigawa, M. (1980) *Measured Drawing: Frank Lloyd Wright in Japan*, Tokyo: Gurnfikka Sha., p.67.
152. Stewart, D. (1987) op. cit., pp.104-5.
153. Frampton, K. (1992) *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 3rd ed. London: Thames and Hudson, p.258.
154. Stewart, D. (1988) op. cit., p.106.

155. Anon (2005d), Hotel agent in conversation with author.
156. Steve (2005e), conversation with author at restaurant in Okayama.
157. Alofsin, A. chapter in Birk, M. (Ed.) (1996) op. cit., p.12.
158. Treib, M. & Herman, R. (1980) op. cit., p.27.
159. Conder, J. (2002) *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokyo: Kodansha Int., p.47.
160. Treib, M. & Herman, R. (1980) op. cit., p.30.
161. Anon (received 2005) Shikoyko-Mura folk museum pamphlet.
162. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.174.
163. Anon (2005d), Hotel agent in conversation with author.
164. Sasaki, M (2007) *Morphogenesis of Flux Structure*, London: AA Publications, p.69.
165. Ibid.
166. Wood, A. & Davenport, A. (1997 to 2002) *Tellytubbies* Ragdoll Productions (Children's television programme).
167. Anon, (2008), *Heurtley*, available from <http://www.mitsuihome.co.jp/product/heurtley/index.html>, (Mitsui Homes website accessed 27.08.2008).
168. Wright, F. L. (1908) *In the Cause of Architecture*, in Twombly, R. (2009) op. cit., p.85.
169. Isozaki, A (1992) 'Project in Renga Form: The Game of Individual Expression' *Lotus* **71**, 1992, p.42 .
170. Koolhaas, R. cited in Steiner, R. (1992) *Lotus* **71**, 1992, p.53.
171. Ibid., p113.
172. Holl, S. cited in Anon (1991) Cultural Translation *Progressive Architecture* No.72, Aug 1991, p.64.
173. Isozaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.17.
174. Ross, M. (1978) op. cit., p.21.
175. Banham, R., Kobayashi, K. and Suzuki, H. (1985) op. cit., p.18.
176. Stewart, D. (1988) op. cit., p.182.
177. Fujioka, H. in Anon. (1991) op. cit., p.70.
178. Isozaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.63.
179. Jencks, C. (1980) op. cit., pp101-4.
180. Boyd, R. (1968) *New Directions in Japanese Architecture*, London: Studio Vista, pp.27-8.
181. Fujioka, H. in Anon. (1991) op. cit., p.71.
182. Kurokawa, K. cited in Stipe, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.30.
183. Jencks, C. (1980) op. cit., p.112.
184. Isozaki, A. cited in Jencks, C. (1980) op. cit., p.112.
185. Coaldrake, W. H. (1996) op. cit., pp.163.
186. Taut, B. cited in Nute, K. (2000) op. cit., p.149. and Taut, B. cited in Isozaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.13.
187. Treiber, D. (2008) *Frank Lloyd Wright* Basel, Germany: Birkhauser, p.111.
188. Ibid.
189. Nute, K. (1993) op. cit., pp.149-50.
190. Ibid.
191. Treiber, D. (2008) op. cit., p.111.
192. Anon, (2005) 'Fall falling back and spring springing forward,' *The Japan Times*, November 10th, 2005, p.1.
193. Seidensticker, E. (1985) op. cit., p.9.
194. Sasaki, K. in Miles, M. et al (2004) op. cit., p.37.
195. Wright, F. L. (1922) op. cit., p.162.
196. Fleischer, R. (1970) *Tora! Tora! Tora!* Film by 20th Century Fox.
197. Uchii, S. (1987) 'In Pursuit of the Ideal Art Museum,' *Japan Architect* **Vol 62**, No.1 (357) Jan. 1987, p.17.
198. Ibid.
199. Ibid.
200. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.198.
201. Anon, (2005f) Meeting with former Taliesin Associates in Tokyo.
202. Ross, M. (1978) op. cit., p.8.
203. Ibid.
204. Isosaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.5.
205. Taut, B. (2006) cited in Isozaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.13.
206. Tange, K. cited in Fujioka, H. chapter in Anon. (1991) op. cit., p.70.
207. Isosaki, A. (2006) op. cit., p.5.
208. Isosaki, A. (1999) cited in Stipe, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (Ed.) (1999) op. cit., p.33.

2. Vanity Fair

1. Pevsner, N. (1981) *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius*, London: Pelican, p.184.
2. Pevsner, N. (1939) 'Frank Lloyd Wright Peaceful Penetration of Europe,' *Architects Journal* (89) 4 May 1939, p.732.
3. Childs, P. (2005) *Modernism*, London: Routledge, p.12.
4. Rimbaud, A. cited in Childs, P. (2005) op. cit., p.12.
5. Bradbury, M. in Bradbury, M. & McFarlane, J. (Eds.) *Modernism: A Guide to European Literature 1890-1930* London: Penguin, p.96.
6. Walsh, J. (2006) 'Don't blame it on the concrete' from, <<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2006/apr/10/thismodernistlife>> (The Guardian website accessed on 12.04.11).
7. Wright, F. L. (1970) *An Organic Architecture* London: Lund Humpheries, p.32.
8. Wright, F. L. (1945) *An Autobiography*, London: Faber and Faber, p.323.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p.145.
11. Ibid., p.70.
12. Ibid.,
13. Hoffman, D. (1969) 'Frank Lloyd Wright and Viollet-le-Duc,' *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* March 1969, **Vol. 28** No.1, p.174.
14. Wright, J. L. (1946) *My Father Who is on Earth*, NY: G. P. Putnam's sons, p.136.
15. Colquhoun, A. (2002) *Modern Architecture*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, p.15.
16. Hoffman, D. (1969) op. cit., p.174.
17. Ibid., p.179.
18. Ibid., pp.174-5.
19. Ibid., pp.175-6.
20. Ibid., p.176.
21. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.71.
22. Anon, (2010) 'Les Miserables' from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Les_Mis%C3%A9rables> (Wikipedia website accessed on 12.04.11).
23. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., pp.71-3.
24. Ibid., p.73.
25. Hugo, V. (1996) *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame*, London: Penguin Classics, p.174.
26. Ibid., p.175.
27. Ibid., p.174.
28. Ibid., p.175.
29. Ibid., p.183.
30. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.73.
31. Alofsin, A. (1993) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Lost Years 1910-1922*, Chicago, USA: University of Chicago Press, p.47.
32. Ibid., p.46.
33. Ibid., p.47.
34. Ibid., p.47.
35. Ibid., pp. 47-8.
36. Mallet-Stevens, R. chapter in Wright, F. L. et al (1992) *The Complete 1925 "Wendigen Series"*, NY:Dover, p.163.
37. Anon. (2006a) Conversation with house owner beside Villa Cavrois.
38. Joly, P. in Pinchon, J-F (1990) Ed. Rob. *Mallet-Stevens: Architecture, Furniture, Interior Design*, Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, p.41.
39. Ibid. p.41.
40. Herbert-Stevens, F. in Pinchon, J-F (1990), op. cit., p.121.
41. Joly, P. in Pinchon, J-F (1990), op. cit., p.44.
42. Mallet-Stevens, R. in Wright, F. L. et al (1992) op. cit., p.163.
43. Ibid., p.163.
44. Ibid., p.163.
45. Cohen, J-L. chapter in Alfonsin, A. (1999) Ed. *Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond*, USA: University of California Press, p.111.
46. Ibid., p.115.
47. Ibid., p.117.
48. Ibid., p.118.
49. Ibid., p.120.
50. Anon, (2004) 'Visit to City-College St. Franciscus Rotterdam,' *Group Report "Teaching profession"* in Den Haag 8th Feb. -13th Feb 2004 (City College website, downloaded August 2005)
51. Overy, P. (1991) *De Stijl*, London: Thames & Hudson, p.19.
52. Anon. (2002) 'Why Dutch Politics can never be simple,' *The Economist* 4 May 2002, [online] Available from: NewsBank Newspapers - U.K. <<http://infoweb.newsbank.com>> (Newsbank website accessed 02 September 2005)
53. Ibid.

54. Smith, A. D. (2005) 'Fading liberal dreams tears Dutch apart' *The Observer* 13 Feb 2005, London, [online] Available from <<http://observer.guardian.co.uk>> (The Guardian website, accessed 19 August 2005).
55. Anon, (2002) op. cit.
56. Langmead, D. & Johnson, D. L. (2000) *Architectural Excursions: Frank Lloyd Wright: Holland and Europe*, London: Greenwood Press, p.22.
57. Ashbee, C. (1911) in Wright, F. L. (1985) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Early Visions, the great achievements of the Oak Park years*, (The complete Frank Lloyd Wright: Ausgeführte Bauten of 1911, translation by B. Goldstein), NY: Gramercy Books, p.4.
58. Casciato, M. chapter in Pollack. M. (1997) (Ed.) *The Education of the Architect: Historiography, Urbanism, and the Growth of Architectural Knowledge*, Cambridge, Mass, USA: MIT Press, p.142.
59. Van Stralen, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.46.
60. Broekhuizen, D. (2010) (Ed.) *Robert van't Hoff: Architect of a New Society*, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, p.45.
61. Banham, R. (2002) *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, Oxford, UK: Architectural Press, p.154.
62. Broekhuizen, D. (2010) op. cit., p.45.
63. Overy, P (1991) op. cit., p.104.
64. Ibid., p.20.
65. Colquhoun, A. (2002) op. cit., p.109.
66. Ibid., pp.110-1.
67. Frampton, K. (1992) *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 3rd ed., London: Thames and Hudson, p.142.
68. Banham, R. (2002) op. cit., p.154.
69. Oud, J. J. P. in Brooks, H. (1981) *Writings on Wright: Selected comments on Frank Lloyd Wright*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press, pp.135-7
70. Banham, R. (2002) op. cit., p.154.
71. Van Stralen, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.49.
72. Oud, J. J. P. in Wright, F. L. et al (1992) op. cit., p.86.
73. Ibid., p.87.
74. Ibid., p.89.
75. Langmead, D. & Johnson, D. L. (2000) op. cit., p.44.
76. Ibid., p.78.
77. Ibid., p.44.
78. Fortier, B. (1989) "La Grande Ville," interview with Rem Koolhaas, *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* vol. 262, Avril 89, p.90. (translated by Casciato, M. in Pollack. M. (1997) (Ed.) op. cit., p.156.)
79. Fortier, B. (1989) "La Grande Ville," interview with Rem Koolhaas, *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* **Vol. 262**, Avril 89, p.92.
80. Anon, (2005a) House owner in conversation with author.
81. Schenier, C. P. (1999) 'Frank Lloyd Wright Lecture' Beurs van Berlage, Amsterdam, June 18, 1999, available from <http://www.usemb.n1/061899.htm>, (US Embassy website accessed 31 August 2005).
82. Wills, J. in Brooks, H. (1981) op. cit., pp.139-45.
83. Anon (2009) '1928 Summer Olympics' from Wikipedia available from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1928_summer_olympics> (Wikipedia website accessed on 28.04.09).
84. Pevsner, N. (1939) op. cit., pp.731-34.
85. Banham, R. (2002) op. cit., p.164.
86. Langmead, D. & Johnson, D. L. (2000) op. cit., p.71.
87. Ibid., p.72
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid., p.73.
90. Ibid., p.76.
91. Pevsner, N. (1939) op. cit., p.734.
92. Polano, S. (1988) *Hendrick Petrus Berlage: Complete Works*, London: Butterworth Architecture, p.143.
93. Banham, R. (2002) op. cit., p.145.
94. Whyte, I. B. (1996) Introduction in Berlage, H. P. (1996) *Hendrik Petrus Berlage: Thoughts on style 1886-1909*, Santa Monica, Calif. USA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities (translation by Whyte, I. B. and de Wit, W.), p.50.
95. Banham, R. (2002) op. cit., p.140.
96. Langmead, D. & Johnson, D. L. (2000) op. cit., p.20.
97. De Witt, W. (1983) *The Amsterdam School: Dutch Expressionists Architecture, 1915-1930*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, p.32.
98. Ibid., p.34.
99. Casciato, M. chapter in Pollack. M. (1997) (Ed.) op. cit., p.142.
100. Pevsner, N. (1939) op. cit., p.732.
101. Langmead, D. & Johnson, D. L. (2000) op. cit., pp.84-5.

102. Ibid., p.87.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid., p.95.
105. Wright, F. L. et al (1992) op. cit.
106. Langmead, D. & Johnson, D. L. (2000) op. cit., p.97.
107. Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.34.
108. Berlage, H. in Wright, F. L. et al (1992) op. cit., pp.80-82.
109. Friedland, R. and Zellman, H. (2006) *The Fellowship: The Untold Story of Frank Lloyd Wright and the Taliesin Fellowship*, NY: Regan, p.135.
110. Ibid., p.138.
111. Ibid., p.161.
112. Ibid., p.161.
113. Ibid., p.164.
114. Ibid., p.173.
115. Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.30.
116. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.145.
117. Ibid., p.146.
118. Alofsin, A. (1998) in Wright, F. L. (1998) *Studies and Executed Buildings by Frank Lloyd Wright*, NY: Rizzoli, p.5.
119. Ibid., p.282
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.4.
124. Alofsin, A. (2004) in Eggener, K. (2004) (Ed.) *American Architectural History: A Contemporary Reader*, London: Routledge. p.282.
125. van der Rohe, M. in Brooks, H. (1981) *Writings on Wright: Selected comments on Frank Lloyd Wright*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press., p.129.
126. Pevsner, N. (1983) op. cit.
127. Colomina, B (1988) *Architecturalproduction* NY: Princeton Architectural Press, p.6.
128. Ibid.
129. Alofsin, A. (1998) in Wright, F. L. (1998) op. cit.,p.6.
130. Ibid. p.5.
131. Ibid. p.6.
132. Neufert, in Nerdinger, W. (1985) *Walter Gropius*, Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv., p.44.
133. Colquhoun, A. (2002) op. cit., p.174.
134. Ibid. p.65.
135. Frampton, K. (1992) op.cit., p.112.
136. Ibid., p.111
137. Colquhoun, A. (2002) op. cit., p.66.
138. Fitch, J. M. (1960) *Walter Gropius*, NY: George Braziller, Inc., p.8.
139. Colquhoun, A. (2002) op. cit., p.68.
140. Pevsner, N. (1939) op. cit., p.732.
141. Alofsin, A. (1993) in Wright, F. L. (1993) op. cit., pp.2-3.
142. James, K. (1997) *Erich Mendelsohn and the architecture of German Modernism*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, p.1.
143. Ibid., p.21.
144. Ibid., p.22.
145. Jones, P. B. (1999) *Hugo Haring: The Organic versus the Geometric* Stuttgart, London: Edition Axel Menges, p.18.
146. James, K. (1997) op. cit., p.14.
147. Medelsohn, E. cited in James, K. (1997) op. cit., p.33.
148. James, K. (1997) op. cit., p.45.
149. Einstein, A. cited in James, K. (1997) op. cit., p.44.
150. James, K. (1997) op. cit., p.46.
151. Ibid., p.64.
152. Ibid.
153. Medelsohn, E. in Wright, F. L. (1992) op. cit., p.165.
154. Ibid. p.165.
155. Alofsin, A. in Eggener, K. (2004) op. cit., p.286.
156. Ibid., p.287.
157. Ibid., p.287.
158. Burkle, C. J. (1993) *Hans Scharoun*, Zurich, London: Artemis, p.121.
159. Ibid.
160. Scharoun, H. cited in Burkle, C. J. (1993) op. cit., p.121.
161. Jones, P. B. (1978) *Hans Scharoun: a Monograph*, London: Gordon Fraser, pp.81-82, and Jones, P. B. (1999), op. cit., p.84.
162. Wilson, C. St J.(2007) *The other tradition of modern architecture : the uncompleted project* London: Black Dog.

163. Jones, P. B. (1999) op. cit., p.77.
164. Haring, H. cited in Jones, P. B. (1999), op. cit., p.77.
165. Schnasse, C. cited in Jones, P. B. (1999), op. cit., p.83.
166. Jones, P. B. (1999), op. cit., p.84.
167. Ibid., p.83.
168. Haring, H. cited in Jones, P. B. (1999), op. cit., p.80.
169. Jones, P. B. (1999), op. cit., p.86.
170. Colquhoun, A. (2002) op. cit., p.169.
171. Wright, F. L. in Pfeiffer, B. ed. (2008) *The Essential Frank Lloyd Wright: Critical Writings on Architecture*, Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press, p.56.
172. Jones, P. B. (1978) op. cit., p.82.
173. Ibid., p.82.
174. Jones, P. B. (1995) *Hans Scharoun*, London: Phaidon.
175. Colquhoun, A. (2002) op. cit., p.163.
176. Ibid., p.165.
177. Frampton, K. (1992) op. cit., p.163.
178. Jones, P. B. (1999) op. cit.
179. Kirsch, K. (1994) *The Weissenhofsiedlung experimental housing built for the Deutsche Werkbund, Stuttgart 1927* Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, p.34.
180. Ibid., p.33.
181. Ibid., p.41.
182. Ibid., p.17.
183. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p.239.
184. Kirsch, K. (1994) op. cit., p.100.
185. Frampton, K. (1992) op. cit., p.154.
186. Pommer R. in Pommer, R. & Otto C. F. (1991) *Weissenhof 1927 and the modern movement in architecture*, Chicago: London : University of Chicago Press, p.78
187. Jones, P. B. (1978) op. cit., pp.12-13.
188. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p.241.
189. Kirsch, K. (1994) op. cit., p.151.
190. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p.245.
191. Barr, A. in Hitchcock, H-R. & Johnson, P. (1966) *The International Style*, NY: W. Norton & Co., p.11.
192. Ibid., p.13.
193. Wright, F. L. (1928) in Twombly, R. Ed. (2009) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Essential Texts* NY: W. W. Norton & Co., p.237.
194. Ibid., p.235.
195. Ibid., p.238.
196. Wright, F. L. (1930) in Twombly, R. Ed. (2009) op. cit., p.242.
197. Ibid.
198. Ibid.
199. Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.56.
200. Jones, P. B. (2000) *Gunter Behnisch*, Basel, Germany: Birkhauser, p.13.
201. Ibid.
202. Behnisch, G. cited in Jones, P. B. (2000), op. cit., pp.16-7.
203. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.145, pp.200-01, pp.366-7 and p.360.
204. Dimster, F. (1995) *The New Austrian Architecture*, NY: Rizzoli, p.20.
205. Bisanz, H. chapter in Waissenberger, R. (Ed.) (1984) *Vienna 1890-1920*, NY: Rizzoli, p.109.
206. Ibid., p.109.
207. Kassal-Mikula, R. chapter in Waissenberger, R. (Ed.) (1984) op. cit., p.172.
208. Wagner, O. cited in Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.58.
209. Frampton, K. (1992) op. cit., p.79.
210. Bisanz, H. chapter in Waissenberger, R. (Ed.) (1984) op. cit., p.122.
211. Colquhoun, A. (2002) op. cit., p.28.
212. Ibid. pp.28-9.
213. Kassal-Mikula, R. chapter in Waissenberger, R. (1984) op. cit., p.184.
214. Scully, V. cited in Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.58.
215. Lipman, J. chapter in McCarter, R. (2005) *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Primer on Architectural Principles*, London: Phaidon, p.264.
216. Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.13.
217. Ibid., p.35.
218. Colquhoun, A. (2002) op. cit., p.29.
219. Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.58. and p.339.
220. Colquhoun, A. (2002) op. cit., p.28.
221. Frampton, K. (1992) op. cit., p.83.
222. Monroe, H. (1993) cited in Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.79.
223. Smithson, A. & P. (1981) *The Heroic Period of Modern Architecture*, London: Thames & Hudson, p.7.

224. Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.59.
225. Alofsin, A. (2012) *Frank Lloyd Wright, Art Collector: Secession Prints from the Turn of the Century*, Austin, Texas, US: University of Texas Press.
226. Frampton, K. (1992) op. cit., p.92.
227. Ibid., pp.90-1.
228. Ibid., p.91.
229. Wright, F. L. (1909) in Twombly, R. (2009) op. cit., p.106.
230. Frampton, K. (1992) op. cit., p.91.
231. Suzanne, (2006b) conversation with author in Vienna.
232. Schindler, R. in March, L. & Sheine, J. (1995) *R. M. Schindler: Composition and Construction*, London: Academy Editions, p.53.
233. Banham, R. (1969) 'The Wilderness Years of Frank Lloyd Wright,' *RIBA Journal* December 1969, p.515.
234. McCoy, E. (1960) *Richard Neutra*, NY: George Braziller, Inc., p.11.
235. Hitchcock, H-R. & Johnson, P. (1966) op. cit., p.27.
236. Wright, F. L. (1932a) in Twombly, R. (2009) op. cit., p.244.
237. Ibid., p.245.
238. Ibid., pp.245-7.
239. Wright, F. L. (1932b) in Twombly, R. (2009) op. cit., p.251.
240. Ibid., p.253.
241. Childs, P. (2000) op. cit., pp.56-7.
242. Pevsner, N. (1939) op. cit. pp.731-734.
243. Scully, V. (2003) *Modern Architecture and Other Essays* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp.54-63.
244. Ibid. p.62.

3. Egor'evsk Cultural Club

1. Cooke, C. (1995) *Russian Avant-Garde: Theories of Art, Architecture and the City*, London: Academy Editions, p.18.
2. Udoviki-Sleb, D. (2009) 'Between Modernism and Socialist Realism: Soviet Architectural Culture under Stalin's Revolution from Above, 1928-1938,' *Society of Architectural Historians Journal* Vol. 68, No. 4 pp.267-495.
3. Williams-Ellis, C. (1991) *Architect Errant*, Portmeirion, Wales: Portmerion Ltd., p.187.
4. Wright, F. L. (1945) *An Autobiography*, London: Faber and Faber, pp.468-9.
5. Williams-Ellis, C. (1991) op. cit., p.187-8.
6. Ibid., p.188.
7. Berton, K (1990) *Moscow: An Architectural History*, London: I. B. Tauris, p.87.
8. Shvidkovsky, D. (2007) *Russian Architecture and the West*, London: Yale University Press, p.328.
9. Berton, K (1990) op. cit., p.154.
10. Frampton, K. (1992) *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 3rd ed., London: Thames and Hudson, p.167.
11. Cooke, C. (1995) op. cit., p.14.
12. Frampton, K. (1992) op. cit., p.168.
13. Cook, C. (1995) op. cit., p.18.
14. Ibid., p.30.
15. Ibid.
16. Kahn-Magomedov, S (1983) *Pioneers of Soviet Architecture*, NY: Rizzoli, p.536.
17. Cooke, C. (1995) op. cit., p.30.
18. Ibid., p.89.
19. Frampton, K. (1992) op. cit., p.174.
20. Cohen, J-L. (1999) Chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond*, USA: University of California Press, p.102.
21. Ibid. p.102. and Starr, S. F. (1978) *Melnikov: Solo Architect in a Mass Society*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p.23.
22. Starr, S. F. (1978) op. cit., p.26-7.
23. Cohen, J-L. in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.101.
24. Ibid., p.102.
25. Cooke, C. (1995) op. cit., p.136.
26. Cecil, C. (2007) Konstantin Melnikov, Lecture at Docommo, 23 Cowcross St. London.

27. Cooke, C. (1995) op. cit., p.92.
28. Wright, F. L. (1937) 'Architecture and Life in the USSR,' *Architectural Record* **Vol. 82**, October, p.62.
29. Ibid.
30. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.469.
31. Lubetkin, B. (1956) 'Soviet Architecture – Notes on Developments from 1917 to 1932,' *AA Journal* **Vol.71**, p.262.
32. Ibid., p.263.
33. Wright, F. L. (1937) op. cit., p.59.
34. Ibid., p61.
35. Cooke, C. (1995) op. cit., p.120.
36. Anon, (2007a) Conversation with the author.
37. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.469.
38. Service, R. (2003) *A History of Modern Russia: from Nicholas II to Putin*, London: Penguin, p.123.
39. Kahn-Magomedov, S (1983) op. cit., p.340.
40. Tarkhanov, A. and Kavtaradze, S. (1992) *Stalinist Architecture*, London: Laurence King, p.94.
41. Hall, P. (2002) *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press, p.215
42. Ibid., p.216.
43. Tarkhanov, A. and Kavtaradze, S. (1992) op. cit., p.90.
44. Bater, J. H. (1980) *The Soviet City: Ideal and Reality*, London: Edward Arnold, p.27.
45. Ibid., pp.27-8.
46. Ibid., p28.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., p.29.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., p.30.
51. Ibid., pp.29-30.
52. Ibid., p.30.
53. Wright, F. L. (1937) op. cit., p.60.
54. Ibid., p.59.
55. Wright, F. L. (1990) cited in Johnson, D. (1990) *Frank Lloyd Wright versus America*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press, p.199.
56. Ibid., p.199.
57. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., pp.196-7.
58. Ibid., p.199.
59. Ibid., p.200.
60. Ibid., p.201.
61. Ibid., p.200.
62. Arkin, D. (1990) cited in Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p.201.
63. Ibid.
64. Wright, F. L. (1937) op. cit., pp.58-63.
65. Breines, S. (1937) 'First Congress of Soviet Architecture' *Architectural Record* **Vol. 82**, October, pp.63-96.
66. Ibid., p.65.
67. Tarkhanov, A. & Kavtaradze, S. (1992) op. cit., p50.
68. Cook, C. (1995) op. cit., p.145.
69. Albyan, (1937) cited in Breines, S. (1937) op. cit., p.63.
70. Ibid. p.64.
71. Schusev, A. V. (1937) cited in Breines, S. (1937) op. cit., p.64.
72. Vesnin, V. (1937) cited in Breines, S. (1937) op. cit., p.64.
73. Breines, S. (1937) op. cit., p.64.
74. Udoviki-Sleb, D. (2009) op. cit., p.480.
75. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p.218.
76. Ibid., p.390.
77. Ibid., p.228.
78. Wright, F. L. (1990) cited in Ibid. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p.224.
79. Ibid., p.226.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid. p.224.
82. Ibid. p.226.
83. Ibid.
84. Wright, F. L. (1937) op. cit., p.61.
85. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.479.
86. Wright, F. L. (1937) op. cit., p.61.

87. Lubetkin, B. (1932) 'Recent Developments of Town Planning in USSR,' *The Architectural Review*, May 1932, p.213
88. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p.229.
89. Wright, F. L. (1990) cited in Ibid. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p.227.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.474.
93. Friedland, R. & Zellman, H. (2006) *The Fellowship: The Untold Story of Frank Lloyd Wright & the Taliesin Fellowship*, NY: Regan, p.476.
94. Ibid., p.477.
95. Wright, F. L. (2006) cited in Friedland, R. & Zellman, H. (2006) op. cit., p.476.
96. Friedland, R. & Zellman, H. (2006) op. cit., p.476.
97. Ibid., pp.477-8.
98. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.484.
99. Gordon, E. (2006) cited in Friedland, R. & Zellman, H. (2006) op. cit., p.480.
100. Wright, F. L. (2006) cited in Friedland, R. & Zellman, H. (2006) op. cit., p.481.
101. Wright, F. L. (2003) cited in Levine, N, Introduction to Scully, V. (2003) *Modern Architecture and Other Essays* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p.55.
102. Friedland, R. & Zellman, H. (2006) op. cit., p.482.
103. Scully, V. (2003) op. cit., pp.54-63.
104. Bater, J. H. (1980) op. cit., p.56.
105. Altrock, U. (1998) 'The Lost Centre: Magnitogorsk Revisited' *Journal of Urban Design* Vol.3, No.2, p.203.
106. Ibid.
107. Bater, J. H. (1980) op. cit., p.56.
108. Anon, (2007b) conversation with passenger and author on flight from Moscow to Chebalinsk.
109. Kahn-Magomedov, S (1983) op. cit., p.271.
110. Engles, F. cited in Kahn-Magomedov, S (1983) op. cit., p.271.
111. Lenin, V. cited in Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983) op. cit., p.271.
112. Kahn-Magomedov, S (1983) op. cit., p.281.
113. Ibid. p.284.
114. Stalin, J. cited in Kotkin, S. (1995) *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilisation*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p.29.
- Noted by Sutton, A. (1971) *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development, 1930-45*, Stanford, USA: Hoover Institution Press, p.398.
115. Kotkin, S. (1995) *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilisation*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p.31.
116. Ibid.
117. Kahn-Magomedov, S (1983) op. cit., p.338.
118. Ibid., p.284.
119. Ibid., p.338.
120. Ibid., p.339.
121. Ibid., p.335.
122. Okhitovich, M. cited in Cooke, C. (1995) op. cit., p.199.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid..
125. Kahn-Magomedov, S (1983) op. cit., p.337.
126. Sergeant, J. (1984) *Frank Lloyd Wright's Usonian Houses: Designs for Moderate Cost One-Family Homes*, NY : Whitney Library of Design, p.127.
127. March, L. (1995) chapter in *Frank Lloyd Wright: the Phoenix Papers*, Tucson: Herberger Center for Design Excellence, Arizona State University, Volume 1: Broad-acre, 2 February 1991, Tucson: Arizona State University, pp.89-90.
128. Ibid., p.91.
129. Ibid., p.92.
130. Sergeant, J. (1984) op. cit., p.129.
131. White, M. and White, L. (1977) *The Intellectual Versus the City: From Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright*, Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
132. Ibid., p.150.
133. Ibid., p.170.
134. Ford, H. cited in Mullin, J. R. (1982) 'Henry Ford and Field and Factory: An Analysis of the Ford Sponsored Village Industries Experiment in Michigan, 1918-1941,' *American Association Journal* Vol.48, No.4 Autumn, p.426.
135. Ibid. p.427.
136. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p.135.
137. Mullin, J. R. (1982) op. cit. p.419.
138. Ibid., p.428.
139. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p.136.

140. Wright, G. chapter in McCarter, R. (2005) *On and By Frank Lloyd Wright: A Primer of Architectural Principles*, London: Phaidon, p.115.
141. Ibid., p.104.
142. Ibid., p.106.
143. Levine, N. chapter in Cleary, R. (2009) et al. *Frank Lloyd Wright: from Within Outwards*, New York: Skira Rizzoli, p.63.
144. Ibid.
145. Twombly, R. C. (1979) *Frank Lloyd Wright: His Life and His Architecture*, NY: John Wiley & Sons, p.227.
146. Wright, G. chapter in McCarter, R. (2005) op.cit., p108.
147. Wright, F. L. (1932) *Disappearing City*. in Pfeiffer, B. ed. 1992 *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Collected Writings Vol 3 1930-1932*, NY:Rizzoli p.75.
148. Ibid., p.73
149. Ibid., p.75.
150. Ibid., p.84.
151. Ibid., p.86.
152. Ibid., p.91.
153. Banham, R. (1982) *Scenes in America Deserta*, London: Thames & Hudson, p.77.
154. Wright, F. L. (1932) op. cit., p.85.
155. Ibid., p.79.
156. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit.
157. Twombly, R. C. (1979) op. cit., pp.227-9.
158. Wright, F. L. (1932) op. cit., p.90.
159. Friedland, R. & Zellman, H. (2006) op. cit., p.564.
160. Peters, S. cited in Friedland, R. & Zellman, H. (2006) op. cit., p.571.
161. Sergeant, J. (1984) op. cit., p.126.
162. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., pp.110-12.
163. Ibid., p.122.
164. Ibid., p.120.
165. Ibid., p.112.
166. Twombly, R. C. (1979) op. cit., p.228.
167. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., pp.125.
168. Ibid., p.129.
169. Ibid., pp.115-9.
170. Frampton, K. chapter in McCarter, R. (2005) op. cit., p.189.
171. Cohen, J-L. in Alfonsin, A. (1999) op. cit., pp.100-111.
172. Iofan, B. cited in Cohen, J-L. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.109.
173. Ilf, I. & Petrov, E. (2007) *American Road Trip: The 1935 Travelogue of Two Soviet Writers*, New York: Cabinet Books.
174. Ibid., p.13.
175. Cohen, J-L. in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.111.
176. Kotkin, S. (1995) op. cit., p.109.
177. Cooke, C. (1988) *Ivan Leonidov, Andrei Gozak and Andrei Leonidov – The Complete Works*, Academy Editions: London, p.87.
178. Leonidov, I (1988) cited in Cooke, C. (1988) op.cit., p.87.
179. Kotkin, S. (1995) op. cit., p.42.
180. Scott, J. (1989) *Behind the Urals: An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel* Bloomington, USA: Indiana University Press, p.3.
181. Kotkin, S. (1995) op. cit.
182. Altrock, U. (1998) op. cit., p.204.
183. Scott, J. (1989) op. cit., p.90.
184. Ibid., pp.209-10.
185. Ibid., p.78.
186. Ibid., p.70.
187. Ibid., p.73.
188. Ibid., pp.233-34.
189. Ibid., p.232.
190. Ibid., p.187.
191. Altrock, U. (1998) op. cit., p.204.
192. Ibid., p.205.
193. Ibid., pp.201-23.
194. Anon, (2007c) conversation at viewing point in Magnitogorsk.
195. Blacksmith Institute, (2006) cited in Anon (2010) 'Magnitogorsk' from Wikipedia available from <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Magnitogorsk>> (Wikipedia website accessed on 30.06.10).
196. Altrock, U. (1998) op. cit., p.222.
197. Yenkyhoba, N (2006) *Clubs built under the Union Program 1927-1930*, Moscow: publisher unknown. English back cover.
198. Kahn-Magomedov, S (1983) op. cit., p.434.

199. Ibid., p.434.
200. Yenkyhoba, N (2006) *Clubs built under the Union Program 1927-1930*, Moscow: publisher unknown. Translated into English by Elek Urban, transcript dated 23.09.09 with author, p.7.
201. Kahn-Magomedov, S (1983) op. cit., p.434.
202. Kopp, A (1970) *Town and Revolution*, London: Thames & Hudson, p.120-3.
203. Ibid., p.126.
204. Yenkyhoba, N (2006) op. cit., p.11 (translation),
205. Ibid., p11.
206. Ibid., p14.
207. Cooke, C. (1995) op. cit., p.27.
208. Ibid. p27.
209. Udoviki-Sleb, D. (2009) op. cit., p.472.
210. Ibid., p.472.
211. Ibid., pp.470-1.
212. Reich, Y. I. in Yenkyhoba, N (2006) op. cit., p.19, (translation).
213. Ibid.
214. Ibid.
215. Yenkyhoba, N (2006) op. cit., p.20, (translation).
216. Tarkhanov, A. and Kavtaradze, S. (1992) op. cit., p.10.
217. Shvidkovsky, D. (2007) op. cit., p195.
218. Ibid., p.195.
219. Ibid., p.196.
220. Bater, J. H. (1980) op. cit., p.11.
221. Shvidkovsky, D. (2007) op. cit., p.207.
222. Kostof, S. (1991) *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History*, London: Thames & Hudson, p.235.
223. Ibid., p.240.
224. Bater, J. H. (1980) op. cit., p.15.
225. Ibid., p.17.
226. Ibid. p.18.
227. Anon,, (2007d) conversation with author, in St Petersburg.
228. Ivanova, E. (2007) 'Planning Council Slams Okhta Tower, *St Petersburg Times*. No. 49 (1283), 26 June 2007, p.1.
229. Kurokawa, K. cited in Bennett, E. (2006) 'Gazprom jury walk-out,' *Building Design*, Issue 1750, 8 December 2006, p.1
230. Anon, (2010) 'Ohta Center, Project Description, Architecture' available from <<http://www.ohta-center.ru/en/yesterday/area/architecture/>> (Ohta website accessed 30.06.10).
231. Cohen, J-L. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.110.
232. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., pp.209-19.
233. Sudjic, D. (2006) *The Edifice Complex: How the Rich and Powerful Shape the World*, London: Penguin, p.113.
234. Dewey, J. cited in March, L. (1995) op. cit. p.107.

4. Whatever Happened to Frank Lloyd Wright?

1. Plato cited in Connolly, J. & Steil, J. in Marcuse, P. et al (Eds.) (2009) *Searching for the Just City: Debates in Urban Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge, p.2
2. Fainstein, S. in in Marcuse, P. et al (Eds.) (2009) *Searching for the Just City: Debates in Urban Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge, p.19
3. Scott cited in Fainstein, S. (2009) op. cit., p19
4. Rawls, J. (1971) *Theory of Justice*.
5. Harvey, D. (1973) *Social Justice and the City*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
6. Fainstein, S. (2010) *The Just City*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, pp.23-56.
7. Johnstone, W. (1999) cited in Saint, A. (1999) chapter in Alfonsin, A. (Ed.) (1999) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond* USA: University of California Press, p.124.
8. Wright, F. Ll. (1941) 'London Rebuilt: How I Would Do it,' *News Chronicle* 17 February, p.4.
9. Anon, (2000) Post-War Houses. *The Journal of the Twentieth Century Society*, London: Twentieth Century Architecture 4.
10. Harwood, E. (2003) *England: A Guide to Post-War Listed Buildings*, London: Batsford.
11. Wright, F. L. (1945) *An Autobiography*, London: Faber and Faber p.15.
12. Pugin, A. cited in Davey, P. (1995) *Arts and Crafts Architecture*, London: Phaidon, p.15.
13. Davey, P. (1995) *Arts and Crafts Architecture*, London: Phaidon, p.15.
14. Ruskin, J. cited in Davey, P. (1995) op. cit., p.18.
15. Davey, P. (1995) op. cit., p.18.
16. Ibid., p.30.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Anon, (2008a) Guide to the Red House, Blexleyheath.
20. Saint, A. (1993) *The Image of the Architect*, New Haven, USA: Yale University Press p.37.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p.38.
23. Ibid.
24. Davey, P. (1995) op. cit., p39.
25. Morris, W. cited in Saint, A. (1993) op. cit., p33.
26. Ibid.
27. Hardy, D. (2000) *Utopian England: Community Experiments 1900-1945*, London: F. & E.N. Spon, p.3.
28. Pevsner, N. (1981) *Pioneers of the Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius*, London: Pelican, p.22.
29. Ibid., p25.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., p27.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Blair, L. (2002) Choosing to Settle, Daring to Dream: the Settlement Difference through Henrietta Barnett's eyes, *Selected Papers and Presentations from two seminars: Toynbee Hall and Social Change: 16 September 2000, The Settlement Difference: 22 September 2001 Toynbee Hall, London, July 2002*, p.15.
35. Anon, (2007) *Restoration Appeal*, Leaflet from Toynbee Hall.
36. Ibid.
37. Wright, F. L. cited in Wright, G. chapter in McCarter, R. (2005) *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Primer on Architectural Principles*, London: Phaidon, p.112.
38. March, L. (1995) chapter in *Frank Lloyd Wright: the Phoenix Papers, Tucson: Herberger Center for Design Excellence, Arizona State University, Volume 1: Broad-acre, 2 February 1991, Tucson: Arizona State University*, p.89.
39. Ibid., pp.89-90.
40. Ibid., p.90.
41. Wright, G. chapter in McCarter, R. (2005) op. cit., p113.
42. Lind, C.(1996) *The Lost Building of Frank Lloyd Wright*, London: Thames & Hudson, p.79.
43. Wright, G. chapter in McCarter, R. (2005) op. cit., p.107.
44. Lind, C. (1996) op. cit., p.79.
45. Wright, G. chapter in McCarter, R. (2005)op. cit., p107.
46. Davis, S. (1995) *The Architecture of Affordable Housing*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p.8.
47. Ibid.
48. Parry, L. chapter in Livingston, K. & Parry, L. (Eds.) (2005) *International Arts and Crafts*, V&A: London, p.21.
49. Ibid., p.23.

50. Sharp, D. chapter in Nuttgens, P. (Ed.) (1988) *Mackintosh and his Contemporaries in Europe and America*, John Murray: London p.8.
51. Wright, F. L. (1901) in Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (2008) *The Essential Frank Lloyd Wright: Critical Writings on Architecture*, Princeton, NJ:Princeton University Press, p.23.
52. Ibid., p.24.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., p.28.
55. Ibid., p.30.
56. Ibid., p.26.
57. Ibid., pp.32-3.
58. Pevsner, N. (1981) op. cit., p31.
59. Colquhoun, A. (2002) *Modern Architecture* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, p.49.
60. Robertson, C. (2005) chapter in Livingston, K. & Parry, L. Eds. (2005) op. cit., p.175.
61. Ibid.
62. Crawford, A. (2005) *C.R. Ashbee: Architect, Designer and Romantic Socialist*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p.97.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., p.98.
65. Ibid.
66. Wright, F. L. in Crawford, A. (2005) op. cit., p.154.
67. Hardy, D. (2000) op. cit., p.112.
68. Blair, L. (2002) op. cit., p.18.
69. Hardy, D. (2000) op. cit., p.113.
70. Ibid. p.114.
71. Crawford, A. (2005) op. cit., pp.100-101.
72. Hardy, D. (2000) op. cit., p.118.
73. Ibid. p.127.
74. Ibid.
75. Crawford, A. (2005) op. cit., p145.
76. Summerson, J. (1990) *The Unromantic Castle*, London: Thames & Hudson, p.237.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid., p.242.
80. Ibid., p.243.
81. Ibid., p.244.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Saint, A. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.121.
87. Greenburg, A. (2007) *Lutyens and the Modern Movement*, London: Papadakis Publisher, p.88.
88. Collins, P. cited in Greenburg, A. (2007) op. cit., p.14.
89. Saint, A. (1999) op. cit., p.121.
90. Johnstone, W. (1999) cited in Saint, A. (1999) op. cit., p.124.
91. Holder, J. chapter in Backemeyer, S. & Gronberg, T. (1984) *W. R. Lethaby, (1857-1931): Architecture, Design and Education*, London: Lund Humphries, p.61.
92. Rubens, G. (1986) *William Richard Lethaby: his Life and Work*, London: Architectural Press, p.179.
93. Lethaby, W. R. (1957) *Form in Civilisation*, London: Oxford University Press, p.9.
94. Wilson C. St. J. (2007) *The Other Tradition of Modern Architecture: The Uncompleted Project*, London: Black Dog.
95. Lind, C. (1996) op. cit., p.81.
96. Wright, F. L. (1916) in Twombly, R. (2009) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Essential Texts*, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, p.182.
97. Ibid., p.183.
98. Ibid., p.181.
99. Ibid., p.182.
100. Keller, M. (2002) chapter in Milkins, S. & Mileur (2002) *The New Deal and the Triumph of Liberalism*, Amherst, Mass: University of Massachusetts Press, p.313
101. Milkis, S. introduction in Milkins, S. & Mileur (2002) op.cit., p.3.
102. Wright, G. (2008) *USA: Modern Architectures in History*, London: Reaktion Books, p.116.
103. Johnson, D. (1990) *Frank Lloyd Wright versus America*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press, pp.322-338
104. Ghirardo, D. (1983) 'New Deal, New City,' *Modulus Vol. 16*, p17.
105. Ibid.

106. Ibid.
107. Ibid., p.19.
108. Ibid.
109. Hines, T. in Hess, A. & Weintraub, A. (2005) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Houses*, New York: Rizzoli, p.180.
110. Ghirardo, D. (1983) op. cit., p24.
111. Wright, G. (2008) op. cit., p132.
112. Ibid.
113. Wright, F. L. (1938) in Twombly, R. (2009) op. cit., p.275.
114. Davis, S. (1995) op. cit., p8.
115. Wright, F. L. (1938) in Twombly, R. (2009) op. cit., p.275.
116. Wright, F. L (1938) *Architectural Forum* **68** January, p.78.
117. Wright, F. L. (1935a) 'Broadacre City: a New Community Plan,' *Architectural Record* **77** April, p.245.
118. Ibid., p.247.
119. Ibid.
120. Robertson, H. (1924) *The Principles of Architectural Composition* London: Architectural Press, p.112 (figure 123).
121. Robertson, H. (1932) *Modern Architectural Design* London: Architectural Press, pp.68-73 & pp.194-6.
122. Morton Shand, P. (1935) 'Scenario for a Human Drama. VI. La Machine-a-Habiter to the House of Character,' *Architectural Review* **77** February, p.62.
123. Ibid., p.61.
124. Ibid., p.62.
125. Ibid., p.64.
126. Woolcott, A. (1938) *While Rome Burns*, London: Penguin, pp.171-179
127. Seckel, H. in Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p233.
128. Pevsner, N. (1981) op. cit., p193.
129. Pevsner, N. (1939) 'Frank Lloyd Wright Peaceful Penetration of Europe,' *Architects Journal* **89**, 4 May 1939, pp.731-34.
130. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p.251.
131. Pevsner, N. (1939) op. cit., p734.
132. Wright, F. L (1938) *Architectural Forum* **68** January, pp.1-102.
133. Anon, (1939) 'Frank Lloyd Wright: Architecture Club Dinner,' *The Builder* **5** May,1939, p.855.
134. Wright, F. L. (1970) *An Organic Architecture* London: Lund Humpheries, p1.
135. Ibid.
136. Ibid., p.2.
137. Ibid.
138. Ibid., p.4.
139. Ibid., p.5.
140. Ibid., p.9.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid.
143. Ibid., p.10.
144. Ibid., p.11.
145. Ibid.
146. Ibid., p14.
147. Ibid., p.16.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid., p.17.
150. Ibid., p.18.
151. Ibid., p20.
152. Wright, F. L. (1935b) "Message from Frank Lloyd Wright," in *Atti ufficiali: XIII Congresso internazionale architetti, Roma, 22-28 Settembre 1935 – XII* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale de San Luca, 1935), p736.
153. Wright, F. L. (1970) op. cit., p.25.
154. Ibid., p.26.
155. Ibid., p.31.
156. Ibid., p.32.
157. Ibid.
158. Ibid., p.33.
159. Sergeant, J. (1984) *Frank Lloyd Wright's Usonian Houses: Designs for Moderate Cost One-Family Homes* NY: Whitney Library of Design, p.129.
160. Wright, F. L. (1970) op. cit., p33.
161. Ibid., p.36.
162. Ibid., p.38.
163. Ibid.
164. Ibid., p.39.
165. Ibid., pp.39-40.

166. Ibid., p.40.
167. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.464.
168. Wright, F. L. (1970) op. cit., pp.40-1.
169. Ibid., p.41.
170. Ibid.
171. Anon, (1939a) 'The Architectural Beauties of London are in Greater Danger from the Builder than the Bomber.' *The Builder*, 12 May 1939, p.909.
172. Ibid., p.910.
173. Anon, (1939b) 'Diary of an Architect: Frank and Free,' *The Builder* 12 May 1939, p.890.
174. Anon, (1939c) 'Frank Lloyd Wright,' *The Architects' Journal*, 11 May 1939 p.757.
175. Anon (1939d) *RIBA Journal*, 22 May 1939 p.700.
176. Ibid.
177. Abercrombie, P. (1939) 'Correspondence: Frank Lloyd Wright' *RIBA Journal*, 11 December 1939 p.44.
178. Ibid.
179. Ibid.
180. Wright, F. L. (1970) op. cit., p.40.
181. Johnson, D. (1990) op. cit., p.283.
182. Ibid., p.283.
183. Ibid., p.281.
184. Ibid., p.286.
185. Ibid., p.287.
186. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.464.
187. Ibid.
188. Wright, F. L. (1941) 'London Rebuilt: How I Would Do it.' *News Chronicle* 17 February, p.4.
189. Ibid.
190. Prasad, S. (2008) cited in Anon, (2008b) 'Royal Gold Medal 2008,' Small booklet with Citation, p.1.
191. Cullinan, E. (2008) Edward Cullinan in conversation with Tony Chapman, in Anon, (2008), p.8.
192. Cullinan, E. (2008) Gold Medal Address, RIBA 13th February 2008.
193. Ibid., p.10.
194. Fraser, M. & Kerr, J. (2007) *Architecture and the "Special Relationship": The American Influence on Post-war British Architects*, London: Routledge, p.145.
195. Ibid., p.146.
196. Wright, F. L. (1941) op. cit., p.4.
197. Hitchcock, H-R. cited in Fraser, M. (2007) op. cit., p.145.
198. Fraser, M. (2007) op. cit., p.146.
199. Ibid., p.147.
200. Ibid.
201. Cullen, G. (1953) 'Prairie Planning in the New Towns' *Architectural Review*, Vol 114 no 679 July 1953, pp.33-7.
202. Fraser, M. (2007) op. cit., p.163.
203. Ibid., p.165.
204. Webber, M. cited in Fraser, M. (2007) p.168.
205. Wright, F. L. (1935a) op. cit., p.244.
206. Sergeant, J. (1984) op. cit., p.167.
207. Fraser, M. (2007) op. cit., p.166.
208. Ibid., p.171.
209. Jones, A. (2007) in conversation with the author.
210. *New Town: What the Past can Teach the Future. Symposium 21st February, 2008. Hosted by Architectural Foundation.*
211. Lerup, L (2008) at *New Town: What the Past can Teach the Future. Symposium 21st February, 2008.*
212. Lerup, L (2008) in conversation with the author.
213. Anon, (2008c) at *New Town: What the Past can Teach the Future, Symposium 21st February, 2008.*
214. Imrie, R., Lees, L. & Raco, M. (Eds.) (2008) *Regenerating London*, London: Routledge, p.4.
215. Keith, M. chapter in Imrie, R., Lees, L. & Raco, M. Eds (2008) op. cit., p.77.
216. Ibid., p.90.
217. MacCormac, R. in chapter in McCarter, R. (Ed.) (2005) op.cit., pp.124-143.
218. Meunier, J. cited in Harwood, E (2003) op. cit., p.314.
219. Sullivan, M. (1996) *The Development of the British Welfare State*, London: Prentice Hall / Harvester Wheatsheaf, p.7.
220. Midwinter, E. (1994) *The Development of Social Welfare in Britain*, Buckingham, UK: Open University Press, p.80.

221. Ibid., p.211.
222. Anon, (1950) 'Annual Prize Giving: Presentations by Frank Lloyd Wright,' *Architectural Association Journal* **66** August-September 1950, p.32.
223. Anon, (1950a) 'Dinner to Mr. and Mrs. Frank Lloyd Wright,' *Architectural Association Journal* **66** August-September 1950 p.45
224. Ibid. p46.
225. Ibid.
226. Anon, (1950b) 'Annual Prize Giving: Presentations by Frank Lloyd Wright,' *Architectural Association Journal* **66** August-September 1950 p.32.
227. Ibid. p.34.
228. Ibid.
229. Ibid.
230. Ibid.
231. Anon, (1950c) 'Lloyd Wright in Britain: Mr. R. Furneaux Jordan's Radio Talk,' *The Builder* 24 November 1950, p.540.
232. Ibid.
233. Wright, F. L. (1999) cited in Saint, A. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p137.
234. Anon, (1950c) op. cit., p.540.
235. Ibid.
236. Perry, V. (1994) *Built for a Better Future: The Brynmawr Rubber Factory*, Oxford, UK: White Cockade Publishing, p.20.
237. Ibid.
238. Ibid.
- 239a. Ibid., p.39.
- 239b. Ibid., p.88.
240. Anon (2012), conversation with the author.
241. Anon, (2000) Post-War Houses. *The Journal of the Twentieth Century Society*, London: Twentieth Century Architecture **4**.
242. Wood, A. & Davenport, A. (1997 to 2002) *Tellytubbies* Ragdoll Productions (Children's television programme)
243. Anon, (2008) Interview with house owner and author.
244. Campbell, L. (2000) 'Against the Grain: the domestic architecture of Robert Harvey,' *The Journal of the Twentieth Century Society*, London: Twentieth Century Architecture **4**. p.54.
245. Anon, (2008d) Interview with house owner and author.
246. Williams-Ellis, C. cited in Pfeiffer, B. P. (Ed.)(1989) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Crowning Decade 1949-59* Fresno, Ca: The Press, California State University, p.32.
247. Saint, A. (1999) chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.139.
248. Williams-Ellis, C. (1989) op. cit., p29.
249. Ibid.
250. Ibid.
251. Turner, A. chapter in Morris, J. et al (2006) *Portmeirion*, London: Antique Collectors' Club, p.45.
252. Power, A. (2006) 'Little Venice Grows Up,' *Building Design*, October 27, 2006, p.19.
253. Morris, J. et al (2006) *Portmeirion*, London: Antique Collectors' Club, Morris, p.18.
254. Morris, J. (2006) op. cit., p.22.
255. McGoohan, P. (1967-8) *The Prisoner*, London: ITV Production.
256. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.150.
257. Ibid. p.151.
258. Gill, B. (1988) *Many Masks – A Life of Frank Lloyd Wright*, London: Heinemann, p.217.
259. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p11.
260. Ibid.
261. Twombly, R. (2009) op.cit., p. 21.
262. Ibid.
263. Morris, J. (1986) *The Matter of Wales*, London: Penguin, p.291.
264. Alfrey, J. (2008) 'Themes and Sources for Public Housing in Wales,' Housing the Twentieth Century Nation. *The Journal of the Twentieth Century Society*, London: Twentieth Century Architecture **9**. p.76.
265. Ibid., p.79.
266. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p151.
267. Wright, F. L. cited in Williams-Ellis, C. (1989) op. cit., p32.
268. Robinson, K. (1956) 'From Taliesin to Shepherds Bush,' *Architects Journal*, July 26, p.65.
269. Ibid.
270. Wright, F. L. cited in Robinson, K. (1956) op. cit., pp.65-6.
271. Vidotto, M. (1997) *Alison + Peter Smithson: Works and Projects* Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, SA p.16.

272. Harwood, E. (2003) op. cit.
273. Harwood, E. (2011) conversation with the author.
274. Anon, (2008e) Interview with house owner and author.
275. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.151.
276. Harwood, E. (2003) op. cit., pp.410-1.
277. Powers, A. (2009) *Aldington, Craig and Collinge: Twentieth Century Architects* London: RIBA Publishing, p.35.
278. Ibid.
279. Ibid., p.56
280. Anon, (2011) Interview with house owner and author.
281. Rogers, R. cited in Powell, K. (1999) *Richard Rogers: Complete works volume 1*. London: Phaidon, p.12.
282. Ibid.
283. Stern, R. chapter in Jenkins, D. (Ed.) (2002) *Norman Foster Works 1* Munich, Germany: Prestel, p.26.
284. Powell, K (1999) op. cit., p.28.
285. Hatton, B. in Jenkins, D. (Ed.) (2002) op. cit., p.53.
286. Wright, F. L. cited in Hatton, B. in Jenkins, D. (Ed.) (2002) op. cit., p.54.
287. Hatton, B. in Jenkins, D. (Ed.) (2002) op. cit., p.53.
288. Sudjic, D. (1986) *Norman Foster, Richard Rogers, James Sterling: A New Direction in British Architecture*, London: Thames & Hudson, p.191.
289. Frampton, K. (1964) Leicester University Engineering Laboratory, *Architectural Design* No.34, February 1964, p.61.
290. Harewood, E. (2003) op. cit., p.168
291. Ibid.
292. McKean, J. (2009) Lecture at Twentieth Century Society, (2009) Sterling's Red Buildings, Saturday 28th March, 2009.
293. McKean, J. (2009) conversation with author at Twentieth Century Society, (2009) Sterling's Red Buildings, Saturday 28th March, 2009.
294. Mc Kean, J. (2004) *Leicester University Engineering Building* London: Phaidon, p.41.
295. Rogers, R. cited in Powell, K (1999) op. cit. p.12.
296. Harwood, E. (2003) op. cit., p.540.
297. *Architects Journal*, cited by Harwood, E. (2003) op. cit., p.270.
298. Fraser, M. (2007) op. cit., p.134.
299. Ibid.
300. Tomlinson, J. (1999) *Globalisation and Culture* Cambridge, UK: Polity, p.107.

5. When Frank met Francesco

1. Traganou, J. chapter in Traganou, J. & Mitrasinovic, M. (Eds.) (2009) *Travel, Space, Architecture*, Farnham, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, p.21.
2. Wright, F. L. (1945) *An Autobiography*, London: Faber and Faber, p.290.
3. Zevi, B. in Alofsin, A. (Ed.) (1999) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond* Berkeley, USA: University of California Press, p.72.
4. Chaney, E. (1998) *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, London: Frank Cass, p.61.
5. Ibid. p.86.
6. Leapman, M. (2004) *Inigo: The Life of Inigo Jones: Architect of the English Renaissance*, London: Headline Book Publishing, p.20.
7. Summerson, J. (2000) *Inigo Jones*, London: Yale University Press, p.4.
8. Leapman, M. (2004), op. cit., p.23.
9. Ibid., p.16.
10. Worsley, G. (2007) *Inigo Jones and the European Classical Tradition*, London: Yale University Press, p.19.
11. Ibid., pp.19-30.
12. Ibid., p.30.
13. Dallington, R. cited in Leapman, M. (2004) op. cit., p.18.
14. Ibid., p.19.
15. Leapman, M. (2004) op. cit., p.154.
16. Chaney, E. (1998) op. cit., p.61.
17. Ibid., p.203.
18. Ibid., p.87.
19. Haskell, F. chapter in Wilton, A. & Bignamini, (1997) *The Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, London: Tate Gallery Publishing, p.11.
20. Chaney, E. (1998) op. cit., pp.204-5.
21. De Seta, C. in Wilton, A. & Bignamini, (1997) op. cit., p.18.
22. Jack, I. & Jackson, A. (2008) 'Change here, and here, and here...' *The Guardian, Travel section*, August 2nd, pp.8-9.
23. Darley, G. (2008) 'Wonderful Things – The Experience of the Grand Tour' *Perspecta* 41, p.24.
24. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.287.
25. Traganou, J. chapter in Traganou, J. & Mitrasinovic, M. (Eds.) (2009) op. cit., p.21.
26. Ockman, J. chapter in Ockman, J. & Frausto, S. (Eds.) (2005) *Architourism: Authentic, Escapist, Exotic, Spectacular*, Munich, Germany: Prestel, p.161.
27. Wright, F. L. (1957) in Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (2008) *The Essential Frank Lloyd Wright: Critical Writings on Architecture*, Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press, p.424.
28. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.289.
29. Wright, F. L. (1932) in Pfeiffer, B. ed. (1992) op. cit., p.85.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Auge, M. (1995) *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, London: Verso, pp.77-8.
33. Tomlinson, J. (1999) *Globalisation and Culture*, Cambridge, UK: Polity, p.109.
34. Ibid. p.110.
35. Auge, M. (1995) op. cit. p.79
36. Ibid., p.94.
37. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.291.
38. Worsley, G. (2007) op. cit., p.33.
39. Leapman, M. (2004) op. cit. p.141.
40. Anon (2008) 'City Walk of Lugano Lugano Tourist Office,' Lugano: Tourist office.
41. Frampton, K. (1992) *Modern Architecture: A Critical History (3rd ed)*, London: Thames & Hudson, p.477.
42. Chicco, R. (2004) 'Tita Carloni: a Wrightian in the Canton of Ticino,' *Architettura Cronache e Storia*, Vol. 50, No. 579, p.45.
43. Brown-Manrique, G. (1989) *The Ticino Guide*, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, p.17.
44. Ibid.
45. Frampton, K. (1992) op. cit., p.315, and p.477.
46. Tzonis, A. and Lefaivre, L. in Nesbitt, K. ed (1996) *Theorizing a new agenda for architecture : an anthology of architectural theory 1965-1995*, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, p.486.
47. Ibid. p.488.
48. Crinson, M. (2008) 'Singapore's moment: critical regionalism, its colonial roots and profound aftermath' *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 586.
49. Ibid. p.587.
50. Morris, J (1993) *Venice*, London: Faber & Faber, pp.107-8.
51. Ibid. p.107.
52. Howard, D. (1980) *The Architectural History of Venice*, London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, p.16.

53. Zevi, B (2000) chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond*, USA: University of California Press, p.73.
54. Zara, (2008) Postgraduate student, Venice. Conversation with author on ferry boat.
55. *Last Days of Disco* (1998), Film written and directed by Whit Stillman, Castle Rock Entertainment.
56. Zevi, B (2000) in Alfonsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.72.
57. Gardella, I. cited in Kirk, T. (2005) *The architecture of Modern Italy (Volume 2: Visions of Utopia 1900 – Present)*, Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press, p.178.
58. Kirk, T. (2005) op. cit., p.178.
59. Tafuri, M. (1989) *History of Italian Architecture, 1944-1985*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press, p.53.
60. Levine, N. (1996) *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright*, Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press, p.374.
61. Ibid., p.375.
62. Moneo, R. (2008) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Memorial Masieri, Venice 1953*, Madrid: Editorial Rueda, pp.82-84.
63. Moneo, R. (2008) op. cit.
64. Wright, F. L. (1954) 'The Masieri Memorial,' *Metron*, No. 49-50, pp.14-26.
65. Ibid.
66. Moneo, R. (2008) op. cit., pp.133-34.
67. Medina, C. D. chapter in Moneo, R. (2008) op. cit., pp.36-37.
68. Ibid., pp.19-44.
69. Ibid., pp.45-63.
70. Wright, F. L. cited in Medina, C. D. in Moneo, R. (2008) op. cit., p.35.
71. Hemmingway, E. cited in Levine, N. (1996) op. cit. p.382.
72. Wright F. L. cited in Levine, N. (1996) op. cit. footnote no. 54, p.493.
73. Bettini, S. (1954) 'Venice and Wright,' *Metron*, No. 49-50, pp.27-30.
74. Ibid., p.29.
75. Ibid., p.30.
76. Ibid., p.29.
77. Levine, N. (1996) op. cit., p.379.
78. Moneo, R. (2008) op. cit., p.134.
79. Ruskin, J. (1989) *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, NY: Dover Publications, Inc. p.178.
80. Pfeiffer, B. cited in Levine, N. (1996) op. cit., p383.
81. Ruskin, J. cited in Howard, D. (1980) op. cit., p.94.
82. Howard, D. (1980) op. cit., p.95.
83. Los, S. (2007) *Carlo Scarpa: An Architectural Guide*, Verona, Italy: Arsenale Editrice, p.23.
84. Ibid.
85. Dal Co, F. & Mazzariol, G. (1986) *Carlo Scarpa: The Complete Works*, London: Electra Architectural Press, p.49.
86. Los, S. (2007) op. cit., p23.
87. Ibid., p37.
88. Tafuri, M. (1989) op. cit., p113.
89. Ibid., p.114.
90. Los, S. (2007) op. cit., p89.
91. Scarpa, C. cited in Los, S. (2007) op. cit., p.92.
92. Tafuri, M. (1989) op. cit., p113.
93. Ibid. p.,111.
94. Ibid. p.,112.
95. Frampton, K. (1992) op. cit., p.321-3.
96. Frascari, M. chapter in Nesbitt, K. ed (1996) op. cit., p505.
97. Ibid. p.503.
98. Ibid. p.511.
99. Frampton, K. chapter in Nesbitt, K. ed (1996) op. cit., p.520.
100. Ibid. p.526.
101. Ackerman, J. (1991) *Palladio*, London: Penguin, p.20.
102. Ibid., p.50.
103. Ibid., pp.57-61.
104. Ibid., pp.61-5.
105. Ibid., p.160.
106. Ibid., p.172.
107. Anon, (2007) 'The Villa Emo at Fanzolo,' Tourist leaflet.
108. Ibid.
109. Rybczynski, W. (2002) *The Perfect House: A Journey with the Renaissance Master Andrea Palladio*, Scribner: NY, London: Scribner, p.170.

110. Anon, (2007) 'The Villa Emo at Fanzolo,' Tourist leaflet.
111. Scully, V. (1996) *Frank Lloyd Wright*, NY: George Brailler, p.18.
112. Ackerman, J. (1990) *The Villas: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, London: Penguin, p.253.
113. Frampton, K. (1992) op. cit., p.321.
114. Beltramini, G. et al (2006) *Carlo Scarpa: Architecture and Design*, NY: Rizzoli, p.78.
115. Anonymous (2008a), Conversation with author at Romanelli Villa.
116. Ira Levin (1972) *Stepford Wives* (film in 1975) London: Random House.
117. Par, M. (1958) 'Recenti Constrzioni de Marcello D'Olivio L'Archettura,' p.296.
118. Rossari, A. in Lehman, F & Rossari, A (2002) *Wright e l'Italia 1910-1960 Wright and Italy 1910-1960* Milan, Italy: Edizioni Unicopli, p.89.
119. Furlan, T. (1952) 'A Free Community for boys in Trieste,' *Metron* 47, Dec., p.60.
120. Anonymous (2008b) Conversation with author and supervisor at Children's Village.
121. Tafuri, M. (1989) op. cit., p.35.
122. Wright, F. L. (1970) *An Organic Architecture: The Architecture of Democracy*, London: Lund Humphries, p.39.
123. E. M. Forster's (1908) *A Room with a View* (1985 film) London: Edward Arnold.
124. Alofsin, A. (1993) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Lost Years 1910-1922* Chicago, USA: University of Chicago Press, p.43.
125. Anon, (2000) San Minato al Monte, leaflet, Florence
126. Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., pp.43-4.
127. Ibid., p.43.
128. Brown, A. (1988) *The Renaissance: Seminar Studies in History*, London: Longman, p.27.
129. Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.23.
130. Levine, N. (1996) op. cit., p.65.
131. Sullivan, L. (1949) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, NY: Smith, p.236.
132. Levine, N. (1996) op. cit., p.67
133. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.57.
134. Ibid. p.,114.
135. Pinnell, P. chapter in McCarter, R. (2005) *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Primer on Architectural Principles*, London: Phaidon, pp.37-8
136. Ibid., p.43.
137. Levine, N. (1996) op. cit., p.7.
138. Ibid.
139. Pinnell, P. (2005) op. cit., p.40.
140. Ibid., pp.44-5.
141. Ibid., p.39.
142. Anon, (2008c) Conversation with author and tourist in Florence.
143. Alofsin, A. (1993) op. cit., p.49.
144. Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010) *Frank Lloyd Wright a Fiesole cento anni dopo 1910-2010 : dalle colline di Firenze al 'colle splendente' - Frank Lloyd Wright in Fiesole one hundred years later 1910-2010 : from the hills of Florence to the 'resplendent hill' Roberta Bencini e Paolo Bulletti* Florence, Italy: Giunti.
145. Fici, G. & Fici, F. (1992) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Fiesole 1910*, Florence: Minello Sani.
146. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.147.
147. Ibid. p.148.
148. Ibid. p.149.
149. Wright, F. L. (1910) in Pfeiffer, B. ed. (2008) *The Essential Frank Lloyd Wright: Critical Writings on Architecture*, Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press, p.52.
150. Ibid., p.52.
151. Ibid.
152. Ibid.
153. Ibid.
154. Ibid., p.53.
155. Ibid., p.54.
156. Ibid., p.55.
157. Ibid., p.56.
158. Levine, N. (1996) Op. cit., p.72.
159. Ibid.
160. Ibid., p.70.
161. Ibid., p.90.
162. Casciato, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., pp.76-99.
163. Ibid., p.84.
164. Ibid., p.85.
165. Ibid., p.86.
166. Fasola, N. footnote to Casciato, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.239.

167. Ibid., p.239.
168. Ibid., p.239.
169. Michelucci, G. footnote to Casciato, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.239.
170. Zevi, B. (1949) 'The Reality of Organic Architecture' *Metron* 35-36 pp.14-43, and Zevi, B. 'Organic architecture faces its critics,' *Metron*, p.vi (English translation of p.39).
171. Zevi, B. (1950) *Towards an Organic Architecture*, London: Faber & Faber Ltd., Zevi, B. (1974) *Architecture as Space: How to look at architecture*, NY: Da Capo, Zevi, B. (1978) *The Modern Language of Architecture* Seattle, USA: University of Washington Press.
172. Zevi, B (Various) Images and notes from Italian Journals from the Bruno Zevi Archive, Via Nomentana 150, Rome.
173. Muirhead, T. (2000) 'Bruno Zevi: Architectural philosopher who railed against the evils of classicism,' *The Guardian*, March 1.
174. Casciato, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.84.
175. Lehman, F. chapter in Lehman, F. & Rossari, A. (2002) op. cit., p.62.
176. Ibid., p.63.
177. Ibid., pp.62-4.
178. Cohen, J.-L. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.102.
179. Lehman, F. chapter in Lehman, F. and Rossari, A. (2002) op. cit., p.66.
180. Ibid.
181. Ibid., p.67.
182. Casciato, M. chapter in Alfonsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.78.
183. Wright, F. L. (1935b) "Message from Frank Lloyd Wright," in *Atti ufficiali: XIII Congresso internazionale architetti, Roma, 22-28 Settembre 1935 – XII* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale de San Luca, 1935), p.736.
184. Wright, F. L. (1932) in Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (1993) op.cit., p.90.
185. Ghirardo, D. (1989) *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy*, Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press, p.5.
186. Ibid., p.4.
187. Ibid., p.10.
188. Kirk, T. (2005) op. cit., p.125.
189. Ghirardo, D. (1989) op. cit., p66.
190. Ibid., p.70.
191. Ibid., p.71.
192. Ibid.
193. Ibid., p.72.
194. Wright, F. L. (1935) op. cit., p.736.
195. Zevi, B. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.67.
196. Lehman, F. chapter in Lehman, F. & Rossari, A. (2002) op. cit., p.71.
197. Ibid., p.72.
198. Zevi, B. (1950) op. cit., pp.66-76.
199. Sullivan, L. cited in Zevi, B. (1950) op. cit., p.68. and Lescaze, W. cited in Zevi, B. (1950) op. cit., p.66.
200. Giedion, S, cited in Zevi, B. (1950) op. cit., p.67.
201. Goethe, cited in Zevi, B. (1950) op. cit., p.69.
202. Zevi, B. (1950) op. cit., pp.72-3.
203. Zevi, B. (1978) op. cit., p.5.
204. Ibid., p.65.
205. Ibid., p.112.
206. Ibid., p.96.
207. Wolfflin, H. (1984) *Renaissance and Baroque*, London: Collins, p.29.
208. Ibid.
209. Ibid. p.,92.
210. Zevi, B. (1974) op. cit., p133.
211. Wright, F. LI. (1945) op. cit., p.294
212. Ibid.
213. Wright, F. L. (1931) in Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (2008) op. cit., p.198.
214. Ibid.
215. Wright, F. LI. (1945) op. cit., p.53-4.
216. Ibid., p.56.
217. Harbison, R. (2000) *Reflections on Baroque*, London: Reaktion, p.1
218. Zevi, B. (1974) op. cit., p.134.
219. Zevi, B. in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.78.
220. Blunt, A. (2001) *Borromini*, Cambridge, USA: The Belknap Press, p.46.
221. Ibid., p.29.
222. Ibid., p.39.
223. Blunt, A. (Ed.) (1982) *Baroque & Rococo: Architecture and Decoration*, London: Granada Publishing Ltd., p.38.
224. Ibid. p.38.

225. Kostof, S. (1985) *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.515.
226. Zevi, B. (1978) op. cit., pp.209-10.
227. Blunt, A. (ed.) (1982) op. cit., p.45.
228. Twombly, R. C. (1979) *Frank Lloyd Wright: His Life and His Architecture*, NY: John Wiley, p.316.
229. Scully, V. (1996) op. cit., p.30.
230. Jencks, C. (1985) *Modern Movements in Architecture*, London: Penguin, p.137
231. Wright, F. L. (1957) in Pfeiffer, B. ed. (2008) op. cit., p.424.
232. Scully, V. (1996) *Op. cit.*, p.29.
233. Ibid., pp.29-30.
234. Celant, G. in Meier, R. (2006) *Richard Meier Museums 1973-2006*, NY: Rizzoli, p.10.
235. Meier, R. (2006) op. cit., p.270.
236. Frampton, K. (2002) *Richard Meier*, Milan: Electa Architecture, p.22.
237. Anon, (2009) 'Papal Rebuke' from: <http://www.bdonline.co.uk/story.asp?sectioncode=437&storycode> (*Building Design* website accessed 13.12.2009).
238. Ruskin, J. cited in Morris, J. ed. (1981) *The Stones of Venice* London: Faber & Faber p.118.
239. Ibid.
240. Anon, (2012) *AS.Architecture-Studio Concept*, available from: <http://www.parlementeuropeen.net/concept.php?langue=en>, (European Parliament website accessed 12.07.12).
241. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit., p.53-4.
242. Beck, G. (2010) in *Seat of the European Parliament in Strasbourg* from http://en.wiki/seat_of_the_european_parliament_in_strasbourg, (Wikipedia website accessed on 12.07.12).
243. Scarpa, C. cited in Los, S. (2007) op. cit., p.92.
244. Hadid, Z. cited in Kirk, T. (2005) op. cit., p.243.
245. Lanasky, M. chapter in Lanasky, M. & McLaren B. (Eds.) (2004) *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance and Place*, Oxford: Berg, p.5.
246. Zevi, B. (1978) op. cit., p.65.

6. A Short Taxi Ride around the Persian Gulf.

1. Wright, F.L. (1937), cited in Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (2008) *The Essential Frank Lloyd Wright: Critical Writings on Architecture*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 283.
2. Wright, F.L. (1945) *An Autobiography*, London: Faber and Faber, p. 38.
3. Ibid., p. 38.
4. Ibid., p. 38.
5. Lewcock, R. & Freeth, Z. (1978) *Traditional Architecture in Kuwait and the Northern Gulf*, London: Art and Archaeology Research Papers, p.12
6. Mansfield, P. (2003) *A History of the Middle East*, London: Penguin, p.12.
7. Ibid., p. 13.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 14.
10. Ibid., p17
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p.16.
13. Petherbridge, G. chapter in Michell, G. (Ed.) (1978) *Architecture of the Islamic World: its History and Social Meaning*, London: Thames & Hudson, p.193.
14. Levine, N (1996) *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press p.390.
15. Siry, J. M. (2005) 'Wright's Baghdad Opera House and Gammage Auditorium: in search of regional modernity,' *Art Bulletin*, **Vol. 87**, No. 2, June 2005, p. 270.
16. Ibid.
17. Mansfield, P. (2003) *Op. cit.*, p. 21.
18. Ibid, p. 26.
19. Said, E. (2003) *Orientalism*, Penguin: London, p.168.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid, p.177.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid, p.176.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid, p.177.
27. Ibid, pp.177-8.
28. Ibid, p.170.
29. Ibid, p.192.

30. Ibid, p.194.
31. Anon, (2007) author profile in Burton, R. *To the Holy Shrines*, London: Penguin, p. i.
32. Burton, R. (1855-6) *A Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Meccah*.
33. Said, E. (2003) op. cit., p.168.
34. Anon (2011a), *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (1885) was also known as *The Arabian Nights* (1704-17) after its first French translation by Antoine Galland ref: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/One_Thousand_and_One_Nights (Wikipedia website downloaded July 2011).
35. Said, E. (2003) op. cit., p.238.
36. Ibid.
37. Lawrence, T. E. (1922) *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*.
38. Said, E. (2003) op. cit., p.239.
39. Lean, D. (1962) Film entitled *Lawrence of Arabia*, London: Horizon Pictures.
40. Said, E. (2003) op. cit., p.241.
41. Ibid., p.240.
42. Thesiger, W. (2007) *Arabian Sands* Penguin: London.
43. Stewart, R. (2007) preface to Thesiger, W. (2007) op. cit. p.xiv.
44. Ibid., p.xvi.
45. Grube, E. (1978) chapter in Mitchell, G. (Ed.) (1978) *Architecture of the Islamic World: its History and Social Meaning*, London: Thames & Hudson, pp. 10-13.
46. Ibid., pp. 12-13.
47. Ibid., p.13.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., p.14.
50. Lipman, J. (2005) chapter in McCarter, R. (2005) *On and By Frank Lloyd Wright: A Primer of Architectural Principles*, London: Phaidon, pp.264-285, and Nute, K. (1993) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Chapman Hall, pp. 40-41.
51. Jones, O. (1856) *The Grammar of Ornament*
52. Frampton. K. (2005) chapter in McCarter, R. (Ed.) (2005) *On and By Frank Lloyd Wright: A Primer of Architectural Principles* London: Phaidon, p.173.
53. Ibid., p.174.
54. Ibid., p.176.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., p.181.
58. Ibid., p.184.
59. Ibid., p. 189.
60. Wright, F. L. (1937) op. cit. pp.
61. Ibid., p.282.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Wright, F. L. (1928) cited in Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (2008) op. cit. p.135.
65. Lethaby, W. (1894) *The Church of Sancta Sophia*
66. Saint, A. (1999) chapter in Alofsin, A. (Ed.) (1999) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond* Berkeley, USA: University of California Press, p.124.
67. Rubens, G. (1986) *William Richard Lethaby: His Life and Work 1857-1931*, The Architectural Press: London, p.251.
68. Ibid., p.250.
69. Wright, F. L. (1937) op. cit. p.282.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., p.283.
74. Anon (2011b) 'Aladdin' from: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aladdin>, (Wikipedia website downloaded July 2011).
75. Wright, F. L. (1937) Op. cit. p.283.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid., p.288.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid., pp.277-8.
80. Thomsen, C. W. (1994) *Visionary Architecture: From Babylon to Virtual Reality*, Munich: Prestel, pp.69-70.
81. Lewcock, R. & Freeth, Z. (1978) op. cit. p.12.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.
89. Mansfield, P. (2003) op cit., p. 229.
90. Hopwood, D. (2004) 'British relations with Iraq' http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/iraq/britain_iraq_print.html , (BBC website, accessed 9 December 2004).
91. Mansfield, P. (2003) op. cit., pp.229-30.
92. Raunkiaer, (1978) cited in Lewcock, R. & Freeth, Z. (1978) op. cit. p.25.
93. Lewcock, R. & Freeth, Z. (1978) op. Cit. p.15.
94. Ibid.
95. Kostof, S. (1991) *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History*, London: Thames & Hudson, p.64.
96. Ibid., p.95.
97. Rudofsky, B. (1965) *Architecture without architects : a short introduction to non-pedigreed architecture*, NY: Museum of Modern Art, Preface, p.1.
98. Ibid. p.4.
99. Chadirji, R. (1983) 'The Identification of Architectural Needs in the Middle East,' *RIBA Transactions* No.2 (4), p.89.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, p.35.
103. Ibid., p. 37.
104. Jamal, K. (1973) 'Kuwait: A Salutary Tale', *The Architects' Journal*, 12 December 1973, p.1453.
105. Ibid., p.1454.
106. Ibid., p.1456.
107. Buchanan, C. (1974) 'Kuwait', *The Architects' Journal*, 22 May 1974, pp.1131-32.
108. Ibid., p.1131.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. Sultan, G. (1974) 'Kuwait', *The Architects' Journal*, 2 October 1974, pp. 792-94.
112. Mahgoub, Y. (2004) 'Globalization and the built environment in Kuwait', *Habitat International*, Vol. 28, 2004, p. 509.
113. Klettner, A. & Hopkirk, E. (2011) 'Foster goes for gold with Arab airport expansion', *Building Design* 7 October 2011 p.6.
114. Mahgoub, Y. (2004) op. cit., p. 514.
115. Kattab, O. (2009) conversation with author during visit to Kuwait.
116. Kultermann, U. (1999) *Contemporary Architecture in the Arab States: Iraq* [online] NY: McGraw-Hill Publishers. Available from NITLE Arab World Project <<http://acc.teachmideast/org>> (NITLE website accessed 23 March 2013).
117. Ibid.
118. Sudjic, D. (2006) *The Edifice Complex*, London: Penguin, p.67.
119. Kostof, S. (1991) op. cit. p.296.
120. Jamal, K. (1973) op. cit. p.1453.
121. Gardiner, S. (1983) op. cit., p. 67.
122. Ibid., p.66.
123. Anon, (1974) 'Proposals for Restructuring Kuwait', *Architectural Review*, September 1974, pp. 180-81.
124. Ibid., pp.183-90.
125. Colquhoun, A. (2002) *Modern Architecture*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, p.221.
126. Wright, F. L. (2005) cited in Siry, J. M. (2005), op. cit. p.281.
127. Ibid.
128. Vale, L., (1992) *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p.216.
129. Ibid. p.212.
130. Said Zahlan, R. (1988) *The Making of the Modern Gulf States: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, The United Arab Emirates and Oman* Reading, UK: Ithaca Press.
131. Ibid., pp. 42-4.
132. Chandriji, R. (1992) cited in Vale, L. (1992) op. cit. p.221.
133. Vale, L. (1992) op. cit. p.221.
134. Ibid., p. 224.
135. Ibid.
136. Wright, F. L. (1937) op. cit. p.283.
137. Utzon, J. (1992) cited in Vale, L. (1992) op. cit. p.227.
138. Vale, L. (1992) op. cit. p.229.
139. Utzon, J. (1992) cited in Vale, L. (1992) op. cit. p.227.
140. Vale, L. (1992) op. cit. p.231.
141. Ibid., p.230.
142. Ibid., pp225-7.

143. Utzon, J. (1992) cited in Vale, L. (1992) op. cit. p.231.
144. Vale, L. (1992) op. cit. p.233.
145. Utzon, J. (1992) cited in Vale, L. (1992) op. cit. p.233.
146. Vale, L. (1992) op. cit. p.233.
147. Ibid., p. 231.
148. Anon, (2009) Conversation of author with guards outside the Foreign Ministry, 20 September 2009.
149. Anon, (2011) 'Arab League states: a recent history of protests'. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/mar/22/arab-league-states> (*The Guardian* website, accessed 27 October 2011).
150. Kultermann, U. (1976) 'Water for Arabia', *Domus*, June 1976, p.6.
151. Gardiner, S. (1983) op. cit., p. 88.
152. Mahgoub, Y. (2009) interview with the author in Tareq Rajab Museum, 18 September 2009.
153. Ibid. see also Gardiner, S. (1983) op. cit., pp.22-26.
154. Fraser, M. (with Kerr, J.) (2007) *Architecture and the 'Special Relationship': The American influence on post-war British architecture*, London/New York: Routledge, pp. 148-183; see also Gardiner, S. (1983) op. cit., p.37.
155. Hall, P. (2005) *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, p.316.
156. Wright, F. L. (1932) in Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (1992) *The Collected Writings of Frank Lloyd Wright: Vol. 2, 1930-1932*, New York: Rizzoli, p. 94.
157. Wright, F. L. (1970) *An Organic Architecture: The Architecture of Democracy*, London: Lund Humphries, p.36.
158. Frampton, K. chapter in McCarter, R. (2005) op. cit. p.189
159. Booth, R. (2008) 'Pitfalls in paradise: why Palm Jumeirah is struggling to live up to the hype'. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2008/apr/26/print> (*The Guardian* website, accessed 12 November 2009).
160. Edensor, T. (2005) chapter in Ockman, J. & Frausto, S. (Eds.) *Architourism: Authentic, Escapist, Exotic and Spectacular*, Munich: Prestel, p.98.
161. Booth, R. (2008) op. cit., (*The Guardian* website, accessed 12 November 2009).
162. Hartman, H. (2010) 'Masdar,' *Architects' Journal*, 11 February 2010, p.26.
163. Vale, L. (1992) op. cit. p.220.
164. Minarfet, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond* Berkeley, USA: University of California Press p.209.
165. Chadirji, R. (1983) op. cit. pp.85-91.
166. Anon, (2009) Country Profile: United Arab Emirates http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/country_profiles/737620.stm (BBC website downloaded November 2009).
167. Cadwalader, C. (2008) 'We've made a pact with the devil to be here. But if you're a silly girl who gets into trouble, forget it' from <http://guardian.co.uk/world/2008/oct/05/middleeast.gender> (*The Guardian* website downloaded November 2009).
168. Murray, C. (2008) 'Dubai Grows Up' *Architects' Journal* 04 December 2008 p.29.
169. Boucher, K. et al (2009) 'The Great Metro Race' *The National: Arts and Life Sunday*, September 13, pp.1-5. (*The National* is an English Newspaper published in Dubai).
170. Thesiger, W. (2007) op. cit., p.276.
171. de Graaf, R. (2008) cited in Rattenbury, K. Want to keep busy over the recession? Try reinventing democracy *Architects' Journal* 04 December p.43.
172. Abdul-Ahad, G. (2008) 'We need slaves to build monuments'. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/oct/08/middleeast.construction> (*The Guardian* website, accessed 12 November 2009).
173. Mahgoub, Y. (2009) op. cit.
174. Anon, (2009) 'Frank Lloyd Wright: Selected Projects, Mile High Tower', http://www.guggenheimbilbao.es/microsites/frank_lloyd_wright/secciones/frank_lloyd_wright/proyectos_seleccionados/torre_oficinas_mile_high.php?idioma=en (Guggenheim Bilbao website, accessed 10 November 2009).
175. Wright, F.L. cited in Gill, B. (1988) *Many Masks: A Life of Frank Lloyd Wright* London: Heinemann, p. 477.
176. Thomsen. C. W (1994), op. cit. p.28.
177. Ibid., p.299
178. Ibid.
179. Hartman, H. (2010) op. cit., p.26.
180. Ibid., p.28.
181. Ibid., p.29.
182. Khan, A. (2009) 'Adebayor fans the flames' *The National: Sport Sunday*, September 13 p.2.
183. Thesiger, W. (2007) op. cit., p.283.

184. Ibid., p.283.
185. Anon, (2009a) Conversation of author with security guard within the National Library and Cultural Centre, 23 September 2009.
186. Anon, (2009b) Conversation of author with guide at the Emirates Hotel, 23 September 2009.
187. Anon (2009) Saadiyat Island http://www.tdic.ae/Projects/Saadiyat_Island/Overview.aspx (TDIC website downloaded November 2009).
188. Poli, F. (2008) 'The Museums of the Island of Happiness,' *Lotus* no. 134, May, pp.2-4.
189. Ibid. pp.6-10.
190. Ibid. p.6.
192. Marefat, M. (1999) op. cit, p.186.
193. Chadirji, R. (1983) op. cit. p.88.
194. Ibid.
195. Levine, N. (1996) *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p.386.
196. Ibid., p.384.
197. Marefat, M. chapter in Alofsin (1999) op. cit., p.188.
198. Ibid., p.189.
199. Siry, J. M. (2005), op. cit., p.271.
200. Marefat, M. chapter in Alofsin (1999) op. cit., pp.189-90.
201. Wright, F. L. (1999) cited in Marefat, M. chapter in Alofsin (1999) op. cit. p.190.
202. Ibid.
203. Wright F. L. (1957) 'Wright to Design Baghdad Opera', *Architectural Forum*, May 1957, p.91.
204. Haskell (1957) 'Wright to Design Baghdad Opera', *Architectural Forum*, May 1957, p. 89.
205. Marefat, M. chapter in Alofsin (1999) op. cit. p.194.
206. Ibid., p.187.
207. Ibid., p.194.
208. Ibid., pp.194-5.
209. Carolin, C. in Bingham, N. et al, (2004) *Fantasy Architecture 1500-2036* London: Hayward Gallery Publishing, p.8.
210. Wright F. L. (1957) op. cit. pp.90-1.
211. St. John, cited in St. John, (2005) *Revelations of St. John the Divine and the Book of Job*, London: Penguin Books Great Ideas, p.33, and pp. 32-7.
212. Wright F. L. (1957) op. cit. p.91.
213. Ibid.
214. Wright, F. L. (1945) op. cit. p.158.
215. Ibid., pp.158-9.
216. Ibid., p.160.
217. Ibid., p.161-2.
218. Ibid., p.162.
219. Levine, N. (1996) op. cit. p.126.
220. Ibid., p.127.
221. Ibid., p.124.
222. Ibid., p.135.
223. Banham, R. (1969) 'The Wilderness Years of Frank Lloyd Wright,' *RIBA Journal* December 1969, p.515.
224. Wright, F. L. (1945) Op. cit. p.217.
225. Banham, R. (1969) Op. cit. pp.514-5.
226. Ibid., p.516.
227. Wright, F. L. (1945) Op. cit. p.228.
228. Johnson, D. L. (1990) *Frank Lloyd Wright versus America: The 1930s* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, p.21.
229. Storrer, W. A. (1993) *The Frank Lloyd Wright Companion*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.229.
230. Johnson, D. L. (1990) op. cit. p.21.
231. Banham, R. (1969) op. cit. p.516.
232. Wright F. L. (1957) op. cit. p.91.
233. Ibid.
234. Marefat, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit. p.197.
235. Ibid., p.199.
236. Siry, J. M. (2005), op. cit. p.277.
237. Wright, F. L. (1957) op. cit. p. 93.
238. Siry, J. M. (2005), op. cit. p.276.
239. Wright, F. L. (1957) op. cit. p. 93.
240. Siry, J. M. (2005), op. cit. p.276.
241. Wright, F. L. (1957) op. cit. p. 93.

242. Marefat, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.199.
243. Jencks, C. (1985) *Modern Movements in Architecture* London: Penguin p.137.
244. Hadid, Z. cited in Poli, F. (2008) 'op. cit., p.6.
245. Ibid.
247. Wright, F. L. (1957) op. cit. p. 99.
248. Ibid.
249. Ibid.
250. Chadirji, R. (1986) *Concepts and Influences: Towards a Regionalized International Architecture*, London: KPI Ltd., pp.150-3.
251. Vaughan, R. (2008) 'Architect Rifat Chandirji was condemned to solitary confinement until Saddam Hussein made him an offer he couldn't refuse,' *Architects' Journal*, 17 April, p.35.
252. Ibid. p.30.
253. Chadirji, R. (1986) op. cit. p.15.
254. Ibid., p.19.
255. Ibid., p.21.
256. Ibid., p.41.
257. Sudjic, D. (2006) op. cit., p.150.
258. Gill, B. (1988) op. cit., p.275.
259. Wright, F. L. cited in Freidland, R. (2006) op. cit., p.559.
260. Ibid.
261. Rattenbury, J. (2000) *A Living Architecture: Frank Lloyd Wright and Taliesin Architects*, San Francisco, USA: Pomegranate, p.173.
262. Marefat, M. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) op. cit., p.211.
263. Thesiger, W. (2007) op. cit., p.9.
264. Ibid.

Minority Reports.

1. Haraway, D. J. (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, London: Free Association Books, pp.183-201.
2. Rendell, J. (2010) *Site-Writing: The Architecture of Art Criticism*, London: I. B. Tauris.
3. Isosaki, A. (2006) *Japan-ness in Architecture*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press. p.5.
4. Berlage, H. P. (1925) chapter in Wright, F. L. et al (1992) *The Complete 1925 "Wendigen Series"* NY: Dover, p.80.
5. Haraway, D. J. (1991) op.cit, p.191.
6. Cohen, J-L. chapter in Alofsin, A. (1999) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond*, USA: University of California Press, pp.100-120.
7. Wright, F. L. (1970) *An Organic Architecture: The Architecture of Democracy*, London: Lund Humphries, p.36.
8. Dewey, J. cited March, L. (1995) *Frank Lloyd Wright: the Pheoenix Papers*, Tucson: Herberger Center for Design Excellence, Arizona State University, Volume 1: Broadacre, 2 February 1991, Tucson: Arizona State University, p.107.
9. Peters, S. cited in Friedland, R. & Zellman, H. (2006) *The Fellowship: The Untold Story of Frank Lloyd Wright & the Taliesin Fellowship* NY: Regan, p.571.
10. Haraway, D. J. (1991) op. cit, p.196.
11. Auge, M. (1995) *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, London: Verso, pp.77-8.
12. Zevi, B. (1978) *The Modern Language of Architecture*, Seattle, USA; London: University of Washington Press, p.65.
13. Rendell, J. chapter in Rendell, J. et al (2007) *Critical Architecture*, London: Routledge, pp.87-91 and Rendell, J. (2010) op. cit.
14. Haraway, D. J. (1991) op. cit., pp.190-6.
15. Ibid., pp.190-1.
16. Rendell, J. (2010) op. cit., pp.72-3.
17. Ockman, J., & Frausto, S. (Eds.) (2005), *Architourism: Authentic, Escapist, Exotic, Spectacular*, Munich, Germany: Prestel.
18. Perec, G. (1975) *Species of Space*, London: Penguin, pp.40-56.
19. Levine, N. (1996) *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univeristy Press, p.431.

Bibliography

- Ackerman, J. (1990) *The Villas: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, London: Penguin.
- Ackerman, J. (1991) *Palladio*, London: Penguin.
- Alfrey, J. (2008) 'Themes and Sources for Public Housing in Wales,' Housing the Twentieth Century Nation. *The Journal of the Twentieth Century Society*, London: Twentieth Century Architecture **9**.
- Alofsin, A. (1993) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Lost Years 1910-1922*, Chicago USA: University of Chicago Press.
- Alofsin, A. in Wright, F. L. (1998) *Studies and Executed Buildings by Frank Lloyd Wright*, NY: Rizzoli.
- Alofsin, A. (1999) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond*, USA: University of California Press.
- Alofsin, A. (2012) *Frank Lloyd Wright, Art Collector: Secession Prints from the Turn of the Century*, Austin, Texas, US: University of Texas Press.
- Altrock, U. (1998) 'The Lost Centre: Magnitogorsk Revisited' *Journal of Urban Design* **Vol.3**, No.2.
- Anon, (1912) The Hotels of Japan: Their Characteristics (The Welcome Society), *The Times*, 19 July 1910.
- Anon, (1974) 'Proposals for Restructuring Kuwait', *Architectural Review*, September 1974.
- Anon, (1991) *Frank Lloyd Wright Retrospective* Tokyo: Mainichi Newspapers p.62. (Exhibition Catalogue).
- Anon, (2000) Post-War Houses, *The Journal of the Twentieth Century Society*, London: Twentieth Century Architecture **4**.
- Anon, (2002) "Myonichikcan" Honors its Name, *Frank Lloyd Wright Quarterly* **Vol.13**, No.3 p.17.
- Anon, (2003) *The Imperial Hotel - A Legend in Photos*, Tokyo: Imperial Hotel Ltd.
- Auge, M. (1995) *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, London: Verso.
- Banham, R. (1969) 'The Wilderness Years of Frank Lloyd Wright,' *RIBA Journal* (76) Dec. 1969.
- Banham, R. (1982) *Scenes in America Deserta*, London:Thames and Hudson.
- Banham, R., Kobayashi, K. and Suzuki, H. (1985) *Contemporary Architecture of Japan (1958-1984)*, NY: Rizzoli.
- Banham, R. (2002) *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, Oxford, UK: Architectural Press.
- Bantzer, E. (1977) 'Pearl Palace, Tehran, Iran: Royalty's Exotic Residence for Her Imperial Highness Princess Shams Pahlavi, sister of the Shah of Iran,' *Progressive Architecture*, **Vol. 58**, No. 6, 1977, pp. 82-85.
- Bartes, R. (1982) *Empire of Signs*, NY: Hill & Wang.
- Bater, J. H. (1980) *The Soviet City: Ideal and Reality*, London: Edward Arnold.
- Bencini, R. and Bulletti, P. (2010) *Frank Lloyd Wright a Fiesole cento anni dopo 1910-2010 : dalle colline di Firenze al 'colle splendente' - Frank Lloyd Wright in Fiesole one hundred years later 1910-2010 : from the hills of Florence to the 'resplendent hill'* Roberta Bencini e Paolo Bulletti Florence, Italy: Giunti.
- Beltramini, G. et al (2006) *Carlo Scarpa: Architecture and Design*, NY: Rizzoli.
- Berton, K (1990) *Moscow: An Architectural History*, London: I B Tauris.
- Bettini, S. (1954) 'Venice and Wright,' *Metron*, No. 49-50, pp.27-30.
- Bingham, N. et al, (2004) *Fantasy Architecture 1500-2036* London: Hayward Gallery Publishing.
- Birk, M. (Ed) (1996) *Frank Lloyd Wright's Fifty Views of Japan: the 1905 Photo Album*, Rohnert Park, California, USA: Pomegranate Artbooks.
- Blair, L. (2002) Choosing to Settle, Daring to Dream: the Settlement Difference through Henrietta Barnett's eyes, *Selected Papers and Presentations from two seminars: Toynbee Hall and Social Change: 16 September 2000, The Settlement Difference: 22 September 2001 Toynbee Hall, London, July 2002*.
- Blake, P. (1960) *The Master Builders*, London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.
- Blunt, A. (Ed.) (1982) *Baroque & Rococo: Architecture and Decoration*, London: Granada Publishing Ltd.
- Blunt, A. (2001) *Borromini*, Cambridge, USA: The Belknap Press
- Bock, R. (2007) *Adolf Loos: Works and Projects*, Milan: Skira.
- Borden, I. & Rendell, J. (Eds.) (2000) *InterSections: Architectural Histories and Critical Theories*, London: Routledge.
- Boyd, R. (1968) *New Directions in Japanese Architecture*, London: Studio Vista.
- Breines, S. (1937) 'First Congress of Soviet Architecture' *Architectural Record* **Vol. 82**, October, pp.63-96.
- Bridge, G. and Watson, S. (Eds.) (2002) *The Blackwell City Reader*, Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

- Broekhuizen, D. (2010) (Ed.) *Robert van't Hoff: Architect of a New Society*, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers.
- Brooks, H. (1981) *Writings on Wright: Selected comments on Frank Lloyd Wright*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press.
- Brown-Manrique, G. (1989) *The Ticino Guide*, NY: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Buchanan, C. (1974) 'Kuwait', *Architects' Journal*, 22 May 1974.
- Burkle, J. (1993) *Hans Scharoun*, Zurich, London: Artemis.
- Burns, K. and Novick, L. (1998) *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Film* PBS Home Video.
- Calvino, I. (1997) *Invisible Cities*, London: Vintage.
- Campbell, L. (2000) 'Against the Grain: the domestic architecture of Robert Harvey,' *The Journal of the Twentieth Century Society*, London: Twentieth Century Architecture 4.
- Cary, J. (1988) *Frank Lloyd Wright's Imperial Hotel*, NY: Hotel Dover
- Castells, M (1997) *An Introduction to the Information Age*, London: Vintage.
- Casciato, M (1987) 'W. M. Dudok: Il Municipio di Hilversum 1923-1931,' *Domus* (No 680) Feb 1987 pp.60-69.
- Cefaly, P. (2001) *Littoria 1932-1942: gli architetti e la citta*, Latina, Italy: Casa Dell' Architettura.
- Chadirji, R. (1983) 'The Identification of Architectural Needs in the Middle East,' *RIBA Transactions* No.2 (4).
- Chadirji, R. (1986) *Concepts and Influences: Towards a Regionalized International Architecture*, London: KPI Ltd.
- Chaney, E. (1998) *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*, London: Frank Cass.
- Chicco, R. (2004) 'Tita Carloni: a Wrightian in the Canton of Ticino,' *Architettura Cronache e Storia*, Vol. 50, No. 579.
- Childs, P. (2005) *Modernism*, London: Routledge.
- Cleary, R. (2009) et al. *Frank Lloyd Wright: from Within Outwards*, New York: Skira Rizzoli.
- Coaldrake, W. H. (1996) *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, London: Routledge.
- Colomina, B (1988) *Architecturalproduction* NY: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Colquhoun, A. (2002) *Modern Architecture*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Conder, J. (2002) *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, Tokyo: Kodansha Int.
- Cooke, C. (1988) *Ivan Leonidov, Andrei Gozak and Andrei Leonidov – The Complete Works*, Academy Editions: London.
- Cooke, C. (1995) *Russian Avant-Garde: Theories of Art, Architecture and the City*, London: Academy Editions.
- Crawford, A. (1985) *C.R. Ashbee Architect, Designer and Romantic Socialist*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Crinson, M. (2008) 'Singapore's moment: critical regionalism, its colonial roots and profound aftermath' *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 13, No. 5.
- Cullen, G. (1953) 'Prairie Planning in the New Towns' *Architectural Review*, Vol. 114 no 679 July 1953, pp.33-7.
- Curtis, W. (1994) *Denys Lasdun: Architecture, City, Landscape* London: Phaidon.
- Dal Co, F. & Mazzariol, G. (1986) *Carlo Scarpa: The Complete Works*, London: Electra Architectural Press.
- Darley, G. (2008) 'Wonderful Things – The Experience of the Grand Tour' *Perspecta* 41.
- Davey, P. (1995) *Arts and Crafts Architecture*, London: Phaidon.
- Davis, S. (1995) *The Architecture of Affordable Housing*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Derossi, P. et al (1192) 'In the circuit of representation: the Nexus World operation in Fukuoka', *Lotus*, No. 71, 1992, pp.36-75.
- Deshoulieres, D. et al (1980) *Rob Mallet-Stevens: Architecte*, Brussels: Archieve d'Architecture Moderne (translated by Day, S.)
- De Long, D. (1996) *Frank Lloyd Wright Designs for an American Landscape 1922-1932*, NY, USA: Harry N. Abrams.
- De Witt, W. (1983) *The Amsterdam School: Dutch Expressionists Architecture, 1915-1930*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Dimster, F. (1995) *The New Austrian Architecture*, NY: Rizzoli.
- Eaton, L. K. (1972) *American Architecture Comes of Age: European Reaction to H. H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press.
- Eggenger, K. (2004) (Ed.) *American Architectural History: A Contemporary Reader*, London: Routledge.
- Fainstein, S. (2010) *The Just City* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Fici, G. & Fici, F. (1992) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Fiesole 1910*, Florence: Minello Sani.
- Frampton, K. (1964) Leicester University Engineering Laboratory, *Architectural Design* No.34, February 1964.
- Frampton, K. (1992) *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 3rded., London: Thames & Hudson.

- Frampton, K. (2002) *Richard Meier*, Milan: Electa Architecture.
- Fraser, M. & Kerr, J. (2007) *Architecture and the "Special Relationship": The American Influence on Post-war British Architects*, London: Routledge.
- Friedland, R. & Zellman, H. (2006) *The Fellowship: The Untold Story of Frank Lloyd Wright & the Taliesin Fellowship*, NY: Regan.
- Furlani, T. (1952) 'Quattro Progetti di Marcello D'Olivo' *Metron* 47, Dec. 1952.
- Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman.
- Ghirardo, D. (1983) 'New Deal, New City,' *Modulus* **Vol. 16**.
- Ghirardo, D. (1989) *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy*, Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Gill, B. (1988) *Many Masks – A Life of Frank Lloyd Wright*, London: Heinemann.
- Greenburg, A. (2007) *Lutyens and the Modern Movement*, London: Papadakis Publisher.
- Hall, P. (2002) *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press.
- Haraway, D. J. (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, London: Free Association Books.
- Harbison, R. (2000) *Reflections on Baroque*, London: Reaktion.
- Hardy, D. (2000) *Utopian England: Community Experiments 1900-1945*, London: F&EN Spon.
- Hartman, H. (2010) 'Masdar,' *Architects' Journal* 11 February 2010.
- Harvey, D. (1973) *Social Justice and the City* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Harvey, D. (1997) *The Condition of Post Modernity*, Malden, USA: Basil Blackwell.
- Harwood, E. (2003) *England: A Guide to Post-War Listed Buildings*, London: Batsford.
- Heynen, H. (2006) (Ed.) 'Unthinkable doctorates?' *Journal of Architecture*, **Vol. 11**, No. 3, June 2006.
- Hess, A. & Weintraub, A. (2005) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Houses*, New York: Rizzoli.
- Hitchcock, H-R. & Johnson, P. (1966) *The International Style*, NY: W. W. Norton & Co.
- Hitchcock, H-R. (1976) *In the Nature of Materials: The Buildings of Frank Lloyd Wright – 1887-1941*, NY: Da Capo Press.
- Hildebrand, G. (1974) *Designing for Industry: The Architecture of Albert Kahn*. Cambridge, USA: MIT Press.
- Holder, J. in Backemeyer, S. & Gronberg, T. (1984) *W. R. Lethaby, (1857-1931): Architecture, Design and Education*, London: Lund Humphries.
- Hoffman, D. (1969) 'Frank Lloyd Wright and Viollet-le-Duc,' *Journal of Society of Architectural Historians* March 1969, **Vol. 28** No.1, p.174.
- Howard, D. (1980) *The Architectural History of Venice*, London: B. T. Batsford Ltd.
- Hugo, V. (1996) *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame*, London: Penguin Classics.
- Ibelings, H. (1997) *Americanism: Dutch Architecture and the Transatlantic Model Rotterdam*, Holland: NAI Press.
- Ilf, I. & Petrov, E. (2007) *American Road Trip: The 1935 Travelogue of Two Soviet Writers*, New York: Cabinet Books.
- Imrie, R., Lees, L. & Raco, M. (Ed.) (2008) *Regenerating London*, London: Routledge.
- Isosaki, A. (2006) *Japan-ness in Architecture*, Cambridge, USA: MIT.
- Ivanova, E. (2007) 'Planning Council Slams Okhta Tower,' *St Petersburg Times*. No. 49 (1283), 26 June 2007.
- Jamal, K. (1973) 'Kuwait: A Salutary Tale,' *The Architects' Journal*, 12 December 1973.
- James, C. (1988) *Frank Lloyd Wright's Imperial Hotel*, NY: Dover
- James, K. (1997) *Erich Mendelsohn and the architecture of German Modernism*, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Jencks, C. (1980) *Later Modern Architecture and Other Essays* London: Academic Edition.
- Jencks, C. (1985) *Modern Movements in Architecture*, London: Penguin.
- Jenkins, D. (2002) *Norman Foster Works 1* Prestel: Munich, Germany
- Johnson, D. (1990) *Frank Lloyd Wright versus America*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press.
- Jones, O. (2008) *The Grammar of Ornament*, Herbert Press: London.
- Jones, P. B. (1978) *Hans Scharoun: a Monograph*, London: Fraser.
- Jones, P. B. (1999) *Hugo Haring: The Organic versus the Geometric* Stuttgart, London: Edition Axel Menges.
- Jones, P. B. (1995) *Hans Scharoun*, London: Phaidon.
- Jones, P. B. (2000) *Gunter Behnisch*, Basel, Germany: Birkhauser.
- Kahn-Magomedov, S (1983) *Pioneers of Soviet Architecture*, NY: Rizzoli.
- Kirk, T. (2005) *The architecture of Modern Italy (Volume 2: Visions of Utopia 1900 – Present)*, Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Kirsch, K. (1994) *The Weissenhofsiedlung experimental housing built for the Deutsche Werkbund, Stuttgart 1927* Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt.

- Knutt, E. & Hurst, W. (2007) 'Defiant RMJM tells Unesco to back off,' *Building Design*, Issue 1799, December 7, 2007.
- Koolhaas, R. (1994) *Delirious New York*, Rotterdam: 010 Publishers.
- Koolhaas, R. (1995) *S, M, L, XL.*, NY: Monacelli Press.
- Koolhaas, R. (2004) *Content*, Cologne, Germany: Taschen.
- Kopp, A (1970) *Town and Revolution*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Kostof, S. (1991) *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Kotkin, S. (1995) *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilisation*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kultermann, U. (1976) 'Water for Arabia', *Domus*, June 1976.
- Langmead, D. & Johnson, D. L. (2000) *Architectural Excursions: Frank Lloyd Wright: Holland and Europe*, London: Greenwood Press.
- Latham, I. (1980) *Joseph Maria Olbrich*, London: Academy Editions
- Leach, N. (1997) *Rethinking Architecture: a Reader in Cultural Theory*, London: Routledge.
- Leapman, M. (2004) *Inigo: The Life of Inigo Jones: Architect of the English Renaissance*, London: Headline Book Publishing.
- Lehman, F & Rossari, A (2002) *Wright e l'Italia 1910-1960 Wright and Italy 1910-1960* Milan, Italy: Edizioni Unicopli.
- Lethaby, W. R. (1957) *Form in Civilisation*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Levine, N (1996) *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lewcock, R. & Freeth, Z. (1978) *Traditional Architecture in Kuwait and the Northern Gulf*, London: Art and Archaeology Research Papers.
- Lind, C (1996) *The Lost Building of Frank Lloyd Wright*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Livingston, K. & Parry, L. (Eds.) (2005) *International Arts and Crafts*, V&A: London.
- Los, S. (2007) *Carlo Scarpa: An Architectural Guide*, Verona, Italy: Arsenale Editrice.
- Lubetkin, B. (1932) 'Recent Developments of Town Planning in USSR,' *The Architectural Review*, May 1932.
- Lubetkin, B. (1956) 'Soviet Architecture – Notes on Developments from 1917 to 1932,' *AA Journal* **Vol.71**.
- Mahgoub, Y. (2004) 'Globalization and the built environment in Kuwait', *Habitat International*, **Vol. 28**, 2004.
- Mansfield, P. (2003) *A History of the Middle East*, London: Penguin.
- March, L. (1995) *Frank Lloyd Wright: the Phoenix Papers*, Tucson: Herberger Center for Design Excellence, Arizona State University, Volume 1: Broadacre, 2 February 1991, Tucson: Arizona State University.
- March, L. & Sheine, J. (1995) *R. M. Schindler: Composition and Construction*, London: Academy Editions.
- Marcuse, P. et al (Ed.) (2009) *Searching for the Just City: Debates in Urban Theory and Practice* London: Routledge.
- McCarter, R. (1997) *Frank Lloyd Wright*, London: Phaidon
- McCarter, R. (2005) *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Primer on Architectural Principles*, London: Phaidon.
- McCoy, E. (1960) *Richard Neutra*, NY: George Braziller, Inc.
- McKean, J. (2004) *Leicester University Engineering Building* London: Phaidon.
- Meech, J. (2001) *Frank Lloyd Wright and the Art of Japan – The Architects Other Passion*, NY: Abrams.
- Meehan, P. J. (1987) *Truth Against the World: Frank Lloyd Wright Speaks for an Organic Architecture*, NY: John Wiley & Son, and (1992) Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press .
- Meier, R. (2006) *Richard Meier Museums 1973-2006*, NY: Rizzoli.
- Michell, G. ed (1978) *Architecture of the Islamic World: its History and Social Meaning*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Midwinter, E. (1994) *The Development of Social Welfare in Britain*, Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Miles, M. et al (Eds.) (2004) *The City Cultures Reader*, London: Routledge.
- Milkins, S. & Mileur (2002) *The New Deal and the Triumph of Liberalism*, Amherst, Mass: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Moneo, R. (2008) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Memorial Masieri, Venice 1953*, Madrid: Editorial Rueda.
- Morris, J. (1986) *The Matter of Wales*, London: Penguin.
- Morris, J (1993) *Venice*, London: Faber & Faber.
- Morris, J. et al (2006) *Portmeirion*, London: Antique Collectors' Club.
- Morton Shand, P. (1935) 'Scenario for a Human Drama. VI. La Machine-a-Habiter to the House of Character,' *Architectural Review* **77** February.
- Mullin, J. R. (1982) 'Henry Ford and Field and Factory: An Analysis of the Ford Sponsored Village Industries Experiment in Michigan, 1918-1941,' *American Association Journal* **Vol.48**, No.4 Autumn.

- Mumford, L. (1975) *Architecture as a Home for Man: Essays for Architectural Record*, NY: Architectural Record Books.
- Muschamp, H. (1983) *Man About Town: Frank Lloyd Wright in New York City*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press.
- Nerdinger, W. (1985) *Walter Gropius*, Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv.
- Nesbitt, K. ed (1996) *Theorizing a new agenda for architecture : an anthology of architectural theory 1965-1995*, NY: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge.
- Nuttgens, P. Ed. (1988) *Mackintosh and his Contemporaries in Europe and America*, John Murray: London.
- Ockman, J. & Frausto, S. (Eds.) (2005) *Architourism: Authentic, Escapist, Exotic, Spectacular*, Munich, Germany: Prestel
- Overy, P (1991) *De Stijl*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Perec, G. (1975) *Species of Space*, London: Penguin.
- Perry, V. (1994) *Built for a Better Future: The Brynmawr Rubber Factory*, Oxford, UK: White Cockade Publishing.
- Pevsner, N. (1939) 'Frank Lloyd Wright Peaceful Penetration of Europe,' *Architects Journal* (89) 4 May 1939, pp 731-34. London.
- Pevsner, N. (1981) *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius*, London: Pelican.
- Pfeiffer, B. P. (Ed.)(1989) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Crowning Decade 1949-59* Fresno, Ca: The Press, California State University.
- Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (1992) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Collected Writings, Vol. 1 1984-1930*, NY:Rizzoli.
- Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (1993) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Collected Writings, Vol. 2 1930-1932*, NY:Rizzoli.
- Pfeiffer, B. (Ed.) (1993) *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Collected Writings, Vol. 3 1931-1939*, NY:Rizzoli.
- Pfeiffer, B. ed. (2008) *The Essential Frank Lloyd Wright: Critical Writings on Architecture*. Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Pinchon, J-F (1990) Ed. Rob. Mallet-Stevens: *Architecture, Furniture, Interior Design*, Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Pollack. M. (1997) Ed. *The Education of the Architect: Historiography, Urbanism, and the Growth of Architectural Knowledge*, Cambridge, Mass, USA: MIT Press.
- Polano, S. (1988) *Hendrick Petrus Berlage: Complete Works*, UK: Butterworth Architecture.
- Poli, F. (2008) 'The Museums of the Island of Happiness,' *Lotus* no. 134, May.
- Pommer, R. & Otto C. F. (1991) *Weissenhof 1927 and the modern movement in architecture*, Chicago: London : University of Chicago Press.
- Powell, K. (1999) *Richard Rogers: Complete works volume 1*. London: Phaidon.
- Power, A. (2006) 'Little Venice Grows Up,' *Building Design*, October 27, 2006.
- Powers, A. (2007) *Britain: Modern Architectures in History*, London: Reaktion Books.
- Powers, A. (2009) *Aldington, Craig and Collinge: Twentieth Century Architects* London: RIBA Publishing.
- Quinan, J. (2008) 'Field Notes: Frank Lloyd Wright, Preservation, and the Question of Authenticity,' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, **Vol. 67**, No.1, March 2008.
- Rainer, R. (2003) *Rainer: Das Werk Des Architekten 1927-2003*, Vienna: Springer - Verlag
- Rattenbury, J. (2000) *A Living Architecture: Frank Lloyd Wright and Taliesin Architects*, San Francisco, USA: Pomegranate.
- Raymond, A. (1973) *An Autobiography*, Rutland, USA: Charles E. Tuttle.
- Reed, P. and Kaizen, W. (Eds) (2004) *The Show to End All Shows: Frank Lloyd Wright and The Museum of Modern Art, 1940*, NY, USA: The Museum of Modern Art.
- Rendell, J. et al (2007) *Critical Architecture*, London: Routledge.
- Rendell, J. (2010) *Site-Writing: The Architecture of Art Criticism*, London: I. B. Tauris.
- Riley, T. & Bergdoll, B. (2001) *Mies in Berlin* NY, USA: The Museum of Modern Art.
- Riley, T. & Reed, P. (Eds) (1994) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Architect* NY, USA: The Museum of Modern Art.
- Richie, D. (1999) *Tokyo*, London: Reaktion Books.
- Robertson, H. (1924) *The Principles of Architectural Composition*, London: Architectural Press.
- Robertson, H. (1932) *Modern Architectural Design*, London: Architectural Press.
- Ross, M. (1978) *Beyond Metabolism: The New Japanese Architecture*, London: Mc Graw Hill.
- Rowe, P. (1991) *Making a Middle Landscape*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press.
- Rubens, G. (1986) *William Richard Lethaby: his Life and Work*, London: Architectural Press.

- Rudofsky, B. (1965) *Architecture without architects : a short introduction to non-pedigreed architecture*, NY: Museum of Modern Art.
- Ruskin, J. (1989) *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, NY: Dover Publications, Inc. p.178.
- Rybczynski, W. (2002) *The Perfect House: A Journey with the Renaissance Master Andrea Palladio*, Scribner: NY, London: Scribner.
- Said, E. (1994) *Culture and Imperialism*, NY: Vintage Books.
- Said, E. (2003) *Orientalism*, Penguin: London.
- Saint, A. (1993) *The Image of the Architect*, New Haven, USA: Yale University Press.
- Sasaki, M (2007) *Morphogenesis of Flux Structure*, London: AA Publications.
- Scott, J. (1989) *Behind the Urals: An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel* Bloomington, USA: Indiana University Press.
- Scully, V. (1960) *Frank Lloyd Wright*, NY:George Brailer.
- Scully, V. (2003) *Modern Architecture and Other Essays*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Secret. M. (1998) *Frank Lloyd Wright: A Biography*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Seidensticker, E. (1985) *Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake, 1867-1923*. London: Penguin.
- Sergeant, J. (1984) *Frank Lloyd Wright's Usonian Houses: Designs for Moderate Cost One-Family Homes*, NY: Whitney Library of Design.
- Service, R. (2003) *A History of Modern Russia: from Nicholas II to Putin*, London: Penguin.
- Shelton, B. (2012) *Learning from the Japanese City: Looking East in Urban Design*, London: Routledge.
- Shvidkovsky, D. (2007) *Russian Architecture and the West*, London: Yale University Press.
- Sinclair, I. (2003) *London Orbital*, London: Penguin.
- Siry, J. M. (2005) 'Wright's Baghdad Opera House and Gammage Auditorium: in search of regional modernity,' *Art Bulletin*, **Vol. 87**, No. 2, June 2005.
- Smith, K. (1988) Frank Lloyd Wright's unknown Imperial Hotel annex, *SD* No. 286(7), July 1988, pp. 77-88.
- Smithson, A. & P. (1981) *The Heroic Period of Modern Architecture*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Smithson, A. & P. (2005) *The Charged Void: Urbanism*, London: Monecelli Press Inc.
- Spinelli, L. (2009) Buldozer's Earthquake, *Domus*, No. 930, November 2009, pp. 129-132.
- Squire, R. (1957) 'The Middle East,' *Architectural Design*, March 1957.
- St. John, (2005) *Revelations of St. John the Divine and the Book of Job*, London: Penguin Books Great Ideas.
- Starr, S. F. (1978) *Melnikov: Solo Architect in a Mass Society*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Stewart, D. (1988) *The Making of Modern Japanese Architecture: 1868 to Present*, Japan: Kodansha Int.
- Storrer, W. A. (1993) *The Frank Lloyd Wright Companion*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sudjic, D. (1986) *Norman Foster, Richard Rogers, James Sterling: A New Direction in British Architecture*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Sudjic, D. (2006) *The Edifice Complex: How the Rich and Powerful Shape the World*, London: Penguin.
- Sullivan, L. (1949) *The Autobiography of an Idea*, NY: Smith.
- Sullivan, M. (1996) *The Development of the British Welfare State*, London: Prentice Hall / Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Sultan, G. (1974) 'Kuwait', *The Architects' Journal*, 2 October 1974.
- Summerson, J. (1990) *The Unromantic Castle*, London: Thames & Hudson.
- Summerson, J. (2000) *Inigo Jones*, London: Yale University Press.
- Sweeney, R. (1994) *Wright in Hollywood: Visions of a New Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Tafari, M. (1989) *History of Italian Architecture 1944-1985*, Cambridge, USA:MIT Press.
- Tafari, M. (1979) *Architecture and Utopia – Design and Capitalist Development*, Cambridge, USA: MIT Press.
- Tanigawa, M. (1980) *Measured Drawing: Frank Lloyd Wright in Japan*, Tokyo: Gurnfikka Sha.
- Tarkhanov, A. and Kavtaradze, S. (1992) *Stalinist Architecture*, London: Laurence King.
- Taut, B. (1938) *Houses and People of Japan*, London: Gifford.
- Thesiger, W. (2007) *Arabian Sands*, Penguin: London.
- Thomsen, C. W. (1994) *Visionary Architecture: From Babylon to Virtual Reality*, Munich: Prestel.

- Tomlinson, J. (1999) *Globalisation and Culture*, Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Traganou, J. & Mitrasinovic, M. Eds. (2009) *Travel, Space, Architecture*, Farnham, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Treib, M. & Herman, R. (1980) *A Guide to the Gardens of Kyoto*, Tokyo: Shufunotomo Co. Ltd.
- Treiber, D. (2008) *Frank Lloyd Wright*, Basel, Germany: Birkhauser
- Twombly, R. (1979) *Frank Lloyd Wright his Life and his Architecture*, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
- Twombly, R. (Ed.) (2009) *Frank Lloyd Wright: Essential Texts*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Uchii, S. (1987) 'In Pursuit of the Ideal Art Museum,' *Japan Architect* **Vol 62**, No.1 (357) Jan. 1987.
- Udoviki-Sleb, D. (2009) 'Between Modernism and Socialist Realism: Soviet Architectural Culture under Stalin's Revolution from Above, 1928-1938,' *Society of Architectural Historians Journal* **Vol. 68**, No. 4 pp.267-495.
- Vale, L., (1992) *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Vaughan, R. (2008) 'Architect Rifat Chandirji was condemned to solitary confinement until Saddam Hussein made him an offer he couldn't refuse,' *Architects' Journal* 17 April, 2008.
- Vidotto, M. (1997) *Alison + Peter Smithson: Works and Projects* Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, SA.
- Waissenberger, R. (1984) *Vienna 1890-1920*, NY: Rizzoli.
- Waley, P. (1991) *Tokyo: City of Stories* NY: Weatherhill.
- Williams-Ellis, C. (1991) *Architect Errant*, Portmeirion, Wales: Portmerion Ltd
- Wilson, C. St J.(2007) *The other tradition of modern architecture : the uncompleted project* London: Black Dog.
- White, M. and White, L. (1977) *The Intellectual Versus the City: From Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright*, Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Wijdeveld, H. T. ed (1925) *The Life Work of the American Architect Frank Lloyd Wright*, Santpoort, Holland: C. A. Mees.
- Wilton, A. & Bignamini, (1997) *The Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, London: Tate Gallery Publishing.
- Wolfflin, H. (1984) *Renaissance and Baroque*, London: Collins.
- Woollcott, A. (1938) *While Rome Burns*, London: Penguin.
- Worsley, G. (2007) *Inigo Jones and the European Classical Tradition*, London: Yale University Press.
- Wright, F. L. (1935a) 'Broadacre City: a New Community Plan,' *Architectural Record* **77** April.
- Wright, F. L. (1935b) "Message from Frank Lloyd Wright," in *Atti ufficiali: XIII Congresso internazionale architetti, Roma, 22-28 Settembre 1935 – XII* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale de San Luca, 1935)
- Wright, F. L. (1937) 'Architecture and Life in the USSR,' *Architectural Record* **Vol. 82**, October.
- Wright, F. L (1938) *Architectural Forum* **68** January, pp.1-102.
- Wright, F. L. (1941) 'London Rebuilt: How I Would Do it.' *News Chronicle* 17 February.
- Wright, F. L. (1945) *An Autobiography*, London: Faber & Faber.
- Wright, F. L. (1945) *When Democracy Builds*, Chicago, USA: University of Chicago University Press.
- Wright, F. L. (1954) 'La Casa sul Canal Grande' and 'The Masieri Memorial,' *Metron* No. 49-50, Gennaio - Aprile 1954.
- Wright, F. L. (1957) *A Testament*, NY: Bramhall House.
- Wright F. L. (1957) 'Wright to Design Baghdad Opera', *Architectural Forum*, May 1957.
- Wright, F. L. (1968) *Frank Lloyd Wright: the Early Work*, NY: Horizon Press.
- Wright, F. L. (1968) *Frank Lloyd Wright: the Living City*, NY: Meridian.
- Wright, F. L. (1970) *An Organic Architecture: The Architecture of Democracy*, London: Lund Humphries.
- Wright, F. L. (1982) *The Early Work of Frank Lloyd Wright: The "Ausgefuehrte Bauten" of 1911*, NY: Dover.
- Wright, F. L. (1987) *Truth Against the World*, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
- Wright, F. L. et al (1992) *The Complete 1925 "Wendigen Series,"* NY: Dover. This was originally published by Wijdeveld, H. T. ed (1925).
- Wright, F. L. et al (1994) *The Phoenix Papers Volume 1 Broadacre City*, Arizona State University: Herberger Centre.
- Wright, G. (2008) *USA: Modern Architectures in History*, London: Reaktion Books.

- Wright, J. L. (1946) *My father who is on earth*, NY: G. P. Putnam & Son.
- Yenkyhoba, N (2006) *Clubs built under the Union Program 1927-1930*, Moscow:
publisher unkown. Translated into English by Elek Urban, transcript dated 23.09.09
retained by author.
- Zevi, B. (1950) *Towards an Organic Architecture*, London: Faber & Faber.
- Zevi, B. (1974) *Architecture as Space: How to look at architecture* NY: Da Capo.
- Zevi, B. (1978) *The Modern Language of Architecture*, Seattle, USA; London:
University of Washington Press.
- Zevi B. (1999) *Erich Mendelsohn: The Complete Works*, Birkhauser: Basel.

List of Illustrations

Every effort was made to find the copyright holders of the illustrations used, although it has not been possible to trace them all.

The printed copy of the thesis contains all the images that were included in the original thesis submitted to University of Westminster. In the digital copy some images have had to be removed from the final digital copy as permission was not granted for their inclusion on digital media. For readers interested in my thesis there are printed versions available at the University of Westminster and the RIBA.

Acknowledgements:

0.008, 0.010, 0.011, 0.012, 0.013 Courtesy of DACS.

1.010, 1.011, 1.013, 1.014, 1.037, 1.042, 1.202 Courtesy of Taylor and Francis.

1.012, 1.014, 1.043, 1.044, 1.045, 1.047, 1.048, 1.049, 1.050, 1.062, 1.063, 1.064, 1.065, 1.066, 1.067, 1.068, 1.069, 1.101, 1.102, 1.103, 1.115, 1.116, 1.117, 1.133, 1.134, 1.135, 1.137, 1.143, 1.144, 1.145, 1.164, 1.165, 1.166, 1.167, 1.192 Courtesy of DACS.

1.029, 1.030, 1.031 Courtesy of the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo, Japan.

1.039, Courtesy of RIBA.

1.041 Courtesy of Charles Jos Biviano.

1.139, 1.140, 1.141, 1.142 Courtesy of Charles E. Turtle.

2.027 Courtesy of MIT Press.

2.031, 2.032, 2.042, 2.045, 2.046, 2.048, 2.049, 2.050, 2.077, 2.078, 2.079, 2.084, 2.085, 2.086, 2.087, 2.090, 2.105, 2.117, 2.120, 2.121, 2.147, 2.152, 2.173, 2.174, 2.178 Courtesy of DACS.

2.047 Courtesy of Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut, archive.

2.088, 2.089, 2.098, 2.102 Courtesy of Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin.

3.040, 3.041, 3.042, 3.043, 3.067, 3.068, 3.069, 3.070, 3.071, 3.075, 3.076, 3.125, 3.131 Courtesy of DACS

3.046, 3.047, 3.048 Courtesy of *The Architectural Review*.

3.072, 3.073, 3.074, 3.077, 3.078 Courtesy of MIT Press.

4.020, 4.021, 4.022, 4.023, 4.024, 4.025, 4.033, 4.035, 4.036, 4.037, 4.038, 4.039,

4.040, 4.041, 4.049, 4.050, 4.056, 4.057, 4.058, 4.059, 4.116, 4.138 Courtesy of DACS.

4.030 Courtesy of Guild of Handicraft Trust, Curator, Court Barn Museum

4.042, 4.043, 4.044 courtesy of Patrick Joseph Meehan. Copyright (c) Patrick Joseph Meehan, 1987, 1992, and 2014. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

4.052, 4.054 Courtesy of *Architects' Journal*.

4.063 Photograph by Richard Learoyd, courtesy of *The Guardian* and Cullinan Studio.

4.084, 4.087 Courtesy of Architectural Press & RIBA.

4.079, 4.080, 4.081, 4.082, 4.083, 4.085 4.089, 4.122, 4.139 Courtesy of RIBA.

4.107, 4.108 Courtesy of Twentieth Century Society.

4.116, 4.117, 4.118 Courtesy of Portmerion.

5.030, 5.031, 5.032, 5.033, 5.046, 5.060, 5.062, 5.114, 5.125, 5.126, 5.127, 5.128, 5.129, 5.130, 5.131, 5.132 Courtesy of DACS.

5.040, 5.041, 5.043 Courtesy of Bruno Zevi Archive.

5.098, 5.133, 5.137, 5.141, 5.142, 5.143, 5.144, 5.145, 5.146 Courtesy of Bruno Zevi Archive.

5.147 Courtesy of Casa Dell' Architettura.

5.154 Courtesy of Taylor & Francis.

5.155 Courtesy of Bruno Zevi Archive.

5.167 Courtesy of RIBA.

6.009, 6.010, 6.011, 6.012, 6.013, 6.074, 6.075, 6.101, 6.130, 6.131, 6.132, 6.133, 6.134, 6.135, 6.136, 6.138, 6.139, 6.140, 6.141, 6.142, 6.143, 6.144, 6.145, 6.146, 6.147, 6.152, 6.153, 6.154, 6.155, 6.156, 6.157, 6.161, 6.162, 6.163, 6.164, 6.165, 6.166, 6.167, 6.168, 6.169 Courtesy of DACS.

6.014, 6.015, 6.016 Courtesy of Ivy Press & Herbert Press.

6.020, 6.023, 6.024, 6.027, 6.057, 6.059 Courtesy of Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.

6.022 Courtesy of *Architects' Journal*.

6.026, 6.073 Courtesy of Norman Foster & Partners. All rights reserved by the copyright holder and no reproduction rights are granted.

6.076 Courtesy of RIBA.

6.148, 6.150 Courtesy of Zaha Hadid Architects.

Route Finder

All images by the author unless otherwise noted.

0.001 Route map (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).

0.002 Postcard Tokyo.

0.003 Postcard Berlin.

0.004 Postcard Moscow.

0.005 Postcard Portmeirion.

0.006 Postcard Venice.

0.007 Postcard Kuwait.

0.008 Street view, Ward Willits House (1902-3) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982).

0.009 Garden view, Herbert Jacob House (1936) by Frank Lloyd Wright.

0.010 Perspective, Opera House, Baghdad (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M.(2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

0.011 Plan, Ward Willits House (1902-3) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982).

0.012 Plan, Herbert Jacob House (1936) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Sergeant, J. (1984).

0.013 Plan, Opera House, Baghdad (1957-8) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M.(2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

0.014 Japan route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).

0.015 Germany route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).

0.016 Russia route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).

0.017 Britain route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).

0.018 Italy route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).

0.019 Kuwait route finder (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).

0.020 Souvenir - Old Imperial Bar, Tokyo.

0.021 Souvenir - Secession Building , Vienna.

0.022 Souvenir - Building Blocks, Moscow.

0.023 Souvenir - Chipping Campden, Britain.

0.024 Souvenir - Villa Emo, Veneto.

0.025 Souvenir - Dates, Dubai.

0.026 Newspaper - *The Japan Times*, 10.10.2005.

0.027 Newspaper - *The Hauge, Rotterdam, Amsterdam Times*, 10.06.2005.

0.028 Newspaper - *The St Petersburg Times*, 26.06.2007.

0.029 Newspaper - *Cotswold Journal*, 8.05.2008.

0.030 Newspaper - *International Herald Tribune*, 11.10.2008.

0.031 Newspaper - *The Nation*, 13.09.2009.

0.032 Sketchbook - Setagaya Museum, Tokyo.

0.033 Sketchbook - Wittgenstein House, Vienna.

0.034 Sketchbook - Magnitogorsk.

0.035 Sketchbook - Frog House, Illmington.

0.036 Sketchbook -Brion Tomb, Veneto.

0.037 Sketchbook - Mosque, Kuwait.

0.038 With former Taliesin Associates, Tokyo.

0.039 At Einsteinturm, Potsdam.

0.040 At Panorama, Magnitogorsk.

0.041 With Joshua, Milton Keynes.

0.042 At Service Station, near Milan.

0.043 At Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait.

1. Unusual Views of Outstanding Sites

All images by the author unless otherwise noted.

- 1.000 Interior view, Kashima Hokan, Fukuoka .
- 1.001 Japan route (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).
- 1.002 Postcard Tokyo.
- 1.003 Postcard Tokyo - school.
- 1.004 Postcard Kyoto.
- 1.005 Postcard Yamamura, Kobe.
- 1.006 Wright route, image from Tanigawa, M. (1996) in Birk, M. (1996).
- 1.007 Postcard Kohrakuen.
- 1.008 Postcard Fukouka.
- 1.009 Chicago Columbia Exposition, Chicago (1893) image removed, Copyright withheld.
- 1.010 Chicago Columbia Exposition, Chicago (1893) with Ho-o-den pavilion in the fore-ground, image from Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 3.1, p.47).
- 1.011 Ho-o-den pavilion, Chicago (1893) image from Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 3.6, p.52)
- 1.012 Street view, Willits House, Chicago (1902-3) image from Wright, F. L. (1982) .
- 1.013 Plan analysis by Nute, comparing the main pavilion to the Ho-o-den with the Willits House noting; the entry sequence and path to the Tokonoma / Hearth, image from Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 3.33, p.63).
- 1.014 Plan, Willits House, image from Wright F. L. (1982) and Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 3.33, p.63).
- 1.015 Tokyo Subway Map (2005) .
- 1.016 Plaza of Metropolitan Government Building (1995) by Kenzo Tange.
- 1.017 Tokyo city view towards Imperial Palace A.
- 1.018 Tokyo city view towards Imperial Palace B.
- 1.019 Passengers on Tokyo Subway.
- 1.020 Elevation, Metropolitan Government Building (1995).
- 1.021 Viewing gallery, Metropolitan Government Building (1995).
- 1.022 High City - Akasaka view A.
- 1.023 High City - Akasaka view B.
- 1.024 High City - Akasaka view C .
- 1.025 Yoshiwara view (c. 1900), image from Stewart, D. (1988).
- 1.026 Low City - Asakusa views view A.
- 1.027 Low City - Asakusa views view B.
- 1.028 Low City - Asakusa views view C.
- 1.029 Dance Party (c.1920), image from Anon, (2003).
- 1.030 Babe Ruth with young fans (1934), image from Anon (2003).
- 1.031 Marilyn Monroe and Joe DiMaggio (1954), image from Anon (2003).
- 1.032 Souvenir, Old Imperial Bar, Imperial Hotel (2005).
- 1.033 Long Bar. Old Imperial Bar, Imperial Hotel (2005).
- 1.034 Bar Booth, Old Imperial Bar, Imperial Hotel (2005).
- 1.035 Oya screen, Old Imperial Bar, Imperial Hotel (2005)..
- 1.036 Hoterukan, Tokyo (1867-68), image from Stewart, D. (1988).
- 1.037 Rokumeikan, Tokyo (1883), image from Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 8.32, p.158).
- 1.038 Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1890) by Yuzuru Watanabe image from Stewart, D. (1988).
- 1.039 Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1923-67) by Frank Lloyd Wright, drawing by Farey, C. A. (1929) RIBA12143.
- 1.040 Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1970-83).
- 1.041 Ground floor plan, Imperial Palace, Kyoto (c.1855), Delineation by Charles Jos Biviano, Fine Artist, image in Stipe, M. (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999).
- 1.042 Ground floor plan, Ho-o-den, Chicago (1893) in Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 3.10, p.54).
- 1.043 Ground floor plan, symmetrical classical plan form derived from Japanese and Beaux Arts precedents, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1913-23), image from Wright, F. L. (1992).
- 1.044 Ground floor plan, Midway Gardens, Chicago (1913-14) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1992).
- 1.045 Street view with pool, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1923-67) image from Anon (1991).
- 1.046 Street view of entry (2005)
- 1.047 Inner garden looking onto banquet hall and theatre, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1923-67) image from Anon (1991).
- 1.048 Circulating promenade, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1923-67), image from Anon (1991).

- 1.049 Banqueting 'Peacock' Hall, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1923-67), image from Anon (1991).
- 1.050 Lobby, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1923-1967), image from James. C. (1988).
- 1.051 Corridor, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (2005).
- 1.052 Multi-use Functional Suite, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (2005).
- 1.053 Lobby, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (2005),
- 1.054 Yarakucho after the earthquake (1923) Imperial Hotel, Tokyo (1913-23), top right of image, image from Quinan, J. (2008).
- 1.055 Front view, Imperial Hotel Demolition (1967-8), image from Spinelli, L. (2009).
- 1.056 Top view, Imperial Hotel Demolition (1967-8) image from Spinelli, L. (2009).
- 1.057 Side view, Imperial Hotel Demolition (1967-8), image from Spinelli, L. (2009).
- 1.058 Ikebukuro railway station, Tobu Department Store.
- 1.059 Ikebukuro railway station, street view.
- 1.060 Ikebukuro, street view.
- 1.061 Ikebukuro, shop.
- 1.062 US Embassy Project, Tokyo (1914) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon, (1991).
- 1.063 Wright's Apartment, Imperial Hotel Annex, Tokyo (1916) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Smith, K. (1988).
- 1.064 Elevations, Imperial Hotel Annex, Tokyo (1916), image from Smith, K. (1988).
- 1.065 Perspective, Odawara Hotel Project (1918), by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon, (1991).
- 1.066 Perspective, Tokyo Theatre Project (1918) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon, (1991).
- 1.067 Elevation, Odawara Hotel Project (1918), image from Anon, (1991).
- 1.068 Elevation, Tokyo Theatre Project (1918), image from Anon, (1991).
- 1.069 Plan, Tokyo Theatre Project (1918), image from Anon, (1991).
- 1.070 Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921) by Frank Lloyd Wright.
- 1.071 Lounge Hall, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921).
- 1.072 Lounge Hall looking back towards the Gallery, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921).
- 1.073 Original *Myonichikan* pottery, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921).
- 1.074 Lobby into Lounge Hall, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921).
- 1.075 Lounge Hall with Gallery above, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921).
- 1.076 Main Dining Room, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921).
- 1.077 Site Plan, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921), image from tourist leaflet.
- 1.078 Lounge Hall, main window, Jiyu Gakuen Girls' School (1921).
- 1.079 Auditorium (1927) by Arata Endo.
- 1.080 Interior, Auditorium (1927).
- 1.081 Interior, Auditorium (1927).
- 1.082 Publishing Buildings by Raku Endo.
- 1.083 Exterior, Publishing Buildings.
- 1.084 Entry, Publishing Buildings.
- 1.085 Louis Vuitton Moet Hennessy (1999) by Kenzo Kuma.
- 1.086 Prada store (2003) by Herzog and DeMeuron.
- 1.087 Dior (2003) by SANAA.
- 1.088 Tods shop (2003) by Toyo Ito.
- 1.089 Louis Vuitton Moet Hennessy (1999), street view.
- 1.090 Prada store (2003), window detail.
- 1.091 Dior (2003), entrance.
- 1.092 Tods shop (2003), window opening.
- 1.093 Mild Breeze on a Fine Day From Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji by Hokusai.
- 1.094 Mount Fuji beyond the Water Treatment Plant by the author (2005).
- 1.095 Mount Fuji behind the Industrial Units by the author (2005).
- 1.096 Two women in traditional garment at Holly's Bar, Kyoto (2005).
- 1.097 Back Street, Kyoto.
- 1.098 *Ryoken* Front Elevation, Kyoto.
- 1.099 *Ryoken* Owners, Kyoto.
- 1.100 Bedroom, Kyoto.
- 1.101 Main Hall, Chion-in Temple, Kyoto (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996).
- 1.102 Garden of Sanpoh-in, Daigoji Temple, Kyoto (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996).
- 1.103 Garden of Sanpoh-in, Daigoji Temple, Kyoto (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright image from Birk, M. (1996).
- 1.104 Plan of Garden of Sanpoh-in, Plan (2005) image from tourist leaflet.
- 1.105 Main Hall, Chion-in Temple, Kyoto (2005).
- 1.106 Garden of Sanpoh-in, Daigoji Temple, Kyoto (2005).
- 1.107 Garden of Sanpoh-in, Daigoji Temple, Kyoto (2005).
- 1.108 Roof Pylon, Koshein Hotel (1930) by Arata Endo.

- 1.109 Rear View, Koshein Hotel (1930).
- 1.110 Garden Elevation, Koshein Hotel (1930).
- 1.111 Tea House in Garden, Koshein Hotel (1930).
- 1.112 Back of Banqueting Hall, Koshein Hotel (1930).
- 1.113 Front of Banqueting Hall, Koshein Hotel (1930).
- 1.114 Traditional Hotel Room, Koshein Hotel (1930).
- 1.115 Unidentified man and woman on a mountain pass (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996).
- 1.116 Hyogo-Daibutsu, Nofukuji Temple (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996).
- 1.117 Main Shrine, Ikuta Shrine, Kobe (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996).
- 1.118 Mono-rail and traffic junction, Kobe (2005).
- 1.119 Hyogo-Daibutsu, Nofukuji Temple (2005).
- 1.120 Main Shrine, Ikuta Shrine, Kobe (2005).
- 1.121 Suburban home within walled compound, Kobe.
- 1.122 Final direction for Yamamura Villa.
- 1.123 Car entry for Yamamura Villa (1918) by Frank Lloyd Wright.
- 1.124 Ground floor entry lobby, payment and new slippers, Yamamura Villa (1918).
- 1.125 First floor, breakfast room with abstract hearth and window seat, Yamamura Villa (1918).
- 1.126 Second floor, galleried landing, Yamamura Villa (1918).
- 1.127 Second floor, sequence of three Japanese rooms, Yamamura Villa (1918).
- 1.128 View from Japanese rooms to external terrace, Yamamura Villa (1918).
- 1.129 Inset window detail with four interlocking copper squares Yamamura Villa (1918).
- 1.130 Second floor, gift shop, Yamamura Villa (1918).
- 1.131 Third floor dining room, Yamamura Villa (1918).
- 1.132 Third floor, external terrace, Yamamura Villa (1918).
- 1.133 Aisaku Hayashi House, Tokyo (1917) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon (1991).
- 1.134 Fukuhara House (1918) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon (1991).
- 1.135 Viscount Inoue House (1918) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon (1991).
- 1.136 Elevation, Fujiyama Mansion (1932-33) an example of a *wayo-kongo jutaku* house, image from Stewart, D. (1988).
- 1.137 Count Goto House (1920) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon (1991).
- 1.138 Plan, Fujiyama Mansion (1932-33), image from Stewart, D. (1988).
- 1.139 Count Goto House (1923) by Antonin Raymond, image from Raymond, A. (1973).
- 1.140 Dr Reid House (1924) by Antonin Raymond, image from Raymond, A. (1973).
- 1.141 Reinanzaka House (1923-4) by Raymond, image from Raymond, A. (1973).
- 1.142 Adachi House (1965) by Raymond, image from Raymond, A. (1973).
- 1.143 Main Hall, Kohrakuen, Okayama (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996).
- 1.144 Main Hall, Kohrakuen, Okayama (1905), by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996).
- 1.145 Distant view of the city of Takamatsu from Yashmina, over the Inland Sea (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996).
- 1.146 Plan, Kohrakuen, Okayama, image from tourist leaflet.
- 1.147 Main Hall, Kohrakuen, Okayama (2005).
- 1.148 Main Hall, Kohrakuen, Okayama (2005).
- 1.149 Distant view of the city of Takamatsu from Yashmina, over the Inland Sea (2005).
- 1.150 Landscape view from Okayama to Takamatsu.
- 1.151 Crossing the Inland Sea.
- 1.152 View looking up to Yashima.
- 1.153 Taxi ride to Yashima.
- 1.154 Flour mill at Shikoyku-Mura Folk House Open-Air Museum.
- 1.155 Storage barn at Shikoyku-Mura Folk House Open-Air Museum.
- 1.156 Displaced Lighthouse at Shikoyku-Mura Folk House Open-Air Museum.
- 1.157 Was Down House, originally from Kobe at Shikoyku-Mura Folk House Open-Air Museum.
- 1.158 Garden Festival at Island City, Fukuoka (2005).
- 1.159 Grin-Grin (2005) by Toyo Ito.
- 1.160 View from roof, Grin-Grin (2005).
- 1.161 Internal view, Grin-Grin (2005).
- 1.162 Tourist Map of Garden Festival at Island City.
- 1.163 Overlapping roof forms, Grin-Grin (2005).
- 1.164 First Floor Plan, Heurtley House (1901), image from Wright, F. L. (1982).

- 1.165 Heurtley House, Oak Park (1901) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982).
- 1.166 Ground Floor Plan, Heurtley House (1901), image from Wright, F. L. (1982).
- 1.167 Rear facade, Heurtley House (1901), image from Wright, F. L. (1982).
- 1.168 Typical House in Island City (2005).
- 1.169 Heurtley House (2008) by Mitsui Home Group, image from www.mitsuihome.co.jp.
- 1.170 Standard plans, by Mitsui Home Group, image from www.mitsuihome.co.jp.
- 1.171 Internal views, by Mitsui Home Group, image from www.mitsuihome.co.jp.
- 1.172 Apartments by Steven Holl, Nexus World Kashii.
- 1.173 Apartments by Rem Koolhaas, Nexus World Kashii.
- 1.174 Internal landscape, Nexus World Kashii.
- 1.175 Internal view of Holl's hinged wall, Nexus World Kashii, image from Derossi, P. (1992).
- 1.176 Section thru Koolhaas' apartments, Nexus World Kashii, image from Koolhaas, R. (1995).
- 1.177 Site plan with participants, Nexus World Kashii, image from Koolhaas, R. (1995).
- 1.178 Journey start from Fukouka to Nikko.
- 1.179 A-bomb Dome, Hiroshima.
- 1.180 Axis of Peace, Hiroshima Peace Centre Complex (1949-52) by Kenzo Tange.
- 1.181 Eternal Flame, Hiroshima Peace Centre Complex (1949-52).
- 1.182 Tourist Plan, Hiroshima Peace Centre Complex (1949-52).
- 1.183 Elevation, Hiroshima Peace Centre Complex (1949-52).
- 1.184 Entrance, Hiroshima Peace Centre Complex (1949-52).
- 1.185 Family tree of Japanese architects, image from Ross, M (1978).
- 1.186 Harumi Apartments, Tokyo (1957-8) by Kunio Maekawa, image from Stewart, D. (1988).
- 1.187 Festival Hall by Kunio Maekawa.
- 1.188 Tokyo Plan (1960) by Kenzo Tange, image from Ross, M. (1978).
- 1.189 Marine Cvilisation Scheme (1960) by Kiyonari Kikutake, image from Ross, M. (1978).
- 1.190 Nakagin Apartment Tower, Tokyo (1972) by Kisho Kurokawa, image from Stewart, D. (1988).
- 1.191 Tourist Plan of Tosho-gu Shrine complex.
- 1.192 Kegon Falls, Nikko (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Birk, M. (1996).
- 1.193 Yomeimon – the Sun Bright Gatehouse, at the top right of the image, Tosho-gu Shrine complex.
- 1.194 Gate to Tosho-gu Shrine, Tosho-gu Shrine complex.
- 1.195 Tourists at Kegon Falls, Nikko (2005).
- 1.196 Temple enclosure, Tosho-gu Shrine complex.
- 1.197 Path within the landscape, Tosho-gu Shrine complex.
- 1.198 Taiyu-in-byo Mausoleum enclosure, Tosho-gu Shrine complex.
- 1.199 Taiyu-in-byo contains the mausoleum of the thirdshogun Tokogawa Iemitsu who died in 1651, Tosho-gu Shrine complex.
- 1.200 Link and sanctuary, Taiyu-in-byo.
- 1.201 Entry gate and storage for scrolls, Taiyu-in-byo.
- 1.202 Taiyu-in-byo and Unity Temple, plan analysis, image from Nute, K. (2000) *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan*, London: Routledge (fig 8.18, 8.19 p.150).
- 1.203 Free planning with different forms addressing the park, Setagaya Museum (1985) by Shozo Uchii.
- 1.204 Internal courtyard, Setagaya Museum (1985).
- 1.205 External pergola, triangular forms from Wright's drafting room at Taliesin North, Setagaya Museum (1985).
- 1.206 Handa, former Taliesin Associate.
- 1.207 Textured block, Setagaya Museum (1985).
- 1.208 Internal circulation, Setagaya Museum (1985).
- 1.209 Link to cafe, Setagaya Museum (1985).
- 1.210 Final evening with Taliesin Associates.

2. Vanity Fair

All images by the author unless otherwise noted.

2.001 Sint Franciscus College, Secondary School (1922-4) by H. Sutterland, and P. G. Buskens, Rotterdam.

2.002 Germany route (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).

2.003 Postcard Paris.

2.004 Postcard Rotterdam.

2.005 Postcard Berlin.

2.006 Postcard Frankfurt.

2.007 Postcard Oberamergau.

2.008 Postcard Vienna.

2.009 Landscape, England, 27 July 2006.

2.010 Landscape, France 27 July 2006.

2.011 Landscape, France 27 July 2006.

2.012 Cafe exterior, Boulevard St. Michel.

2.013 Cafe interior, Boulevard St. Michel.

2.014 Hotel Ritz at the Place Vendome.

2.015 Roof view from Pompidou Centre (1972-77) by Rogers and Piano.

2.016 Petit Palace (1900) by Charles Girault.

2.017 Grand Palace (1900).

2.018 Neo-Realist paintings within Petit Palace.

2.019 Interior by Guimard at Petit Palace.

2.020 Main gallery, Petit Palace.

2.021 Tourist Gallery guide.

2.022 Gallery plan (2006).

2.023 Entrance to Villa Carvois (1931-2) by Robert Mallet-Stevens.

2.024 Garage wall at Villa Carvois (1931-2).

2.025 Garage at Villa Carvois (1931-2).

2.026 Front elevation from garden Villa Carvois (1931-2).

2.027 Elevation analysis Villa Carvois (1931-2) image from Herbert-Stevens, F. (1990) in Pinchon, J-F. (1990).

2.028 Front elevation of Villa Carvois (1931-2).

2.029 Site plan with formal axis in the landscape, Villa Carvois (1931-2), image from Deshoulieres, D. (1980).

2.030 Ground floor plan with formal division of spaces, Villa Carvois (1931-2), image from Deshoulieres, D. (1980).

2.031 Site plan with dispersed plan forms in the landscape, Coonley House (1908) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982).

2.032 Ground floor plan with open plan communal spaces, and separate domains for adults and children, Coonley House (1908) image from Wright, F. L. (1982).

2.033 Street view, Sint Franciscus College, Secondary School (1922-4) by H. Sutterland, and P. G. Buskens.

2.034 Side view, Sint Franciscus College (1922-4).

2.035 Interior view, Sint Franciscus College (1922-4).

2.036 Street view, Sint Franciscus College (1922-4).

2.037 Interior view, Sint Franciscus College (1922-4).

2.038 Landhuis Lovdalla (1912) by Robert van't Hoff.

2.039 Front view, Verloop Summer House (1914-5) by Robert van't Hoff, photograph by Michel Claus, image from Broekhuizen, D. (2010).

2.040 Elevation, Section & Plan, Verloop Summer House (1914-5), image owned by Municipality of Zeist, from Broekhuizen, D. (2010).

2.041 Side view, Villa Henny (1914-19) by Robert van't Hoff.

2.042 Perspective, Coonley Playhouse (1912) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1992).

2.043 Front view, Villa Henny (1914-19).

2.044 Side view, Villa Henny (1914-19).

2.045 Front view, Coonley Playhouse (1912), image from Wright, F. L. (1992).

2.046 A Fireproof House for \$5000 (1906) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Hitchcock, H-R. (1976).

2.047 Ground Floor Plan, Villa Henny (1914-19), Collection Het Nieuwe Instituut, archive (code): HOFF, inv.nr.: p6. Image from Broekhuizen, D. (2010).

2.048 Ground Floor Plan, Coonley Playhouse (1912), image from Wright, F. L. (1992).

2.049 Ground Floor Plan, A Fireproof House for \$5000 (1906), image from Hitchcock, H-R. (1976).

2.050 Upper Floor Plan, A Fireproof House for \$5000 (1906), image from Hitchcock, H-R. (1976).

2.051 Cafe de Unie (1925) by JJP Oud. Rebuilt 1985 at vacant site nearby.

2.052 Street view, Kiefhoek (1925-30) by J. J. P. Oud.

- 2.053 House view, Kiefhoek (1925-30).
- 2.054 Church, Kiefhoek (1925-30).
- 2.055 Robie House, Chicago (1909) by Frank Lloyd Wright.
- 2.056 External view of house with tiled roof, Meer en Bosch (1920) by Duiker and Bijvoet.
- 2.057 External view of house with thatch roof, Meer en Bosch (1920).
- 2.058 Interior view of house with thatch roof, Meer en Bosch (1920).
- 2.059 External view of house with thatch roof, Meer en Bosch (1920).
- 2.060 External view of house with thatch roof, Meer en Bosch (1920).
- 2.061 Interior view of house with thatch roof, Meer en Bosch (1920).
- 2.062 Street view, Simon Stevinweg Street (1923) by Jan Wils.
- 2.063 Garden view, Simon Stevinweg Street (1923).
- 2.064 Side view with Marathon tower beyond, Olympic Stadium (1923) by Jan Wils.
- 2.065 Side view, Olympic Stadium (1923).
- 2.066 Front view, Simon Stevinweg Street (1923).
- 2.067 Side view, Town Hall (1924-31) by Dudok.
- 2.068 View beside pool, Town Hall (1924-31) by Dudok.
- 2.069 Interior view of council chamber, Town Hall (1924-31) by Dudok.
- 2.070 Interior view of lighting to main openings, Town Hall (1924-31) by Dudok.
- 2.071 Perspective view, Town Hall (1924-31) by Dudok.
- 2.072 Street view, Stock Exchange (1903) by Hendrik Petrus Berlage.
- 2.073 View of entry to Exchange, Stock Exchange (1903).
- 2.074 Cafe Berlage towards the back of Stock Exchange (1903).
- 2.075 Interior of Cafe Berlage, Stock Exchange (1903).
- 2.076 Interior of Cafe Berlage, Stock Exchange (1903).
- 2.077 Frontispiece, Wijdeveld, H. T. ed (1925) *The Life Work of the American Architect Frank Lloyd Wright*.
- 2.078 Coonley House, *The Life Work of the American Architect Frank Lloyd Wright* (1925).
- 2.079 Coonley Playhouse, *The Life Work of the American Architect Frank Lloyd Wright* (1925).
- 2.080 Postcard of Reichstag Wrapped (1996) by Christo.
- 2.081 Entrance, Aldon Hotel (1989).
- 2.082 Ground floor lounge, Aldon Hotel (1989).
- 2.083 Leaflet with brief history, Aldon Hotel (1989).
- 2.084 Frontispiece, Wright, F. L. (1910-11) *Ausgeführte Bauten* (commonly known as *Sonderheft* - special edition).
- 2.085 Robie and Coonley Houses, *Sonderheft*, Wright, F. L. (1910-11).
- 2.086 Plans of Coonley House and Larkin Building, *Sonderheft*, Wright, F. L. (1910-11).
- 2.087 Winslow House (1893-94) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982).
- 2.088 Front Elevation, Sommerfeld Residence (1920-21) by Walter Gropius, image from Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin, in Nerdinger, W. (1985).
- 2.089 Rear Elevation, Sommerfeld Residence (1920-21), image from Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin, in Nerdinger, W. (1985).
- 2.090 Plan of Taliesin (1911) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright F. L. (1992).
- 2.091 Elevation & plan, Brick House (1924) by Mies van der Rohe image from Riley, T. (2001).
- 2.092 Detail of Main Gate (1896) by Franz Schwechten.
- 2.093 External view, Assembly Hall for Large Machines (1911-12) by Peter Behrens.
- 2.094 Interior view, Assembly Hall for Large Machines (1911-12).
- 2.095 AEG site.
- 2.096 Exterior view, AEG Turbine Factory (1908-09) by Behrens.
- 2.097 Exterior view, Fagus Factory (1911-12) by Gropius and Meyer.
- 2.098 Front view of Office and Factory Building (1914) by Gropius, image from Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin, in Nerdinger, W. (1985).
- 2.099 Perspective image of AEG Factory (1919) by Mendelsohn, image from Zevi, B. (1999).
- 2.100 Side column, AEG Turbine Factory (1908-09).
- 2.101 Entry pavilion, Fagus Factory (1911-12).
- 2.102 Rear view of from court of Office and Factory Building (1914), image from Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin, in Nerdinger, W. (1985).
- 2.103 Pediment motif, AEG Turbine Factory (1908-09).
- 2.104 Stair view, Fagus Factory (1911-12).
- 2.105 Street view of City National Bank and Hotel, Mason City, by Wright, image from www.wikipedia.co.uk.
- 2.106 Entrance to Albert Einstein Science Park.
- 2.107 External view, Einsteinturm (1921) by Medelshohn.
- 2.108 Astrophysics Observatory Potsdam (1876-79).

- 2.109 External detail, Einsteinturm (1921)
- 2.110 External view, Einsteinturm (1921)
- 2.111 External view, Concert Hall for the Philharmonic Orchestra (1956-63) by Hans Scharoun.
- 2.112 Concept section, Concert Hall for the Philharmonic Orchestra, image from Burkle, J. (1993).
- 2.113 Concept plan, Concert Hall for the Philharmonic Orchestra , image from Burkle, J. (1993).
- 2.114 Concept model, Concert Hall for the Philharmonic Orchestra , image from Burkle, J. (1993).
- 2.115 Interior view, Concert Hall for the Philharmonic Orchestra , image from Burkle, J. (1993).
- 2.116 Exterior view down the lane, Gut Garkau (1924) by Hugo Haring, image from Jones, P. B. (1995).
- 2.117 Exterior view, Taliesin Farm Buildings (1930s onwards) by Frank Lloyd Wright.
- 2.118 Cowshed, Gut Garkau (1924), image from Jones, P. B. (1995).
- 2.119 Barn, Gut Garkau (1924), image from Jones, P. B. (1995).
- 2.120 Exterior view, Taliesin Farm Buildings (1930s onwards), image from www.google.co.uk.
- 2.121 Exterior view, Taliesin Farm Buildings (1930s onwards), image from www.google.co.uk.
- 2.122 Exterior view, Stuttgart Railway Station (1913-27) by Bonatz.
- 2.123 Model, Weissenhofsiedlung (1927) housing exhibition.
- 2.124 Model, Weissenhofsiedlung (1927) housing exhibition.
- 2.125 Exterior view, Houses 1 – 4, Apartment Block (1927) by Mies van der Rohe.
- 2.126 Exhibition leaflet.
- 2.127 Exterior view, House 13 (1927) by Le Corbusier based on Maison Citrohan (1920).
- 2.128 Exterior view, House 13, 14 and 15 (1927) by Le Corbusier.
- 2.129 Exterior view, House 14 and 15 (1927) by Le Corbusier.
- 2.130 Exterior view, House 33 (1927) by Hans Scharoun.
- 2.131 Side entry, House 33 (1927).
- 2.132 Perimeter wall with living space behind, House 33 (1927).
- 2.133 Approach to Mercedes Benz Museum (2004) by UN Studio.
- 2.134 Vintage cars outside, Mercedes Benz Museum (2004).
- 2.135 Facade detail, Mercedes Benz Museum (2004).
- 2.136 Interior ceiling, Mercedes Benz Museum (2004).
- 2.137 Interior ramp with image of Guggenheim Museum, Mercedes Benz Museum (2004).
- 2.138 Interior ramp, Mercedes Benz Museum (2004).
- 2.139 Interior ramp with view of Autobahn, Mercedes Benz Museum (2004).
- 2.140 Exterior view, Athlete's Village, Olympic Park (1972).
- 2.141 Exterior view, Olympic Park (1972) by Gunter Behnisch and Frie Otto.
- 2.142 Swimming pool, Olympic Park (1972).
- 2.143 Exterior view, Olympic Park (1972).
- 2.144 Covered bridge, Olympic Park (1972).
- 2.145 Detail of tent structure, Olympic Park (1972).
- 2.146 Interior of tent structure, Olympic Park (1972).
- 2.147 Exterior view, Ocatilla Camp, Arizona (1929) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Levine, N. (1996).
- 2.148 Exterior view, Fantasy Museum (1998) by Gunter Behnisch.
- 2.149 Exterior view, Fantasy Museum (1998).
- 2.150 Street view, Obermergau.
- 2.151 Interior view, Obermergau Opera enclosure.
- 2.152 Exterior view, Ocatilla Camp, Arizona (1929), image from Levine, N. (1996).
- 2.153 Perimeter wall to Haus am Nordhang and Haus unter Baumen (1968) by Ronald Rainer.
- 2.154 Exterior view, Haus am Nordhang (1968).
- 2.155 Corner window detail, Haus unter Baumen (1968).
- 2.156 Circular window detail, Haus unter Baumen (1968).
- 2.157 Interior view, Haus am Nordhang (1968), image from Rainer, R. (2003).
- 2.158 Plan, Haus am Nordhang (1968), image from Rainer, R. (2003).
- 2.159 Axonometric view, Haus am Nordhang and Haus unter Baumen (1968), image from Rainer, R. (2003).
- 2.160 Exterior view, Villa Wagner I (1886) by Otto Wagner.
- 2.161 Exterior view, Villa Wagner II (1912) by Otto Wagner.
- 2.162 Entry, Villa Wagner I (1886).
- 2.163 Entry, Villa Wagner II (1912).
- 2.164 Exterior view, The Secession Building (1898) by Joseph Maria Olbrich.

2.165 Concept sketch, The Secession Building by Klimt (1897), image from Wais-
senberger, R. (1984).
2.166 Concept sketch, The Secession Building (1897) by Olbrich, image from
Latham, I. (1980).
2.167 Elevation, The Secession Building (1898) by Olbrich, image from Latham, I.
(1980).
2.168 Shopping bag.
2.169 Interior view, The Secession Building.
2.170 Interior view, The Secession Building.
2.171 Side view, The Secession Building.
2.172 Plan: Secession Building (1898), image from Latham, I. (1980).
2.173 Plan: Larkin Building (1902) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L.
(1982).
2.174 Plan: Unity Temple (1905) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L.
(1982).
2.175 Plan: Spatial analysis of plan parti and entry, image from Lipman, J. (2005) in
McCarter (2005).
2.176 Plan: Spatial analysis of plan parti and entry, image from Lipman, J. (2005) in
McCarter (2005).
2.177 Consecrated space, Secession Building (1898).
2.178 Consecrated space, Larkin Building (1902), image from Wright, F. L. (1982).
2.179 Consecrated space, Unity Temple (1905).
2.180 Exterior view, Ernst Ludwig Haus (1889-1901) by Joseph Maria Olbrich.
2.181 Entrance, Ernst Ludwig Haus (1889-1901).
2.182 Interior gallery, Ernst Ludwig Haus (1889-1901).
2.183 Interior gallery, Ernst Ludwig Haus (1889-1901).
2.184 Exterior view, Peter Behrens Haus (1904) by Olbrich.
2.185 Exterior view, Wedding Tower and Exhibition Buildings (1905-8) by Olbrich.
2.186 Interior view, Wedding Tower and Exhibition Buildings (1905-8).
2.187 Interior view, Wedding Tower and Exhibition Buildings (1905-8).
2.188 Exterior view, American Bar (1907) by Adolf Loos.
2.189 Interior view, American Bar (1907), image from Bock, R. (2007).
2.190 Exterior view, Wittgenstein House (1910) by Engleman and Wittgenstein.
2.191 Interior view, Wittgenstein House (1910).
2.192 Guide to MAK Gallery.

2.193 Interior view, MAK Gallery (1863).
2.194 Waerndorfer Frieze (1902) by Margaret Maconald in MAK Gallery.
2.195 Model, Vitra Fire Station (1996) by Zaha Hadid in MAK Gallery.
2.196 Model, Schindler/Chance House (1922-1) by Rudolf Schindler in MAK Gallery.
2.197 Model, Schindler/Chance House (1922-1).
2.198 Model, Schindler/Chance House (1922-1).

3. Egor'evsk Cultural Club

All images by the author unless otherwise noted.

- 3.001 Petrol Station in the Urals.
- 3.002 Russia route (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).
- 3.003 Postcard Moscow.
- 3.004 Souvenir letter Magnitogorsk.
- 3.005 Postcard Chelyablinsk.
- 3.006 Postcard St Petersburg.
- 3.007 England, 17 June 2007.
- 3.008 France, 1 June 2007.
- 3.009 Poland, 18 June 2007.
- 3.010 Russia, 19 June 2007.
- 3.011 Preparing to lift the train carriages, train shed, Poland / Belarus.
- 3.012 Preparing to lift the train carriages.
- 3.013 New bogies for the train carriages.
- 3.014 Spare clamps.
- 3.015 St Basil's Cathedral, Red Square, Moscow.
- 3.016 Lenin's Mausoleum (Shchusev, 1924-30).
- 3.017 GUM state department store (the Upper Trading Arcade) (Pomerantsev, 1890-3).
- 3.018 Resurrection Gate (1995).
- 3.019 Cathedral of Christ the Redeemer (1835-80) by Ton.
- 3.020 Spatial Composition (1926) by Khidekel, Architecton Sketch (undated) by Chashnik, Asnova Grouping, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.021 Horizontal architectons (1923) by Malevich, Asnova Grouping, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.022 Exterior view of Melnikov House (1927-9) by Konstantin Melnikov.
- 3.023 Window detail of Melnikov House (1927-9).
- 3.024 Exterior view, Isvetsia Building (1925-7) by Barkhin.
- 3.025 Exterior view of housing unit, Narkomfin Housing Complex (1929) by Moisei Ginzberg.
- 3.026 Exterior view of communal unit, Narkomfin Housing Complex (1929).
- 3.027 End view of housing unit, Narkomfin Housing Complex (1929).
- 3.028 Balcony detail, Narkomfin Housing Complex (1929).
- 3.029 Passer-by claiming "Stalin good!"
- 3.030 Corner view, Vosstaniya apartments (1950-54) by Posokhin and Midoyants.
- 3.031 Entry frieze, Vosstaniya apartments (1950-54).
- 3.032 Statue, Vosstaniya apartments (1950-54).
- 3.033 Exterior view, Dulgoruky House (1784) by M. F. Kazakov.
- 3.034 Side entrance, Dulgoruky House (1784).
- 3.035 Circular mass to corner, Dulgoruky House (1784).
- 3.036 Window detail, Dulgoruky House (1784).
- 3.037 Moscow Plan 1935, image by *Sovfoto* in Wright, F. L. (1937).
- 3.038 Moscow Plan 1935, image from Tarkhanov, A. & Kavtaradze, S. (1992).
- 3.039 Transforming Moscow 1931, image from Google images.
- 3.040 Olgivanna and Frank Lloyd Wright on the SS Bremen, en route to the Congress, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993).
- 3.041 Wright at the Congress, image from Cohen, J-L. (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999).
- 3.042 Mr and Mrs Yofan, and Frank Lloyd Wright at Society of Relations Banquet, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993).
- 3.043 Frank Lloyd Wright and Mr and Mrs Arkin, outside Moscow, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993).
- 3.044 Palace of the Soviets final approved version (1934) Iofan, Gelfreich, and Shchuko, image from Tarkhanov, A. & Kavtaradze, S. (1992).
- 3.045 Palace of the Soviets, Second Stage Competition winner, (1931) Zholtovsky, & Golts, , image from Tarkhanov, A. & Kavtaradze, S. (1992).
- 3.046 Palace of the Soviets, Unplaced in the competition, (1931) Le Corbusier, image from Lubetkin, B. (1932).
- 3.047 Palace of the Soviets, Second stage Competition winner (1931) Hamilton, image from Lubetkin, B. (1932).
- 3.048 Palace of the Soviets, Second Stage Competition winner (1931) Iofan, image from Lubetkin, B. (1932).
- 3.049 Map of Russia at Chelyablinsk Airport.
- 3.050 Aerial view of Urals from flight.
- 3.051 Taxi ride from Chelyablinsk Airport into town.
- 3.052 Broken bus on journey from Chelyablinsk to Mangitorosk.
- 3.053 View from within bus of road and landscape.
- 3.054 View of Ural landscape.
- 3.055 Petrol station in the Urals.

- 3.056 Horizontal Skyscraper by El Lissitzky, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.057 Horizontal Skyscraper, combining European street and American elevator, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.058 Skyhook, axonometric view at city locations, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.059 Skyhooks within the city plan, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.060 City on Springs by Lavinsky, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.061 Paris car park by Melnikof, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.062 Linear City, by Soria y Mata, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.063 Linear City (1932) by Mulin, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.064 The Socialist Settlement Section by RSFSR State Plan: 1. Disurbanised; 2. Decentralized; 3. A-centralised; 4. Dispersed, , image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.065 Chicago Loop and western suburbs (1953), image from Levine, (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).
- 3.066 Ridgeland, later annexed to Oak Park, (1894) Roberts block with 'T-alley' plan shown yellow, image from Levine, (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).
- 3.067 Roberts Block, proposal by Wright (1896), note commnual inner court, image from Levine, N. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).
- 3.068 Expanded Roberts Block (1903) with Quadruple Block plan, for 32 houses image from Levine, N. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).
- 3.069 'A Home in Prairie Town,' (1901) enlarged detail showing the Quadruple Block arrangement, image from Levine, (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).
- 3.070 City Club competition (1913), image from Frampton, K. (2005) in McCarter, R. (2005).
- 3.071 Original pen and ink sketch of Broadacre (1934) by Wright, image from Johnson, D. (1990) .
- 3.072 Geometric analysis, implying the cruciform plan analysis, image from Johnson, D. (1990) .
- 3.073 Regional grid, how Broadacre could be expanded accross America, analysis in Johnson, image from Johnson, D. (1990) .
- 3.074 Geometric rationale to Broadacre, analysis in Johnson, image from Johnson, D. (1990) .
- 3.075 Plan of typical quarter section, Broadacre City / Living City (1932-58), image from Frampton, K. (2005) in McCarter, R. (2005).
- 3.076 Image of Broadacre City model, to support article by Iofan (1935), image from Cohen, J-L (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999).
- 3.077 Garden Cities of To-morrow (1945) by Howard, Diagram no. 3, image from Johnson D. (1990).
- 3.078 Comparative anlysis of: Diagram no. 3, (1902) by Howard, Broadacre City (1934) by Wright, Linear city (c.1931) by Milutin, image from Johnson D. (1990).
- 3.079 Magnitogorsk, (1930) Functional flow diagram by Miliutin, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.080 Mangitorosk (1930) General Layout by Okhitovich, Barshch, Vladimirov and Nikolai Sokolov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.081 Mangitorosk (1930) Detail of linear settlement by Okhitovich, Barshch, Vladimirov and Nikolai Sokolov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.082 Mangitorosk (1930) General Layout by Leonidov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.083 Mangitorosk (1930) Housing unit: section, elevation, interior, plan and perspectives by Okhitovich, Barshch, Vladimirov and Nikolai Sokolov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.084 Front view of entrance and balcony of Socgorod Super-blocks (1935) by Ernst May.
- 3.085 Street view of Socgorod Super-blocks (1935) by May.
- 3.086 View of projecting balcony of Socgorod Super-blocks (1935) by May.
- 3.087 Panorama view of Pravobereshnij-Rayon with civic centre to the right.
- 3.088 View of apporach to War memorial with the steelworks beyond.
- 3.089 Etermal frame to War memorial.
- 3.090 Detail of foundary man and sword at War memorial.
- 3.091 Street view of Lenisnkij-Rayon.
- 3.092 Veiw of Metal Workers Institute Square.
- 3.093 View of formal square to within Lenisnkij-Rayon.
- 3.094 View of the formal Prospect of the Metal Workers.
- 3.095 Page from sketch book with basic urban analysis of Magnitogorsk.
- 3.096 Magnitogorsk wedding.
- 3.097 View of Market by Pobedy Square.
- 3.098 View of Patriotic War monument, Pobedy Square.

- 3.099 External view of Cultural Palace, Pobedy Square.
- 3.100 Internal view of Cultural Palace, Pobedy Square.
- 3.101 Superblocks (1935) by May Kirov district.
- 3.102 American catalogue housing, Berekzi district.
- 3.103 Panorama view of Magnitogorsk, not Superblocks within the foreground, and the steelworks beyond.
- 3.104 Entrance to the Steelworks.
- 3.105 Detail of linear settlement of Mangitorosk (1930) by Okhitovich, Barshch, Vladimirov and Nikolai Sokolov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.106 General Layout of Mangitorosk (1930) by Leonidov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.107 Tourist map of Mangitorosk (2006), Linear city by default.
- 3.108 Perspective of design competition Mangitorosk (1930) by Leonidov, image from Kahn-Magomedov, S. (1983).
- 3.109 View along central axis of Karl Marx Prospect, Magnitogorsk (2007).
- 3.110 Ice cream kiosk, inhabiting the linear city.
- 3.111 Fruit kiosk, inhabiting the linear city.
- 3.112 Flower kiosk, inhabiting the linear city.
- 3.113 Forest view on train journey to Egor'evsk.
- 3.114 49km station on train journey to Egor'evsk.
- 3.115 Timber home on train journey to Egor'evsk.
- 3.116 Train Network diagram at Egor'evsk Train station.
- 3.117 Map of Moscow Regional map, image from Yenkyhoba, N. (2006).
- 3.118 Street view of Egor'evsk.
- 3.119 Restored church with stone base metal cladding above, Egor'evsk.
- 3.120 Masonry base and timber upper construction to house, Egor'evsk.
- 3.121 Timber construction to house, Egor'evsk.
- 3.122 Lenin Library, Moscow, (1929-41) Shchuko and Gelfreich.
- 3.123 Lenin Place of Culture, Leningrad, (1927) Shchuko and Gelfreich, image from Cooke, C. (1995).
- 3.124 Street Elevation, Konin Palace of Culture (1927-29) by Shchuko, image from Yenkyhoba, N. (2006).
- 3.125 Street Elevation, Robie House (1909) by Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1982).
- 3.126 View 1. Street Entrance, Konin Palace of Culture.
- 3.127 View 1. Street Entrance, Robie House.
- 3.128 View 2. Feature Corner, Konin Palace of Culture.
- 3.129 View 2. Corner Terrace, Robie House.
- 3.130 Upper level plan, Konin Palace of Culture (1927-29) , image from Yenkyhoba, N. (2006).
- 3.131 Ground floor plan, Robie House (1909), image from Wright, F. L. (1982).
- 3.132 View 3. Street Elevation, Konin Palace of Culture.
- 3.133 View 3. Street Elevation, Robie House.
- 3.134 Interior Hall, Konin Palace of Culture.
- 3.135 Interior Living to Dining, Robie House.
- 3.136 Internal view of Leningradsky Railway Station Moscow.
- 3.137 Ceiling detail of Leningradsky Railway Station Moscow. .
- 3.138 Ceiling detail of Leningradsky Railway Station Moscow. .
- 3.139 Plan of St Petersburg (1714) by Trezzini.
- 3.140 Plan of St Petersburg (1716) by Le Blond.
- 3.141 Plan of St Petersburg (c.1720).
- 3.142 Plan of St Petersburg (1834).
- 3.143 View through to Admiralty square.
- 3.144 Admiralty square.
- 3.145 Street vista.
- 3.146 Hermitage, state rooms.
- 3.147 Visualisation of Okhta tower (2008) by RMJM in www.ohta-center.ru/en.
- 3.148 *The St Petersburg Times* (26.06.2007) with article on Okhta Tower.
- 3.149 Plan for Okhta tower (2008) in www.ohta-center.ru/en.
- 3.150 Interior view of Okhta tower, visualisation by RMJM image from Knutt, E. & Hurst, W. (2007).
- 3.151 The Moscow Art Theatre (MkhAT) (1973) by Kubasov, K. and Uliashov, V.

4. Whatever Happened to Frank Lloyd Wright?

All images by the author unless otherwise noted.

- 4.001 Cities, Architecture and Society, Tate Modern (2007).
- 4.002 Britain route (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).
- 4.003 Postcard Lavenham.
- 4.004 Postcard Henley-on-Thames.
- 4.005 Postcard West Wycombe.
- 4.006 Postcard St Ives.
- 4.007 Postcard Portmeirion.
- 4.008 Postcard Leicester.
- 4.009 Train Journey, London Bridge to Blexleyheath.
- 4.010 Semi-detached Mock Tudor houses, Blexleyheath.
- 4.011 Georgian Terrace, Blexleyheath.
- 4.012 Red House Entry, Blexleyheath.
- 4.013 North Elevation, Red House (1859) by Philip Webb.
- 4.014 South Elevation, Red House (1859).
- 4.015 Street view from Commercial Road, Toynbee Hall (1884) by Elijah Hoole.
- 4.016 Clock tower, Toynbee Hall.
- 4.017 Lecture hall, Toynbee Hall.
- 4.018 Toynbee Hall (2008) Restoration Appeal leaflet.
- 4.019 Internal courtyard, Toynbee Hall.
- 4.020 Entry arch, Francisco Terrace (1895) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from www.tigger.uci.edu, University of Illinois at Chicago.
- 4.021 First floor plan, Francisco Terrace, image from Hitchcock, H-R. (1976).
- 4.022 Entry arch, Francisco Terrace (1895), image from www.tigger.uci.edu, University of Illinois at Chicago.
- 4.023 Street view, Waller Apartments (1895) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from www.tigger.uci.edu, University of Illinois at Chicago.
- 4.024 'A Home in Prairie Town' (February 1901) *Ladies Home Journal* by Frank Lloyd Wright image from Levine, N. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009)
- 4.025 'A Fireproof house for \$5,000' (April 1907) *Ladies Home Journal* by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Hitchcock, H-R. (1976).
- 4.026 Frank Lloyd Wright's signature at Hart's jewellery studio, Chipping Camden.
- 4.027 Nine lives Exhibition at Chipping Campden
- 4.028 Front facade to Sheep Street Studio, Chipping Camden.

- 4.029 Entrance to Sheep Street Studio, Chipping Camden.
- 4.030 Interior of Sheep Street (circa 1909), image from Guild of Handicraft Trust, in Saint, A. (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999).
- 4.031 Interior of Sheep Street Studio (2007).
- 4.032 Exterior view of Mary Ward Settlement House (1895-96) by Dunbar Smith and Cecil Brewer.
- 4.033 Charnley House (1891-92) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from *American Architecture and Building News*, 31, (Dec. 1892), image from Saint, A. (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999).
- 4.034 Street view of Mary Ward Settlement House with render band beneath the eaves.
- 4.035 Winslow House (1894) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L (1982).
- 4.036 American System Built Houses (1911-17), image from Raymond, A. (1973).
- 4.037 American System Built Houses (1911-17), image from Raymond, A. 1973).
- 4.038 American System Built Houses (1911-17), image from Raymond, A. (1973).
- 4.039 American System Built Houses (1911-17), image from Raymond, A. (1973).
- 4.040 American System Built Houses (1911-17), image from Raymond, A. (1973).
- 4.041 Bungalow (1915) American System Built House, image from Hitchcock, H-R. (1976).
- 4.042 Street view of 'American Model-Cottage A,' Arthur L. Richards (1916), Milwaukee, WI, which appears on page 112 of said book; image from Meehan, Patrick J. Meehan (c) 1987, 1992, and 2014. Copyright (c) Patrick Joseph Meehan, 1987, 1992, and 2014. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.
- 4.043 Detail view of entrance to Cottage A, Arthur L. Richards (1916), Milwaukee, WI, which appears on page 113 of said book; image from Meehan, Patrick J. (c) 1987, 1992, and 2014. Copyright (c) Patrick Joseph Meehan, 1987, 1992, and 2014. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.
- 4.044 Street view of 'Two-Family-Flat-C' Duplex Apartments Arthur L. Richards (1916), Milwaukee, WI, which appears on page 118 of said book; image from Meehan, Patrick J. (c) 1987, 1992, and 2014. Copyright (c) Patrick Joseph Meehan, 1987, 1992, and 2014. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.
- 4.045 Street view, Herbert Jacobs House (1936-7) by Frank Lloyd Wright.

- 4.046 Garden view, Herbert Jacobs House.
- 4.047 Living room, Herbert Jacobs House.
- 4.048 Hearth, within living room, dining area and beyond, Herbert Jacobs House.
- 4.049 Plan, Herbert Jacobs House, image from Sergeant, J. (1984).
- 4.050 Broadacre City model (1935), image from McCarter, R. (1997)
- 4.051 Cover image, *The Architectural Record*, April 1935.
- 4.052 Cover image, *The Architects' Journal*, 4th May 1939.
- 4.053 Sulgrave Manor letterhead.
- 4.054 Frank Lloyd Wright, his daughter Lovanna, and his wife Olgivanna, at a London Hotel, image from *The Architects' Journal*, 11th May 1939.
- 4.056 Entry and Frank Lloyd Wright's office, Taliesin West (1937), image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993).
- 4.057 Drafting room from Wright's office, Taliesin West (1937), image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993).
- 4.058 Apprentices clearing ground prior to construction, Taliesin West (1937), image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993).
- 4.059 Taliesin Fellowship members, Taliesin West (1940), image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993).
- 4.060 Cover image, *News Chronicle* (1941) February 17th, 1941.
- 4.061 Entrance lobby, RIBA headquarters.
- 4.062 Frank Lloyd Wright, RIBA Gold Medal, 1941.
- 4.063 Cover image, photograph by Richard Learoyd, courtesy Cullinan Studio, *The Guardian*, (2007) Arts section, July 15th, 2007.
- 4.064 Cover image, *RIBA Royal Gold Medal 2008, Edward Cullinan*, 13th February 2008
- 4.065 Panoramic view of Milton Keynes.
- 4.066 Interior view of Midsummer Mall, Milton Keynes.
- 4.067 'Roundabout 40 years and still in love' exhibition board at Midsummer Mall.
- 4.068 Market outside Midsummer Mall.
- 4.069 Temporary viewing tower by dRMM as part of 40th birthday celebration.
- 4.070 View below from temporary tower with fragments as tables and chairs.
- 4.071 Author with Joshua at MK Gallery 'Circa 1967' exhibition
- 4.072 Internal view of Snow Dome, Milton Keynes.
- 4.073 Gallery 'Circa 1967' exhibition catalogue.
- 4.074 Floorplan of Thames Gateway Forum (2006).
- 4.075 Cover image, *Turning the Tide* (2006), New London Architecture.
- 4.076 Geographical extent of the Thames Gateway, *Turning the Tide* (2006), New London Architecture.
- 4.077 Cover image, *New Town* (2008), Architectural Foundation.
- 4.078 Robert Furneaux Jordan, Frank Lloyd Wright, Dr S. E. T. Custin and Olgivanna Wright, July 1950, image by Dr Custin, in Meehan, P. J. (1987).
- 4.079 Students at the Architectural Association, London, listening to Frank Lloyd Wright, photo by Sam Lambert (RIBA54494).
- 4.080 Robert H Matthew (left) showing Frank Lloyd Wright (centre) and Leslie Martin (partially obscured on the right) a model of the interior of the Royal Festival Hall (RIBA24230).
- 4.081 The London County Council Architects' Department avidly listening to Frank Lloyd Wright's views on the Royal Festival Hall (RIBA24228).
- 4.082 Frank Lloyd Wright (centre) giving his views to the London County Council Architects' Department on the Royal Festival Hall (RIBA24227).
- 4.083 Factory for Brynmawr Rubber Company, Brynmawr, Gwent (1951) by Architects Co-Partnership – photo by Hylton Warner (RIBA18437).
- 4.084 Brynmawr Rubber Works (1951-2000) with concrete warren truss, image from Architectural Press in Perry, V. (1994).
- 4.085 Brynmawr Rubber Works (1951-2000), photo by Hugo de Burgh Galwey (RIBA18439).
- 4.086 Asda Lakeside (2011).
- 4.087 Production hall, (c.1951), image from Architectural Press in Perry, V. (1994).
- 4.088 Fruit and vegetables, Asda (2011).
- 4.089 Production hall (1951) image from (RIBA2832-23).
- 4.090 Check out, Asda (2011).
- 4.091 Road leading to Ilmington, Warwickshire, England.
- 4.092 The Round House, Ilmington (1962) by Robert Harvey.
- 4.093 House for a teacher, Ilmington (1956) by Robert Harvey.
- 4.094 Orchard House, Ilmington, (1959) by Robert Harvey.
- 4.095 View from the garden, Orchard House.
- 4.096 Entrance to Orchard House beneath overhanging eaves.
- 4.097 Living room to Orchard House
- 4.098 Number 112 and 114 Kenilworth Road, Coventry (1956-7) by Robert Harvey.
- 4.099 Corner entrance, Number 112 and 114 Kenilworth Road.

- 4.100 Tall Trees, Treadington (1963) by Robert Harvey.
- 4.101 Living room, Tall Trees.
- 4.102 View from garden, Tall Trees.
- 4.103 Stonecrop, Ilmington (1965) by Robert Harvey.
- 4.104 Garden Elevation, Stonecrop.
- 4.105 Water pool, with urn and horizontal stone banding, Stonecrop.
- 4.106 Side garden elevation, Stonecrop
- 4.107 Dining room, Stonecrop, image from Mermoz, G. (2008) at Twentieth Century Society, www.c20society.org.uk.
- 4.108 Living room, , image from Mermoz, G. (2008) at Twentieth Century Society, www.c20society.org.uk.
- 4.109 South Winds, Coventry (1965) by Robert Harvey, Garden elevation
- 4.110 Elevated living room looking towards the garden, South Winds.
- 4.111 Living room interior, South Winds.
- 4.112 Circular swimming pool within stone support drum, South Wales.
- 4.113 Rear view from road to South Winds.
- 4.114 Stairs leading to first floor kitchen, South Winds.
- 4.115 Side view of kitchen entrance, South Winds.
- 4.116 Clough Williams Ellis and Frank Lloyd Wright at Plas Brondanw (1957), image from Saint, A. (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1957)
- 4.117 *The Prisoner* , image from www.attractionsnorthwales.com
- 4.118 'Little Italy Grows up', image from Powers, A. in *Building Design*, October 27, 2006.
- 4.119 Swtan Cottage (1600s) traditional long house, Wales.
- 4.120 *Cae Bricks* renamed *Bryn Hyfryd*, Biwmaris, Wales (1948-54) by Colwyn Foulkes looking down the hill.
- 4.121 *Cae Bricks* (1948-54) with communal garden.
- 4.122 Frank Lloyd Wright at last chance 'modernist' saloon (1956).
Bride of Denmark, 9-13 Queen Anne's Gate, London, with left to right, Herbert Whitefield Lewis, Frank Lloyd Wright, Fello Atkinson, Noel White, Maxwell Fry and Ove Arup, image from (RIBA24232)
- 4.123 Rear view and approach drive, Past Field (1960) by Patrick Gwynne.
- 4.124 Front view Past Field (1960).
- 4.125 View beneath projecting eaves, Past Field (1960).
- 4.126 Interior view, Past Field (1960).
- 4.127 Rear view and garages, Turn, Turn Middle, Turn End (1964-7) by Peter Aldington.
- 4.128 Interior view, Turn Middle (1964-7).
- 4.129 Rear view and entrance, Clayton House (1965-6) by Aldington and Craig.
- 4.130 Interior view, Clayton House (1965-6).
- 4.131 Garden view, Long Wall (1963) by Dawson and Foggo
- 4.132 Interior view, Long Wall (1963).
- 4.133 Feock village, Cornwall.
- 4.134 Bridge from the road, entrance door to the left, Creak Vean (1963-6) by Team 4.
- 4.135 Stair from entry to living room (with kitchen below), Creak Vean (1963-6).
- 4.136 Kitchen to the lower floor, Creak Vean (1963-6).
- 4.137 Side view from the garden, Creak Vean (1963-6).
- 4.138 Freeman House (1923) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Levine, N. (1996).
- 4.139 Exterior view of laboratory tower and administration block to Johnson Wax Administration Building (1936-9) by Frank Lloyd Wright photo by Danielle Tinero (RIBA9825).
- 4.140 Exterior view of administration tower and laboratory block to Engineering Building, at Leicester University (1960-3) by Stirling and Gowan.
- 4.141 Interior view of Engineerin laboratories, Engineering Building (1960-3).
- 4.142 'Stirling's Red Buildings' conference organised by the Twentieth Century Society, March 2008.
- 4.143 External view of Engineering laboratories and tower behind, Engineering Building (1960-3).

5. When Frank met Francesco

All images by the author unless otherwise noted.

- 5.001 Aula Magna, Ca' Foscari, Venice.
- 5.002 Italy Route (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).
- 5.003 Indigo Jones' Grand Tour Routes in Leapman (2004).
- 5.004 Postcard Heidelberg, 08.10.08.
- 5.005 Postcard Lugano, 09.10.08.
- 5.006 Postcard Venice, 10.10.08.
- 5.007 Postcard Florence, 15.10.08.
- 5.008 Postcard Rome, 16.10.08.
- 5.009 Postcard Strasbourg, 18.10.08.
- 5.010 England, 06.10.08.
- 5.011 France, 06.10.08.
- 5.012 Holland, 06.10.08.
- 5.013 Holland, 06.10.08.
- 5.014 Germany, 07.10.08.
- 5.015 Germany, 07.10.08.
- 5.016 Switzerland, 08.10.13.
- 5.017 Switzerland, 08.10.13.
- 5.018 Switzerland, 08.10.13.
- 5.019 Italy, 09.10.08.
- 5.020 Italy, 09.10.08.
- 5.021 Italy, 09.10.08.
- 5.022 Service station, Brugge, Belgium.
- 5.023 Service station, Eindhoven, Holland.
- 5.024 Service station, Koblenz, Germany.
- 5.025 Service station, Bruchal, Germany.
- 5.026 Service station, Baden-Baden, Germany.
- 5.027 Service station, Aldorf, Switzerland.
- 5.028 Service station, Lugano, Switzerland.
- 5.029 Service station, Bergamo, Italy.
- 5.030 Elevation, Prefabricated Wayside Market (1935) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993).
- 5.031 Section, Prefabricated Wayside Market (1935) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993).

- 5.032 Perspective sketch, Standard Overhead Service Station (1932) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993).
- 5.033 Photograph of model, Standard Overhead Service Station, model (1932) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Pfeiffer, B. (1993).
- 5.034 Street view of Heidelberg, Germany at night.
- 5.035 North plaza to Friedrichsbau, Heidelberg (1601-07).
- 5.036 Detail of south facade, Friedrichsbau (1601-07).
- 5.037 South facade to Englischer Bau, Heidelberg (1612-19).
- 5.038 South entrance arch to Englischer Bau.
- 5.039 Santa Maria degli Anioli (1499-1515)
- 5.040 Exterior view of Balmelli House, Canton of Ticino, Switzerland (1957) by Tita Carloni, image from Chicco, R. (2004).
- 5.041 Exterior view of Carloni House, Canton of Ticino (1957), image from Chicco, R. (2004).
- 5.042 Side view of House at Mendrisio, Rancate (1972). 'Frank Lloyd Wright Inspired Masterpiece in Ticino' for sale by www.wetag.com/properties, Switzerland in 2010
- 5.043 Projecting balcony and eaves to Carloni House (1957), image from Chicco, R. (2004).
- 5.044 Garden view of House at Mendrisio (1972).
- 5.045 Interior view of House at Mendrisio (1972).
- 5.046 Carlo Scarpa, Frank Lloyd Wright and Bruno Zevi (1951) in Venice, in Zevi (1999), image from Zevi, B. (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999)
- 5.047 Tourists outside the Ducal Palace, Venice.
- 5.048 Ferry trip to Guidecca, Venice (2008).
- 5.049 AC Milan bar, Guidecca.
- 5.050 Common entrance door to apartment, Guidecca.
- 5.051 View from window, Guidecca.
- 5.052 View of small canal in Guidecca.
- 5.053 Narrow alley in Guidecca.
- 5.054 Quayside, Guidecca.
- 5.055 View from cafe, Guidecca.
- 5.056 Entrance gate to Masieri Memorial, Venice (1970-83) by Carlo Scarpa.
- 5.057 Covered path to Masieri Memorial (1970-83).
- 5.058 Entrance door to Masieri Memorial (1970-83).
- 5.059 View of the Masieri Memorial (1970-83) from the Grand Canal

- 5.060 Location map of Masieri Memorial (1952-55), image from Wright, F. L. (1954) in *Metron*.
- 5.061 Model of Grand Canal and Masieri Memorial (1952-55) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Moneo (2008).
- 5.062 Rendered image of the, Masieri Memorial (1952-55) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Wright, F. L. (1954) in *Metron*
- 5.063 Interior view of Masieri Memorial (1970-83) by Carlo Scarpa.
- 5.064 Interior view towards Grand Canal, Masieri Memorial (1970-83).
- 5.065 Interior view, Alua Magna, Ca'Foscari (1935-7).
- 5.066 Exterior view of Venuezela Pavilion (1954-56).
- 5.067 Entry to University Institute of Architecture (1966, 69, 72).
- 5.068 Upper detail of Alua Magna (1935-7).
- 5.069 Corner detail to Canova Sculpture Gallery (1955-57).
- 5.070 Side view, University Institute of Architecture (1966, 69, 72).
- 5.071 Entry from public cemetery to Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78), San Vito d'Altivole.
- 5.072 Chapel to Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78).
- 5.073 Ziggurat detail to Chapel at Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78).
- 5.074 Elevated tomb, Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78).
- 5.075 Interior of Chapel at Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78).
- 5.076 Arcosolium to Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78).
- 5.077 Interior of Chapel at Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78).
- 5.078 Ziggurat detail to Chapel at Brion Monumental Tomb (1969-78).
- 5.079 Entry Pediment, Villa Emo, Fanzolo (1556-65), by Palladio (1508 -70).
- 5.080 Rear Salon, Villa Emo (1556-65).
- 5.081 Entry Pediment, Villa Emo (1556-65).
- 5.082 Rear Salon, Villa Emo (1556-65).
- 5.083 Front Elevation, Villa Emo (1556-65).
- 5.084 Souvenir, Villa Emo.
- 5.085 Street View, Giacomuzzi House, Udine (1947-50) by Angelo Masieri.
- 5.086 Garden View, Romanelli Villa Udine (1950-55) Udine by Angelo Masieri and Carlo Scarpa.
- 5.087 Street view and entrance to Romanelli Villa (1950-55).
- 5.088 Interior view on ground floor living room.
- 5.089 Interior view on ground floor looking towards the garden with first floor wing above.
- 5.090 Interior view on first floor looking back towards entry along 'wing'.
- 5.091 Tourist Map of Lignano Pineta.
- 5.092 Street view of shop on Raggio Dell' Ostro by Marchello D'Olivo (1921-91).
- 5.093 Street view of shop on Raggio Dell' Ostro.
- 5.094 Steet view of Villa Spezzotti (1958) by Marchello D'Olivo (1921-91).
- 5.095 View across spiral ramp and entry to Villa Spezzotti (1958).
- 5.096 Street view of Villa Minardis (1958) by Marchello D'Olivo (1921-91).
- 5.097 View of internal spiral to Villa Minardis (1958).
- 5.098 Plan of Villagio del Fanciullo (Children Village) (1949-57) by Marchello D'Olivo (1921-91), image from Furlani, T. (1952).
- 5.099 External view of the adminstratino building at Villagio del Fanciullo (1949-57).
- 5.100 External view of the adminstratino building at Villagio del Fanciullo (1949-57).
- 5.101 External view of the dormitory at Villagio del Fanciullo (1949-57).
- 5.102 Street view of Olivetti Factory extention (1939-1940) and Social Services Building (1954-7) both by by Figini and Pollini.
- 5.103 Undercroft to Social Services Building (1954-7).
- 5.104 Entrance to Social Services Building (1954-7).
- 5.105 Openings in the terrace for trees to project Social Services Building (1954-7).
- 5.106 Internal stair to Social Services Building (1954-7).
- 5.107 Openings in the terrace for trees to project Social Services Building (1954-7).
- 5.108 Approach to Villa Molin, near Pauda (1597) by Vincenzo Scamozzi.
- 5.109 View beside canal Villa Molin (1597).
- 5.110 Pediment to Villa Molin (1597).
- 5.111 Exterior view of Basilica of San Minato al Monte (c. 11th to 13th century).
- 5.112 Interior view with raised choir to Basilica of San Minato al Monte.
- 5.113 Interior view with inlaid geometric patterns to Basilica of San Minato al Monte.
- 5.114 Perspective drawing of Milwaukee Public Library and Museum Competetion entry (1893) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Pinnell, P. (2005) in McCarter, R. (2005).
- 5.115 Street view of Palazzo Strozzi, Florence (1489-1538).
- 5.116 Street view of Palazzo Strozzi, Florence (1489-1538).
- 5.117 Street view of Auditorium Building (1887-89) by Louis Sullivan.
- 5.118 Street view of Auditorium Building (1887-89).

- 5.119 View of Villino Belvedere from Via della Doccia.
- 5.120 Catalogue of Centenary Exhibition (2010) by Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010).
- 5.121 View of Villino Belvedere with small plaza as the street divides.
- 5.122 View of Villino Belvedere from Via Motececeri.
- 5.123 Villino Belvedere entry door and bell.
- 5.124 Commemorative plaque on adjacent house.
- 5.125 Plan and elevation for an artist studio (1910) 'preferred option' by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010).
- 5.126 Plan and elevation for an artist studio (1910) hipped roof option by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010).
- 5.127 Exterior view Villa Medici, Fiesole (1455) by Michelozzo di Bartolemeo.
- 5.128 Street perspective Artist studio (1910) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010).
- 5.129 Aerial perspective Artist studio (1910) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010).
- 5.130 Aerial perspective Artist studio (1910) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Bencini, R. & Bulletti, P. (2010).
- 5.131 Opening of 'Sixty Years of Living Architecture' exhibition (1951) at Palazzo Strozzi, image from Casciato, M. (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999).
- 5.132 Bruno Zevi, Count Carlo Sfora, and Frank Lloyd Wright at opening of exhibition (1951) emerging from behind 'Potporri' panel, image from Casciato, M. (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999).
- 5.133 Photograph of Palzzoino, Via Pisanelli, 1, Rome (1952), image from Bruno Zevi archive.
- 5.134 External view of Palzzoino (1952).
- 5.135 Corner balcony to Palzzoino (1952).
- 5.136 Central balcony to Palzzoino (1952).
- 5.137 Plans of Palzzoino, Via Pisanelli, 1, Rome (1952), image from Bruno Zevi archive.
- 5.138 Entrance to Palzzoino (1952).
- 5.139 Entry hall to apartment in Palzzoino (1952).
- 5.140 Balcony view from living room in apartment in Palzzoino (1952).
- 5.141 Library project by Bruno Zevi, image from Bruno Zevi archive.
- 5.142 Italian Pavilion at Montreal Expo (1967) by Bruno Zevi, image from Bruno Zevi archive.
- 5.143 Bridge to Sicily Competition (1972) by Bruno Zevi, image from Bruno Zevi archive.
- 5.144 Foundation Bruno Zevi leaflet, image from Bruno Zevi archive.
- 5.145 Correspondance from Wright to Zevi concernig text to 'Organic Architecture' (1945), and possible publisher, image from Bruno Zevi archive.
- 5.146 Correspondances from Wright to Zevi concering the 'Sixty Years of Living Architecture' (1951) and catalogue text, image from Bruno Zevi archive.
- 5.147 City plan of Littoria (renamed Latina) (c. 1932) by Oriolo Frezzontti, image from Cefaly, P. (2001).
- 5.148 Town Hall from Civic Buildings, Latina (c.1932).
- 5.149 Civic Buildings Latina (c.1932).
- 5.150 Post Office, Latina (1932) by Angiolo Mazzoni.
- 5.151 Railway Station (1932), Latina by Angiolo Mazzoni.
- 5.152 Casa Popolari, Latina (1934-36) by G. Nicolosi.
- 5.153 Casa Popolari (1934-36).
- 5.154 *The Classical Language of Architecture* (1964) by John Summerson.
- 5.155 *The Modern Language of Architecture* (1978) by Bruno Zevi.
- 5.156 Internal view of Il Gesu Church, Rome (1568) by Vignola and Della Porta.
- 5.157 External view of Il Gesu Church (1568).
- 5.158 View of Piazza del Campidoglio, Capitoline Hill, Rome (1536-46) by Michelangelo.
- 5.159 View of Oratory di S. Filippo Nervi, Rome (1637-50) by Francesco Borromini (1599-1667).
- 5.160 St Peter's Piazza and Collonade, Rome (1547-64) by Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680).
- 5.161 View of optical illusion to Palazzo Spada, Rome (1632) by Borromini.
- 5.162 Interior view of ceiling to S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane(1634-46) by Borromini.
- 5.163 St Peter dome by Michelangelo.
- 5.164 S. Agnes, Piazza Navona, Rome (1652-57) by Bernini and Borromini.
- 5.165 Exterior view of St Ivo della Sapienza (1642-60) by Borromini.
- 5.167 Exterior view of Guggenheim Museum (1946-59) by Frank Lloyd Wright, photo by Bernard Cox (RIBA3072-36).
- 5.168 Exterior view of Ara Pracis (2006) by Richard Meir.
- 5.169 Exterior view of MAXXI, Rome (2010) by Zaha Hadid.
- 5.170 Interior view of Ara Pracis (2006).

- 5.171 Entry view of Ara Pradis (2006).
- 5.172 Interior view with author, MAXXI (2010).
- 5.173 Exterior view of Strasbourg Cathedral, France (1176-1439).
- 5.174 Exterior view of European Courts of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France (1989-95) by Richard Rodgers Partnership.
- 5.175 Exterior view of European Members of Parliament building (1991-99) Architecture-Studio.
- 5.176 Internal view of European Parliament with different political affiliations in Beck (2010), image from www.wikipedia.co.uk.
- 5.177 Interior view of European Members of Parliament building (1991-99).
- 5.178 Interior view of ceiling with two intersecting triangles generating a hexagonal module within St Ivo della Sapienza (1642-60) by Borromini.
- 5.179 Interior view of hexagonal skylights to Olivetti Social Services Building (1952) by Figini and Pollini.

6. A Short Taxi Ride around the Persian Gulf

All images by the author unless otherwise noted.

- 6.001 Kuwait Souk and Liberation Tower.
- 6.002 Persian Gulf route (based on Google Maps (2013) www.google.co.uk).
- 6.003 Postcard Kuwait.
- 6.004 Postcard Kuwait.
- 6.005 Postcard Dubai.
- 6.006 Postcard Abu Dhabi.
- 6.007 Thesiger's Route, image from Thesiger's *Arabian Sands* (1947).
- 6.008 Three taxi journeys in Kuwait.
- 6.009 View of the 'The Fisherman and the Genii' in the Children's Playroom Wright House, Oak Park (1895-8) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Treiber, D.(2008).
- 6.010 Detail of the 'The Fisherman and the Genii' by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Treiber, D.(2008).
- 6.011 Textile block Assembly, by Wright drawn by Neutra, R., image from Sweeney, R. (1994).
- 6.012 Textile block Millard House (1923) by Wright, Patent drawing, image from Sweeney, R. (1994).
- 6.013 Textile block Alice Millard House (1923) concrete block assembly by Wright, image from Sweeney, R. (1994).
- 6.014 Persian Ornament after Owen Jones (1856), image from Jones, O. (2008).
- 6.015 Persian Ornament after Owen Jones (1856), image from Jones, O. (2008).
- 6.016 Arabic Ornament after Owen Jones (1856), image from Jones, O. (2008).
- 6.017 View of Al-Soor Street and gate within roundabout.
- 6.018 View of gate and city behind.
- 6.019 Kuwait City (2009) view from hotel room.
- 6.020 Plan of Kuwait City as a Garden City, image from Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.
- 6.021 Aerial view of Kuwait City 1951 and 1973, image from Jamal, K. (1973), *Architects' Journal*, 12th December, 1973, p.1453.
- 6.023 Model of Kuwait International Airport (1967-1970) by Kenzo Tange, image from Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.

- 6.024 Image of arrival hall, at Kuwait International Airport, image from Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.
- 6.025 Departures, hall at Kuwait International Airport.
- 6.026 Image of Kuwait International Airport Proposal (2011) image from Norman Foster and Partners.
- 6.027 Kuwait City growth and planning 1951-70, image from Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.
- 6.028 View of Facade to Ghani Palace Hotel (2002) by Saleh Al Mutawa.
- 6.029 Street view of Ghani Palace Hotel (2002), note the classical inspired mall at the centre.
- 6.030 Elevation detail and upper tower to Ghani Palace Hotel (2002).
- 6.031 View of City from upper tower to Ghani Palace Hotel (2002).
- 6.032 Reception to Ghani Palace Hotel (2002).
- 6.033 Internal archade to Ghani Palace Hotel (2002).
- 6.034 Internal souk to Ghani Palace Hotel (2002).
- 6.035 View of downtown with Kuwait City with Liberation Tower towards the centre of image.
- 6.036a Rendered image of Kuwait Government Buildings proposal (1968-72) by Alison and Peter Smithson, image from Smithson, A. & P. (2005).
- 6.036b Rendered image of Kuwait Government Buildings proposal (1968-72), image from Smithson, A. & P. (2005).
- 6.037 Plan of mat arrangement to Kuwait Government Buildings proposal (1968-72) , image from Smithson, A. & P. (2005).
- 6.038 Interior perspective of internal street to Kuwait Government Buildings proposal (1968-72), image from Smithson, A. & P. (2005).
- 6.039 View public space to Old Souq Al Mubarakeya.
- 6.040 Clothes shop to Old Souq Al Mubarakeya.
- 6.041 View public space to Old Souq Al Mubarakeya.
- 6.042 View of Old Souq Al Mubarakeya with city towers behind.
- 6.043 View of covered arcade to Old Souq Al Mubarakeya.
- 6.044 View of vegetable souk within Old Souq Al Mubarakeya.
- 6.045 View of meat souk within Old Souq Al Mubarakeya.
- 6.046 View of textile souk within Old Souq Al Mubarakeya.
- 6.047 Street view of Sharq Souk shopping mall.
- 6.048 Interior view of Sharq Souk.
- 6.049 Street view of Central Mall.
- 6.050 Interior view of Central Mall.
- 6.051 Street view of shopping wall on Hamad al-Mubarak Street.
- 6.052 Interior view of shopping mall.
- 6.053 Street vendors on Hamad al-Mubarak Street.
- 6.054 Street vendors on Hamad al-Mubarak Street
- 6.055 Entry Canopy detail to National Assembly Building (1985) by Jorn Utzon.
- 6.056 Security at entry to National Assembly Building (1985).
- 6.057 Plan to National Assembly Building (1985), image from Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.
- 6.058 Elevation to Arabian Gulf Street, National Assembly Building (1985).
- 6.059 Section thru the central street and assembly chamber to National Assembly Building (1985), image from Gardiner, S. (1983) *Kuwait: the Making of a City*, London: Longman, Pearson Education Ltd. All rights reserved by Copyright holder.
- 6.060 View towards 'Arabian Gulf' from gallery in Water Towers (1979) by Lindstorm, Egnell and Bjorn.
- 6.061 Approaching Water Towers (1979) on Arabian Gulf Street.
- 6.062 A cluster of Water Tower beside the highway.
- 6.063 View looking upwards of the Water Towers (1979).
- 6.064 A cluster of Water Tower beside the highway.
- 6.065 Dining at the Water Towers (1979).
- 6.066 External view of Tareq Rajab Museum.
- 6.067 'Arabic' styled villa above basement Tareq Rajab Museum.
- 6.068 Screened window detail to Tareq Rajab Museum Villa.
- 6.069 Villa adjacent to Tareq Rajab Museum, with a combined modern and Arabic aesthetic.
- 6.070 Different villas within the suburbs of Kuwait, showing classical, modern and Arabic influences.
- 6.071 Plan of Neighbour hood unit, Kuwait (1957), image from Squire, R. (1957).
- 6.072 Plan of the Palm, Dubai (2009) (postcard image).
- 6.073 Plan of Madsar City, Abu Dhabi (2009), image from Norman Foster & Partners in Hartman, H. (2010).

6.074 Perspective for Amery House, Tehran proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, N. (1999) in Alofsin, A. (1999).

6.075 Perspective for Amery House, Tehran proposal (1957), image from Sweeney, R. (1994).

6.076 Storrer House, California,(1923-4) by Frank Lloyd Wright, photo by Danielle Tinero (RIBA33241).

6.077 External view from plane of Terminal 3, (2008) Dubai Airport.

6.078 Internal view of Terminal 3, (2008) Dubai Airport.

6.079 Crowded station concourse at Dubai Metro (2009).

6.080 Platform edge doors to Dubai Metro (2009).

6.081 Mostly male passengers on the Dubai Metro (2009).

6.082 Entrance to Dubai Fort.

6.083 Exterior view of Dubai Fort with Dubai Museum beneath.

6.084 Interior view of Dubai Fort with old fishing boats.

6.085 Defensive wall to Dubai Fort.

6.086 Recreated 'traditional' street experience within Dubai Museum.

6.087 Recreated 'Bedouin' experience within Dubai Museum.

6.088 Recreated boat building and pearl fishing experience within Dubai Museum.

6.089 Gift shop and exit to Dubai Museum.

6.090 Textile souk, Bar Dubai, walking towards Dubai Creek.

6.091 Crossing Dubai Creek to Deria.

6.092 Street view, Deria.

6.093 Street view, Deria

6.094 Ice rink within Dubai Mall.

6.095 Star atrium within Dubai Mall.

6.096 Fashion catwalk atrium within Dubai Mall.

6.097 Aquarium and underwater zoo within Dubai Mall.

6.098 View of Burj Khalifa Tower from taxi.

6.099 View of Sheik Zayed Road, from taxi.

6.100 View of Burj Khalifa Tower from taxi.

6.101 Mile High Tower, Chicago proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright image from Cleary, R. (2009) .

6.102 View of Burj Khalifa Tower (2010) by SOM, Chicago.

6.103 Passengers sleeping on bus journey to Abu Dhabi.

6.104 View of Internet City, Dubai from bus.

6.105 Billboard in the desert.

6.106 Power station in the desert.

6.107 Abu Dhabi bus station.

6.108 Side view from the car park of National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81) by TAC (The Architects Collaborative).

6.109 Internal courtyard to National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81).

6.110 Internal arcade to National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81).

6.111 Ceiling detail to exhibition space within National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81).

6.112 Stair leading to mezzanine floor within National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81).

6.113 Bedouin tent on stairs landing in National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81).

6.114 Bedouin weavers and examples of handicraft in National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81)

6.115 Bedouin weavers and examples of handicraft in National Library and Cultural Centre (1978-81).

6.116 Advertisement for bed space at bus stop in Abu Dhabi.

6.117 View from taxi approaching Emirates Hotel with billboard of ruling family.

6.118 Entry gate to Emirates Hotel with gardeners.

6.119 Front elevation of Emirates Hotel with fountains.

6.120 Internal view of central atrium to Emirates Hotel.

6.121 Internal view of central atrium to Emirates Hotel.

6.122 Internal view of central atrium to Emirates Hotel.

6.123 Entrance to Saadiyat Island exhibition (2009) at Emirates Hotel , Abu Dhabi.

6.124 Model of Saadiyat Island development.

6.125 Model and images of Guggenheim art gallery by Frank O. Gehry.

6.126 Model of Guggenheim art gallery by Frank O. Gehry.

6.127 Model of Maritime Museum by Tadao Ando.

6.128 Model of Louvre art gallery by Jean Nouvel.

6.129 Model and images of Performing arts centre by Zaha Hadid.

6.130 Elevation of Monument to Harun al-Rashid, Baghdad proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

6.131 Plan of Greater Baghdad proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

6.132 Sketch of Greater Baghdad proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

6.133 Cover of *Architectural Forum*, May 1958.

6.134 Perspective view of University proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

6.135 Perspective of Art Gallery proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

6.136 Perspective for Museum proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

6.137 Great Gate of Bel, still image from the film *Intolerance* (1916), by D. W. Griffith, image from Levine, N. (1996). Permission not granted to reproduce image in thesis.

6.138 Perspective of Plan for Greater Baghdad (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

6.139 Perspective view of Midway Gardens (1913-14) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Anon (1991).

6.140 Formal entry and cubic composition to Midway Gardens (1913-14), image from Anon (1991).

6.141 Interior view to Midway Gardens (1913-14), image from Anon (1991).

6.142 Perspective view of Barnsdall Cultural Centre (1916-21) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Cleary, R. (2009).

6.143 Interior view with Pueblo / Mayan references to Barnsdall Cultural Centre (1916-21), image from Levine, N. (1996).

6.144 Interior view to Barnsdall Cultural Centre (1916-21), image from Levine, N. (1996).

6.145 Perspective view of Crescent Opera and Civic Auditorium proposal (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

6.146 Plan of Crescent Opera House (1957) orientated towards Mecca, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

6.147 Section through Crescent Opera House (1957) with 'Aladdin' above the auditorium, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

6.148 Perspective view of Performing Arts Center (2009) by Zaha Hadid, image from www.zaha-hadid.com.

6.149 Perspective view of model of Performing Arts Center (2009) from land side of Island.

6.150 Interior perspective view of stage for Performing Arts Center (2009), image

from www.zaha-hadid.com.

6.151 Facade and auditorium, view of model for Performing Arts Center (2009).

6.152 Plan and elevation for Six Beach Cottages / Tents on the Beach. Ras-el-Bar, Damietta, Egypt (1927) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Johnson, D. (1990).

6.153 Plan of Ocotillo Camp, Arizona (1929) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Johnson, D. (1990).

6.154 Image of Ocotillo Camp (1929) during construction, image from Johnson, D. (1990).

6.155 Image of Ocotillo Camp (1929), image from Johnson, D. (1990).

6.156 Perspective view of Central Post and Telegraph Building, Baghdad (1957) by Frank Lloyd Wright, image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

6.157 Section through Central Post and Telegraph Building (1957), image from Marefat, M. (2009) in Cleary, R. (2009).

6.158 View of built Central Post, Telegraph and Telephone Administration Building, Baghdad (1971) by Rifat Chandirji, image from Chandirji, R. (1986).

6.159 View of built Central Post, Telegraph and Telephone Administration Building (1971), image from Chandirji, R. (1986).

6.160 Front elevation drawing of Central Post, Telegraph and Telephone Administration Building (1971), image from Chandirji, R. (1986).

6.161 Perspective view of The 'Pearl Palace'(1973) by TAA, image from Bantzer, E. (1977).

6.162 Interior view of 'smaller' dome within 'Pearl Palace'(1973), image from Bantzer, E. (1977).

6.163 View of stair within 'Pearl Palace'(1973), image from Bantzer, E. (1977).

6.164 View of dining area within 'Pearl Palace'(1973), image from Bantzer, E. (1977).

6.165 Perspective view of Villa Mehrafin (1974) by TAA, image from Rattenbury, J. (2000).

6.166 View of entry to Villa Mehrafin (1974), image from Rattenbury, J. (2000).

6.167 Perspective view of Damavand College (1978), image from Rattenbury, J. (2000).

Minority Reports

All images by the author unless otherwise noted.

7.001 Entrance to House at Meer en Bosch (1920) by Duiker & Bijvoet.

7.002 Gallery to Yamamura Villa (1918) by Frank Lloyd Wright and Arata Endo.

7.003 House at Meer en Bosch (1920) by Duiker & Bijvoet.

7.004 Wedding at Magnitogorsk.

7.005 Orchard House Entrance (1959) by Robert Harvey.

7.006 Romanelli Villa (1950-5) by Angelo Masieri and Carlo Scarpa.

7.007 Internal souk, Ghani Palace Hotel (2002) by Saleh Al Mutawa.