SCROOPE

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ARCHITECTURE MAGAZINES AROUND THE WORLD

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SCROOPE 31

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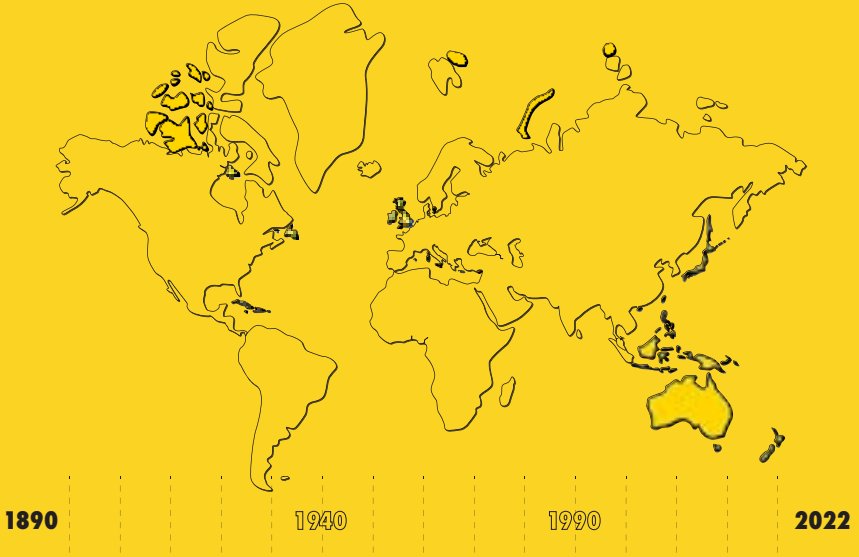

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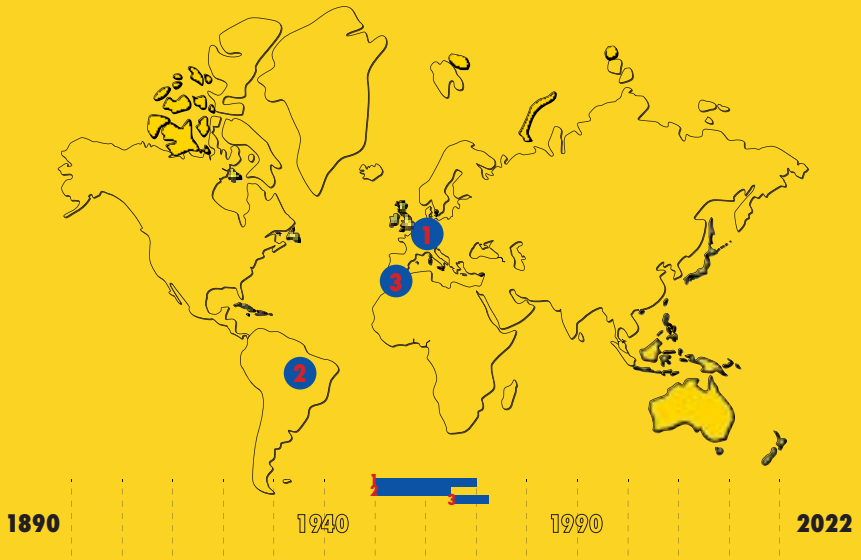

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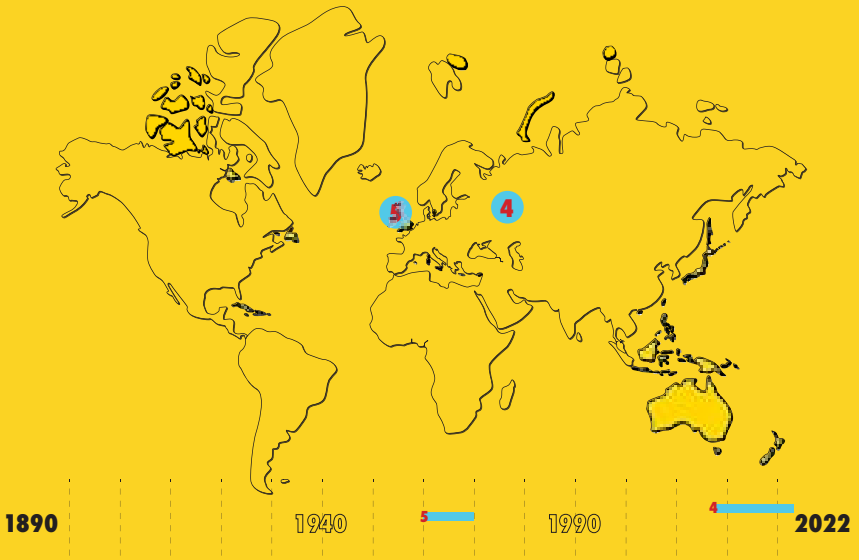

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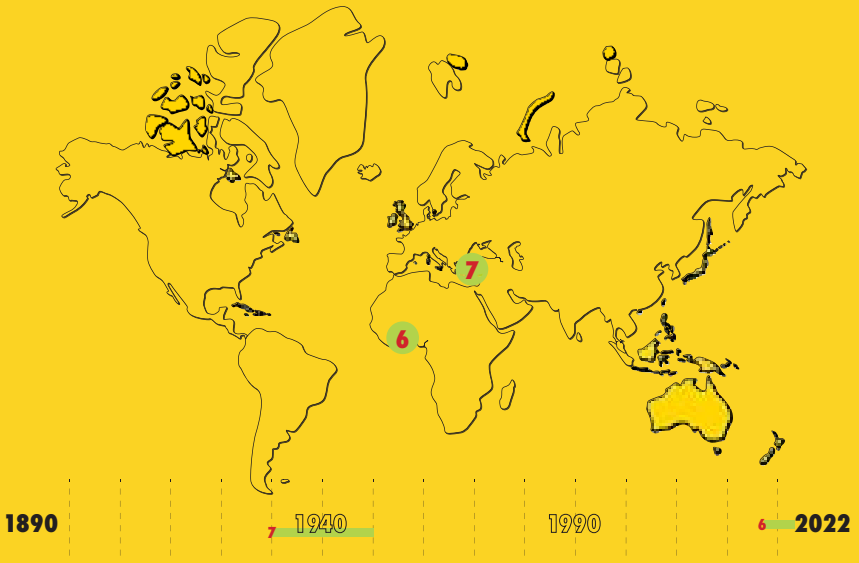

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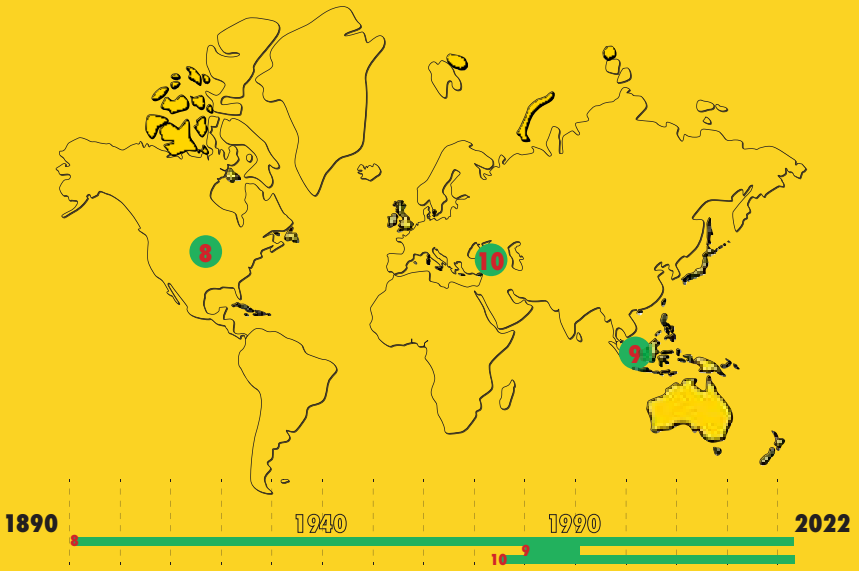

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Foreword

James W.P.Campbell
Head of Department of Architecture
University of Cambridge 2022

Periodicals, journals, magazines — whatever you choose to call them… or they choose to call themselves — have been critical in shaping architecture over the last two centuries. Some magazines only survive a few issues. Sir Leslie Martin, a former Head of the Cambridge Department famously edited the Circle: International Survey of Constructivist Art. It featured articles by Corbusier, Aalto, Kandinsky, Duchamp, Moholy-Nagy, Klee and Picasso, among others. The contents page alone reads like a who's who of early 20th century modernism. At 300 pages it was hardly a slim volume and it went to just a single issue. The intention was that it would be a periodical, but issue 2 never appeared. Is it thus a periodical at all, or simply a book pretending to be a periodical? Whatever the case, it was definitely influential.

Today Dezeen and Instagram do something of the task of the periodical, providing daily fixes of architectural news.

Some older periodicals have shifted from one format to another. When I started in an architectural office Building Design (aka BD) and the Architects Journal were the weekly periodicals that used to arrive in the office and be passed from hand-to-hand and read from cover-to-cover in spare moments and in tea breaks. The Architects Journal was A4 in size and felt like more like a newspaper Sunday supplement, albeit with a rigid rectangular spine that tended to fall apart over time. It had articles on British buildings with useful technical details. BD was a newspaper. It was large in format with staples down the middle and carried news and gossip. It was the way of keeping up with the latest changes in the profession. The Architects Journal still exists in much the same form but Building Design went online in the last recession and has never been printed again. There are still a few of the very last issues in the basement of the

library waiting for companions that will never arrive so that they can be bound to sit with the rest of the past volumes.

No students at that time read BD or the Architectural Journal. It was full of information on salaries and practice issues that were of no interest to us. However, what we did do was spend as much time as we could looking for inspiration in the glossier journals. The Architectural Review showed you buildings from around the world and was a good starting point. Domus, Architectural Design and Casabella were full of exciting work. El Croquis was perhaps the best, alongside the extraordinary short run publications that were coming out of the AA and are now collector's items. The quality of photography in these magazines was stunning and indeed distorted our view of what architecture was about. I learnt many years later how some buildings that looked so enticing in photographs were profoundly disappointing in reality, while some of the

most moving buildings I have visited are impossible to capture on camera.

Alongside these glossy magazines, full of exciting images, were the serious journals that one only really reached for when writing an essay or dissertation and never read cover-to-cover, but only one article at a time. When I was a student it was AA files that presented the most accessible material, but, of course, the stacks in the basement were full of academic journals on planning, architectural history, film, art, and environmental design. Today there are so many more of these journals that exist only online and most of us head to JSTOR and google before we head to the library

Architects have always pored over images of the works of their rivals, contemporaries and those that they admire from the past. Meanwhile architectural researchers write endless articles in academic journals on architecture which architects never read. Who are these

articles for? Why are they written at all, except to promote the academic careers of the writers? How many will never be read, words offered to non-existent audiences. Many are only referenced by other specialists in their own quest to write more articles that will only be read by the next researcher in the chain: articles speaking to the void. However ideas change. Those that seem relevant to us today will seem less relevant in the future, while other ideas currently being ignored will seem so important, so farsighted 50 years in the future. Journals are important. They are the voices, the ideas, the images of those that are alive and that have lived. In writing those ideas down, writers hope someone in the future will find them relevant. Journals define what we are interested in today and as such will allow future generations to understand what we were thinking.

If you want to know what the contributors were thinking, you only have to read this issue of Scroope. I suggest you do so over a cup of tea.

Editorial Welcome: Architectural Publications Around the World

Ibrahim Abdou
Rashid & Ahmed Bin Shabib

Thirty years into its own journey, Scroope 31 pauses in self-reflection to interrogate the very purpose behind architectural publications. Beyond one-off manifestos and celebrated books, architectural publications can be extended spaces of recurring expression and discussion – from influential magazines, school-based journals to online platforms. This issue asks: how can we critically understand architectural publications? Are they platforms that simply mirror and extend the dominant status quo? Are they critical spaces that propel the discipline forward? Or are they powerless ones that express its crises?

Our call invited architects, historians, editors, critics, and city residents to tell the story of a contemporary or historic publication. Each piece thus interrogates the journey and contribution of an architectural magazine. More importantly, using those stories, contributors were invited to critically reflect on the role of writing within the discipline or on broader themes intersecting architectural practice.

In the coming pages, the authors map an array of publications. They unpack diverse editorial practices and explore the historical moments that gave rise to them. Each of the magazines and journals they describe sought to project a particular vision outward. In that sense, to different degrees, they each functioned as vehicles of change in their own context. Sometime, architectural writings played key roles in the midst of cities overtaken by militant action. At other times, they both resisted but also reflected the harsh capitalist markets in which they operate. In other cases, they grew from within the microcosms of budding academic institutions. In all of them, the hopeful authors mobilised a discursive tool to disseminate their viewpoints, engage in debate, rally support and ultimately to influence some sort of action.

The publications discussed herein extend along a century and half, showcasing insightful continuities in their challenges and ambitions. The upcoming stories start in the 1890s and extend through to the present day. While some of these efforts are long gone, either forced to stop by insurmountable challenges or having completed their circumstantial purpose; others soldier on today. At the turn of the 20th century, some magazines described in this issue are intertwined with the evolution of the construction industry and commercial interests. Other magazines mapped travellers and travelling ideas in the 1930-50s. Others still were key efforts reflecting national modernity, post-war utopias of peace and progress, and post-independence ruptures of liberation and self-determination in the 1950s through to the 1970s. Finally, some contemporary publications respond to ongoing processes of urban growth, transformation and demolition affecting urban residents today.

And although the authors in Scroope 31 may be writing in English, their essays reflect on publications that were produced in a diverse set of language and across a wide range of geographies. These plural voices spread across the globe; from Russia and Singapore in the East, passing by Turkey, Ghana, and Morocco, through to England and France, and ending in the United States and Brazil.

Each essay in this issue can be read as an individual piece. Yet, we have also curated the varied assortment of submissions for readers into four sections that tie them by theme, purpose, and author positionality.

In ***Divergent Modernities,*** Bullock, Hall and Frigo reflect on movements and notions of modernity that rose in the two decades following the Second World War. They write about publications seeking to redefine modernity and transform their respective society. Writing on post-war

Europe, Nick Bullock contrasts the power of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*'s projected image in proposing radical visions of modernity – its ambitious imagery, paper, and typography – with the reality of its inner workings, internal conflict and ad-hoc operations. Shifting to Latin America, Jane Hall discusses the struggle over Brazilian artistic self-determination and national identity. She shows how *Habitat,* is caught between international movements and state ambitions, yet resists hegemonic forms of cultural production and proposes alternative visions of modernity that incorporate primitive popular knowledge into material culture and industrial design. Finally, reflecting on North African visions of modernity, Lucio Frigo shows how the revolutionaries behind *Souffles,* an independent and critical publication, were forging an Avant-grade post-independence aesthetic of Moroccan arts, architecture and literary movements, defying both their preceding French colonisers, and the French-educated-and-allied ruling elite they left behind.

In *Spaces of Resistance*, Mizrokhi and Toskas write about pragmatic efforts rising with a sense of urgency. The publications they describe blur the boundaries of writing and activism in the face of violent urban conditions. Writing on the demolition of soviet-era housing blocks, Ekaterina Mizrokhi provokes us to think about the purpose, format and medium that makes an architectural periodical. She tells the story of how *Arkhitektura Izmailovo*, an online architect-run Facebook page, functions as a virtual platform, a vibrant hub, and an alternative archive. In doing so, it takes commentary, criticism and debate beyond a small circle of professional critics to democratize participation, and advocate for appreciation and loyalty from a wider base of city residents. Going back to the 1960s London, Fillipos Toskas similarly writes about a marginal publication with

ephemeral circulation, ***Anarchy***. He also shows how its writings are intertwined with the radical ambitions of militant urbanism. Led by Colin Ward, an anarchist theorist, the publication aimed to reform property models and provide a theoretical framework for squatting efforts.

In ***Knowledge Circulations,*** Torino and Hamiloğu trace the travels both of publications and their authors. They reflect on how circuits of urban knowledge circulate to resist or extend western hegemony, thereby shaping the politics of knowledge production. Giulia Torino uses the contemporary example ***OFF TO,*** an African publication emerging from Ghana. She draws on Mbembe's notions of "Afropolitanism" and "Disenclosure" to show how a magazine can challenge Western hegemony and instead reveal the complexity, ambiguity and heterogeneity of urban lives in overlooked or mystified geographies. Nevertheless, she recounts

how the pragmatic and logistical limitations still ironically force the publication to be printed in France. Writing about Turkey in the 1930-50s, Ceren Hamiloğu reflects on Turkish publications like ***Arkitekt*** and ***Mimarlık***. She draws on the notion of travelling theory to discuss how they functioned as crucial venues through which the experiences, memoirs, drawings and notes of travelling architects made it back to a local audience to influence Turkey's own hybrid modernity.

Finally, in ***Insider Stories,*** Hudson, Khan and Cengizkan, depart from the format of academic writing to give unfiltered and biased accounts of their own editorial experiences. Their narratives oscillate between nostalgia, pride and self-critique. Writing on what may be an archetypal American architectural magazine, Erin Hudson goes into the archives of the ***Architectural Review*** to reflect on the careful craft of balancing editorial integrity

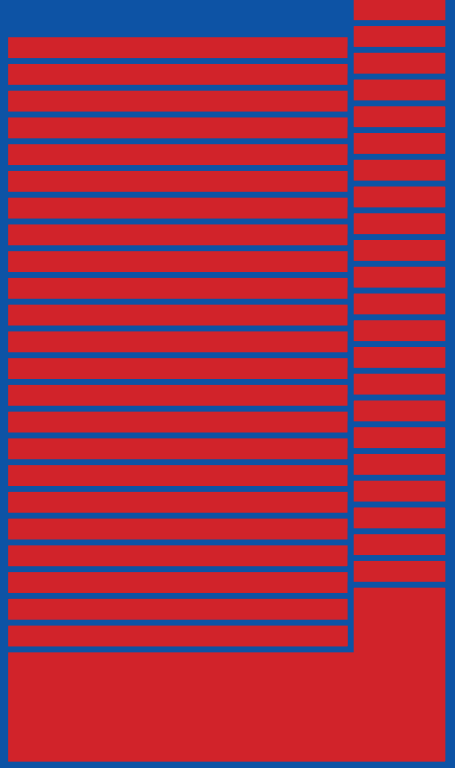
against a magazine's implication in the monetization of a profession. She reflects on the root forces causing magazines to serve as a venue for advertising, rendering both the architect and the reader as a commodity. Editors seek to resist the forces stemming from a magazine's very financial model and the structures on which its existence may depend. Then, in an honest and nostalgic account on a publication that has now ended, co-founder Hassan-Uddin Khan, recounts the journey of *Mimar*. He describes the original ambitions, enlisted support and practical limitations in his journey of co-founding and managing *a* journal sponsored by the Aga Khan. *Mimar* carried the great ambitions to showcase architecture within a typically stigmatized and underrepresented Global South. Finally, Ali Cengizkan also looks back on his journey of founding the ***Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*** at *METU* in Turkey. From its humble beginnings in a new university, to later being shut down as it faced the politics of a regime silencing university publication, all the way to fighting back to keep a timely publication, he tells the tale of a magazine upheld by the energy, enthusiasm, and synergy of a young faculty.

After this detour, we leave you with a final standalone piece by our very own James Campbell as he brings things full circle. His concluding piece attempts to lure you in for a visit to the Architectural library at the University of Cambridge to discover its overlooked treasures of architectural periodicals.

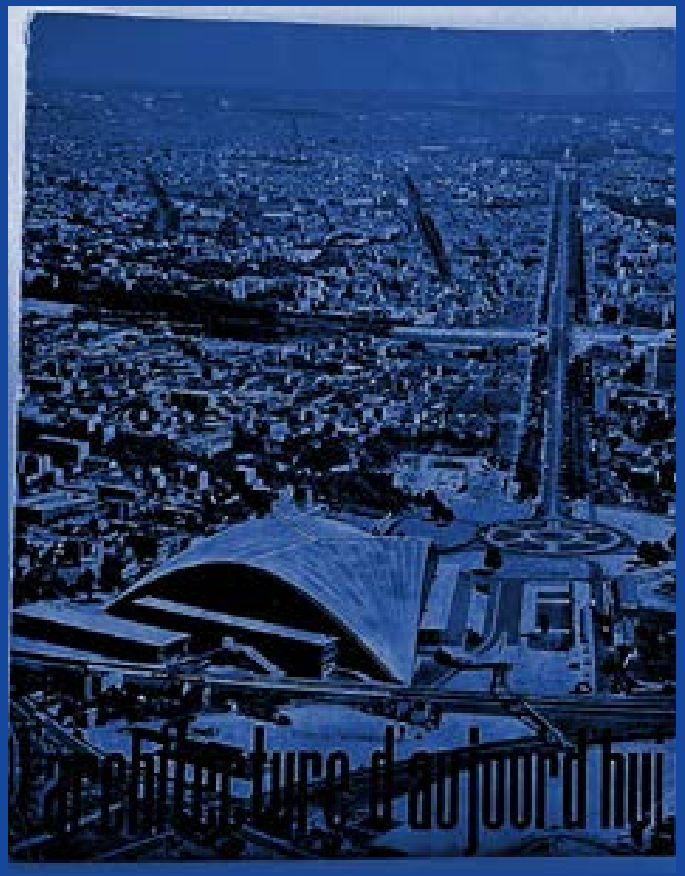
Thus, as we reflect back on Scroope and think about its future, we have focused not on its own story. Instead, we find no better way to celebrate its journey thus far, than to give the stage to other voices from similar efforts around the world, and to contrast their core missions, formats, and challenges. Collectively, this constellation of essays culminated in an issue that

not only looks back and interrogates previous architectural publications, but also questions, propels and redefines what future ones can be.

Chapter



Divergent Modernities



Nick Bullock

Projected Image and Working Reality of Architectural Journals

Nick Bullock is a Reader in Architectural and Planning History and a fellow of King's College. He taught the history of architecture and architectural theory and the history of planning.

His book Planning the Post-War World, Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain (2003) focused on reconstruction in Britain. And his research has extended to issues of reconstruction in Europe, particularly France and Germany, after the war.

What in 1955 Reyner Banham called 'image', a quality that was easily identifiable, memorable and conveyed a particular message - attributes he saw as readily in a painting by Jackson Pollock, as in a 1954 Cadillac Cabriolet or in the roofscape of the Unité d'habitation - was of no less vital importance to the architectural journals of the post-war years. Their projected image, and their 'house-style', assured their identity. From the cover, the reader could anticipate the message: pure white with the title in black Helvetica Light, the covers of ***Transactions of the Bartlett Society*** asserted the journal's serious scientific purpose; ***Archigram***'s comic book graphics or the visual references to the Beatles' film Yellow Submarine were no less effective as an assertion of very different ambitions.

A journal's image assured it a 'voice' in the contemporary architectural debate.

This was as true of César Daly's ***Générale*** in the 1850s as it was one hundred years later of the Architectural Review, with its beautifully produced covers, high-quality paper, and carefully considered typography. Image gave visibility to the journal's voice, enabling it to offer a variety of contents but seemingly framed from a consistent point of view. Issues of ***Wendingen,*** hand-blocked images on thick art paper tied together with raffia, could hardly be more different from ***De Stijl*** with its no-nonsense use of typography- the printers' equivalent of van Doesburg's machine aesthetic.

In the crowded debates of the thirty or so post-war years that saw Europe reconstructed and then modernised, architectural journals were no less determined to assert their identity and make their 'voices' heard. Of course, the 'little magazines' like ***Carré Bleu***, ***Contraspazio***, ***Uppercase*** continued, as had their predecessors in the inter-war years, to signal their distinctive-

ness. But what of those journals with much larger circulations that were shaping the mainstream debate on architecture as modern architecture became the default style across Europe and North America?

Defining Modern Architecture, Dominant Voices in the Architectural Debate

On occasion, these journals might report on the activities of the avant-garde, but their central purpose was to publicise and celebrate the way that modern architecture (and urbanism) was transforming post-war society. Through the three post-war decades, France's 'Trente Glorieuses', the years of the German 'Wirtschaftswunder', or Italy's 'Miracolo Economico', it was they who showed how the radicals of the inter-war years were now working enthusiastically for the state. It was these journals that showed how a new generation, trained just pre- or post-war, was taking on the task of designing not just the buildings, public

and private, demanded by modernisation, but also adapting the city to meet challenges of run-away urban growth and explosion of car ownership. It was these journals, too, that did not flinch from reporting the frustrations of a still younger generation as they questioned the new CIAM dogma and the older generations in the first post-war years. Unlike the 'little magazines', these journals were not just read by architects, urbanists and their students, but they also informed the views of a much wider public. Widely read, they were to be found in the clubs, the offices and the European equivalents of the senior common rooms of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, forming the views of future users and clients.

In Britain it was first the *Architectural Review*, soon joined by *Architectural Design* that set the terms of the debate and established agreement on what constituted 'a modern architecture'. In Italy it was the tensions between *Casabella*, published in

Milan, and *Domus,* its rival published in Venice, that did much to shape contemporary debate. In France the configuration was different. Older journals like *Construction Moderne* or those associated with the Vichy regime like *Architecture Française* might lose their appeal, though *Techniques et Architecture*, founded in 1940, was able to prosper because of its bias towards issues of construction and architecture. However,it was *Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, now known as AA, reappearing in 1945 after six years of war-time silence, that resumed its role as leading champion of the modern movement, a position it held unquestioned until the emergence of a young rival, *Architecture Mouvement Continuité*, in the late 1960s. But during a twenty year 'reign', the leading position of the Architecture d'aujourd'hui gave it the authority to endorse rising stars: to receive an imprimatur from the journal, was the badge of success.

The Shortage of Resources

What lay behind the carefully constructed 'image' of these large-circulation journals? What happened behind the scenes that enabled them to project the 'image' that they did? The reality of AA's operations was in marked contrast to its public identity. Its survival in the first post-war years was precarious. Only in early 1945, was the editor, André Bloc, finally able to recover control of the journal after battling to establish the validity of the stipulation made when sold in 1940, that he would have the right to repurchase it at a later date. Moreover, Bloc who understood little of the mechanics of producing a journal, was able to reassemble key members of the pre-war editorial team and their invaluable experience of running a journal. They included Pierre Vago, a Hungarian who had remained in France and joined the resistance, and André Persitz who had miraculously just returned to Paris

from Auschwitz. Bloc was no less fortunate in replacing his former sales manager with André Margueritte. Margueritte's ability to sell advertising space and build circulation was important in view of Bloc's lack of capital or other financial resources of any kind. Indeed, advertising,along with sales remained the journal's principal source of income and Margueritte promoted the journal's circulation to the point where it rapidly overtook its pre-war sales and, with 16,000 copies in 1961 and 24,000 a decade later, soon outsold the circulation of its competitors combined. This small team, backed by two loyal secretaries, operating largely as it had done before the war from Bloc's flat in the rue Batholdi in Boulogne-sur-Seine took on the much larger challenge of producing the journal through the 1950s and much of the 60s. Indeed, it only moved into more spacious quarters in Bloc's house in Meudon shortly before his death in late 1966.

In contrast to what the reader saw- the impressive, no-expense-spared quality of the individual issues- AA operated on a shoestring. It could not afford of the in-house photographers or the art-editorial staff who were to be found in sister journals like *Casabella* or the *Architectural Review*, the latter in the particularly fortunate position of being able at short notice to 'borrow' established talents like that of Eric de Maré or Gordon Cullen from its publishing 'parent', *The Architectural Press*. But a lack of resources did not restrain Bloc's ambitions. Consider, for example, his determination to pioneer the use of colour printing, a point of some importance when illustrating the work of Le Corbusier. Overall,however, the impression of the journal's layout and use of typography was of energy rather than consistency, a determination to carry the journal's message without being too precious about style.

The Editorial Battles Within

AA's publicly unchallenged position as the leading champion of modernism did not seem to have been perturbed by the battles behind-the-scenes, particularly the sharp disagreements and regular fallings-out between the members of the editorial team. On the one hand, there was Bloc, a sculptor rather than an architect, working on his 'habitacles' constructed in his garden at Meudon and fascinated by painterly abstraction and the work of Groupe Espace, inspired in part by the pre-war ideas of de Stijl. On the other, were Pierre Vago and André Persitz, both former students at the École Spéciale and enthusiastic supporters of Auguste Perret's constructional and structural rationalism who viewed askance the formal exuberance of those like Le Corbusier, closest to Bloc's heart.

The first post-war numbers were edited by Bloc, however, due to lacking the necessary architectural engagement with post-war reconstruction, the three-man editorial team agreed to establish an editorial committee who might take on the editing of particular issues and also to seek the support of a large editorial board to provide general oversight and intercede as necessary on the journal's behalf. As the workload of reconstruction grew for those in practice, like Vago, the editorial burden fell increasingly on Persitz who by the early 1950s was single-handedly editing over half of all issues. By the mid-1950s this proved too much and for the next ten or so years a new pattern emerged with Bloc and Persitz, each backed by a separate secretarial team, responsible for alternate numbers. The result was a publication that offered two rather different perspectives, an arrangement that seemed to work well from the perspective of the journals' readers.

Disagreements, however, were inevitable. While Persitz and Vago sought to offer broad coverage of architectural

responses to important contemporary themes like reconstruction and the housing crisis of the 1950s, Bloc was fascinated with new forms, new ideas, and formal questions of design. Disagreements soon came to a head over the work of Le Corbusier. Other journals lacked sympathy for le Corbusier's work: the béton brut and the sculptural *pilotis* of the Unité d'habitation at Marseille were dismissed by *Techniques et Architecture* as irrelevant to the larger challenge of industrialising the building industry,and *Architecture Française* either ignored Le Corbusier's work or led the attack on the Unité d'habitation as a threat to public health. By contrast, Le Corbusier was lionised by Bloc. Who could better exemplify Bloc's conviction of the primacy of form and the importance of the links between sculpture and architecture? In the first post-war numbers of AA, Le Corbusier's work, from his plans for the reconstruction of cities like Saint-Dié to la

Rochelle-la-Pallice to his recent paintings and sculptures, were generously covered. Le Corbusier exemplified the artist/architect who could achieve that synthesis of the arts and architecture for which Bloc was campaigning.

This enthusiasm for Le Corbusier was not shared by the other members of the editorial team. Vago, a figure with a keen sense of his own worth, was not only critical of what he saw as the formal emphasis of Le Corbusier's work at the expense of structure and function – a view shared by his fellow 'Perretist' Persitz – but was clearly stung by the patronising manner in which he was treated by Le Corbusier. In 1948, however, Bloc chose to override the reservations of the rest of the editorial team to produce a handsome special number dedicated to every aspect of Le Corbusier's work, from architecture and urbanism to his latest paintings and sculptures.

The unusual means chosen by Bloc -

the most intellectually adventurous of the team – to avoid further confrontation with his fellow editors was to create a second journal in order to pursue unconstrained his wider interests in the arts, in design and in architecture. In 1949, alongside AA and perhaps to jolt the AA team out of what he saw as growing complacency, Bloc launched a new magazine initially called *Art et Architecture*, that focused more on art, particularly abstract art, than architecture with close links to a number of galleries. In Jan/Feb 1955, however, the title – and with it the content – was changed to *Aujourd'hui* with Blocassisted by the mercurial and extravagant Claude Parent, a skilled draughtsman and champion of the 'architecture of the diagonal'. In this form, it began to cover architecture more actively, generally challenging AA, increasingly seen as the champion of the new architectural establishment, sometimes in competition with its sister journal and occasionally even

poaching material that had been prepared for the latter. The treatment of Le Corbusier's little pilgrimage chapel of Ronchamp exemplifies the differences between the two journals. AA chose not to cover it, excluding it from the issue reviewing post-war church building and choosing instead to flatter Vago's recently completed basilica at Lourdes. To make good this omission, Bloc published Ronchamp at length in *Aujourd'hui*. Here, it was celebrated as the great modern synthesis of the arts, of painting, and of sculpture and architecture, with an extended photo essay including – exceptionally for the time - a number of images in colour, and an enthusiastic appreciation by Bloc's friend, the poet and painter Gigou.

The Record of Modernist Orthodoxy

From 1945 until the early 1960s, AA served as the dominant chronicle of

modernist orthodoxy, defining the very nature of modern architecture in France. The journal did not define an editorial position as did Ernesto Rogers at *Casabella* or J.M. Richards at the *Architectural Review*, nor did it encourage the kind of architectural criticism exemplified by the writings of critics like Colin Rowe and Reyner Banham or practitioners like Jim Stirling or Alan Colquhoun. But it could be combative in its attacks on what the editors, particularly Vago and Persitz, saw as attempts to dilute the principles of modern architecture: it denounced as back-sliding the *Architectural Review*'s advocacy of the 'New Humanism' as an attempt to make modernism more 'approachable', and did not hesitate, in an editorial entitled 'Causus Belli?', to attack BBPR's Torre Velasca as a 'provincial' betrayal of universal modernist principles.

For the new architectural establishment, the generation of Zehrfuss, Lopez, Dubuisson, Bernard, the journal's unstinting support of mainline modernism might be reassuring. But for a younger generation trained post-war and encouraged by AA itself to look beyond France for new ideas, the reprising of the conventional wisdom was no longer enough. Perhaps more important, Bloc too recognised the journal's loss of momentum. His response was both to use *Aujourd'hui,* to mount a challenge and to shake up AA from within. From 1960 both Persitz and Bloc adopted a more critical view of what passed for modern architecture and sought to distance the journal from the very orthodoxy that it had created. In an editorial looking back over the journal's achievement since the war, they quoted the editor of *Progressive Architecture* to characterise the qualities of French architecture: 'Today…what is there to see? Hesitation, 'modernism' (in the form of inferior copies of clumsy American architecture), planning poorly conceived, an

absence of organic expression, an absence (to be brutally frank) of talent….'

In response, Bloc and Persitz began to showcase an architecture, transformed by creativity and imagination, not held back by the dull constraints of money and practicality. From 1960 until 1968, roughly every third or fourth issue of AA, with titles like 'Tendences', 'Recherches' or 'Architectures Fantastiques', would highlight some aspect of radical thinking to provide cumulatively a survey of avant-garde thinking in France in all its diversity. The contributors included both young 'possibilists' like Candilis, Josic and Woods, radicals working innovatively in the realm of the (just) feasible, as well as 'visionaries' whose work could only be realised in a future, more or less distant. The subjects treated might range from the structural innovations of Robert le Ricolais to designs on the border between architecture and sculpture such as those by Claude Parent in collaboration with André

Bloc. Speculation on urbanism might be even more extreme with ideas for 'spatial urbanisme', a design approach to the future city, represented by the works of Yona Friedman, which had been appearing in the journal since 1959, or Nicholas Schöffer, an artist and Bloc's fellow member of the Groupe Espaces whose kinetic sculptures, some conceived at the urban scale, were promoted by André Bloc both in AA and in Aujourd'hui.

The Unquestioned Authority of the Printed Page?

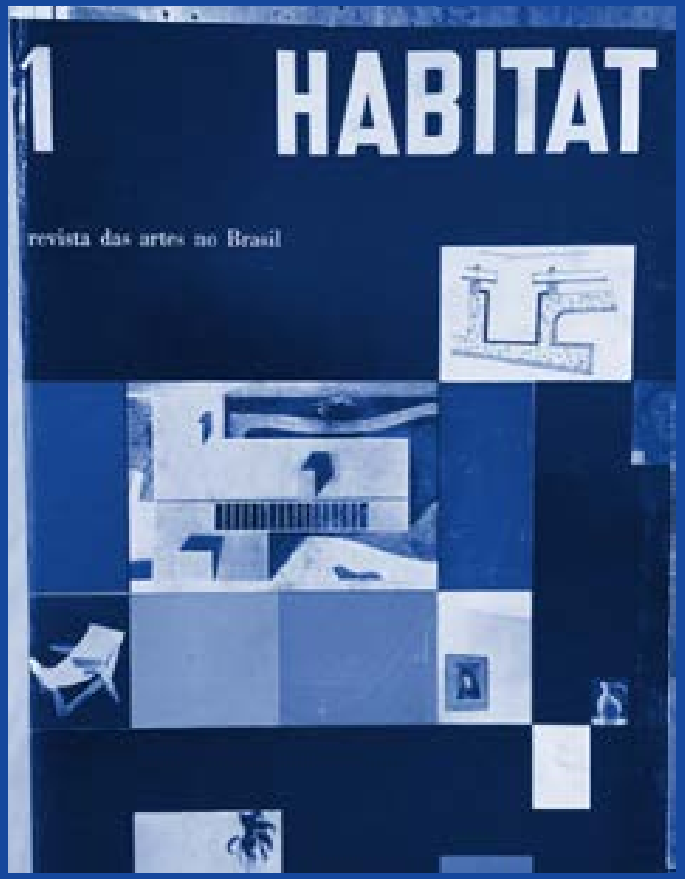
The reader of the mid 1950s, holding the thick, profusely illustrated copy of AA, could not but accept the authority of the journal's 'voice'. AA remained France's

leading architectural journal from the Liberation in 1945, beyond Bloc's death in 1966, to the Events of 1968. Indeed, its endorsement of the new establishment, the designers of the great public buildings of France's Modernisation, assured their success. Claude Parent, Bloc's collaborator on Aujourd'hui, irreverently dubbed it 'the Queen Mother of architectural publications'. But who, turning its pages, could suspect the shortage of resources, the endless editorial wrangling and the desperate attempts to rejuvenate the position of the journal after 1960?

Of course, not all journals were as hand-to-mouth as *AA* in their operations. Some of these mainstream journals were much smarter: *Architectural Review* was published, alongside the *Architects' Journal*, by he *Architectural Press*, as part of an operation that ran at a different scale. It had its own building in Queen Anne's Gate and the editor, J.M. Richards, had a handsome office with the layout team – under Bill Slack, the Art Editor - and editorial assistants (in their own offices) within easy call. For entertaining visitors and potential authors, the *Architectural Press* even had a 'pub', the Bride of Denmark, in the basement of the building. or the more celebrated, J.M. Richards would offer a luncheon in the Atheneum, a short walk across St James' Park. But others like *Architectural Design*, would have been only too familiar to Bloc and his team. It operated out of cramped, little offices in Bloomsbury Way, ostensibly a part of the Standard Catalogue Company with Monica Pidgeon, very much in charge, Theo Crosby, whocalled in to make the big decisions and Robin Middleton, who was in touch with everybody. Its offices, desks overflowing with dirty coffee cups, were crowded. Editorial meetings might be squeezed in, but visitors and the great and the good were entertained in a nearby

Greek restaurant. Perhaps, like so many of the progressive architectural practices that these journals documented, there were more journals like Architecture d'aujourd'hui (and *Architectural Digest)* than there are like *Architectural Review*. Collected and bound, yesterday's architectural journals tend to look alike on today's library shelves, but we should not forget the very real differences between them.

*on **Habitat**, Brazil, Portuguese,1950–1965*



Jane Hall

Habitat Magazine and the Making of a Modern Culture in Brazil

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A Magazine of the Arts

'[...] art, from the professionals and from the aspirants, and that includes the brave primitives and petulant amateurs, needs the newspaper/ radio/TVbattage.'[1] *- Pietro Maria Bardi*

Positioned on Avenida Paulista, the main arterial avenue that bisects São Paulo, the *Museu de Arte de São Paulo* (Museum of Art of São Paulo, MASP) is central to both the physical geography and collective identity of the city. Founded in 1947 by journalist, art critic and curator, Pietro Maria Bardi, the museum also encompassed the industrial design school, the *Instituto de Arte Contemporânea* (IAC) and a magazine, *Habitat: Revista das Artes no Brasil* (Habitat, Magazine of the Arts in Brazil), which were both co-directed by the architect (and Bardi's wife) Lina Bo Bardi.[2]

Originally planned as the *Museum of Classical and Modern Art* Pietro Maria Bardi persuaded the institution's wealthy patron, telecoms magnate Assis de Chateaubriand to change the name simply to *Museum of Art*, citing the fallacy of distinguishing between the two categories given the socially constructed context of material culture. For the Bardis, the traditional museum was 'a little sleepy under the gigantic shadow of time'[3]. They saw Brazil as a new kind of cultural frontier, unspoiled by the classical tenets of European museology; indeed Bardi thought this in line with the context of São Paulo itself stating:

We felt that it would be a great mistake to transplant a museum of the European type to a new city - a city which, though the fourth centenary of its foundation falls this year, has really been formed and developed

"We felt that it would be a great mistake to transplant a museum of the European type to a new city [...]"[29]

during the present century.[4]

In recognising the alterity of the city from its Western counterparts, as it expanded under the influence of the intersection of local and global markets during the twentieth century, the Bardis' vision broke with the historicisation of Brazil as a post-colonial country with a European inheritance.

However, before the museum even had a building to occupy, MASP's museological and pedagogical ambitions were introduced to the reading public through a series of articles authored by Bardi and published in São Paulo's leading newspaper, Folha da São Paulo, which was also owned by MASP's patron, Chateaubriand.[5] With titles such as Museus e Anti-Museus (Museums and Anti-Museums) and O Museu e a Educação Publica (The Museum and Public Education) the ingenuity of this approach was the conceptualisation of the texts as

spaces to promote a modern culture in the absence of a physical setting. A renowned journalist in Italy and recent émigré to Brazil, Bardi manipulated the press as a strategy to create not just a new site of design thinking but also engage support from the middle classes and by extension São Paulo's growing political and financial elite. In connecting the museum with the cultural life of the city through education and publishing, MASP would be a place of cultural activity and not, as Bardi put it in slightly more accusatory language, a place of 'dead things'.[6]

The Bardis returned to print after the museum's inauguration, publishing the first issue of ***Habitat Magazine*** in October 1950.[7] ***Habitat*** was published in portrait, A4 in format. The front cover was printed in colour while the inside was mostly black and white with colour used to highlight certain articles. On occasion a different paper stock was used for articles by invited international authors. A summary page written in English immediately followed, providing a brief translation of a selection of the articles found within. Printed on an off pink textured paper it contrasted with the slight gloss and brilliant white of the magazine's interior pages.

The preface, along with a list of contributors, set the tone with details of the magazine's production and distribution also listed. ***Habitat*** was sold in Brazil for Cr $150 and published 4 times a year, although in effect its publication was sporadic. First aimed at a Paulista market, after issue three the magazine was also distributed in Rio de Janeiro and after issue ten sold in Argentina, followed by Portugal, Spain, the Brazilian cities of Salvador and Porto Alegre, and the USA.[8] The scope of ***Habitat's*** distribution demonstrated the Bardis' intention to promote Brazilian design abroad, understanding that positive recognition by foreign audiences would be

a measure against which a local readership assessed its value.

Doubling up as MASP's official catalogue, *Habitat*, like the newspaper articles that preceded it, was tasked with forming an integral connection between the institution's museological agenda and the IAC in order to create a market for the emerging field of industrial design; its readership now cast as consumers.[9] While the magazine's subtitle, printed on its front cover, claimed to be concerned with 'arts in Brazil', *Habitat's* inception evidenced an entirely different and much more specific ambition. In a letter to the Swiss architectural critic, Sigfried Giedion, dated 1948, Bardi canvassed support for a new magazine listing contributors entirely from the field of architecture, with the exception of painter Cândido Portinari:

> *I was able only today to talk with [Oscar] Niemeyer about our idea of inviting you to Brazil [...] we shall publish an important architecture magazine that shall be organized and oriented by Niemeyer, Eduardo Kneese de Mello, Lina Bo (my wife, that has been director of "Domus" before Rogers, and of "A"), Gian Carlo Palanti (that was a writer and organizer of "Construzioni"), Cândido Portinari and by me.*[10]

With half the proposed team based in Rio de Janeiro, a city whose modern identity was quickly becoming defined by a regionalist interpretation of the International Style, the magazine risked adopting an aesthetic already aligned with established Cariocas like architect Oscar Niemeyer.[11] Eventually rejecting the idea on this basis, the Bardis shifted their focus back to the museum and to São Paulo, with *Habitat's* editorial scope as a result, contextualized by the city's nascent industrial development;

the integration of art into a market society underpinning any address of a new culture.

This approach in fact simply capitalized on an agenda already established at MASP, demonstrated in its very first exhibition *Exposição da Cadeira* (Exhibition of the Chair, 1948).[12] Outlining the history of the chair, the exhibition explained the way in which the basic model has been replicated throughout history, while demonstrating how over time, individual craftsmen had adapted the design to express 'sensitive innovations'.[13] American designers Charles and Ray Eameses' plywood bent chair with rubber joints was the 'success of the exhibition', indicating to the Bardis that it was possible for pre-industrial aesthetics to be deposed in favour of contemporary production, stating that 'the chair is not a monument, it serves to be sat upon.'[14] In keeping with the Bardis' mission to rethink the role of culture in society, the museum simply treated the emerging consumer

marketplace as a pedagogic subject, with industrial design presented as an extension of art history.

Two Brazils

While the museum primarily targeted consumers, *Habitat Magazine* assisted in appealing to those at the forefront of industrialization. Factory owners did not question design as such, and continued to fabricate replicas of old items or those popularized in Europe. For the Bardis, change was about making the home a new site of design as Ethel Leon, a long-term employee at MASP noted:

> *[Habitat magazine] railed against the ugliness of São Paulo's urban furniture, [...] After all, there was no point in having a museum with permanent exhibits of Poussin, Tintoretto and Picasso if the elite went on sitting on Napoleonic*

thrones and entertaining in rooms in which eclectic upholsterers had been given free rein.[15]

The name *Habitat* explicitly referenced the contemporaneous, international concern with dwelling as central to modern architecture, and, as curator Marion von Osten observed, echoed directly the topic popularized by Le Corbusier at the *Congrés International d'Architecture Moderne 7* (CIAM) held in Bergamo in 1947.[16] For Bo Bardi, invoking the term 'habitat' was perhaps more personal having previously edited the magazine *Domus* (house) in Italy, before her emigration to Brazil.[17] Trained as an architect in Rome,

Bo Bardi moved to Milan during the interwar period and spent her early career working as a designer but also as an illustrator and editor. Following the bombing of her studio during the Second World War, Bo Bardi travelled around Italy documenting

the aftermath of destruction, observing also the nuanced ways people had, with few resources, adapted their lives. As a result she began to see opportunity in the uncertainty of the postwar period to rethink material culture, starting with the home and a critique of how people live.

With a focus on industrial design, *Habitat* framed the home as a cultural marketplace; the magazine a vehicle for brokering relationships between artists, their work (now characterized as products) and new sites of emerging capital. This is reflected in the copious number of advertizements in each issue, which, in full colour promoted a range of both local and international manufacturers selling everything from escalators to modern furniture, not least Bo Bardi's own designs including her now famous Bowl Chair (1951).[18]

Not concerned simply with commerciality, the Bardis set out to establish a unique modern language of their own that fluidly

expressed the folk. In this sense, *Habitat's* editorial direction largely took its cue from MASP where vernacular crafts were exhibited as if pieces of modern art. Avoiding what the Bardis considered the 'dangerous neutrality' of the traditional museum, they proposed a shift in value from the object itself to the participatory experience of encountering artefacts, and by extension blurring the cultural context in which they were each produced.[19] Alexandre Wollner, a student at the IAC and assistant at MASP, conveyed his confusion with this curatorial approach:[20]

> *One day I saw a window display full of Egyptian and Aztec pottery and, stuck in among a host of other antiquities, was an Olivetti typewriter. I went to talk to Flávio Motta, who was Bardi's assistant and said: 'I think someone forgot a typewriter in the display....' Bardi was intrigued that someone would say that and came to explain to me that a typewriter was no different from an earthenware pot in its day: an object of use, part of the culture of a primitive group, just as the typewriter was an element of ours.*[21]

Habitat Magazine's graphic layout clearly mimics the museum's curatorial approach in print. Images of indigenous communities such as the Karajá people and corresponding craft traditions were pictured as autonomous, detached from the cultural and social conditions that connected them.[22] Paulo Taveres credits this to Bo Bardi's 'singular ethos and sensibility to popular culture', with the twin projects of MASP and *Habitat* incorporating Brazil's primitive and pre-modern past into a progressive, industrialized future.[23] The mix of visual imagery and concise articles in the magazine hint at something even more complex;

"[...] a typewriter was no different from an earthenware pot in its day: an object of use, part of the culture of a primitive group, just as the typewriter was an element of ours."[21]

a wider project that refuted the West as the prototype for social progress by integrating Northeastern Brazilian cultures into the modern context.[24] ***Habitat*** has, however, been accused by contemporary historians of simply anaesthetising Brazil's ***sertãe*** for the palatability of the middle classes rather than empowering a culture of the poor.[25]

While this may be true, it was for the Bardis a contentious strategy with conflicting narratives of indigeneity throughout the early twentieth-century having antagonized the country's fragile sense of self, reflected in the postering of President Gétuilo Vargas who stated that 'the true meaning of being Brazilian is the march to the West'.[26] In addition, modern industrialisation contrasted with old labour structures and forms of production still relied upon in Brazil, meaning that any image of progress was indelibly linked with coloniality.[27] Brazilian literary critic, Roberto Schwarz, argues that the 'two Brazils' emerging were not

therefore characterized by an imitation of Western capitalism nor part of a transitional process to modernity, rather such conflict fundamentally underlay Brazilian identity as a modern nation, a dichotomy expressed as intrinsic by *Habitat's* authors.[28]

Cities of Civilisation

Rather than construct an alternate modernity in *Habitat Magazine*, the Bardis simply reveal the parallel existence of difference as the result of largely unequal forms of developmental capitalism and of social and labour relations. Their argument is not one of replacement, subjugating Western modernity to a nascent and seemingly more 'authentic' Brazilian alternative; rather they attempt to upend the inequality in the relationship to power between the two. In addressing this rebalance, by giving equal voice to the aesthetic and material forms of both in the pages of *Habitat*, the couple highlight the West as an idea as much as it is a geographical fact.

The opening editorial in *Habitat's* first issue however further complicates the modern project by centring the agendas of MASP's principle investors: its owner, Assis de Chateaubriand and also the museum's American funder, businessman, politician and billionaire cultural philanthropist, Nelson A. Rockefeller.[29] Rockefeller authors an article titled *Cidadelas da Civilzação* (Cities of Civilisation), in which he describes the relationship between 'conditions for democracy', the arts, and 'the civilisation of a national culture', going on to state that '[...]in encouraging the creation and enjoyment of beautiful things, we are furthering democracy itself. That is why the museum is a citadel of civilisation.'[30] His citation of private institutions such as MASP as the new centres of 'global peace' reveals a burgeoning form of soft power promoted by organisations such as *The Office of Inter-American Affairs*, for whom

Rockefeller worked, tasked with countering a perceived threat to national security posed by the Axis nations by furthering 'positive' cultural and economic relations in South America in the inter and postwar periods.[31]

The appeal of the article to an international audience is made clear by its full translation into English, which is afforded only to a selection of articles printed in the magazine during its run, and never usually in their entirety. Despite its early distribution limited to a domestic market, the prominence of Pan American relations in the opening editorial reflects *Habitat's* significance as a strategic yet subtle site for political expression. As such, it is unsurprising that *Habitat* soon became part of a wider global project, demonstrated by an explosion of cultural programming that took place in São Paulo the year of the magazine's launch, which included the first *Bienal de São Paulo*.[32]

Created by Francisco Matarazzo 'Ciccolo' Sobrinho, who was director of MASP's main rival, the *Museu de Arte Moderne de São Paulo* (MAM-SP),[33] the 'festival in the mould of Venice',[34] was outwardly perceived as a symbol of international expansion, not least because Swiss designer Max Bill was awarded the inaugural sculpture prize for his work, *Tripartite Unity* (1951).[35] Although awarding works by Brazilian artists that depicted biomorphic and figurative forms, MAM-SP's promotion of a geometric international style contrasted directly with the state's ambitions to recover an autochthonous national identity through art. [36] This contributed to a sense of confusion that historian Caroline Jones notes symbolized a, 'coding for the schizophrenia of the Brazilian [cultural] context'.[37]

In the second issue of *Habitat, Tripartite Unity is featured* along with an article written by Bill titled *Beleza e Função* (Beauty and Function), which discusses the social meaning of architecture

and its formal expression.[38] In the same issue Bo Bardi publishes her own text, reframing Bill's ideas through an analogy of the country as a 'Beautiful Child', attributing what she regarded as Brazilian Modernism's 'flaws' to the youth of the state, having come 'into being all of a sudden.' [39] She reinforces her position in a following article, *Duas Contruções* (Two Buildings) about the work of Oscar Niemeyer in which she both admires the architect's 'instinctive feel for the sculptural qualities of these new forms' yet also criticizes his architecture for accepting Brazil's condition as a colonized subject with its fluid modernism, in her view, a rejection of the local context rather than a celebration of it.[40]

Over a two year period the debate escalated with Bill returning to Brazil in 1953 to deliver a public lecture, which railed against the confusion he perceived as inherent in the country's modern art and architecture. *Habitat* again platformed his ideas. In an interview with Bill titled *Max Bill, o Inteligente Iconoclasta* (Max Bill, the Intelligent Iconoclast) the artist directs his vitriol at the Cariocas, stating that:

> *[...] The legion of 'little Le Corbusiers' that formed [in Brazil] was a great danger to modern architecture [...]. Modern Brazilian architecture suffers somewhat from its love of the useless, for what is merely ornamental...its social function [is] not taken into consideration.*[41]

Criticising Brazil's initial attempts at artistic self-determination proved hugely divisive, in part because up until that point Bill had had a rich correspondence with Brazilian artists, many of whom visited Ulm, a design school Bill founded in Germany in 1950.[42] This set of articles demonstrates Bo Bardi's use of the magazine to create a forum for public discussion, hosting the

controversies arising from the *Bienal*. But Bo Bardi's defence of Bill in *Habitat* may also reflect her own search for an 'authentic' cultural identity as much as it does the debate about the architecture of her peers.

Hiding in Plain Site

The article about Max Bill is one of the few times that Bo Bardi uses her full name in the magazine, where usually she adopted a number of alternative names and pseudonyms. These include her maiden name Lina Bo, the initials L. B., with a significant number of additional articles left anonymous, with which she has since been credited.[43] The most mysterious of her pseudonyms is Alencastro, denoted by a pair of cat's eyes, which adorn the opening editorial page and later in a dedicated gossip column devoted entirely to event based cultural activities taking place around the city.[44]

"Modern Brazilian architecture suffers somewhat from its love of the useless, for what is merely ornamental..."[29]

It is unclear why Bo Bardi may have sought to disguise her identity. One reason could be because of her gender; few women held positions of power in cultural fields at the time. The other more likely reason is that as European émigrés the Bardis did not speak with an authentically Brazilian voice.[45] Indeed, coinciding with the Max Bill debacle, in 1952 an argument escalated between MASP and MAM-SP with supporters of the latter at the newspapers *Jornal do Brasil* and *O Estado de São Paulo* writing inflammatory articles that refuted the authenticity of the Bardis and their collection.[46] Consequently the couple were forced to tour Europe with artworks borrowed from MASP in order to secure a seal of authenticity at home in the eyes of a respected audience abroad. The couple's resultant absence from São Paulo meant that they had to step down as editors of *Habitat* for the duration of their trip, yet they continued their support from afar

by commissioning others to report on the museum collection's reception in Europe.[47] The Bardis' acculturation was confirmed by their naturalisation as Brazilian citizens on their return in 1953.[48]

In their final editorial the following year, the couple write that they thought *Habitat* had run its course, that it no longer invited interest and that they believed it was repetitious in its content.[49] While *Habitat* assisted in establishing the couple as part of a rival discourse in São Paulo, the Bardis' editorship evidences a more complex engagement with the cultural context beyond an exercise in their own self-realisation, despite historian Silvana Rubino's observation that *Habitat Magazine* had been a rehearsal for the Bardis' 'first alliances in Brazil and in the field of architecture.' [50] Implicated in the construction of the post-colonial cultural subject, *Habitat*'s contents were rooted in the Bardis' unique curatorial approach as well as a complex

web of political agendas, both domestic and foreign that vied to guide Brazil through economic and cultural transformation. The duality of the magazine's function in these terms demonstrates that the publication operated not simply as a propositional tool for an alternative material aesthetic, but also as a discursive site of resistance against existing forms of culture making.

NOTES

1. *Pietro Maria Bardi as quoted in Luciano Migliaccio, Pietro Maria Bardi in Brazil: art history, criticism and chronicle, (Modernidade Latina, Os Italianos e os Centros do Modernismo, MAC) unpaginated, first accessed 21st November 2017.*
2. *Lina Bo Bardi (1914-1992) was an architect, born in Rome, who emigrated with her husband, Pietro Maria Bardi (1900-1999) to Brazil in 1947. For a comprehensive biography in English of Bo Bardi please see Lima, Zeuler RM de A Lima, Lina Bo Bardi (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013).*
3. *Bardi, PM, 'O Museu e a Educação Publica', Diario de São Paulo, 21st February 1947, Caixa 2.1, Pasta 12, Título Original: Historico do Museu, 1947, Bibliotéca de Museu de Arte de São Paulo, accessed 20th November 2016, translation author's own*
4. *Bardi, PM., 'The Museu de Arte, São Paulo', Museum, Vol. 7, 1954, p. 247, first accessed 4th January 2018, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001274/127442eo.pdf*
5. *Between 1st January and 14th August 1947 Pietro Maria Bardi, a notable journalist himself, published at least eighteen articles in Chateaubriand's daily newspaper Diário de São Paulo related to or explicitly outlining the role of the museum in contemporary society. These articles are collected in a single folder held in the MASP archives. Caixa 2.1, Basta 12, Título Original: Historico do Museu, 1947.*
6. *Bardi, PM, 'Museus e Anti-Museus', Diario de São Paulo, 1st January 1947, Caixa 2.1, Pasta 12, Título Original: Historico do Museu, 1947, Bibliotéca de Museu de Arte de São Paulo, accessed 20th November 2016, translation author's own*
7. *Complete sets of Habitat Magazine are available at Casa de Vidro, the Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo at the University of São Paulo and the biblioteca at the Museu de Arte de São Paulo.*
8. *Stuchi, FT., 'Revista Habitat: Um Olhar Moderno sobre os Anos 50 em São Paulo', Masters Thesis, Faculty of Architecture, University of São Paulo, 2006, Correspondência de Pietro Maria Bardi a Siegfried Giedion, com data de 7 de dezembro de 1948; encontrada no acervo histórico do MASP. Documento transcrito na integra ver ANEXO 05 (grifo nosso), p. 57.*
9. *Habitat Magazine ran continuously between 1950 and 1965, although the Bardis' involve-*

ment was sporadic, with the couple eventually resigning their joint editorship in 1952. Zeuler RM de A Lima, Lina Bo Bardi (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 49.

10. *Both Pietro Maria Bardi and Bo Bardi had been involved with editing magazines in Italy before their departure to Brazil. Their most well known titles included Quadrante and Domus respectively. Fabiana Terenzi Stuchi, Revista Habitat: Um Olhar Moderno sobre os Anos 50 em São Paulo, Master's Thesis, (São Paulo: Faculty of Architecture, University of São Paulo, 2006), p. 57.*

11. *People native to Rio de Janeiro are known locally as 'Cariocas'. Oscar Niemeyer went on to found the magazine, Módulo, in 1955. According to Bo bardi, Niemeyer had stated that 'the alliance between Rio and São Paulo made no sense and each group [should] stay on its own place'. Zeuler RM de A Lima, Lina Bo Bardi (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 47.*

12. *Cara, MS., 'Difusão e Construção do Design no Brasil: O Papel do MASP', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2013, p. 37.*

13. *From text possibly authored by either Bardi or Bo Bardi as quoted in Cara, MS., 'Difusão e Construção do Design no Brasil: O Papel do MASP', unpublished PhD Thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2013, p. 39.*

14. *From text possibly authored by either Bardi or Bo Bardi as quoted in Cara, MS., 'Difusão e Construção do Design no Brasil: O Papel do MASP', unpublished PhD Thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2013, p. 39.*

15. *Leon, E., 'IAC/MASP, a Futurist School in São Paulo', Unpaginated, Modernidade Latina, Os Italianos e os Centros do Modernismo, MAC, first accessed 24th September 2016, http://www.mac.usp.br/mac/conteudo/academico/publicacoes/anais/modernidade/ pdfs/ETHEL_ING.pdf*

16. *Marion von Osten as quoted in Paulo Tavares, Des-Habitat, (Berlin: K.Verlag, 2018), p. 1.*

17. *Zeuler RM de A Lima, Lina Bo Bardi (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013).*

18. *The magazine was not itself a commerical success, with the Bardis financing it personally.*

19. *In the context of early postwar Brazil, the museum even in its traditional sense was not a familiar typology to the majority of São Paulo's inhabitants. Over the course of the preceding two decades the Vargas government had launched a series of regional historic museums as a way of dictating a narra-*

tive history of Brazil as a means of political propaganda, however these were provincial in their scope and not concerned with the contemporary debate or otherwise around the purpose of collections and their relationship to museology. Daryle Williams, Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime, 1930-45, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

20. Alexandre Wollner (1928-2018) would go onto found the Escola Superior de Desenho Industrial (ESDI) in Rio de Janeiro in 1962, Brazil's most important school of industrial design. Document 1, Caixa 2.1, Basta 12, Bibliotéca Museu de Arte de São Paulo, accessed 20th September 2016.

21. This is an often-repeated anecdote. Maria Claudia Bonadio, Fashion at MASP by Pietro Maria Bardi (1947-1987), Anais do Museu Paulista: History and Material Culture, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2014), https://doi.org/10.1590/S0101-47142014000200003.

22. Paulo Tavares, Des-Habitat, (Berlin: K.Verlag, 2018), p. 21.

23. Paulo Tavares, Des-Habitat, (Berlin: K.Verlag, 2018), p. 19.

24. James Holston, The Modernist City, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 214.

25. Paulo Tavares, Des-Habitat, (Berlin: K.Verlag, 2018), p13. The sertão refers to the interior of Brazil. As postcolonial theorist Arjun Appadurai has suggested, the 'collective memories and desires' of the diaspora are shaped by their plurality rather than their ability to be defined by others. Arjun Appadurai, The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. i.

26. President Getuilo Vargas had stated 'the true meaning of being Brazilian is the march to the West'. As quoted in Paulo Tavares, Des-Habitat, (Berlin: K.Verlag, 2018), p. 21.

27. Roberto Schwarz, Brazilian Culture: Nationalism By Elimination, New Left Review, Vol. 1 No. 67 (Jan-Feb 1988), first accessed 3rd July 2018, https://newleftreview.org/I/167/roberto-schwarz-brazilian-culture-nationalism-by-elimination.

28. Roberto Schwarz, Brazilian Culture: Nationalism By Elimination, New Left Review, Vol. 1 No. 67 (Jan-Feb 1988), first accessed 3rd July 2018, https://newleftreview.org/I/167/roberto-schwarz-brazilian-culture-nationalism-by-elimination.

29. Rockefeller was also the founder of the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York. MASP's own constitution was based

explicitly on that of MoMA. Jeffrey Frank states that Rockefeller was 'a would-be master builder, fascinated by the art he could not make and the buildings he could not build.' Jeffrey Frank, Big Spender, The New Yorker, October 13 2014, first accessed 8th February 2018, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/10/13/big-spender-2.

30. *Nelson A. Rockefeller, Cidadelas da Civilzação, Habitat 1, Oct/Dec 1950, p. 18.*

31. *Ursula Prutsch, Americanization Of Brazil Or A Pragmatic Wartime Alliance? The Politics Of Nelson Rockefeller's Office Of Inter-American Affair In Brazil During World War II, Revista Internacional de História Política e Cultura Jurídica, Vol. 2, No.4 (2010), p181-216, p. 184.*

32. *Letícia Maria Costa da Nóbrega Cesarino, Brazilian Postcoloniality And South-South Cooperation: A View From Anthropology, Portuguese Cultural Studies 4 (Fall 2012), pp.85- 113, p. 85.*

33. *Curiously MAM-SP was also founded by Rockefeller who stoked a rivalry between Chateaubriand and Matarrazo. Helio Herbst, Toda Ideia tem seu Lugar: Interlocuções das Bienais do Museu de Arte Moderna com a Cidade de São Paulo, Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro, 2 Seminário Internacional Museografia e Arquitetura de Museus, first accessed 11th March 2018, <http://www.arquimuseus.arq.br/anais-seminario_2010/eixo_i/P1_Artigo_Helio_Herbst. Html>.*

34. *The São Paulo Biennial was only the second of its kind in the world. Isobel Whitelegg, The Bienal Internacional de São Paulo: a concise history, 1951-2014, Perspective, Institut National d'Histoire de 'Art, 2013, p. 380. <https://doi.org/10.4000/perspective.3902>.*

35. *Based on the mobius strip, the sculpture is formed of a ribbon-like geometric shape made from stainless steel, composed entirely of a single twisting yet seemingly continuous surface. Caroline Jones, Anthropophagy in São Paulo's Cold War, 2013, ARTMargins and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2013, p4, first accessed August 23rd 2016, https://architecture.mit.edu/sites/architecture.mit.edu/files/attachments/publication/artmargins02_1.pdf.*

36. *Darlene J. Sadlier, Brazil Imagined, (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2008), p. 190.*

37. *Here Jones is referring specifically to the Brazilian art movement, Concretismo, which was a non-geometric abstract art form, which captured the urgency of postwar pragmatism; quasi-architectural in its aesthetics and unlike*

its American counterparts, as a style, it was less concerned with the consensus that abstraction signified progression. Caroline Jones, Anthropophagy in São Paulo's Cold War, 2013, ARTMargins and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2013, p. 12, first accessed August 23rd 2016, https://architecture.mit.edu/sites/architecture.mit.edu/files/attachments/publication/ artmargins02_1.pdf.

38. *Max Bill, Beleza e Função, Habitat 2, 1951, p. 61.*

39. *Lina Bo Bardi, Bela Criança, Habitat 2, Jan/March 1951, p. 3.*

40. *Lina Bo Bardi, Two Buildings by Oscar Niemeyer reprinted in Stones Against Diamonds, Architecture Words 12, (London: AA Publications, 2009), p. 40.*

41. *This article appears to also have been published by Manchete Magazine in June 1953. Flavio d'Aquino, Max Bill, o Inteligente Iconoclasta, Habitat 12, Jul/Sept 1953, p. 34.*

42. *Elizabeth Catoila Varela, Critica e Narrativa: A Vista de Max Bill em 1953, Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro, Associação Nacional de Pesquisadores em Artes Plásticas (ANPAP), p. 520, first accessed 13th April 2018, <http://www.anpap.org.br/anais/2012/pdf/simposio4/elizabeth_varela.pdf>.*

43. *As director of the magazine her full name Lina Bo Bardi is used while all written contributions are credited to Lina Bo. Any reference to her design work, such as furniture she developed for Studio d'Arte Palma in collaboration with Giancarlo Palanti is credited to Lina Bo. Fabiana Terzini Stuchi's masters thesis Revista Habitat: Um Olhar Moderno sobre os Anos 50 em São Paulo (2006) helpfully lists fully every article published in Habitat across its fifteen year history. Fabiana Terenzi Stuchi, Revista Habitat: Um Olhar Moderno sobre os Anos 50 em São Paulo, Master's Thesis, (São Paulo: Faculty of Architecture, University of São Paulo, 2006).*

44. *The symbol for Alencastro also appears in personal notes and on sketches for projects.*

45. *Bo Bardi wrote that Matarazzo had referred to her as a 'troublemaker' because she was both foreign and the director of Habitat Magazine whereas Bardi was labeled an ex-Fascist. Bo Bardi, L., handwritten note quoted in Zeuler RM de A Lima, Lina Bo Bardi (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 223.*

46. *Zeuler RM de A Lima, Nelson A. Rockefeller and Art Patronage in Brazil after World War II: Assis Chateaubriand, the Museu de Arte de São Paulo (MASP) and the Musee de Arte*

Moderna (MAM), 2010, first accessed 24th August 2016, <http://rockarch.org/publications/ resrep/lima.pdf>.

47. See Bazin, G., Exposição do Museu de Arte de São Paulo n L'Orangerie, Habitat 13, Oct/Dec 1953, p1 and Guilbert, CG., Um Milagre Brasileiro Apaixonou Paris, Habitat 13, Oct/Dec 1953, p. 4.

48. The couple registered their citizenship on 18th March 1953 and it was approved on 28th April 1953. Lima, Zeuler RM de A Lima, Lina Bo Bardi (Yale: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 67.

49. Lina Bo Bardi, Untitled, Habitat 14, Jan/Feb 1954, p. 1.

50. Silvana Rubino as quoted in Adriano Tomitão Canas, MASP: Museu Laboratório. Projeto de Museu para a Cidade: 1947–1957, Unpublished PhD dissertation, (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 2010), p. 123.

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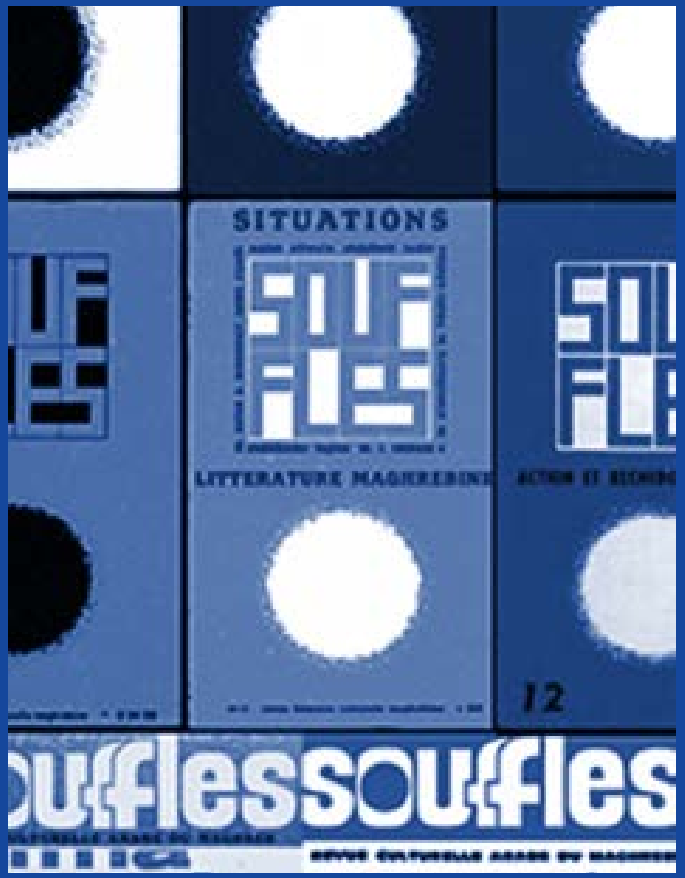

Lucio Frigo

Souffles-Anfas: Publishing as a Collective Project

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Souffles or *Anfas* (meaning 'breaths' in French and Arabic) was a radical quarterly review of literature, art, and politics published in Rabat, post-independence Morocco over six years between 1966 and 1972. It was originally printed solely in French but later also in Arabic. Fifty years later, *Souffles-Anfas* remains a reminder of how magazines were until recently one of the few viable ways to carve out spaces for critical discourse unfettered by institutional or governmental interference. Magazines became relatively safe yet influential forums in which to ignite critical discourses that would not ordinarily be tolerated in traditional academic or other public institutions. This article describes the story of one such magazine that became arguably one of the most radical publications on decolonial narratives in the Arab world. I outline how *Souffles'* impact on a series of art exhibitions as well as educational, and architectural projects enabled

the radical ideas etched into its pages to reach the local populations in uncontested urban spaces. Furthermore, I contend that even half a century since the final issue of *Souffles* rolled off the press, the magazine remains relevant today as many of the issues raised by its contributors have yet to be resolved. I conclude this article by asserting that *Souffles* can demonstrate to contemporary publishers how to keep their publications relevant in the age of digital media, establishing themselves as beacons for slower critical and experimental projects that are able to exploit the immediacy of social media posts, images, and videos in order to remain socially and culturally relevant.

Language: dissecting identities

The story of *Souffles* begins in Rabat,

post-independence Morocco, 1966 when three local poets in their mid-twenties, Abdellatif Laâmi, Mostafa Nissabouri, and Mohammed Khaïreddine convened with the objective of establishing a magazine that could become 'a vehicle of a new poetic and literary generation' in the Maghreb.[1] In doing so, they became surrounded by a wider circle of intellectuals ambitiously determined to decolonize Moroccan and North African culture. From the domesticity of their homes, they went on to create a 'new aesthetics in the Maghreb'[2] that would channel growing narratives of decolonization, narratives that had no representation in mainstream local newspapers nor in institutional places of culture sanctioned by the French dominated intellectual discourse. Laâmi and his newly formed collective of Moroccan and North African intellectuals felt that in order to counter and gain parity with European imported, universalist discourses, they would need to re-establish

a connection to their common heritage and traditions. Without a relationship founded on equality, only more oppression and cultural appropriation could be expected. For generations, local values had been dismissed as obsolete by colonizing powers, whilst at the same time local traditions and crafts were being fetishized for the benefit of a growing tourism industry. *Souffles* focused on expression across poetry, literature, and the visual arts, and was grounded in the core belief that in order to avoid perpetuating systematic injustices, successful revolutionary cultures would need to be rooted outside of the dominant system. The *Souffles* movement helped form a new generation of intellectuals and attracted notable writers such as Tahar Ben Jelloun, Albert Memmi, and Abdelkebir Khatibi as well as artists such as Mohammed Melehi and Farid Belkahia. They became pioneers chartering for the first time the difficult waters between the responsibility to be

authentic to their Maghrebi roots and the need to adapt to increasingly globalized world (Figure 1).

As more contributors joined the movement, the magazine progressively widened its base both in terms of geography and content. From the third issue onwards, a renewed focus on essays and poetry written by Algerian and Tunisian authors repositioned the journal as a more distinctly Maghrebi publication. Its remit was also expanded to include critical reviews of film, design, theatre, and art, as well as photographs from exhibitions. However, despite its expansion, *Souffles* remained for a time solely a French language publication. It was only after the tenth issue, published in 1968, that the journal began to feature content written in Arabic in a separate section called *Anfas*. As *Souffles*' readership continued to expand, its criticality became an inspiration for artists, artisans, and architects, who would transpose their

own criticality onto the urban realm. If language was the vessel through which critique was formed, the city's streets and squares became the media in which it would become physically manifested. In rejecting the interiority of Western urban practice, their use of the public realm meant that the collective lived experience of local people, as well as their physical bodies became the means through which to contest the dominant authorities and their colonial narratives. Issues of decolonization, national identity, and reconnection with local tradition brought together a group of artists, craftsmen and architects who collaborated on a series of public exhibitions and architectural projects across Morocco. Among these, this article focuses on the exhibition entitled '*Présence Plastique*' and a number of public buildings designed by Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières over a period of fifteen years that are known as the '*Intégrations*'.

Body: decolonizing the mind

Souffles remained almost impossible to access until 1998 when Laâbi, with the help of the City University of New York began a project to digitize all its issues. This effort led to a revival of interest in the journal, both in Morocco and abroad culminating in the publication of an anthology of *Souffles* in both French and English.[3] Some have attributed the socio-cultural significance of *Souffles'* legacy to their valuable insight into Morocco's avant-garde aesthetics during the turbulent period post-independence.[4] [5] [6] However, I further argue that another key reason behind the magazine's continued relevance is that many of the social and political issues raised at the time remain unresolved to this day including: the rejection of imported universalist Western social and cultural values; the drive to establish an aesthetic movement with local characteristics which can also contribute to the development of a more representative

global aesthetics; the critique of economies of tourism that exoticize local culture under the guise of representation; and the refusal to prioritize international class struggle over colonial emancipation.[7] As today's generation of activists take to social media to fight against climate injustice, gender inequality, racism, and colonial legacies, *Souffles'* radical legacy remains a powerful reminder of the value of platforming diverse voices from local communities.

The first issue of *Souffles* was published the same year the Tricontinental Conference of 1966 took place in Havana, a gathering of non-aligned countries opposed to American imperialism and colonization. The conference was organised by two Maghrebi political figures, Ahmed Ben Bella, the leader of the Algerian War of Independence and first elected President of the Algerian Republic, as well as Mehdi Ben Barka, the exiled leader of the Moroccan opposition who was intended to be the

president of the conference but was abducted and presumed assassinated in Paris in 1965.[8] The conference was held in January 1966 with Fidel Castro presiding during which the *Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (OSPAAAL) was also launched. The objective of these initiatives was to 'define a vision for Third World solidarity that could combat the threats of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism'.[9] This further contributed to the development of a new hybrid model of modern aesthetics, an evolution of the international movement grounded by local traditions, values, and customs.

Souffles' years in print also coincided with the 'Years of Lead' (from c. 1960 to c. 1990) in Morocco, a period marked by King Hassan II's violent political repression of opposition activists and those critical of the governing regime. France had granted independence to Morocco in 1955 and remained a strong supporter of Hassan II's government during his thirty-year reign.[10] By the end of the 1960s, *Souffles* had become a tool of subversion publishing the writing of members of the socialist underground movement *Ila al-Amam* (meaning 'forward') such as Abrahma Serfaty, Mohamed Bedouin and Mohamed Talbi.[11] Laâbi no longer felt content that focusing purely on literature and the arts was sufficient to contest the repressive political climate of the time. From the fifteenth issue onwards, published in 1970 and dedicated to Palestine following the Six-Day War, *Souffles* began to more openly embrace political causes at home such as the Berber and Sahrawi identity struggles. However, this shift was cut short only two years later when the magazine was violently shut down by Hassan II's regime and its editors jailed, Laâbi included. By this point, *Souffles* had published a total of twenty-two issues over the course of seven years. During his

captivity, Laâbi garnered considerable support receiving a number of poetry prizes and following an eight-year-long solidarity campaign was finally released (Figure 2).

The question of the public

Whereas western intellectuals largely saw Moroccan and North African cultural struggles as potentially interesting topics for their readers at home, Laâbi and his companions' target audience was first and foremost the local Moroccan and Maghrebi public encompassing an entire generation of young North African practitioners across a broad range of disciplines including film, visual arts, plastic arts, and activism. They had become disillusioned with European values preached in North Africa by French intellectuals such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus,[12] and shifted their attention towards other non-Western anti-colonial works published by writers such as Aimé Césaire and Frantz Fanon in the belief

that, in the words of Abdellatif Laâbi, ' true solidarity can only emerge at the level of oppression and of lived experience'.[13] Laâbi further maintained that '[it] would be illusory to believe that intellectuals of the developed world, of officially recorded history, of triumphant values can share the vision and consciousness of intellectuals of the underdeveloped world, of coups d'état, illiteracy, and absent values.'[14] As such, *Souffles* contributors were faced with the dilemma of how to address a largely illiterate, non-French speaking local population.[15] In this context a plethora of multi-disciplinary projects such as art exhibitions, education programmes, and architectural works helped bridge the literacy gap and reach urban dwellers in the spaces of their everyday life.

Space: ramifications on the city

The School of Casablanca (Figure 3)

Issues 7 and 8 of *Souffles* featured a series of works by group of progressive artists close to Laâbi at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Casablanca. One of these artists, Farid Belkahia who was appointed director of the school in 1962, sought ways to reach his countrymen by mixing popular aesthetics with the language of modernism. He appointed Melehi as director of the school's painting department and tasked Toni Maraini, an Italian art historian focused on decolonizing art history, with creating a new curriculum. A few years later in 1966, Mohamed Chabâa, known for his multi-disciplinary approach merging painting, architecture, interior design, and artisanal crafts, joined the school to teach graphic arts. Amongst others, Belkahia, Melehi, and Chabâa formed the Casablanca School who brought their art exhibitions to the street in direct conflict with the government contesting its officially sanctioned places of culture. The three of

them had contributed to *Souffles* since the magazine's early days. Melehi was one of its founding members from the very first issue and served as its first artistic director and typesetter until in 1968. Chabâa had created *Souffles'* distinctive logo and succeeded Melehi as artistic director of both *Souffles* and *Anfas* until the last issue. Meanwhile, Belkahia's artworks were featured in the magazines throughout. They all sought to make their work truly accessible and bring the arts to the attention of the Moroccan public who, for the most part, had never been to a museum or gallery before.

Présence Plastique: Marrakesh and Casablanca

In 1969, the artists of the Casablanca School published a manifesto in Issue 13 of *Souffles* that would later inform their protest exhibition, entitled '*Présence Plastique*' (1969), which was displayed

outdoors in the Jemaa el-Fna, one of Marrakech's traditional public squares. Populated by storytellers, acrobats, and musicians, and traversed daily by the city's commuting inhabitants and visiting tourists, the Jemaa el-Fna was an ideal location in which to introduce their avant-garde works symbolizing the introduction of art to the masses.[16] The exhibition lasted ten days and featured works by Farid Belkahia, Mohamed Chabâa, Mohammed Melehi, Mohammed Ataallah, Mustapha Hamidi and Mohammed Hafid. Exposed to the elements, the series of paintings stood in stark contrast to the sheltered, protected nature of artworks housed in institutional museums and bourgeois galleries (Figure 4).

Les Integrations

Soon the views of the Casablanca School converged with those of Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, who were part of a new generation of architects continuing the legacy of the group GAMMA (*Groupe des architectes modernes marocains*), founded in July 1951 at CIAM (*Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne*).[17] Where GAMMA emphasized the importance of considering local culture and climate alongside modernist architectural principles, Faraoui and de Mazières went a step further to incorporate into their work the 'organic synthesis and integration of all the arts and their different techniques' as advocated by the Casablanca School.[18]

Faraoui and de Mazières formed a successful partnership with Chabâa, who had previously expressed in his interest in Constructivism and kinetic sculptures. Together in 1974, they designed a series of ceiling lamps for Les Roses du Dadès and Les Gorges du Dadès, two new resorts designed by the architects. Painted frescos, tapestries, and large mural panels designed by Chabâa and Melehi in wood, ceramic, and mosaic were realized for these projects.

Another remarkable example of the fruitful cross-disciplinary partnership between the architects and artists are the large decorative panels in copper and painted leather that Belkahia went on to produce for various architectural projects in the country, including the Hôtel les Almoravides in Marrakech. Faroui and de Mazières were joined by an increasing number of Moroccan artists and artisans collaborating with modernist architects in the exploration of the intersection between tradition and modernity. The cross-pollination between the works of young North African and French architects of that period demonstrated a strong belief in a form of modernism which could incorporate elements of traditional local architecture, such as traditional wooden ceiling paintings found in mosques in Souss,[19] and adapt them to contemporary materials and life through modern creativity as did Melehi throughout his work.[20] In this way, the *Souffles* ethos became embodied

in architectural practice leading to a radical transformation of urban space (Figure 5).

Asilah Moussem Festival of the Arts

In 1978, Melehi co-founded a cultural festival in his hometown of Asilah in northern Morocco, called the Cultural Moussem of Asilah. This festival, named after the Arabic word ***mawsim*** (meaning 'festive season'), was a key driving force behind the town's regeneration efforts. Over time, the town's ancient medina had fallen into disrepair and its cultural significance had greatly diminished as a result. That summer, through a celebration of art and music, Asilah was transformed into a space for artists and intellectuals to come together and exchange ideas. Moroccan artists including Mohamed Kacimi, Abdullah El Hariri, and Malika Agueznay were invited to join Melehi in painting over the town's whitewashed walls. The resultant murals became a core part of the rehabilitation

project and every year since, these same walls have been re-painted by artists from all over the world, in a tradition that has persisted to this day. The town's regeneration saved it from further decay and in recognition of its success, the project eventually became a recipient of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 1989 (Figure 6).

Language, body, digital space: a contemporary publisher's journey

During its seven years in print, the impact of *Souffles* extended far beyond its original remit as a poetry and literature review. In diversifying to cover all forms of art such as the visual, the plastic, and the performance, as well as politics, it sent ripples through the political landscape and it became influential in crafting a distinctly North African approach to modern architecture and urbanism. Through the magazine's distribution, a discourse

previously confined to the musings of a small circle of intellectuals became the driving force behind a number of public exhibitions and urban projects at the hearts of Morocco's growing cities. This provided artists, artisans and architects with a theoretical framework informing their use of the urban realm as a medium for radical action in critique of the governing authorities. What began as a literary, linguistic endeavour became a recognition of the lived experience of the body situated in traditional public space as the quintessential realm of dissidence, a concept which directly challenged the interiority of the western status quo. In the eyes of North African intellectuals, this represented what Laâbi described as 'an epic of the body'[21] that was representative of a common lived experience accumulated over generations and became celebrated as a sign of authenticity in the public realm. *Souffles* sought to go beyond an avant-garde imported by the

West and a local tradition frozen in time. In doing so, it has contributed a formidable analysis of the contradictions implicit in the search for a collective identity that would not only be authentic to its local roots, but also relevant on the contemporary world stage.

At the time of *Souffles'* publication and even as recently as a couple of decades ago, an improvised street exhibition or popular arts festival may have been the only viable way to reach the masses without the mediation of the governing authorities. Fast forward to the present day and voices of dissent in the public realm continue to be controlled and mediated by municipal and national governments through policing and bureaucratic red tape. However, the recent emergence of digital space has created a fresh opportunity to establish novel dissemination strategies for contemporary radical publications similar to *Souffles*. Digital space is certainly saturated by social

media, entertainment, and commodified articles created to sell advertisements, where content unable to generate views and clicks is algorithmically relegated to the outskirts of the internet. In response to the information overload brought about by the internet, critics have been quick to pronounce the death of physical books and magazines. However, I argue that this is in fact premature and that paper and ink, slow media remain essential to informing and guiding truly critical practices and projects. Contemporary publishing houses can provide an essential complement to the rapid-fire nature of online content through the dissemination of slow media taking time to identify, reflect on, and hone emergent discourses whilst instilling a critical eye in their readership.

The long-term strategies laid down by these publications can serve to inform today's artists and architects, recognizing slowness as a strategy for radicality sowing

seeds that will grow away from the immediacy of videos, talks, podcasts, and social media posts. As such, the role of the radical publisher today is akin to that of the Vestals of ancient Rome cultivating and keeping alight the sacred flame of critical thought in the belief that their work will have the power to shape emergent narratives and lend direction to future generations of artists, architects, and cultural practitioners.

In conclusion, the radicality of *Souffles* as a publication inspired a range of innovative, experimental projects that reached members of the local public in the uncontested spaces of the city. Today, digital space perhaps offers the most efficient means for disseminating information. However, the continued relevance of *Souffles'* legacy serves as a clear reminder to those chasing the immediate gratification offered by social media platforms that slower forms of media remain necessary as foundational building blocks for any kind

of radical movement. Indeed, revolutionary thought requires maturation through continual reflection and development over time, where time for thinking sits apart from time for consumption.

As the Maghreb and wider Arab world become increasingly assertive of their cultural identity on the global stage, the unresolved issues raised in *Souffles* pages become ever-more pertinent.[22] [23] [24] The story of *Souffles* is testament to the fact that future generations of intellectuals, activists, artists, and architects seeking long-term relevance both locally and globally can only benefit from new, radical publications carrying forward its legacy. One can only hope publishers take note.

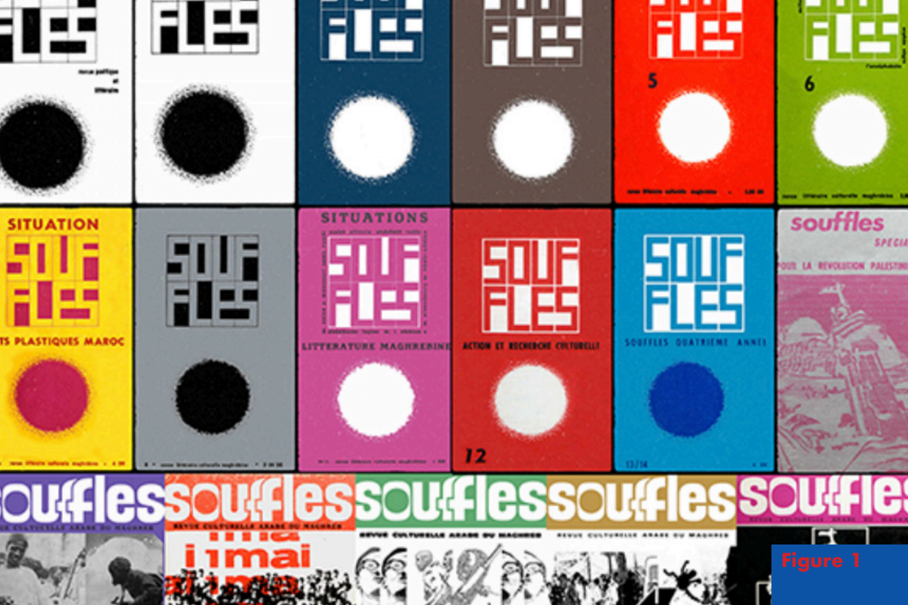
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Figure 1

SOUFFLES

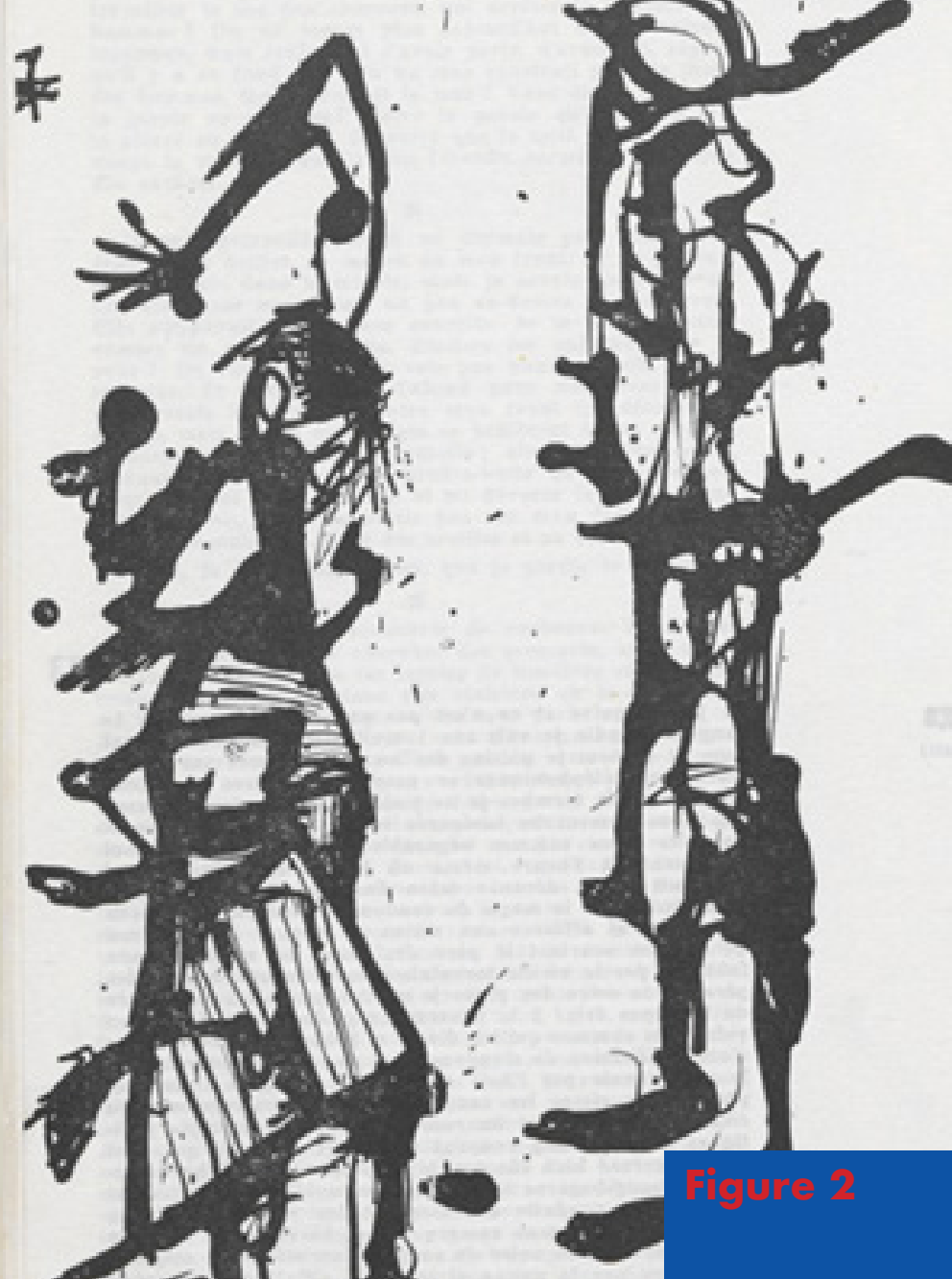

Figure 2

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FIGURES

Figure 1. *Covers of all published issues of Souffles, with cover graphics by artist Mohammed Melehi. Souffles. 1966-1973. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale Royaume du Maroc.*

Figure 2. *Cover and interior page of the second issue of Souffles, with illustrations by Mohammed Bennani. Souffles 2. 1966. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale Royaume du Maroc.*

Figure 3. *The Casablanca Group: (from left to right) Ataallah, Belkahia, Hafid, Hamidi, Chabaa, Melehi, exhibiting in the Jama's El Fna Square of Marrakech, 1969. Photo: private archive of Toni Maraini.*

Figure 4. *The Manifesto exhibition, 'Présence plastique', in the Place de 18 novembre, Casablanca, 1969, courtesy of the Safieddine-Melehi archive.*

Figure 5. *Hotel Les Gorges du Dadès by architects Abdeslam Faraoui and Patrice de Mazières, Boumalne Dadès, Morocco. 1972. Photo: by Brian Brace, Aga Khan Trust for Culture.*

Figure 6. *Mural paintings by Farid Belkahia (centre) and Mohammed Hamidi (right), Asilah, Morocco. 1978. As published in Asilah: Premier moussem culturel, juillet/août 1978 (Casablanca: Shoof). Photo: by Mohamed Melehi, private collection of Toni Maraini.*

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12. *Bernard Jakobiak, 'Camus the Colonizer in Denial', Souffles, 12 (1968) (translated by Babana-Hampton) in Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, pp. 145-153*
13. *Réne Depestre, 'The Winding Course of Negritude', Souffles, 9 (1968) (translated by Babana-Hampton) in Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, pp. 120-125 (p. 42-46)*
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15. *Abdelkebir Khatibi, 'The Maghrebi Novel and National Culture', Souffles, 3 (1965)*

(translated by Babana-Hampton) in Harrison and Villa-Ignacio, pp. 120-125

16. *Nagham Hodaifa, Farid Belkahia: modernité de la tradition (Casablanca: Centre Culturel du Livre, 2020), pp. 36-38*

17. *Maud Hossais, 'Les Intégrations: Faroui et de Mazières. 1966-1982 – From the Time of Art to the Time of Life', Bauhaus Imaginista, 2 (2018) <https://www.bauhaus-imaginista.org/articles/2387/les-integrations-faraoui-and-mazieres-1966-1982> [accessed 2 Apr 2022]*

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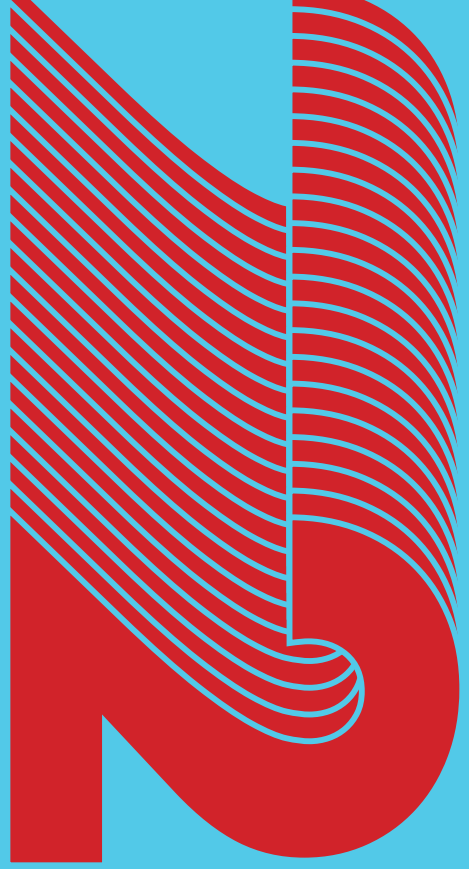
Chapter



Spaces of Resistance

*on **Arkhitektura Izmailovo**, Moscow, Russia, Russian, 2008–present*

Ekaterina Mizrokhi

A Case for Alternative Architectural Periodicals: Informality, Virtuality, and Potentiality

Ekaterina Mizrokhi is a fourth year PhD candidate at the University of Cambridge in the Department of Architecture's Centre for Urban Conflict Research (UCR), funded by the Cambridge Trust.

Ekaterina's doctoral research is focused on the experiences of urban change and demolition in the five-storey Soviet housing districts of Moscow.

The architectural periodical is a medium, a process, and an exchange. It is a node through which various voices of commentary, criticism, research, inquiry, and debate gather in symphony. However, when we begin to interrogate the architectural periodical for more than what it *is* — a printed publication that may contain essays, studies, site plans, and manifestos by professionals — and begin to investigate what it *does* — such as documenting, deepening understanding, and sparking debate on the built environment — then the very boundaries of its designation begin to disperse. Must the architectural periodical take the form of a professional publication? Who is deemed a worthwhile interlocutor in the ongoing reflection, negotiation, and discussion that the periodical fosters? Does the architectural periodical need to refer to itself as such to be considered as one?

* * *

Both day-to-day and professional communications are growing ever-more integrated in the landscape of online media and networking platforms. Within this context, the printed architectural periodical is losing its dominion over platform, commentary, and medium. Where it was once central in fostering continuous, topical reflections on the built environment, we now find analogous, if not more impactful, commentaries within the realms of the informal and the virtual. In the latter, calls for action materialize with greater speed and urgency; a once-closed circle of spatial theorists opens to the greater public. Now, a growing list of roles appears in front of the architect in real time: from educator to archivist, mediator to activist.

In what follows, I outline a provocation to the common understanding of what an architectural periodical is, and who the participants of meaningful, textual architectural commentary can be. I do

so by foregrounding an architect-run Facebook page, *Arkhitektura Izmailovo*[1] (Architecture of Izmailovo). The page is dedicated to documenting the architectural history of a peripheral district in Moscow, as well as rehabilitating the perception of local modernist heritage in the hopes of safeguarding it from further demolition. The case study speaks to the multifaceted role of both the periodical – as a medium and space for community thought – and the architect – as expert, advocate, and pedagogue. These roles are contextualized as a necessary response to the constraints, disruptive interventions, and budding political alternatives that comprise the contested landscape of urbanism in Moscow today. It is the 'alternative' spaces of architectural publication and commentary, I argue, that serve as a vehicle through which this contestation may be activated and applied.

Periodic (In)Formality

In many ways, the tension between the formal architectural periodical and its alternative iterations come to form a longer-standing tradition in modern Russian-language architectural commentary. Architectural periodicals were 'active forces' in the imagination and implementation of the Soviet project[2], publishing texts, plans and drawings authored by architects, planners, and theorists for both realised and projected sites across the USSR. Harris reminds us, however, that architects often had a much more ambivalent relationship to this published content than the periodical would present[3]. Other scholars have stressed that although what was published in high-standing periodicals such as *Arkhitektura USSR* was "less critical" of Soviet architectural endeavours in order to be approved by the party censor, this does not mean they "lacked lively debate"[4]. Other publications, such as *Arkhitekturnaya Gazeta,* produced occasional loose-leaf

visual appendices on slips of "flimsy paper" where more explicit criticism and debate would occur. In Cooke's eyes, the materiality of these appendices accentuated their ephemeral nature as informal sites of clandestine discussion and specialist critique, later to be hidden in Soviet libraries for decades.[5] Nevertheless, even under such stringent publishing regulations, architectural periodicals continued to straddle the lines of the sayable and the permissible.

The fork between less- and more-formal, state-approved architectural publications continued to deepen throughout the late Soviet decades. From the mid-1950s, the Khrushchev era was marked by a desire to industrialise architecture, thus subordinating it under the construction industry. The intention was to shed both 'superfluous' designs, as well as debate of "architecture's subtleties as a language," which Khrushchev found to be "squandering time as irresponsibly as [architecture of previous eras was] squandering resources"[6]. As the initial dynamism of the post-war years began to fade, the decades that followed were marked by a growing sense of political and economic stagnation, peaking in the 1980s. This stagnation was equally mirrored in the architectural profession, which found itself within an increasingly narrowing gamut of permissible expression, both materially and conceptually.[7] Yet, as the formal avenues of architectural expression grew evermore limited, their informal counterparts, in turn, began to prosper.

Architecture critic Brian Hatton mused that "for many years in Russia, architecture must have seemed no more than a conversation: whispers in a courtyard […] the equivalent of that Russian literary tradition of writing for the drawer, privately, for circulation among friends."[8] Here, Hatton is referencing the context from which the 'paper architects' emerged in the 1980s. This was a group of young

architects at Moscow's Architectural Institute who, disenchanted with the limited potential for meaningful architectural debate and creative realisation, began to covertly create outlandish architectural proposals.[9] These proposals were submitted to international competitions, exhibited, published, and circulated amongst peers.

In many ways, this activity marked a turning away from the collective, public-facing concerns of 'building communism' that had "defined Soviet architectural doctrine throughout the previous decades."[10] One participant claimed that "working on these 'paper' projects was a form of protest at the impossibility of building anything."[11] In other words, these architects tried to open future imaginaries on paper where there was no space to do so in their political and material realities. Their protest over the limited futurities was articulated by returning to the unrealised potential of the past, "recycling and remembering the utopian dreams

of the 1920s" [12]. In several ways, the case that this essay will present – an architectural 'periodical' that emerged nearly half a century after the paper architects – operates from a comparable standpoint: dislocating architectural commentary from its formal arenas, recycling disavowed architectural forms, and integrating them in an alternative future.

Urban Upheaval as Catalyst for Spatial Reimagination

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, Moscow's urban fabric has changed significantly. The following post-socialist decades were marked by attempts to erase and retrace the aesthetic palette of the cityscape.[13] Key sites were remodelled along Western, 'global city' conventions to portray a forward-facing identity that renounces its socialist past[14]. To this day, Moscow's built environment — particularly spaces that are considered blemishes on

the city's facade — remains vulnerable to wanton intervention and erasure. In response, various urban heritage and preservationist collectives have emerged in the city, including in Izmailovo, an area on the north-eastern periphery of Moscow. Several of the Izmailovo-based initiatives have been organised by Anastasia Petrova: a lifelong resident of Izmailovo, architect, and dean of the local architectural college (MKIK)[15]. It is she who created and runs the online Facebook page, ***Arkhitektura Izmailovo***. With over 1500 regular followers, the page posts frequent content about the architectural history of Izmailovo.

Though Petrova's interest in local architectural history emerged in childhood, her dedicated engagement with the built heritage of an otherwise-overlooked, peripheral district began not out of fascination, but desperation. In 2017, one of the district's longstanding, Soviet-era modernist cinemas, ***Sofia,*** was listed for demolition in line with a city-wide redevelopment initiative (Figure 1). Petrova was concerned with both the careless demolition and the architectural merit of the 'leisure-centre' to be built in its place. Nevertheless, she believed that protesting the project would be futile in Russia's contemporary political climate. Instead, she decided to act by sharing her perspective as an architect and scholar of Soviet modernism, a style often bemoaned by local residents. Petrova believes that certain residents may project their rejection of, opposition to, and dissatisfaction with the Soviet project onto the everyday modernist landscapes that surround them. To intervene, she and her colleague, Elizaveta Zemlyanova, launched the initiative "***Sovetskiy Modernizm. Otkuda: I Kuda***:" (Soviet Modernism: Where from? Where to?). Their goal was to interrogate the built legacy of Soviet modernism in the Izmailovo region—the spaces and structures that rarely appear in

textbooks as valuable heritage sites— and to question how it could be better integrated into future imaginaries of the city.

The project located multiple notable modernist sites in the district (Figure 2) and began to collect the stories that each site holds, interviewing residents who worked, lived, or recreationally frequented the buildings. The initial research was collated and published as a series of 'zines', designed as loose-leaf newspaper pages of drawings and text (Figure 3, 4).[16] Each page is dedicated to a particular building and the oral histories that revealed them to be integral – and once-beloved – local landmarks. Petrova believed that if there was a way to turn residents' attention toward those sites once more, then this appreciation would be rediscovered and further cultivated. The popularity of this project manifested in gallery exhibitions, guided tours, heritage preservation campaigns, collaborations with local architecture students, and eventually

the ***Arkhitektura Izmailovo*** Facebook page in 2018.

Although a conventional 'architectural periodical' may be recognized as a printed, published magazine, and the case I present here is an informal webpage on a social networking site, both serve as valuable spaces for the creation and contestation of spatial imaginaries. The Facebook page, not limited to modernist heritage, compiles information about local sites of interest from archives, textbooks, Soviet architectural journals, cadastre maps, popular geolocation photo sharing platforms[17], and records of recent interventions. Petrova's intention was to collect and publish her research on a single webpage, to which other interested residents could turn to when inquiring into the district's still-existing built heritage. In an era of such rampant demolition, ***Arkhitektura Izmailovo***, as this piece outlines, is not only a product of Moscow's contentious urban zeitgeist but also a response to it

and, perhaps, a remedy.

The Virtues of the Virtual Periodical

Arkhitektura Izmailovo manages to not only mirror the conventional roles and functions of an architectural periodical, but also to exceed the capacities of its traditional counterpart. For instance, much like traditional architectural publications function as sites of recurring discussion, so too does *Arkhitektura Izmailovo*, but with a widened remit of possible discussants. To supplement Petrova's professionally informed commentaries on the local architecture, the page eventually began to host short oral history essays written by locals reflecting on their experience and relationship to particular buildings. In response to the profiled posts, readers leave comments that may contest what they had read above — such as sharing a contradictory experience or impression

of a given site — or offer complementary reflections of their own memories associated with a respective building. Not limited to the musings of the professional class, here, layperson and architect exchange expertise, filling in the gaps of one another's knowledge of the urban fabric. The virtually published text unfolds below into a mosaic of colourful testimonies, memories, concerns, and interpretations rooted in a particular structure – untethered to the bounds of time, or indeed, space. Readers regularly testify to how impactful these online exchanges are to how they now view and relate to the built environment around them. To witness this cacophony of voices participating in collectively (re)imagining and remembering a given space, which then alters how they will come to engage with said space in the future, is to see virtuality overflow into reality.

The virtual nature of this periodical also allows for goals and formats of the

project to shift and morph over time.[18] In previous years, as interest in the page and Petrova's related activities grew — from exhibits and tours, to zines, and student profiles —so did the page's functions. It now serves as a singular location that integrates and archives the abovementioned activities across mediums, scales, and times. The virtual periodical as a 'space' and archival hub roots these various engagements onto a platform where they can be easily catalogued, and where community organisation and mobilisation can occur in real time. Here, ephemeral events, activities, and meetings are flattened into a format that is saved, recalled, discussed, and contested at the click of the button.

Often, such moments of contestation occur on the basis of style, underscoring the significance of public perceptions of urban aesthetics in supporting or resisting neighbourhood change. Petrova attests that her posts about Stalin-era architecture (Fig 5) will garner nearly 1.5 times more interactions than those about modernism: "for many, the ***stalinki*** are classically beautiful and prized above other architectural styles," Petrova explains. She addresses the disparity by explaining how modernist architecture requires 'aesthetic preparation' to be appreciated: "it is abstract and highly-professional, not everyone will 'see' it off the bat." She argues that, "even if some people don't like modernism now, we shouldn't rush to take action [via demolition]. It takes time for a style mature into appreciation. Just as the ***stalinki*** grew to be beloved, and there is now renewed interest in constructivism, so will be the case with late-Soviet modernism in time."

The question of time, however, is an urgent one. Petrova believes that,

> *if we keep demolishing buildings as soon as they that have 'gone out of fashion', we will never respect*

ourselves. We will always be searching for something 'interesting' and 'historic' outside of ourselves: in the city centre, or some other country. But 'historic' buildings are made in the present. In every spot, every day. If we want to have worthwhile architectural reference points in Izmailovo in the future, we need to learn about what is already here and begin to value it as such.

However, if we intervene and demolish much of the existing modernist landscapes too soon, she argues, "we will break the historical narrative in the cityscape, like a jaw with a missing tooth."

Aesthetic Activism: A New Future for Moscow's Modernism?

The breadth of activities that Petrova engages in, culminating in *Arkhitektura Izmailovo*, come to inform what I am understanding as 'aesthetic activism'. Petrova admits that her work is far from 'activism' in the traditional sense; "it is more of a homeopathic remedy," she jokes. Yet the ethos of advocacy is central, nonetheless. Rather than "protesting and barricading under a wrecking ball", she hopes to shift the tides on how the local population understand, experience, and relate to the modernist architecture that surrounds them. Her endeavours are already garnering successful results. This success is apparent in the vibrant comment section of a Facebook post that details the architectural significance of a local modernist building, spontaneous exclamations of wonder during a walking tour, or scribbled in the guest book at an exhibit. Countless residents have directly testified that their perception of modernist architecture has evolved and their appreciation has deepened as a result of

Petrova's work.

As further modernist sites in the district are targeted for demolition, local residents, armed with their newfound knowledge of a building's architectural significance, have eagerly begun to rally in their defence. In this way, Petrova's efforts are the early seeds of what geographer Asher Ghertner, drawing on the philosophy of Rancière, would refer to as 'community of sense': defined as a "shared and mutually recognisable mode of aesthetic engagement."[19] The 'community of sense' that is emerging here is one in which modernism, from the exemplary to the standard, is actively integrated into, rather than erased from, the cityscape. ***Arkhitektura Izmailovo*** comes to function a space of reconsideration and reconciliation and for the community to more-holistically appreciate its multifaceted architectural portfolio.

Though, as I discuss, much as this activity may be viewed through the lens of activism, Petrova's resistance to this language is not accidental. Globally, informal digital platforms have long provided relative refuge for information and opinions to circulate that otherwise would not appear in state-run media.[20] This case is no exception. For example, Petrova shares that maintaining her activity on an informal platform – rather than liaising with the wider network of municipal museums, galleries, or 'local history' (***kraevedenie***) associations – avoids the potential influence of formal stakeholders on the freedom of expression in her work[21]. This relative online 'freedom', however, is still accompanied by a heavy set of consequences in the given political context. I consulted with several local architects that once vocally opposed the municipality's developmental agenda, all of whom suffered personally and professionally as a result. In such a setting, ***Arkhitektura Izmailovo***'s approach is much more subtle. It is not a page that

foregrounds the corrupt underbelly of the city's development schemes, nor the often-poor construction quality of the new-builds. Rather, it reverses the vector of its advocacy work. The page does not work to erode the legitimacy of top-down interventions directly. Instead, it aims to build a sustained foundation of loyalty, appreciation, and reverence for targeted spaces amongst residents from below. In this way, the informal, virtual periodical presents a potential political reach that traditional architectural publications, whose jargon-filled, expert theorisations, could only aspire to.

The case of *Arkhitektura Izmailovo* stresses the need to continually recalibrate our understanding of how architectural space is imagined and created – particularly in authoritarian climates – across mediums with varying degrees of 'legitimacy'. This is just one example that speaks to how spaces of periodic written production can expand their role in the contemporary moment: in this case, by bridging professional theory and discourse with the tangible architectural concerns of local residents. In fact, with *Arkhitektura Izmailovo,* discourse and theory have been taken out of 'print' entirely. Brought into the open realm of the virtual, dialogue occurs in real time. Here, at the click of a button, a building can transform from benign and 'unseen', to an object of value and pride for its daily users. In doing so, the once-disavowed landscapes of late Soviet-era modernism become potential loci of political (re)imagination of society and space.

* * *

Understood as a periodical in its own right, the *Arkhitektura Izmailovo* Facebook page expands the possibilities of influence, action, and insight of the traditional printed medium. Much like a standard architectural publication, the page offers critical commentary and continuous

discussion on the history of construction, conception and occupation of sites of architectural interest. Serving as a 'space' for various forms of related activity — from archiving events, to sharing stories, answering queries, promoting engagement online and off— the page directs these actions along the vein of 'aesthetic activism.' Marking a departure away from the formal channels of activism and architectural commentary, much like the paper architects did some fifty years prior, ***Arkhitektura Izmailovo's*** aesthetic activism attempts to redraw new urban futures from outside the bounds of what is seemingly possible in the given political climate. Yet unlike the paper architects, ***Arkhitektura Izmailovo*** is re-imagining a potential future for the city not by turning away from the public realm as the paper architects had done, but by leaning deeper into it. The page democratises who can participate in the ongoing discussions that come to make up our collective experience and understanding of the spaces we inhabit. Ultimately, the case of ***Arkhitektura Izmailovo*** as an informal, virtual periodical testifies to the wider horizons of potential to be found when architectural thought, discussion, and imagination are recognised to exist outside the formal bounds of the discipline, and outside the bounds of the publication medium, as such.

Figure 1

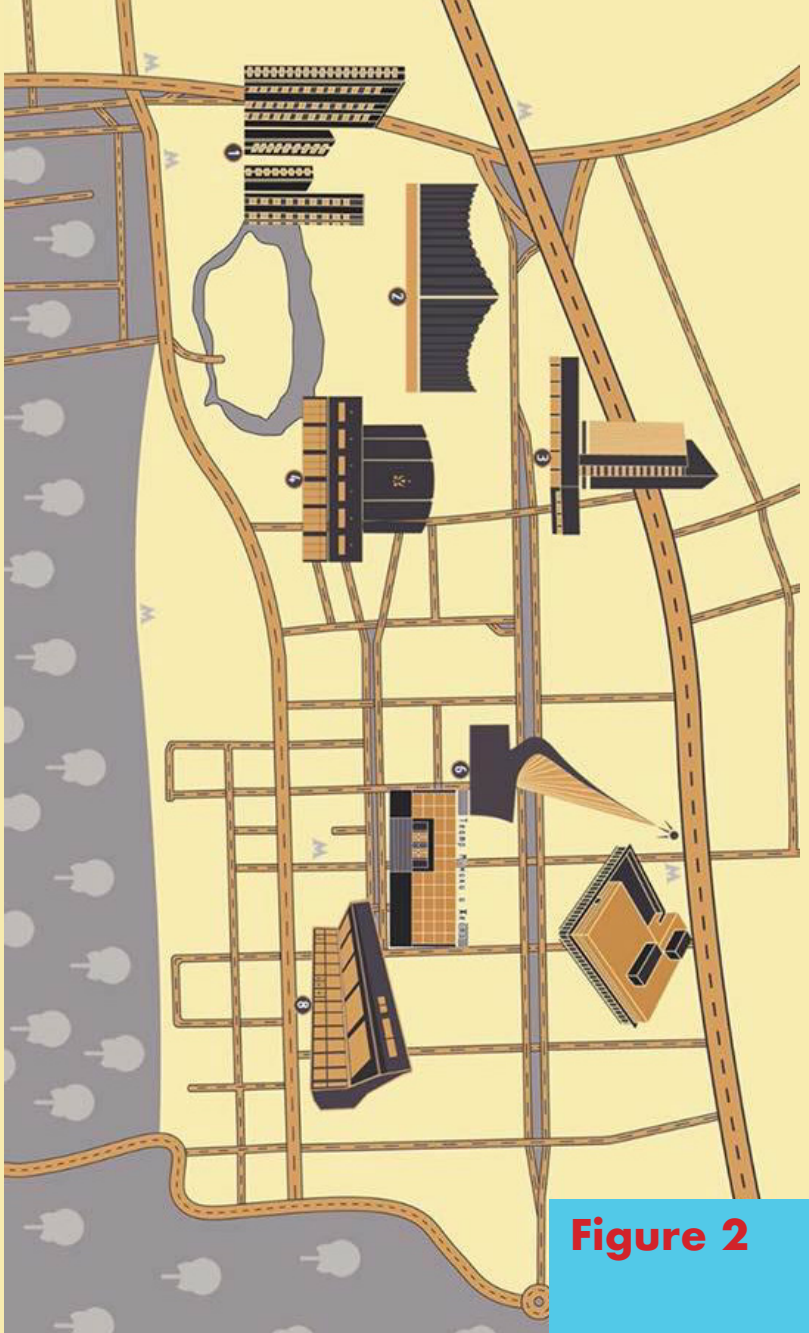


Figure 2

Figure 3

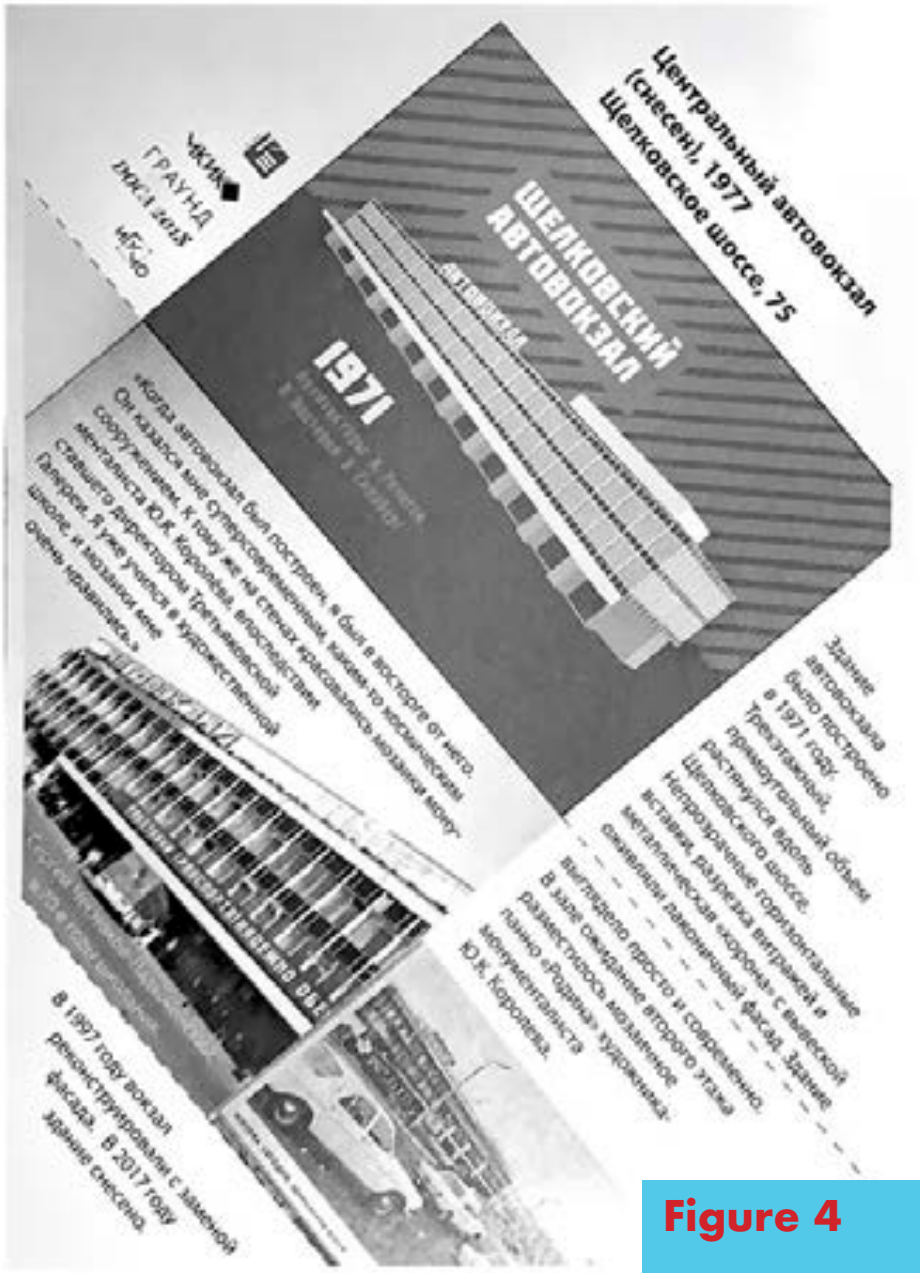


Figure 4


Сиреневый бульв.
Верхняя Первомайская улица
Измайловский бульвар
11-ая Парковая улица
13-ая Парковая улица
15-ая Парковая улица
Первомайская
Первомайская ул.
о. Измайловский
Партизанская
Измайловское ш.
Измайловская
Измайловский парк
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8

Figure 5

SPECIAL NOTE

Submitted before February 24, 2022.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Anastasia Petrova for gifting me one of the few hard copies of the zines associated with the profiled project, as well as her insights over multiple, lengthy interviews and walking tours.

FIGURES

Figure 1. *"Sovetksii Modernizm. Otkuda: I kuda:" zine of "Kinoteatr Sofia" (Cinema Sofia), Moscow. The zine's text details the amenities of the structure, the history of its construction in 1977, an analysis of the cinema as an example of late Soviet modernism design principles, and testimonies from residents who regularly frequented the cinema and lament its demolition. Photocopy by author.*

Figure 2. *Map of notable modernist architectural sites in the Izmailovo region of Moscow as profiled by "Arkhitektura Izmailovo."*

Figure 3. *"Sovetksii Modernizm. Otkuda: I kuda:" zine of "Pervomaiskiy UniverMag" (Pervomaiskiy Department Store) Moscow. The zine's text details the history of construction (1961) and architectural significance of the structure, as well as its spatial relationship to surrounding sites; a resident provides a testimony to the significance of this structure to the life of the district in her youth. Photocopy by author.*

Figure 4. *"Sovetksii Modernizm. Otkuda: I kuda:" zine of "Shchyolkovskiy Avtovokzal" (Shchyolkovskiy Transit Terminal), Moscow. The zine's text recounts the history of the terminal's construction in 1971, its reconstruction in 1997, and demolition in 2017, and resident testimony reflecting on the structure and its significance at each stage. Photocopy by author.*

Figure 5. *Map of notable Stalin-era architectural sites in the Izmailovo region of Moscow, as profiled by "Arkhitektura Izmailovo."*

NOTES

1. *Anastasia Petrova, Arkhitektura Izmailovo, 2018-present, https://www.facebook.com/archizmailovo/ [accessed 10 August 2021]*
2. *Catherine Cooke, 'Beauty as a Route to "the Radiant Future": Responses of Soviet Architecture', Journal of Design History, 10.2 (1997), 137-60; Elizabeth Klosty Beaujour, 'Architectural Discourse and Early Soviet Literature', Journal of the History of Ideas, 44.3 (1983), 477-95.*
3. *Steven E. Harris, Communism on Tomorrow Street: Mass Housing and Everyday Life after Stalin (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013)*
4. *Cooke, p. 138.*
5. *Ibid, p. 145-6.*
6. *Ibid, p. 138.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Andres Krug, 'Free communication: from Soviet future cities to kitchen conversations', The Journal of Architecture, 24.5 (2019), 676-98. (p. 676)*
9. *Yuri Avvakumov, Paper Architecture, An Anthology, (Artguide s.r.o, 2021).*
10. *Krug, p. 676.*
11. *A. G. Rappaport, Charles Jencks, and Nigel Coates, 'Nostalgia of Culture: Contemporary Soviet Visionary Architecture: AA Members'*

Room & Bar, 11 November - 10 December 1988'. AA Files, 18 (1989), 97-104. (p. 104)

12. *Svetlana Boym, Architecture of the Off-Modern (Princeton Architectural Press, 2012) (p.36)*
13. *Kiril Stanilov, ed., The Post-Socialist City: Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe After Socialism (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2007)*
14. *Robert Rudolph, and Isolde Brade, "Moscow: Processes of Restructuring in the Post-Soviet Metropolitan Periphery," Cities (London, England), 22.2 (2005), 135–50*
15. *Anastasia Petrova, interviewed by Ekaterina Mizrokhi about "Arkhitektura Izmailovo, and "Sovetskiy Modernizm. Otkuda: I kuda:", 28 August, 2019; 17 September 2019. – all subsequent quoted discussions with A. Petrova refer to this citation unless stated otherwise.*
16. *The zines were included in a subsequent gallery exhibit of the research. A limited number of zines were published and have been shared and gifted sparingly with those interested in the project.*
17. *I.e.: www.retromap.ru; www.pastvu.com*
18. *The page is set for further transformation in the future as Anastasia Petrova, along with her colleague Anastasia Solovieva, have begun to set up a 'virtual museum' of Izmailovo that would systematise the architectural history of the district and more easily translate to in-person exhibits, and vice versa. The Arkhitektura Izmailovo page is set to remain as a site of community discussion, mobilisation, and sharing, in close tandem with the envisioned virtual museum.*
19. *Asher Ghertner, Rule by Aesthetics: World-Class City Making in Delhi, (Oxford University Press, 2015), 8.*
20. *Rod, Espen Geelmuyden, and Nils B Weidmann, 'Empowering Activists or Autocrats? The Internet in Authoritarian Regimes', Journal of Peace Research, 52.3 (2015), 338–51*
21. *Anastasia Petrova, interviewed by Ekaterina Mizrokhi about "Arkhitektura Izmailovo, and "Sovetskiy Modernizm. Otkuda: I kuda:" and the Museum of Izmailovo, September 14, 2021.*

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*on **Anarchy**, London, United Kingdom, English, 1960s*

Fillipos Toskas

Alternative Property Models In London, Propagated Through The Publication *Anarchy*

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Anarchy, a publication produced by the leading radical theorist Colin Ward, was a herald of militant thought in 1960s London. Its aim to whittle away at predominant conceptions of property was unambiguously explicit; the magazine took the questions of ownership and housing as its subject matters on several occasions, recurrently contesting many of the UK's statutory property frameworks, as well as several housing policies that were in the making.[1] The publication did not just vaguely discuss housing as an abstract question; it offered a detailed commentary of the state of affairs, specifically in London—the epicentre of the country's housing crisis. It focused on the era's political debates, providing an acute review of the manner in which the capital's property issues were addressed by local authorities and national administrations. Ward, amongst other contributors of the journal, openly propagated relenting

control to tenants.

Interestingly, the late 1960s turned out to be a pivotal moment for the capital's housing politics. A new wave of adverse possession (commonly known as squatting) was alarmingly spreading in South London, revealing that numerous communities had grown aware of the existence of empty premises in areas like Lambeth.[2] Several theorists tried to assess in retrospect whether this mobilisation stemmed from bare necessity or whether it was part of broader social movements of the time. I side with Rowan Milligan in seeing squatting as an intrinsically political act, regardless of its triggers, insofar that it actively performs against a housing system of inequality.[3] Nevertheless, it is evident that the 1968 squatting movement was distinguished by a wave of political support from activists and academics, as the occupation of physical spaces seemed to go hand in hand with articles and critiques targeted at the

dissonance between the high percentage of empty properties and homelessness.[4]

It would not be an overstatement to therefore talk of a gestating discourse. Radical publications and activist organisations had turned their attention to alternative modes of housing from the early 1960s and when the London squats started forming in 1968, they undertook the task of providing a theoretical framework, through a string of social, political, and legal analyses.[5] As opposed to previous surges in squatting in the UK, this one was accompanied and presaged by a rigorous production of written work. In that respect, it can be perceived as an organised movement, as opposed to a series of impromptu actions. It should be highlighted that this discourse was by way of ephemeral circulation, which appeared in marginal, less-known periodicals and journals. What distinguishes *Anarchy* amongst other similar publications is its detailed analyses by individuals with

expertise in topical issues, such as lawyers and scholars—not least of whom was Ward himself.

Although some architects did author important pieces about cases of squatting—which will be addressed in this article—for the most part they appeared by no means to be at the forefront of the movement, despite the latter's pertinence to the central issue of housing. In fact, it is difficult to gauge the extent to which the squatting movement impinged on the architectural discipline. It is true that various different schools of thought that started developing in the late 1960s and early 1970s, interrogated what architecture *is*, attempting to broaden the field's scope; in particular, the 1970s became a watershed for the radicalisation of architectural pedagogy, epitomised by the transformation of the Architectural Association (AA), under the chairmanship of Igor Marjanovic.[6] Simultaneously, *Anarchy* itself makes reference to articles in both the

Architectural Review and the *Architectural Design,* indicating that some form of discussion was taking place in architectural journals.[7] Yet, the very real prospect of redrawing the contours of property law seems to be absent from prevalent debates. In many respects, questions of reimagining ownership models still feel extraneous within the framework of architectural discussions, even when the issue of housing is being brought up. The role of the designer, who uncritically accepts the socioeconomic framework in which architecture is being produced, has perhaps been reinforced by the apolitical positioning of the post-critical movement.[8]

Revisiting the housing question after the 1960s housing crisis

The question of housing was central in post-war British politics, mainly on account of the shortage, caused by the London blitz.[9] Yet, housing was not predilected in *Anarchy* merely for its topicality. Ward's anarchism was framed "as an approach", a tool to gradually disrupt the status quo.[10] According to Ward, the reformation of the property market lies inherently at the heart of the anarchist movement, as housing is an area where the imbalance of society's power structures manifests itself most prominently. Still, to achieve any radical reformation there needed to be a profound understanding of the housing situation at hand. Therefore, an analysis of the predominant housing tenures, as well as an exposition of alternative ownership models in other countries, were undertaken by *Anarchy* throughout the 1960s as a necessary step to attain change.

Although an in-depth investigation of the management of property in post-war London is beyond the scope of this article, it is significant to provide a background for both the solidification of the UK's main housing tenures and the rise of homeless-

ness that was endemic in 1960s Britain. The policies that were developed after WWII to redress the scarcity of dwellings affected immensely London's property market for the decades to come. The Labour administration that was elected in 1945, under the leadership of Clement Atlee, managed to gain popularity based on its pre-election pledge that the government would participate directly in the reconstruction process, which would have as an effect that an unprecedented amount of property would become 'publicly owned' (Figure 1,2) This initiative was also intertwined with to the broader vision—espoused by both the Labour and the Conservative Parties—of a massive slum clearance, the condition of which was deemed sub-standard.[11] The aim was that as more property would be publicly-owned, it would be used to relocate the population that was erstwhile residing in slums.

Remarkably, the Conservative governments that followed did not diverge from the Atlee administration's housing scheme.[12] The Churchill administration that was elected in 1951 concluded—under the counsel of the Minister of Housing & Local Government, Harold Macmillan—that it would be impossible to reach their goals for increasing housing construction if they solely relied on private developers.[13] Thus, their agenda was to separate entirely public housing from the private market; the former would be targeted at lower social strata, freeing the latter from any State control, and allowing the development of speculation and competition.[14] In accordance with this plan, the incumbent Conservative government decided to partly abolish the Rent Control Act in 1957, which had been enforced to prevent landlords from increasing rent in properties occupied by existing tenants.[15]

As council houses and publicly owned properties could not match the waves of migrants moving to London, seeking for

job, it became evident that the working classes would still have to rely on privately rented accommodation, but this time without any regulation of rents. The period after the abolition of the Rent Act was therefore typified by an advent of "Rachmanism" and by the late 1960s the percentages of homelessness were rocketing in the UK.[16] The effects of these policies on lower social classes were epitomised by the famous 1966 film called 'Cathy Come Home', which dramatised and exposed the association between slum clearances and homelessness.[17]

A very detailed examination of different housing tenures in the UK was contained in number 83 of ***Anarchy***, which was published in 1968. The article, which was written by Ward, unpacked the three predominant types of property at the time: "privately rented", "public authority rented", and "owner-occupied".[18] Compared to some cities in the rest of the world, where experimental forms of housing—such as co-living accommodation—were flourishing, London's property rubrics remained rigid and conservative.[19] From the standpoint of Ward this was the time for radical change. He turned his attention to the amount of property owned by the Greater London Council (GLC). Ward's thesis is announced from the outset: the control of council property should be given to housing associations.[20] Contrary to elitist theories that argued that working classes were incapable of governing themselves, Ward suggested that several case studies point in the opposite direction.[21]

There is a shift in the way housing is being theorised and discussed in ***Anarchy***. Most debates during that period were oriented around ownership or rental models; the Labour party was considering at the time whether it should allow tenants to purchase the residences let by the Council.[22] ***Anarchy*** displaces the question, seeking

instead to show that these debates are moot. The idea of working classes procuring their property—or even finding affordable rent—within the predominant capitalist framework appeared to the contributors of the publication as a fallacy; nonetheless, there was still a possibility of exploiting the idiosyncrasies of London's housing market to their benefit. Through the formation of housing associations, the tenants could become part of the decision-making process and to an extent be protected from the rocketing rents, by not having to depend on private landlords.

The concept that control can exist without acquisition—at least in the traditional sense of the term, which implies a financial transaction—is a central theme in *Anarchy*. The idea of allowing housing associations to manage their own houses was a suggestion that could only be realised if the endorsement by official administrations was ensured. Nonetheless, *Anarchy* accommodated several pieces in that did not regard this governmental approval as necessary.

Squatting, organised discourse, and the architectural discipline

Although any plan of transferring control to housing associations was hindered by administrative rigidity or political unwillingness, the grassroot campaign of squatting became one of the main mechanisms to obtain space for numerous disenfranchised communities.[23]

The 1969 movement of adverse possession in London was preceded by press reports on the phenomenon, in the UK and beyond. The issue of squatting was central in some treatises that were published in architectural journals. Specifically, there was an overlap of content between *Anarchy* and *Architectural Design (AD)* in 1964, as they both took an interest in squatting in Peru. The key figure that initiated the project in Peru was John FC Turner, a renowned architect, whose name would become associated with informal settlements and alternative modes of housing.[24] Turner undertook research that focused on squats in Lima—known as *barriadas*.[25] The findings of this research were presented in *AD* as an alternate conception of housing, which could inform our thinking. A synopsis of this analysis was included in issue number 35 of *Anarchy*. Informal settlements were seen as a benchmark for the formation of an effective model of tackling the imbalance of the housing market.[26] *Anarchy* saw potential in applying this model in the UK. Gradually this aspiration was materialised, albeit in a very different form; Lambeth turned into a hub of squats after 1969, being an ideal location for such a venture, as it was awash in dilapidated buildings and empty premises.

A newspaper, entitled *Black Dwarf,* reported, in April of 1969, on the occupation of the first properties in South London. The report mentioned the use of banners hanging from balconies, with slogans such as *"Homes, not Offices"* and *"Enough*

"The London squatters campaign, now six months old, is an interesting example of an extremist political movement with no official support which therefore depends on the mass media; and it has got plenty."[29]

room here for eighty families" (Figure 3).[27] This desire to communicate a message indicates that the squatters were in the process of articulating a critical position towards the phenomenon of homelessness, which was escalating despite the abundance of empty buildings throughout London.

Anarchy's issue number 102, published in August 1969, dealt head-on with the new wave of adverse possession. Being entitled "Squatters" (Figure 4), it was one of the final issues of the newspaper before its circulation was permanently ceased later that year.[28] The issue included several articles about the topic: namely, "The new squatters" by Nicolas Walter, "The squatters and the law" by Ron Bailey, "Tenant Tactics" by Kit Baker, and "The expropriation of the dwellings" by Peter Kropotkin. The first article by Walter, set the tone for what would follow in the rest of the issue:

The London squatters campaign,

now six months old, is an interesting example of an extremist political movement with no official support which therefore depends on the mass media; and it has got plenty.[29]

Within a time-window of six months since the appearance of the squats, there was an immediate reaction by an array of media, which via written pieces or films underpinned the movement. According to the article, there were two documentaries on BBC-2, as part of the popular *Man Alive* TV series, which stood out as milestones amongst the numerous outlets that offered coverage on the topic.[30] These documentaries provided a background and a critical analysis of the phenomenon, going beyond the standard news coverage, to survey extensively the squats and the people residing in them. A similar approach was adopted by *Anarchy*; as an implication, instead of treating the movement in Lambeth as a news-worthy story, the magazine placed emphasis on its impetus and potential expansion.

Anarchy offered a fully-fledged evaluation of the impetus of the movement in Lambeth, its future potential, and the characteristics that distinguished from its precursors. Walter's article, in that respect, is the most interesting; it immediately offers a frame of reference, by comparing the 1969 movement to the 1946 Vigilante campaign—in which, after WWI ex-servicemen orchestrated a take-over of empty houses.[31] The article identifies the main difference between the two: "instead of a spontaneous mass action" and a response to a "desperate" housing situation, this appeared to be a gradual, organised initiative. The article also comments on the broader ideological spectrum of people attracted to the squats, particularly accentuating the eminence of the more fluid anarchist and radical ideologies, as opposed to the

inflexible communism that was predominant in the 1946 vigilante campaign.[32] Walter points out that the creation of the squats was directly interlinked with organisations of the "libertarian left", such as "Solidarity", "Socialist Action", and "London Anarchists".[33] He contests the claim that portrayed activist groups' involvement as retrospective, arguing that since the early 1960s the same organisations, which were involved in the 1969 movement,

had fought to combat homelessness. Their effort consisted of several campaigns to stop evictions throughout the UK, including two in London: the 1967 campaign for the Durham Building, located in Battersea, and the 1968 Country Cross council estate, located in Bromley-at-Bow.[34]

The rest of the articles in the issue examine other aspects of squatting, introducing options for its preservation and sustainability. Bailey's article focuses on the absence of legal ground to prosecute the squatters;[35] Baker's piece concentrates on potential strategies for unification of tenants against governmental policies;[36] finally, Kropotkin's article addresses the question of who ought to ethically have control over a property—he employs a Marxist argument, which suggests that ownership should not be independent from the physical labour of construction (or in the case of squats, the labour of refurbishment for the purposes of reuse).[37] All these constitute detailed analyses, suggesting ways to overcome

legal, administrative, and political barriers. It is manifest that in this context the existence of squats is not perceived as a by-product of extreme conditions that is shortly expected to fade away. Squatting is seen as a sustainable mode of living, rather than an ad hoc solution. Its roots can be found in the first attempts of radical organisations to come up with practical responses to the crisis, which did not rely on the approval by governmental administrations. Therefore, if

the movement was grounded in theory and equipped with a plan to be maintained, it could potentially serve as a vehicle to radically transform the housing market.

The momentum and potential of the 1969 squatting wave did not go unnoticed. The first squats acted as a catalyst for the transformation of Lambeth into London's heart of informal settlements. A domino effect was triggered. Soon, premises were turned into quintessential spaces for radical movements, including a women's centre in Brixton, set up by a feminist group in 1973.[38] The foundation of the women's centre prompted the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) to establish the first Gay Centre in London (Figure 5,6).The centres were located next to one another and were informally affiliated. They both acted as landmarks, attracting several members of gay, lesbian, and feminist communities, who squatted, in turn, empty premises around the centres.[39] A network of radical squats was established

in Brixton, that continued to exist into the 1980s—their legacy still being visible today.

Squatting was the result of examination and challenge of property models. Apart from its legal and political bearings, it entailed a profound modification of the urban setting, both at the scale of the city and of the individual building. Empty offices were transformed into houses and communal spaces. The occupied premises that served as residences were redesigned to accommodate bedrooms, shared gardens, and kitchens.[40] The public centres contained theatres and discos.[41] Several districts in London were entirely transformed, in terms of both form and population. A vernacular architecture, without architects, was incited by political activism and production of discourse—to which publications like *Anarchy* contributed, by recruiting experts to explore the advancement of the squatting movement.

The theoretical development of con-

cepts like squatting had a long-term impact on the physical shape of the city, but not necessarily on architecture's pedagogy and function as a discipline. This does not mean that predominant modes of architectural training were not in the process of being reconsidered. At the forefront of redrawing the contours of the discipline was the Architectural Association (AA), which challenged academic practices that had become standard in the teaching of architecture.

In an article published in the Architectural Review in 2017, Beatriz Colomina adduces Rem Koolhaas' description of the AA during the 1970s, as:

> *a school awash in sex, drugs and rock and roll. David Bowie hanging at the bar. For a studio, write a book if you want. Dance or piss your pants if you want. Structure or codes or HVAC? Go to Switzerland.*[42]

This description evokes an image of a school that is on the cusp of a liminal transformation—even contesting the predominantly visual ethos of architecture ("for a studio write a book"). Additionally, Alvin Boyarsky, who became chair in 1971, reinforced the unit system of the AA; this initiative entailed that any student at the school would have to be part of a specific unit, the central theme of which would be the treatise of a "contemporary issue".[43]

Hence, the AA appeared to challenge the rigid role of the architect. The study and production of texts enters the scope of the architectural discipline; at the same time, through the unit system, the school becomes attuned to the era's political and societal issues. In this context, the examination of textual discourse around property rubrics could potentially become a pertinent subject matter.[44]

Nonetheless, Colomina classifies this moment at the AA as profoundly

radical, yet simultaneously ephemeral.[45] She perceives the lack of structure in the curriculum as a factor that underpins its capacity for ground-breaking transformation, nonetheless concurrently preventing it from becoming sustainably critical and far-reaching. In hindsight, whether due to the sway of the "post-critical" or "post-modern" movements that dominated the late 1970s, or on account of a broader societal shift, visual media continued dominating architectural teaching and it appears that the interest in contemporary issues waned.

Robin Evans, in his seminal essay *"Translation from drawing to building"*, identifies this predominance of drawings as the key characteristic regarding the modus operandi of the architectural field, throughout history. Not only the drawing has been central in architectural discourse, since its establishment as an organised discipline, but also its role as the foremost tool has hardly ever been challenged.[46] Evans posits that architects have always been detached from the final product—the actual building.[47] This potentially points to a key reason why an interest in the examination of the legal or political aspects of housing have been treated as peripheral, even if they have been essential in the formation of the urban environment.

Conclusions

I will close this article, by arguing for the significance of re-examining property models in the current housing climate. As housing crises in and outside the UK are more common than ever, cities like London have become increasingly inaccessible to a large portion of the population.

The overall impact of the architectural industry on urban environments, through the constant production of new high-rises and masterplans, renders the reconsideration of architects' role crucial. The call for interdisciplinarity is not relevant only

within the confines of Academia, but it pertains to a revaluation of architecture's fundamental principles, analytical tools, and methodologies.[48] ***Anarchy*** exemplified such a marriage of interdisciplinary approaches to examine the question of housing.

The radicalisation of pedagogy could challenge the one-dimensional role of the architect as a designer. The investigation of other discourses (such as legal, political etc.) can become part of architecture's scope. Housing and property models are intrinsically interwoven questions. If the field is preoccupied with the formation of space, it cannot be disconnected from the socio-political forces that determine the context in which this formation occurs.

LET US FACE THE FUTURE

A
DECLARATION
OF LABOUR POLICY FOR
THE CONSIDERATION
OF THE
NATION

PUBLISHED

Figure 1

In war time the County War Executive Committees have organised production in that way. They have been the means of increasing efficiency and have given much practical assistance, particularly to the small farmer. The Labour Party intends that, with suitable modifications and safeguards, their work shall continue in peace-time.

Our good farm lands are part of the wealth of the nation and that wealth should not be wasted. The land must be farmed, not starved. If a landlord cannot or will not provide proper facilities for his tenant farmers, the State should take over his land at a fair valuation. The people need food at prices they can afford to pay. This means that our food supplies will have to be planned. Never again should they be left at the mercy of the city financier or speculator. Instead there must be stable markets, to the great gain of both producer and consumer.

The Ministry of Food has done fine work for the housewife in war. The Labour Party intends to keep going as much of the work of the Ministry of Food as will be useful in peace conditions, including the bulk purchase of food from abroad and a well organised system of distribution at home, with no vested interests imposing unnecessary costs.

A Labour Government will keep the new food services, such as the factory canteens and British restaurants, free and cheap milk for mothers and children, fruit juices and food supplements, and will improve and extend these services.

VI.

HOUSES AND THE BUILDING PROGRAMME

EVERYBODY says that we must have houses. Only the Labour Party is ready to take the necessary steps—a full programme of land planning and drastic action to ensure an efficient building industry that will neither burden the community with a crippling financial load nor impose bad conditions and heavy unemployment on its workpeople. There must be no restrictive price rings to keep up prices and bleed the taxpayer, the owner-occupier and the tenant alike. Modern methods, modern materials will have to be the order of the day.

There must be a due balance between the housing programme, the building of schools and the urgent requirements of factory modernisation and construction which will enable ind… efficiently.

Housing will be one of the greatest and one of the… a Government's real determination to put the nation… pledge is firm and direct—it will proceed with a hou…

Figure 2

RIGHT AND PROPER AND GOOD

ADVICE TO THE MOB

SNEAK-IN AT DAWN

Figure 3

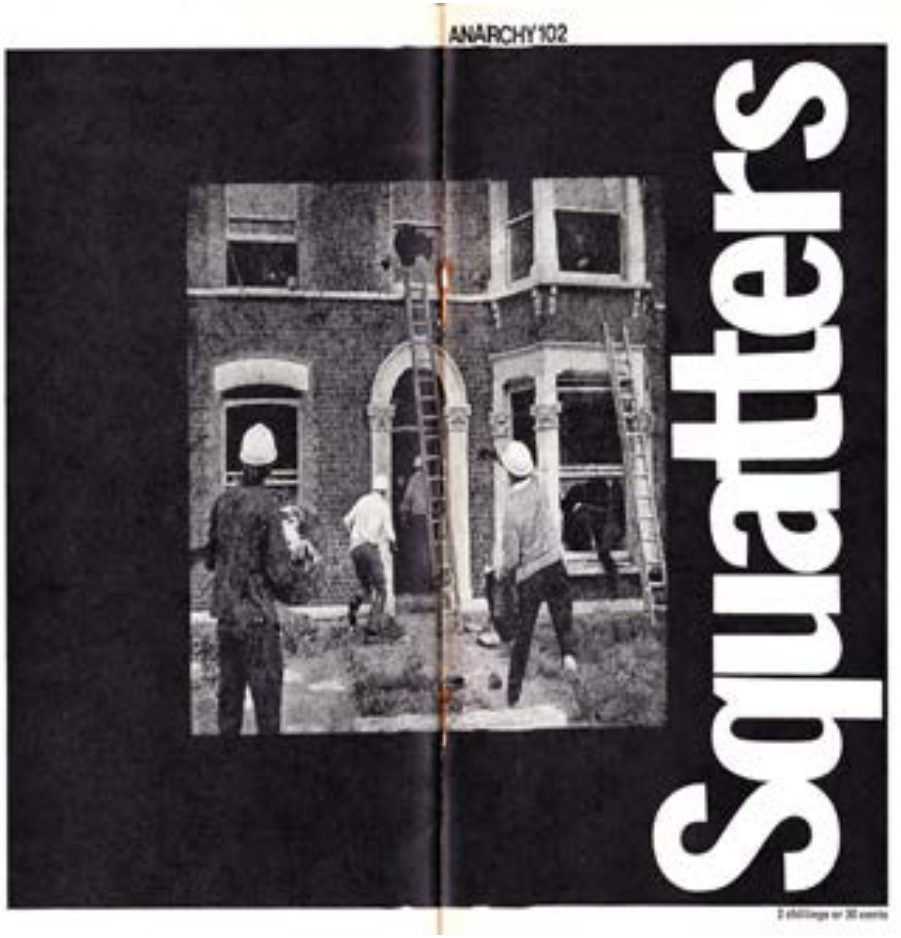

Figure 4

Gay Liberationists take over a shop

THE South London branch of the Gay Liberation Front took over, as squatters, an empty shop at 78 Railton-rd., Herne Hill, this week as a community centre.

The centre is next door to the Women's Centre at 80 Railton-rd., an offshoot of the Brixton Women's Centre.

Mr. Gary De Vere, spokesman for the Gay Liberation Front said, "We shall be working in close co-operation with the women's centre and hope to do the same kind of community work."

Development

Two Gay Liberationists live above the shop which is in the middle of the Railton-rd. council redevelopment area which has proved an attraction for squatters.

Mr. De Vere said he was not worried about threat of eviction.

"The landlord is not interested in the property now that it has lost its commercial value and she will probably sell to the council," he said.

The Gay Liberationists plan to hold their weekly disco-dance in the basement of the shop when it has been cleared out.

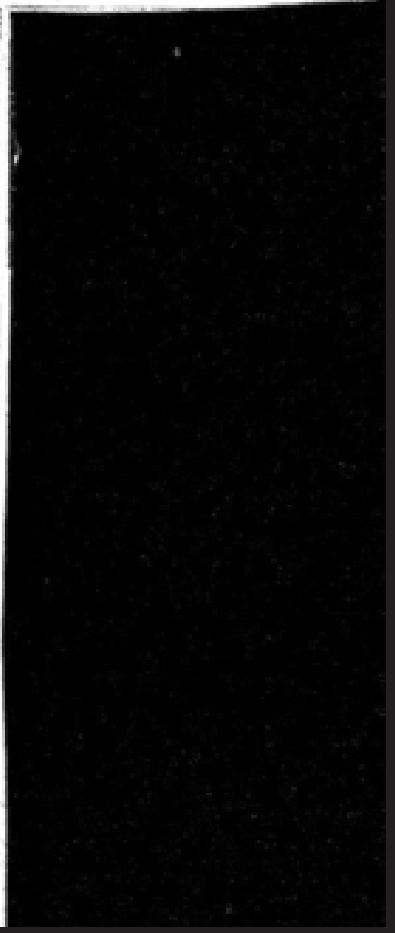

Figure 5

Figure 6

FIGURES

Figure 1. *The cover of the 1945 Manifesto of the Labour Party, entitled 'Let us Face The Future.'*

Figure 2. *Page 8 of the 1945 Manifesto of the Labour Party, entitled 'Let us Face The Future', which includes the section: 'Houses and The Building Programme.'*

Figure 3. *Black Dwarf, Vol. 14.*

Figure 4. *Anarchy issue 102.*

Figure 5. *Article commenting on the opening of the South London Gay Centre. Source: Screenshot from "Brixton Fairies: Made Possible By Squatting" directed by Taha F Hassan.*

Figure 6. *Photo of the South London Gay community Centre.*

NOTES

1. *For analyses of housing, squatting, and control over properties, see: Anarchy, 23, 1964 <http://archive.org/details/Anarchy-No.23>; Anarchy, 35, 1964 <http://archive.org/details/AnarchyNo.35>; Anarchy, 83, 1968 <https://abinnitio.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/@83.pdf >; Anarchy 102, 1969 <https://web.archive.org/web/20140908022357/http://www.thespar-rowsnest.org.uk/collections/public_archive//PAR0134.pdf>.*
2. *Matt Cook, '"Gay Times": Identity, Locality, Memory, and the Brixton Squats in 1970's London', Twentieth Century British History, 24.1 (2013), 84–109.*
3. *The binary division has been challenged by scholars, in works like: Rowan Milligan, 'The Politics of the Crowbar: Squatting in London, 1968-1977', Anarchist Studies, 2016. I am basing this on reports of the squats, which were published at the time and describe them as places of intense political activity. See: Black Dwarf, 14, 1969 <https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/black-dwarf/v14n14-nodate.pdf>; Anarchy, 102, 1969 <https://web.archive.org/web/20140908022357/http://www.thespar-*

rowsnest.org.uk/collections/public_archive//PAR0134.pdf>.
4. See, for instance the articles in the socialist publication, 'Black Dwarf', available at: https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/black-dwarf/index.htm .
5. Nicholas Walter, 'The New Squatters', Anarchy, 102, 1964 <https://web.archive.org/web/20140908022357/http://www.thesparrowsnest.org.uk/collections/public_archive//PAR0134.pdf>.
6. See, for instance: Igor Marjanovic, 'Avant-Garde in the Age of Identity: Alvin Boyarsky, the Architectural Association and the Impact of Pedagogy', Architectural Design, 89.4 (2019), 30–37 <https://doi.org/10.1002/ad.2454>.
7. See: Anarchy, 83, 1968 <https://abinnitio.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/@83.pdf
8. Jane Rendell and others, Critical Architecture (Routledge, 2007), pp. 51–74.
9. Nicholas Bullock, 'Plans for Post-war Housing in the UK: The Case for Mixed Development and the Flat', Planning Perspectives, 2.1 (1987), 71–98 (p. 74) <https://doi.org/10.1080/02665438708725632>.
10. Anarchy, 83.

11. Jim Yelling, 'The Incidence of Slum Clearance in England and Wales, 1955–85', Urban History, 27.2 (2000), 234–54 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0963926800000249>.
12. John Davis, 'Macmillan's Martyr: The Pilgrim Case, the "Land Grab" and the Tory Housing Drive, 1951–9', Planning Perspectives, 23.2 (2008), 125–46 <https://doi.org/10.1080/02665430801906331>.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. John Davis, 'Rents and Race in 1960s London: New Light on Rachmanism1', Twentieth Century British History, 12.1 (2001), 69–92.
16. Ibid.
17. Suzanne Fitzpatrick and Hal Pawson, 'Fifty Years since Cathy Come Home: Critical Reflections on the UK Homelessness Safety Net', International Journal of Housing Policy, 16.4 (2016), 543–55 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616718.2016.1230962>.Cathy Come Home, was first broadcast. Despite an immediate public outcry, another decade was to elapse before the Housing (Homeless Persons
18. Colin Ward, 'Tenants Take Over', Anarchy, 83, 1968, 1–19.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.

21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ward, Tenbants.*
23. *Cook.*
24. *Kathrin Golda-Pongratz, 'John FC Turner (1927-)', Architectural Review, 2021 <https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/reputations/john-fc-turner-1927>.*
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32. *Walter.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Walter.*
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36. *Kit Baker, 'Tenant Tactics', Anarchy, 102, 1964 <https://web.archive.org/web/20140908022357/http://www.thesparrowsnest.org.uk/collections/public_archive//PAR0134.pdf>.*
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38. *Cook.*
39. *Ibid.*
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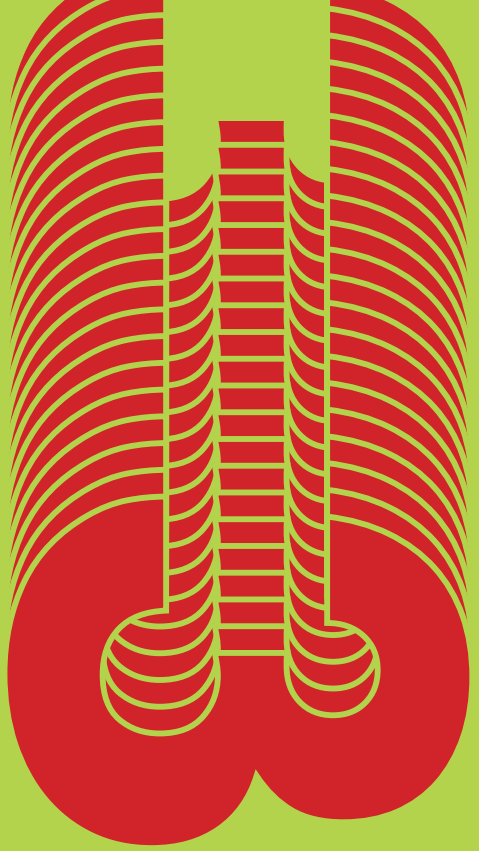
Chapter



Knowledge Circulations

*on **OFF TO**, Accra, Ghana, English and French, contemporary*

Giulia Torino

Disenclosures: New circulations in architectural and urban knowledge

Giulia Torino is a Junior Research Fellow in Urban Studies at the University of Cambridge. Before pursuing her PhD, she worked in urban design and planning in Benin (Ouidah), Colombia (Bogotá), and the United States (New York City).

Working mainly with urban ethnography, since 2013 she has been researching spaces and politics of contested placemaking across the Black Atlantic (Colombia) and the Black Mediterranean (Southern Italy).

Theoretical notions of decoloniality are appearing more and more in the vocabulary and curricula of architectural schools, academic conferences, and scholarly publications, but what do they imply for the opening of alternative venues for knowledge production on cities and collective life? In raising this question, and in the inquisitive spirit of this issue, the essay analyses the emergence of a new magazine of African cities and architecture, OFF TO, on the basis of excerpts from the magazine's issues and original interviews carried out in June 2021 with its founder and Editor-in-Chief, Liz Gomis. African cities are now at the centre of knowledge-production on the urban and pivotal in the making of new geographies of knowledge in the twenty-first century, as Cameroonian philosopher Achille Mbembe also suggests in his latest book, Out of the Dark Night: Essays on Decolonization.

Employing Mbembe's notions of "disenclosure" and "Afropolitanism," that will be introduced in the forthcoming sections, this essay interrogates the politics of knowledge production on contemporary cities. In particular, it explores how new magazines have been challenging the hegemony of Euroamerican knowledge production by mobilising unattended stories, actors, spaces, and imaginations. The recent publication of the multilingual African magazine OFF TO, which focuses on a constellation of cultural, aesthetic, and social scenarios across urban Africa, is taken here as an instrumental starting point to discuss the role of magazines within an epistemic scenario that is rapidly shifting – not only to embrace more and more varied world geographies and social realities but also, crucially, to create new platforms for the circulation of urban knowledge.

The following sections will: first, introduce the magazine's scope and issues; second, contextualise Mbembe's under-

standing of "Afropolitanism" through some of the urban stories and spaces presented by OFF TO; third, employ Mbembe's notion of "disenclosure" to locate these considerations in the shifting (epistemic, cultural and social) scenario that architecture is facing today.

Part One: The city from within

OFF TO does not bear resemblance to traditional architectural magazines. The reach of its content spans through architecture, music, poetry and spoken-word performances, informal labour and diasporic entrepreneurship, health, society, religion, and more. Yet, the thread that links together all these seemingly disjointed aspects of human life is the city. Urban spaces are omnipresent in the different essays and photographs that compose the magazine's masterful puzzle. Moreover, all essays seem to be concerned with the question of the making of such an urban space. The latter, in the magazine, is simultaneously cultural, environmental and social. In so doing, the magazine's imperative is to challenge colonially inherited epistemic dominions on the representation of African cities – what the Editor-in-Chief, Liz Gomis, sarcastically summarises as "the demystification of Africa as a jungle with lions." Or, to put it in the words of Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall, to demystify the notion that "Africa as a name, as an idea, and as an object of academic and public discourse is fraught."[1] A task that OFF TO takes on one city at a time.

As Gomis aptly recounts in the Editor's Note of the first issue: "I started to dig deep into some of the cultural, social, political, and environmental issues raised by committed artists, organizations, citizens, and even some preachers." In this sense, OFF TO also raises the question of 'what knowledge counts?' in the representation and study of cities and urban life, by

overcoming the boundaries of traditional architectural magazines and an often narrow, too technical definition of "expert." Instead, it embraces a collection of different voices and perspectives. As a result, every issue is a heterogeneous and multi-faceted snapshot.

Initially, Gomis' idea was to single out a dominant theme for each issue and, consequently, each city. Soon enough, however, she realised that it was not one city but, rather, several different cities that emerged within the same city, from the accounts of high-profile urbanites, street artists, local politicians, architects, electronic musicians, repatriated entrepreneurs, religious preachers, and other urban dwellers who inhabit the many layers that compose cities like Accra (the subject of OFF TO's first issue). Each of them had a different city to recount. Eventually, Gomis decided to let all of those different stories tell their own cities. "I am interested in how their urban lives

and stories cross," Gomis tells me. "How do [such different people] manage to live together?"

"The journey is sometimes chaotic or hard to process," she continues, "but the flip side of the story is necessary to shake our preconceived ideas and feel the pulse of [the city]." OFF TO has been conceived as an "entry point" to African cities: one key, among others, to try and grasp their complexity, cognitively and emotionally, their design as much as their pulse. As Gomis tells me, OFF TO wants to offer readers "just a taste, but then people have to do their own homework and research more!"

In the face of persistent problems with the access to information about urban life across the continent, as Gomis notes, magazines like OFF TO represent an opportunity to constitute an archive of urban life, while also being more freely accessible than books or academic texts. This is also why OFF TO issues are not dated. The cities

that the magazine talks about are, certainly, located in a specific spatiotemporal dimension, but they are always evolving, fluidly, and as such hard to reduce to a "this happened there at such time on such date."

But as materials and bodies move in and out of African cities, knowledge not always does. For OFF TO, the problem starts at the very outset of the magazine production: of the 1000 copies per issue that are printed none is made in Africa. As Gomis remarks, it is easier to ship from Paris (where the magazine is currently printed) worldwide than from one African country to the other. "It is a paradox: I am trying to reach the African youth, both in Africa and across the diaspora, and I talk about African cities… but I can't ship to Africa because it is too expensive! At the moment we have only three selling points in Africa: two in Accra and one in Dhakar."

This condition does not merely affect OFF TO. Rather, it showcases a major problem in the politics of the circulation of knowledge, to do with the difficulty to overcome colonially inherited boundaries that bifurcate African routes towards European intermediary connections. But Gomis is not letting this put her off. Her magazine is conceived as a platform, an amplifier of African urban knowledges to reach the African diaspora everywhere in the world, especially among the youth. "Like my niece," Gomis tells me, "who is 22 and doesn't know about African cities and their histories." Indeed, OFF TO readers currently are from Africa but also Europe (especially France and Germany), the US, and small pockets of Hong Kong and Australia.

In this sense, the magazine is not simply documenting and offering original portraits of African urban spaces. It is also enabling those narratives to reach ears and eyes that might have not otherwise found their way to them (e.g., beyond the borders of academia or those of

regional knowledge), while broadening the understanding of Africa's city life beyond a Euroamerican teleology that often continues to represent the continent's heterogenous and rapidly evolving urban landscapes as monolithic, provincial, without enough relevance in their own right, or beyond modernist comprehension. In doing so, OFF TO represents a new platform not only for knowledge exchange on and in African cities but also for what Achille Mbembe conceptualises as "Afropolitanism," as the next section illustrates.

Part Two: Urban Afropolitanism

Two architects open the issues of, respectively, Accra and Kinshasa. The first, Kuukuwa Manful, is part of the Ghanaian architecture collective Adansisem (which literally translates as 'Storytelling') and co-founder of the social architecture initiative Sociarchi. The latter, Nicolas-Patience Basabose, is head of the Design for Basabose Studio, a research and design company focussing on urban planning in African cities. Both covet a city that is "better planned," from waste management and housing provision to the recuperation of national architectural Modernism. Both highlight the need for urban planning to regulate city life amidst the rapidly growing demographics, that is expected to increase exponentially (more than double) over the next three decades, possibly reaching over thirty million inhabitants in the case of Kinshasa.

Yet, while the city of architects is often one not yet there, imagined, desired, and irremediably designed by the converging forces of power dynamics and growth ambitions, what lies in the city that is already there, material, lived, embodied, pulsating, and conflicting, is perhaps best encapsuled by the words of Kinshasa's "poet of the city," Sinzo Aanza:

“Its extreme beauty is built on the fact that all these people, later, meet up here. It’s clear that after some time it’s not just the power that counts because there is their life, waiting for everybody to get what they hope to get here. There is daily life and all the imagination that comes along with it.”

“the rest of the country is a field to be exploited and the city is where you negotiate all the things that are to be exploited in these vast interior lands. Kinshasa is the paroxysm of all that, that is to asay the city of the cities, the sales counter of the sales counters in the country. ... the piling up of people and things responds to the fact that it’s a space where you come to negotiate, where you come to negotiate everything. [...] It’s more or less the space where desires, projections, frustrations, anger, struggles, naivety, beliefs, hopes, accumulate, from all parts of the country. [...] Its extreme beauty is built on the fact that all these people, later, meet up here. It’s clear that after some time it’s not just the power that counts because there is their life, waiting for everybody to get what they hope to get here. There is daily life and all the imagination that comes

along with it."

It is those territorial exploitations that the urban underground and counter-culture artistic collective Bakeli also denounce –while working underfunded and through Kinshasa's power cuts– with their sculptures made of red copper, aluminium, and other mineral substances that get routinely extracted by big multinationals in Congo. Both Sinzo Aanza's and Bakeli's portraits of Kinshasa are animated by a decolonial sentiment that displaces the West as a source of cultural orthodoxy and inspiration.

Alongside these underground cultural scenarios, however, the African cultural scene that OFF TO exposes is also one of glamour and mainstream, from the Kinshasa Biennale to Accra's state-of-the-art cultural events (described by some successful government campaigns as "the place to be"). That is a cultural scenario marked by cosmopolitanism, featuring transnational diasporas, entrepreneurial expats, worldly connections and influences, extravagant and cutting-edge artistic scenarios.

In this sense, the magazine's kaleidoscopic portrait of African cosmopolitanism is attuned to the many layers, nuances, and often conflictual realities that African cities like Accra and Kinshasa spatialise. As Kobby Ankomah-Graham compellingly writes on the Accra issue, each city is made of multiple cities:

"myriad realities occupying a single space and time. Party Accra emerges from Holy Accra's ranks the moment the latter is done praying for Hustler Accra to be blessed with prosperous opportunity. International NGO Accra claims it only has eyes for Poor Accra but it spends its spare time wildly flirting with Expat Accra and Returnee Accra, the latter of which brings it into

contact with Elite Accra: renowned (deservedly or not) throughout all the Accras for its exclusivity and alleged indifference towards all but itself. Unknown to most exists yet another Accra: a reality in which a growing number of Ghanaian creatives under the age of forty connect and try to thrive in the face of parental disapproval, state lip service and corporations who would imagine it a place where failures die in search of the drug called Exposure."

The urban portraits made by the photographers, authors, artists, architects, and other authors and interviewees featured on OFF TO point to an Afropolitan idea of urbanism that is perhaps best encapsulated by Mbembe in *Out of the Dark Night*.[2] There, he pursues the notion of *Afropolitanism* as that "enormous work of

"myriad realities occupying a single space and time. Party Accra emerges from Holy Accra's ranks the moment the latter is done praying for Hustler Accra to be blessed with prosperous opportunity..."

reassemblage" that the African continent is currently undergoing and which is increasingly more centred on cities and the reproduction of life through the urban.

"Next to the world of ruins", Mbembe writes, there is "an Africa in the process of synthesizing itself… whose spiritual processes are a mixture of a secularization of consciousness, a radical immanence (care for this world and care for the moment), and an apparently unmediated plunge into the divine; an Africa whose languages and sounds are deeply creole, an Africa that accords a central place to experimentation, an Africa in which astonishingly postmodern images and practices of existence germinate."[3] The urban stories featured on OFF TO mirror precisely that kind of image: a "body in motion, never in its place,"[4] always evolving, and never in straight line.

Part Three: New circulations in architectural and urban knowledge

"For a long time", Mbembe writes, "African creation concerned itself with the question of origins, while disassociating it from the question of movement […] In the age of dispersion and circulation, this same creation is more concerned with the relation to an interval than to oneself or an other […] The reference is no longer to an essential singularity, but rather to a renewed capacity for bifurcation."[5] It is precisely this tension towards movement and the attention to new circulatory regimes of knowledge and cultural production that are stemming from African cities that has oriented the editorial choices of OFF TO, as the magazine managed to position itself as an alternative venue for regional and international knowledge on African cities. How will these new circulations be able to inform and penetrate the way we understand, live, and imagine cities?

In the wake of COP26 and the horrors that the Anthropocene promises to deliver, the political question of "where are we going?"[6] has rarely had more gravity before. If the collective aim is that of "reopen[ing] the future of our planet to all who inhabit it,"[7] then to look for new ways of knowing and inhabiting the planet is imperative. Such reopening seems to be aptly captured by Mbembe's notion of "disenclosure:"[8] the lifting of previous barriers, "the advent of something new, a blossoming."[9] Architecture, as one of the disciplines and professions most concerned with inhabitation, is thus called to attend to the urgent question of disenclosing.

As OFF TO shows, urban dwellers, artists, professionals, and workers of different sorts in African cities are exploring new avenues to re-imagine city-making and collective urban life. While these avenues are often zigzagging, heterogeneous, in the making, and rarely free from cultural, societal and political friction, they are displacing the West as the mandatory reference and the alleged centre of production of urban and architectural knowledge.

His walking tours take you along the chasms carved by this complicated history of clashing cultures, from the network of underground tunnels for shuffling the enslaved silently into the night, to an art school he founded to provide the many kids in the community space with opportunities to exercise their creative output. Indeed his story represents the spirit that is quintessentially Jamestown, making a rainbow of hope from a gloomy sky with people power.

Perhaps this is due to its meaning as the historical birthplace of the modern day city of Accra as the seat of the Ga paramountcy and a critical colonial settlements whose remnants are silently visible, it was almost destined for Jamestown to become a cultural mecca.

Il permet ainsi aux habitants de voir leur quartier sous un nouveau jour, ne serait-ce pour quelques temps, et de révéler la profusion d'énergie et de talents qu'il abrite. Pour la plupart d'entre eux, la seule façon d'assimiler cette révélation est le commerce. Ils proposent alors de nombreux plats à base de poisson et autants de boissons locales rafraichissantes, tout au long du festival. Pour d'autres, ce festival est l'occasion de se découvrir une nouvelle voix.

Nii Kpakpo Samoa Mark-Hansen est l'un des habitants de Jamestown pour lequel ce festival est sacré. Prêtre traditionnel devenu artiste de scène, il est l'un des acteurs clés des échanges entre la tradition et la modernité. Puisant dans la mythologie Ga, il est à l'origine de processions et de spectacles représentant des dieux et des légendes qui demandent à jouer un rôle plus actif dans l'espace physique de Jamestown. Par son travail, il veut encourager sa communauté à repenser la gestion des ordures et à percevoir l'océan Atlantique comme une source de vie plutôt qu'un déversoir à déchets. Samoa, tel qu'il est connu au sein de la communauté, est également un guide touristique et un instructeur pertinent et captivant, ayant à cœur de retracer pour ses visiteurs toute l'histoire de ce lieu auquel il appartient, tirant les fils de son héritage culturel pour révéler la trame de l'espace. Ses visites guidées conduisent le long des sillons creusés par l'histoire complexe de ces chocs des cultures, qu'il s'agisse du réseau de tunnels souterrains ayant servi à mener silencieusement les esclaves dans la nuit ou de l'école d'art qu'il a fondée afin de donner un espace aux jeunes du coin pour leur permettre d'exprimer leur créativité. Son histoire incarne parfaitement l'esprit typique de Jamestown : transformer un ciel gris en arc-en-ciel plein d'espoir à l'aide de la volonté humaine.

C'est sans doute à cause du rôle historique de Jamestown dans la naissance d'Accra aujourd'hui, ainsi que son importance dans la culture Ga et dans le contexte colonial – dont les vestiges silencieux sont toujours visibles – que Jamestown semble avoir été destinée à devenir un haut lieu culturel. Avec un peu de recul, on constate qu'il n'est pas surprenant que l'art soit devenu un exutoire créatif en ce lieu qui a toujours accordé de l'importance à la performance publique, ainsi qu'à la compréhension authentique des effets incendiaires d'un pouvoir corrompu et débridé. Mais aujourd'hui, les habitants n'ont plus besoin de résister de manière acharnée et parfois vaine : ils trouvent du réconfort dans une beauté qu'ils définissent par et pour eux-mêmes.

Figure 1

WORDS
Hakeem Adam

PHOTOGRAPHERS
Liz Gomis
Hakeem Adam

For all of Ghana's fascinating cultural outlets across the length and breadth of the country, the sprawling and vibrant settlement of Jamestown is definitely one of the most interesting and fascinating epicenters to visit. This costal town's pulsating cultural heartbeat centered around tradition, history and an innate urge to create and share experiences is the pulse behind the renewed interest in Ghanaian arts and culture over the last decade, especially among denizen trapped in the hectic hassle of surviving Accra. From the vibrant walls of the many open air street art galleries with cryptic mural singing songs of world champions rising from an arduous yet exciting coastal life in an underdeveloped urban space, to imposing colonial forts that now house ancient deities, this unique fishing community is an enchanting tapestry threaded by the many different people, languages, foods, clothing, music and technology from all over the world that graced the space.

Today the door of return is open ajar, but what exactly is there to return to, beyond the obvious and apparent romantic appeal of wanderlust?

The mystical cultural aura of Jamestown is a product of centuries of serendipitous, designed and forced interaction among different people. Ga Mashie, as it is referred to by the Ga, the ethnic group that lord over the space, is the traditional birth place of the capital city of Accra. The space developed as a significant trade powerhouse, controlling the buffer between the inland resources and traders arriving via the Atlantic. The British and Dutch influence are probably the most permanent of these interactions, bookmarked by the James Fort Prison and Usher Fort Prison lining James Town's main artery, High Street.

Figure 2

Rond point magasin

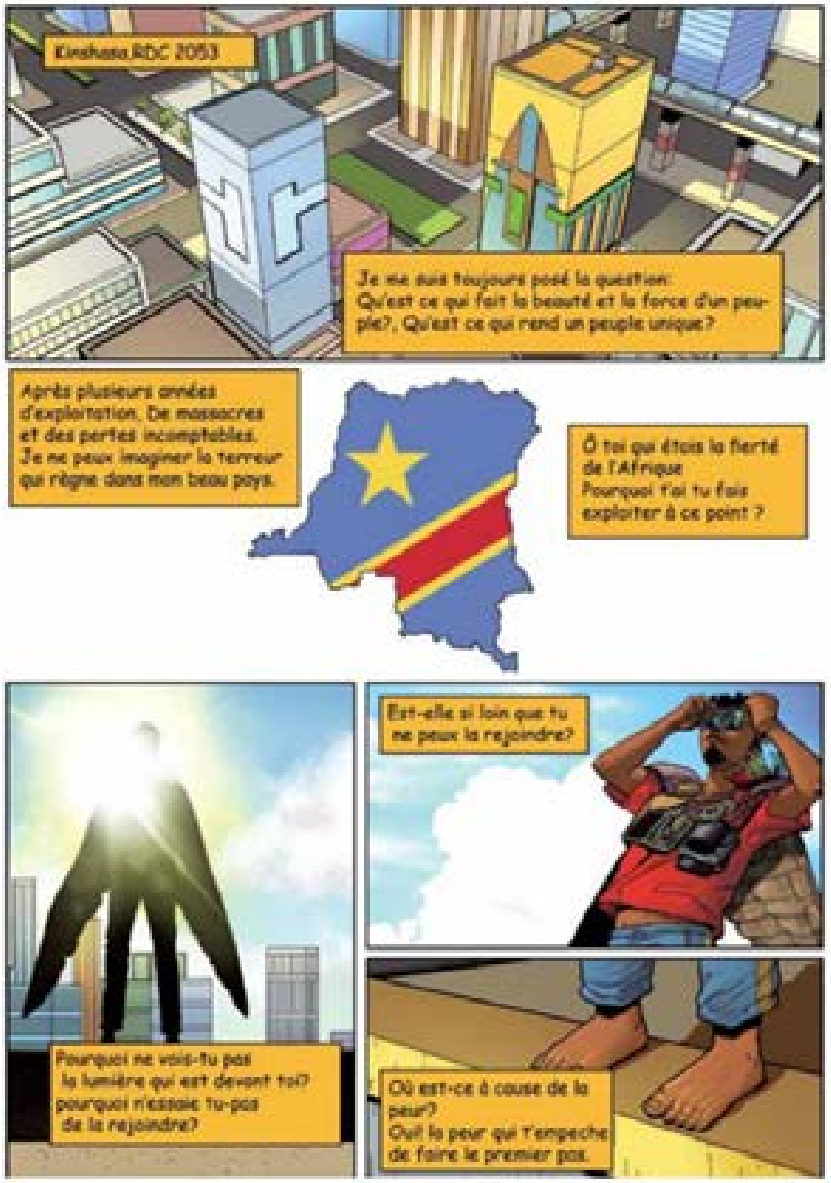
The Kintambo Magasin roundabout is a junction point connecting the rest of the city. It is also a congested crossroads you better avoid.

Rond point magasin

Le rond-point Kintambo Magasin est un point de jonction permettant de relier le reste de la ville. C'est également un carrefour congestionné à éviter autant que faire se peut.

Figure 3

Figure 4


Kinshasa,RDC 2053
Je me suis toujours posé la question:
Qu'est ce qui fait la beauté et la force d'un peuple?, Qu'est ce qui rend un peuple unique?
Après plusieurs années d'exploitation, De massacres et des pertes incomptables.
Je ne peux imaginer la terreur qui règne dans mon beau pays.
Ô toi qui étais la fierté de l'Afrique
Pourquoi t'ai tu fais exploiter à ce point ?
Pourquoi ne vois-tu pas la lumière qui est devant toi? pourquoi n'essaie tu-pas de la rejoindre?
Est-elle si loin que tu ne peux la rejoindre?
Où est-ce à cause de la peur?
Qui la peur qui t'empeche de faire le premier pas.


Si la peur est le veritable problème qui nous empêche en tant qu'un peuple, De deployer nos ailes...
...et de s'envoler vers le lendemain.
Alors tout ce qu'il nous faut faire, c'est retenir notre souffle pendant une seconde, et sauter
Et avant même que nous l'ayons realisé, Nous nous envolerons vers un futur, Meilleur

Figure 5

WORDS
[illegible]

PHOTOS
[illegible]

TITIA KANDOLO

KINOISE 4.0

Laëtitia Kandolo is the founder of UCHAWI, a ready-to-wear brand 100% made in Africa. From Rihanna to Beyoncé, not forgetting Madonna, Kanye West or Fally Ipupa, her collaborations with major artists are countless.

Figure 6

A Tale of a Few Cities

Un conte pour plusieurs villes

Visitors to Accra might think they are simply visiting Ghana's capital city when, in fact, they are visiting several: myriad realities occupying a single space and time. Party Accra emerges from Holy Accra's ranks the moment the latter is done praying for Hustler Accra to be blessed with prosperous opportunity. International NGO Accra claims it only has eyes for Poor Accra, but it spends its spare time wildly flirting with Expat Accra and Returnee Accra, the latter of which brings it into contact with Elite Accra: renowned (deservedly or not) throughout all the Accras for its exclusivity and alleged indifference towards all but itself.

Unknown to most exists yet another Accra: a reality in which a growing number of Ghanaian creatives under the age of forty connect and try to thrive in the face of parental disapproval, state lip service and corporations who would imagine it a place where failures die in search of the drug called Exposure.

Le touriste visitant Accra pourrait penser ne découvrir que la capitale du Ghana. Mais, en réalité, il en visite plusieurs à la fois : toute une myriade de réalités partageant un même espace-temps. Accra la fêtarde sort des rangs d'Accra la sainte dès l'instant où celle-ci a fini de prier pour qu'Accra la débrouillarde reçoive du ciel des occasions de prospérer. L'Accra des ONG internationales prétend n'avoir d'yeux que pour Accra la pauvre, mais elle passe tout son temps libre à flirter frénétiquement avec l'Accra des expats et l'Accra des exilés de retour au pays, cette dernière lui présentant l'Accra des élites, connue (à juste titre ou pas) pour son esprit communautaire et son apparente indifférence face à tout sauf elle-même.

Beaucoup l'ignorent mais il existe encore une autre Accra… Une réalité au sein de laquelle un nombre croissant de créatifs ghanéens de moins de quarante ans entrent en contact et tentent de s'épanouir, malgré le regard désapprobateur de leurs parents, les promesses vides de l'État et les entreprises qui imaginent que, dans cette Accra, les ratés de ce genre sont prêts à s'entretuer pour obtenir une drogue nommée « Visibilité ».

Figure 7

Figure 8

Figure 9

FIGURES

Figure 1. *From the Accra issue. Credits: OFF TO. Shared with permission.*

Figure 2. *From the Accra issue. Credits: OFF TO. Shared with permission.*

Figure 3. *From the Kinshasa issue. Credits: OFF TO. Shared with permission.*

Figure 4. *From the Kinshasa issue. Credits: OFF TO. Shared with permission.*

Figure 5. *From the Kinshasa issue. Credits: OFF TO. Shared with permission.*

Figure 6. *From the Kinshasa issue. Credits: OFF TO. Shared with permission.*

Figure 7. *From the Accra issue. Credits: OFF TO. Shared with permission.*

Figures 8-9. *Front pages of the first two issues of OFF TO. Credits: OFF TO. Shared with permission.*

NOTES

1. *Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall, 'Writing the World from an African Metropolis', Public Culture, 16: 348 (2004).*
2. *Achille Mbembe, Out of the Dark Night: Essays on Decolonization (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021).*
3. *Ibidem: 5-6.*
4. *Ibidem: 6.*
5. *Ibidem: 212.*
6. *Ibidem: 227.*
7. *Ibidem: 40.*
8. *That he derives and adapts from the work of French philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy.*
9. *It also means to emerge from the entrapment of Otherness (be that human vs non-human, coloniser vs colonised, white vs black, etc.). Ibidem: 62.*

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Ceren Hamiloğlu

Turkish Architects' Travels Portrayed in Architecture Magazines in Turkey, 1930-1950

Ceren Hamiloğlu graduated from Istanbul Bilgi University Department of Architecture and completed her MA in Architectural History at Bartlett School of Architecture - UCL. She is a PhD candidate in Istanbul Technical University Architectural Design program.

Her interests include creative potentials of academic research, material culture and the manifestations of space in different disciplines.

Working in a discipline that relates to creative production, society and culture, an architect is an intellectual individual who develops a professional architectural identity and approach by accumulating personal experiences, education and knowledge. The initial years during which a person 'becomes' an architect, are especially signified by the mobility of ideas and encounters, through which an architecture culture forms and disseminates. Travelling or architects' mobility is one of the few practices that has been agreed upon to have a positive impact on an architect's professional career, yet there are very few studies that explore travelling as a fundamental part of an architect's professional identity and its contribution to the architectural culture.

In the twentieth century, the mobility of architects and ideas played an essential role in the dissemination of an architectural culture that was characterised by modernity and change. Similar to Beatriz Colomina's view of architecture as an intersection of representation systems, a journey from archives to advertising,[1] this study identifies the components of architecture 'culture' as dissemination, representation and encounter. Architectural ideas circulate through institutions, a variety of visual representations (drawings, films, exhibitions), verbal or textual representations (conferences, courses, magazines, books), as well as encounters between these materials and people. Travelling, with its ability to trigger the production of visual, verbal and textual representations, appears to be a generative practice through which components of architectural culture can be understood.

Throughout the 1930s and 40s, architects in Turkey exchanged information and experience through a small number of publications, architecture schools and architectural actors. Travelling and

productions related to it -especially articles in architectural magazines- provided a ground for spreading knowledge and experiences gained outside the ordinary residences of architects, particularly in the west. Thus, as part of this research, articles were considered as a product of architects' traveling, which provided for a reading of how "translations" and "cross-cultural exchanges in the twentieth century" was mobilized by academics, traveling architects and international students, as "moving from one place to another during this [translation] process are not only people (…), but also capital, ideas (architectural movements and theories), technologies (...), information (...) and images (drawings and photographs)".[2]

In his essay Traveling Theory, Edward Said asserts, "Like people and schools of criticism, ideas and theories travel - from person to person, from situation to situation, from one period to another. Cultural and intellectual life are usually nourished and often sustained by this circulation of ideas."[3] In modern society, knowledge creation is not something static and easily transferable. Yet the knowledge of the precedent and the circulation of ideas that Said refers to, has often been considered as necessary in the architecture discipline; travelling to see the work of 'the masters' or the most innovative examples of architecture is valued. In pre-war Turkey, when modernity was attempted to be systematised, architects'productions during and after their travels, such as drawings, photographs, articles, class notes and memoirs helped share the architectural culture they 'brought back' with each experience.

In the 1930s' Turkey, travelling abroad to study and/or to inspect the architectural production of other countries (especially western) was valued so profoundly that successful architecture students were awarded with scholarships by the

government to study in western countries. The 1416 legislation of sending students to foreign countries that came into force in 1929 demonstrates the first attempt to regulate travelling abroad for education and returning to Turkey to take on jobs as civil servants. The study abroad scholarships cannot be evaluated separately from the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the new government's efforts to reposition Turkey in the global scene and seperate it from its Ottoman past, and modernise society.

The architecture trip organised by the Republican People's Party (CHP)[4] to Erzurum -a city in eastern Turkey- in 1944, displays how travelling and research was used as an ideological tool and a way of "returning to oneself" as it was expressed in the trip's announcement published in Mimarlık magazine's fourth issue in 1944.[5] The trip was an extended version of 'country trips' that had already been taking place since 1938 but mainly included artists to see the beauty of Anatolia and produce artworks based on their trips. Although the scope was extended to include architects as well, the 1944 trip would be the first and last one. An exhibition was organised after the trip, displaying the survey drawings made by attending architects Ali Saim Ülgen, Harika and Kemali Söylemezoğlu, Dündar Beyce and archaeologist Mahmut Alok (Figure 1).[6] According to the exhibition catalogue, Erzurum was chosen as the destination because it consisted of the oldest examples of Anatolian Turkic architecture. The main objective of the trip was to produce survey drawings to be exhibited. From the choice of location, to the language used in the promotion of the trip, the CHP government's emphasis on eastern Anatolia and pre-Ottoman Turkic settlements can be read as their aim to realign Turkey's history closer to pre-Islamic Turkic groups, and the growing interest in the pre-Ottoman past in

history writing.[7] Perhaps an earlier example of this interest was architect Zühtü Başar's extensive study trips in Anatolia and his "Seljuk Architecture in Erzurum" exhibition in Berlin Hochschule while he was on another tour in central Europe at the time.[8] Zühtü Başar's exhibition was celebrated in the period's most prominent architecture magazine, Arkitekt, in 1933.

Either hosted by the government or autonomously produced by architects, the main platform where travel material met an architectural audience was the architectural magazine. The very few architecture magazines available in Turkey in the 1930s were valuable sources through which architectural ideas were shared. Arkitekt (1931-1980) (initially named as Mimar) was established by Zeki Sayar, Abidin Mortaş and Aptullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, and it was the single architectural design and culture magazine of the early Republic until 1941. A few others followed it, such as Yapı (1941-1943), 'old' Mimarlık (1944-1953) published by Turkish Master Architects Union, Eser (1947-1948), Mimarlık ve Sanat (1961-1963), 'new' Mimarlık (1963-present) published by the Chamber of Architects in Turkey and Akademi (1964-1975) published by the oldest architecture school -Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Faculty of Architecture- in Turkey.[9] Many of the short-term magazines had published less than ten issues and only the two oldest magazines, Arkitekt and Mimarlık (1944-1953), were reviewed for this article. Most travel writing were actually commissioned by the magazines themselves. The remaining articles were written after architects' personal trips. The commissioned trips and articles had recurring research themes such as exhibition design, modern dwelling, social housing and modern urbanism. Given that these topics were in global interest in the prewar period, it is not a coincidence that they were frequently featured in architectural magazines in

Turkey, too.

Exhibitions in particular, were a significant motivation for architects to travel abroad because they were an elaborate way of seeing new implementations and methods in construction technologies, architectural style and urban planning in a post-industrial world. For instance, Şevki Balmumcu was delegated to study exhibition design in Europe and write an article in 1934.[10] In his article, Balmumcu expresses particular fondness for the Fascist Exhibition in Rome and gives detailed descriptions of the structures (Figure 2).[11] Considering that the previous year Balmumcu had won the competition for the design of Ankara Exhibition Hall with an iconic modernist design (Figure 3), his interest in the ultra-modern qualities of the structures in Rome seems to be embedded in his fascination with modernist details which had also been adopted as the architectural language of interwar totalitarianism.

A year prior to Balmumcu`s visit, Seyfi Arkan (Seyfettin Nasih) was delegated and funded to study European sports architecture in 1933, and wrote a sixteen-page article on the history of sports organisations, plan schemes of stadiums and specific physical qualities of sports areas in Amsterdam, Berlin and Cologne (Figure 4).[12] Only three years after Arkan's trip, Italian architect Paolo Vietti Violi would design a modernist reinforced-concrete stadium in Turkey's capital Ankara, which would epitomise the young Republic's emphasis on the 'young and healthy nation', especially through celebrations of 19th May National Youth and Sports Day in the stadium.[13]

Modernity, its physical and social attributions, is almost always the subtheme of the published articles in Turkish architectural magazines of the period. For instance, Hulusi Dener wrote about the Paris Exhibition in Arkitekt magazine in 1937, and the most intriguing part of his article

is his remarks about the navigation system in Paris, rather than the exhibition: "The first great impression of a traveller who sets foot in [Paris] would be how the navigation system gives a magnificent meaning to the city."[14] He goes on with descriptions and images of the urban implementations that were made to ease the safe flow of vehicles within the city. He uses photographs (possibly his own) that display the lighting systems used in a tunnel and crosswalks (Figure 5). It is not a coincidence that the architect-author was interested in how the city was illuminated as this idea is reminiscent of the post-industrial modernist fascination with the image of modern, hygienic and well-lit cities: and so he writes, "The new urbanist has to deal not only with the day view of the city, but also with buildings, public squares, the lighting of the entries, exits and ornaments, which would as a whole, form the city's night character."[15]

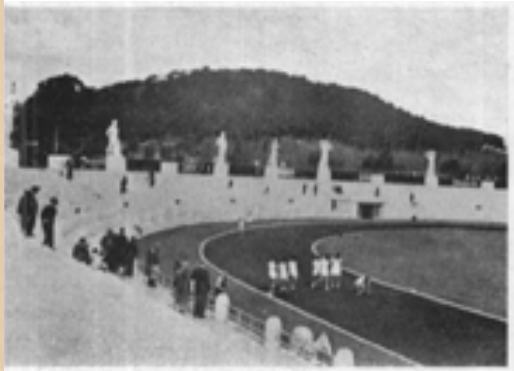
Urban planning was another repeating theme in architectural magazines, especially in post-war articles. A series of related articles were written by architect Orhan Alsaç and engineer Salahattin Onat, whom the France government invited to visit the 'Urbanism and Dwelling' exhibition at the Grand Palais, the 'Documentation' congress in Paris, and the 'International Union of Cities' congress in London. These trips were funded by Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1947.[16] The participation of the mayors of Aydın, Konya and Reyhanlı[17] shows how the Turkish Government took the matter as a formal inspection. The contents of the exhibition, focused on, building technology, modern materials, standardisation, contemporary garden and access to post-war social housing. Alsaç and Onat also emphasised the importance of rapid holistic planning and the role of lawmakers in implementing planning decisions, after seeing the aspiration in rebuilding postwar cities in Europe.[18]

Conclusion

The first-hand experience defined by these encounters is perhaps still significant today. Being present at commercial or academic events, meeting or working with renowned figures in the field, or seeing particular buildings in person are considered as essential activities for the architecture profession. These are still considered as indications of being well-connected and intellectuality, but with the logistical limitations of the period, or likewise, the ease provided by political or geographical affinities -between Turkey and Germany for instance- the curation of travel destinations seems to be less arbitrary than today.

The Turkish architectural magazines of the period not only provided a platform for these travels and research to be presented, but they also contributed to the culture of architectural writing which had not been a common practice for architects until recently. Through the articles, travel notes and publications in architectural magazines, architects' experiences -as part of their own professional positions-, views of western cities, and of their own countries were revealed. In that sense, architectural magazines became the vessels through which representations of experience were disseminated and encountered.

Figure 1



İtalyada Faşist sergisi ve Musolini stadı.

Figure 2

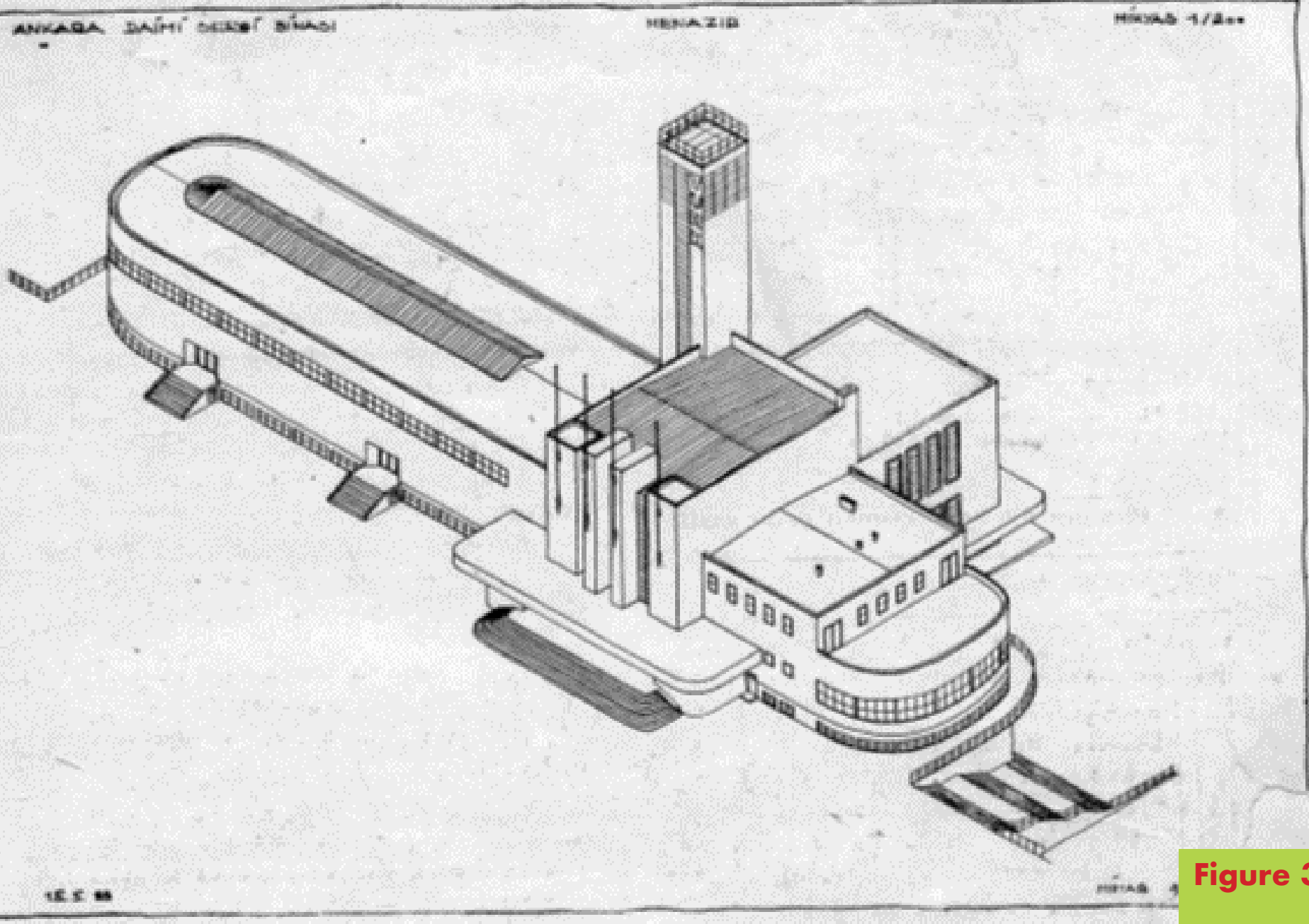
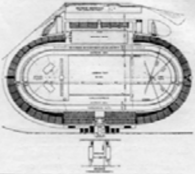
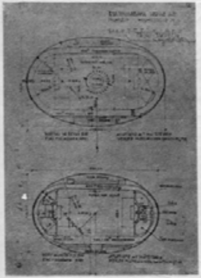


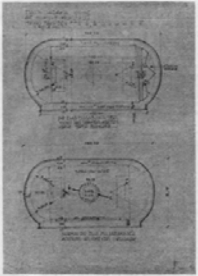
Figure 3

Amsterdam Stadyumu esil müsabaka yeri



Berlin Büyük Stadyumu esil müsabaka yeri





Esas musabaka yerleri teknik tafsilâtı.

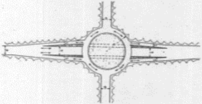
gim mülâhazat, büyüklerde de nazarı itibare alınmış olduğu görülmektedir.

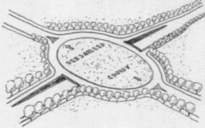
Büyük stadyumlardaki yüzme havuzlarında görülen ... daha çok olması ve ... gibi konfor tefer... ...miş olmasıdır.

Figure 4

7 — **Bisiklet ve motörsiklet yarış yeri:**

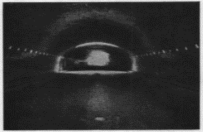
Büyük stadyumlarda bu yer, küçük stadyumlardaki alâka ve tekâmülü daha haiz bir haldedir. Yalnız burada, bir esas bina nazarı dikkati celbetmektedir. Bu sonuncusu ise, asıl müsabaka yerindeki esas binanın programını azçok ihtiva etmektedir. Hiç şüphe yok ki,



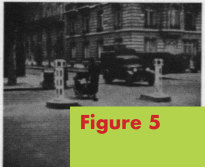


2, 3 - Bir Dörtyol ağzı

4 - Bir tünelin iç tenviratı



5 - Sokakların su ile serinletilmesi



6, 7 - Sokaklarda piyade geçiş yerleri çivi ve yere

Figure 5

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This article is based on the ongoing PhD research conducted under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Ahsen Özsoy in Istanbul Technical University.

NOTES

1. *Beatriz Colomina, Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture As Mass Media (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1996).*
2. *Esra Akcan, Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey & The Modern House (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2012), p. 3.*
3. *Edward Said, The World, The Text and The Critic (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 226.*
4. *CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi in Turkish) was established by Atatürk and it was the single ruling party in Turkey until 1950.*
5. *'Cumhuriyet Halk Partisinin Mimarlık Gezileri', Mimarlık, 4 (1944), 1 (p. 1).*
6. *The exhibition catalogue can be accessed via the SALT Archive, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/69172.*
7. *Cemal Kafadar and Hakan T. Karateke, 'Late Ottoman and Early Republican Turkish Historical Writing' in The Oxford History of Historical Writing, ed. by Macintyre, Maiguashca, Pok, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 572.*
8. *The architect exhibited his archive in Architects Congress in Budapest, too. See, Metin Sözen and K. Bora Yılmazyiğit, 'Mimar Zühtü*

Başar ve Üsküdar Kaymakamlığı [Architect Zühtü Başar and Üsküdar Governor]', Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi, 12 (1981-1982), 719-734 (p. 722).

9. After 1970, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of magazines and academic journals. Ömer İskender Tuluk, 'Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlık Dergileri ve Mimarlık Tarihi Yazıları Bibliyografyası' [A BIBLIOGRAPHY for Articles about History of Architecture Published in the Periodicals of Architecture in the Republican Period], Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi, 13 (2009), 485-556 (pp. 487-488).

10. The entirety of his trip covers many cities (Sophia, Belgrade, Budapest, Vienna, Munich, Venice and Rome - he briefly provides his impressions on each of them in his article) and took place between 17 March-8 April, 1934. Şevki Balmumcu, 'Küçük Seyahat' [Little Trip], Arkitekt, 39 (1934), 92-95.
11. Ibid, p. 95.
12. Seyfettin Nasıh, 'Stadyumlar: Almanya Stadyumları Hakkında Bir Tetkin Raporu [Stadiums: A Study Report on German Stadiums]', Arkitekt, 33-34 (1933), 299-314.
13. Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, Turkey: Modern Architectures in History (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), p. 30.
14. Translated by the author. "Şehre ayağını basan seyyahın ilk büyük intibaı caddelerdeki seyrüseferin şehre bahşettiği azametli mana oluyor.", Hulusi Dener, 'Paris Sergisinde Seyrüsefer ve paviyonları [sic]' [Navigation and Pavillions in the Paris Exhibition], Arkitekt, 81 (1937), 246-249 (p. 246).
15. Ibid, p. 248.
16. Orhan Alsaç and Salahattin Onat, 'Seyahat Notları: Fransa ve İngilterede [sic] Şehircilik' [Travel Notes: Urbanism in France and England], Mimarlık, 2 (1948), 39-42. Their trip takes around one and a half months, from July 16th, 1947 to September 1st, 1947, and its notes were published as a series with the same title in issues 2, 3, 4 and 5 of Mimarlık. Given the difficulties in transportation, it is not a surprise that most of the architects were funded by an institution Especially architecture students almost entirely depended on institutional funding if they wished to study abroad.
17. Cities located in the western, central and southeastern parts of Turkey, respectively.
18. Alsaç and Onat, [Travel Notes: Urbanism in France and England], Mimarlık, 2 (1948), 39-42.

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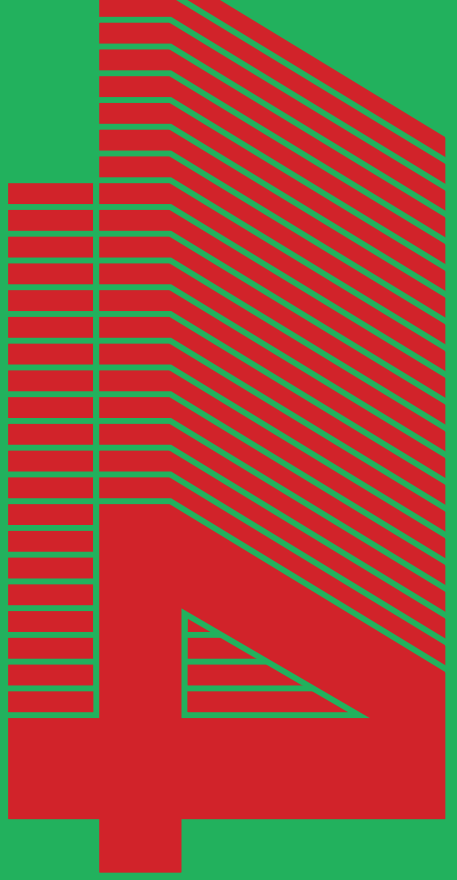
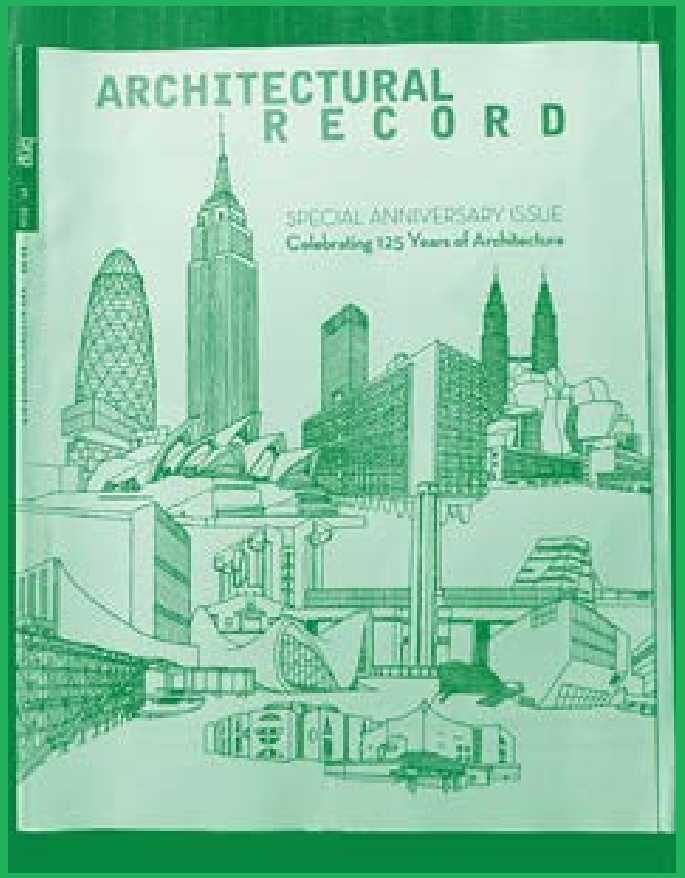
Chapter



Insider Stories

*on **Architectural Record**, United States, English, 1891–present*



Erin Hudson

Edits to the Record

Erin Hudson is a journalist based in New York City. She worked as an editorial assistant at Architectural Record from 2017 to 2018.

In late 2015, the staff of Architectural Record, the oldest monthly architecture magazine in the U.S., moved into a new office on the 60th floor of the Empire State Building. Though the distance between the Art Deco icon and the magazine's former office near Pennsylvania Station was just a few blocks, the shift marked a major upheaval in the publication's 124-year history.

Six months earlier, BNP Media, a con-

glomerate based in Troy, Michigan, bought Architectural Record, along with two other sister publications, from a private equity firm in Silicon Valley, Symphony Technology Group (STG). STG had bought Record as part of McGraw-Hill Financial's construction media portfolio not even a year earlier, in September 2014, for $320 million.[1]

But the significance of the dislocation was deeper than a change of address. BNP's acquisition of the "traditional media" magazines that had been part of the portfolio, offered Record an opportunity to redefine its relationship to architecture and architects. Record's content and format was irrevocably shaped by its founding publisher's business interests, which in turn influenced its readers' tastes, discourse, and perception of success within the profession of architecture.

Being free of that legacy for the first time since its founding in 1891, presents a chance to reimagine the magazine. I write this from an emic perspective - a

journalist by training, I worked at Record as an editorial assistant for a year starting in 2017. Whilst I believe wholeheartedly in the editors at the helm today and their mission, I spent hours in the archives, and I remember being struck by how little the format of the magazine had changed over so many decades. As a journalist who came of age in the era of digital media, seeing your work in print is rare, as is landing a coveted spot working for a prestigious

publication so old that it has a physical archive. There was a sense of pride I felt in seeing that aspects of the magazine had remained recognizable despite different editors and staff -- but what I have since learned about the powerful commercial interests upholding that consistency surprised me. What these archives showed was how Record, an exemplary architecture magazine in the U.S., was reduced to a vehicle for advertising, despite, or perhaps because of, its editorial staff's best efforts to produce independent architectural criticism.

Traditionally in journalism there is a rigid division between editorial staff and the publication's business interests. This church-and-state divide is meant to insulate journalists from undue influence and allow them to function as independent critics. But the worlds of publishing and journalism have changed. There is a constant effort from media moguls to monetize journalism in a changing world, and a widespread understanding that publications influence public thinking as companies, governments and powerful people have developed increasingly sophisticated ways to manipulate coverage to their benefit. Advertisers too have a long history for shaping the content of the publications where they buy ad space, particularly in the case of publications that cater to narrow demographics such as teenage girls or readers interested in a certain product or industry. It is no surprise such tension is also present within architecture magazines, but that dynamic is one that has not been acknowledged enough.

Audacious beginnings

The history of Record begins with two businessmen looking to build their fortunes and legacy at the turn of the 20th century.

These men saw an architectural magazine as a way to reach more consumers and create their own market for architecture and architectural products.

Record's first publisher, Clinton W. Sweet, started the magazine as a complement to another publication he'd started more than 20 years earlier, the Real Estate Record and Builders' Guide, which covered development and construction.[2] A publication focused solely on architecture was both a timely venture ahead of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, and a natural extension of Sweet's pre-existing publishing that would broaden his audience. Architectural Record would go on to serve as the distribution vehicle for Sweet's Indexed Catalogue of Building Construction, an encyclopedic reference book for building materials and companies that began publishing in 1906.

Five years into Record's history, Sweet formed a partnership with Frederick Warren Dodge, who founded a company focused on gathering and distributing construction news and building statistics. Dodge provided financial analysis of building and construction figures for publication in Record and began amassing a large holding of publications. By 1912, he had taken over all of Sweet's publications and bought out Sweet's ownership stake in Architectural Record. Though Dodge himself died in 1915, his media conglomerate F.W. Dodge Corporation owned 16 publications and was publishing more than 300,000 authenticated news items a year about construction projects, contracts, materials, design, and manufacturing.[3] As building technology began to rapidly advance, so did the need for accurate information and Dodge publications were there to meet demand. In a tribute to the late Dodge founder, published in Architectural Record, statistician Roger Babson, who would later become famous for predicting the 1929

stock market crash, called F.W.Dodge's dominance and rapid rise "typical of the industrial evolution" of the U.S. at the turn of the 20th century.[4] The country was aggressively urbanizing and construction in cities was booming. Innovation in building engineering and architecture was flourishing with the advent of the skyscraper. Awareness and curiosity were burgeoning for information about what occurred outside city limits and American borders. As increasingly cosmopolitan cities rose, wealth and demand for more information grew and with it the prospects of Record.

Until BNP's purchase of Record in 2015, the magazine was inextricably linked to industry news and data through its shared publisher, F.W. Dodge Corp. (McGraw-Hill acquired F.W. Dodge Corp. in 1961 and its name changed to Dodge Data & Analytics, which is the name it now operates under as one of STG's portfolio companies.)[5] How this relationship between data and business news and an architectural magazine played out was that Record became the vehicle for advertising. Record was the window to reach the architecture profession for advertisers while simultaneously influencing those professionals' work, tastes, and ambitions.

Until the end of the 20th century when Internet research became commonplace, Record and Dodge's data offered readers information about projects around the country and leads for finding new work. The magazine's featured projects showed new styles and approaches to designing various building types and its advertisements showed architects the latest building materials to specify. While advertising in print media is hardly revolutionary or surprising, the intentionality of Record's publishers to use the magazine to monetize the profession is striking. Even more so because, over the decades, Record's editorial staff, contributing theorists and

architects all became unwitting participants in the larger project of making money from architects and their need to read about themselves.

The question that begs to be answered is whether or not they knew? For now, it remains unclear, and requires further research to understand with greater certainty to what degree Record editorial staff were aware of the powerful commercial interests directing the publication and to what degree their work may have been influenced, or not. Having experienced the gravity and earnestness with which Record editors approach their work, I would be very surprised if evidence of substantial influence was found. Most journalists will fight back vehemently against the corruption of their work because it's not just words published by the company — their byline is attached, and with that, there is a degree of personal integrity.

Record was not known for its fiery criticism. Through its archives, the publication's general attitude was that the choice to publish a project is endorsement and praise enough. Record focused on meticulous descriptions of materials use, design and construction processes, and approach. But it did not shy away from tackling major shifts in the industry and building policy showcasing what worked as intended, or did not, from affordable housing to building density in cities. In this way, Record was working in tandem with policy makers and developers by addressing and publicizing their efforts to their audience of architects, as opposed to setting its own agenda for the profession in isolation.

The architect and the magazine

The figure of the architect is deceivingly complicated for Record. Architects are both readers and subscribers, but also the source of projects and features. For Record's advertisers, architects were both the

customer to whom ads should be directed, and a proxy for the public who could be reached through the architect's design.

For architects, who were barred from advertising until the 1970s, being featured in a magazine like Record was the only way to get their names and work out there under the guise of professional discourse. Meanwhile, the magazine had an endless list of subjects vying to be featured and advertisers saw a direct way to access their ideal audience and influence elements in their projects that would make money. For Record, being an architecture magazine was the perfect formula for advertising and subscription -- a never-ending loop where the publication made money from both parties. Archival source materials uncovered by researcher Phoebus Ilias Panigyrakis unequivocally show how Record "not only set the rules for architecture's public appearance and means of operation but also effectively rendered the architect to

a commodity".[6]

The backdrop for Record to ascend to this position was largely due to the American Institute of Architects (AIA) barring architects from advertising their services in 1909.[7] The ban followed similar practices for lawyers and doctors and was enacted to preserve the standards of the profession as paying for publicity was seen as unprofessional. That meant no names on buildings or signage in front of a construction site. Advertising was axed along with doing any work for free or participating in design competitions outside of the AIA's approval. Architects were also banned from undercutting a rival by knowingly offering lower fees for a project. Inexplicably, every firm was to charge the same percentage of construction cost. The AIA's restrictions were in place until 1978 when, after years of pressure from the U.S. Justice Department concerning antitrust issues, the AIA voted to permit advertising with more than 80

percent of members voting in favour of the changes.[8]

F.W. Dodge Corp., well aware of this, built itself up to be a middleman between the architect and the rest of the building industry. Record was not the only publication that did this of course, but it was the only publication that had ample information about the construction industry and a close relationship with manufacturers.[9]

The earliest known evidence of Dodge's positioning itself as a marketing agency with its various publications as the medium was a 1926 internal brochure dubbed "Selling the Architect."[10] The brochure is a pitch for how companies could advertise to architects through Dodge's publications, the crown jewel of which was Record. Dodge even had an in-house team of graphic designers that would create ads that would appeal to architects. The language attempts to demystify architecture and lay a road map for how to advertise to architects and

the value of it.

Excerpts from selling the architect

'Sales and advertising managers and even some advertising agencies, are inclined to build a wall of theory around the architectural profession; to assert that architects are different from other mortals and must be approached by an entirely different procedure; and to look upon selling the architect as an operation full of mystery, in which each man has his own pet solution of the problem. As a matter of fact, the architect is singularly like other men, and can be sold as the other men are sold, by a sales and advertising campaign based upon, first, the broad fundamental principles of common sense and, second, a full knowledge and appreciation of the way in which he conducts the business of being

an architect. It is an advertising truism that each class of man is best sold from his own viewpoint.'[11]

'The business of being an architect is essentially a selling proposition, supported by aknowledge of the ideals, economics and mechanics of construction products, togetherwith ability to analyze, judge, apportion, combine and correlate them. The architectis, in fact, perpetually selling this product or that—yours or your competi-

tor's—inproportion as he has previously been sold on the merits of the products…'[12]

In 1959, F.W. Dodge Corp. commissioned for Record a motivational marketing study from Austrian psychologist Ernest Dichter. Dichter was one of the leaders in consumer motivational research and, by that time, he had worked with ad agencies and directly consulted with some of the country's biggest companies such as Coca Cola, General Electric and Exxon, and other publications such as TIME, Newsweek, Elle, and Cosmopolitan. Dichter began generating backlash for his tactics to compel and influence through advertising but he remained a go-to marketing guru until the 1970s despite his critics.[13]

The study, was meant to help Record bolster its public image, better understand its readers and, ultimately, beat out the competition. The study's main findings were that readers saw Record as a 'forward-looking conservative' source of news in the field and useful information for their work, but would read one of its major competitors, Progressive Architecture or Architectural Forum for more "human" stories.

'Despite being in a favourable position as both practical and historically conscious, the Record is found to be alienating itself from its readership,' the report said. 'This is attributed to the magazine's format, its crowded ads that lack aesthetic appeal and non-specific features.'[14]

The report's recommendations included

‘The business of being an architect is essentially a selling proposition, supported by aknowledge of the ideals, economics and mechanics of construction products, togeth-erwith ability to analyze, judge, apportion, combine and correlate them. The architectis, in fact, perpetually selling this product or that—yours or your competitor’s—inproportion as he has previously been sold on the merits of the products…’ [12]

increasing the aesthetic of Record ads, moving editorial content up toward the front of the magazine and placing ads more strategically to separate individual features. The report also made some pointed editorial recommendations, namely that ‘architects like controversy’ and that could be a place for Record to grow readership.

‘The chance exists for the Record to steal some of Forum’s most vital sensationalism, controversy not written by a journalist but controversial views written by a professional with perspective,’ the report states.[15] Sensational headlines and opinions driving readership and engagement is a time-old concept that’s now touted by social media algorithms, but in the pages of Record, sensationalism was rare.

The idea of using professionals as writers was also not unprecedented. Record had a long history of publishing essays by prominent architects prior to 1959. But in the ensuing years, Record began pub-

lishing regular series featuring prominent architects. One such series that began in 1963 was called 'Architectural Details' and presented 'details of significant architecture by master architects.'[16]

The contents of both archival documents, Selling the Architect, and Dichter's report, show how Record's editorial and ad content was employed by F.W. Dodge Corp. to exploit architects' inability to market themselves.[17]

Articles published in the 21st century show the lasting impact the AIA's advertising ban had on the profession -- ostensibly to the benefit of Record. In 2002, two Record editors, Jane Kolleeny and Charles Linn, penned a series of articles providing readers with a history of architectural marketing and advertising.[18]

'The evolution of architectural practice—from an anti-competitive, 'may-the-best-man-win' culture to one in which firms have to go out and win new projects, promote their designs, and also market their firms—was one of the most important changes in our profession during the 20th century,' wrote Kolleeny and Linn in their introduction. 'Unfortunately, little in the education of most architects ever gave them even the most basic understanding of how to sell what they do.'[19]

At one point in the series, the editors write that they don't expect to see clients ever purchasing architectural services online and the former head of marketing departments at RTKL and Perkins & Will was quoted saying that, 'If that happens, we've sunk from being an idea-driven service to a mere commodity.'[20]

The irony is almost painful and prompts thorny questions. It also underscores the importance of raising the self-awareness of Record's editorial staff to know the history of the publication's business interests.

Despite ethical minefields, the formula of an architecture magazine as adver-

tising served Record well. The magazine outlasted significant competition. An early competitor known first as The Brickbuilder began in Boston in 1892. It was renamed Architectural Forum in 1917 and its scope widened significantly when it was bought by Time Inc. from 1932 to 1964.[21] Forum was aimed to elevate the quality of the built environment by enlightening building professionals and clients, the owners and developers, about architecture. According

to architectural historian Sarah Dreller, Forum's "fatal flaw" at Time was that the magazine did not have enough architects as subscribers, advertisers didn't view the magazine as a valuable investment and Time's worst salesmen were "demoted" to the magazines' account.[22] Architect Witold Rybczynski, who is a professor and writer, attributed Time dropping Forum to its success with a residential-only publication that is now House and Home.[23] In 1965, Urban American, a non-profit dedicated to improving cities, took over publishing Forum until the non-profit decided the magazine was not worth the resources. Editor Peter Blake carried on publishing independently until 1974.[24]

Another major competitor, Pencil Points, was founded in June 1920. The magazine underwent a few rebranding to New Pencil Points and then finally Progressive Architecture, or P/A, in 1945 which is the name that stuck until its demise in the 1990s.[25] P/A's design awards were

architects' most desired accolades in the 1950s and 1960s and was known as "the voice of the future" that was known to be a tough critic of the profession. Its readers were known to be architects and draftsmen. P/A's final publisher, Penton Publishing, sold its name and subscriber list in 1995 to BPI Communications, which published another rival magazine, Architecture. The New York Times' story announcing the deal was published with the headline "Architecture

Loses a Progressive Voice."[26]

Architecture began in 1913 as the Journal of the American Institute of Architects, the American Institution of Architects' monthly house organ. It was founded to replace the AIA's quarterly publication and changed its name several times until it was dubbed Architecture in 1983. In the 1996 story about P/A's sale, the Times' reporter described Architecture as a "somewhat stodgy periodical" and later that year AIA cut its in-house publication loose. AIA adopted Architectural Record as its official magazine in 1997 and Architecture forged ahead as an independent publication.[27] In 2006, it was absorbed by media conglomerate Hanley Wood, now known as Zonda, and became the AIA's house organ once again in 2010 under the name Architect.[28]

Record losing its status as the AIA's official publication coincided with a construction downturn. Rybczynski, writing for digital-only publication Slate a few months later, observed that architecture magazines have "lost their sense of urgency."[29]

'You are more likely to find tough architectural criticism in the New York Review of Books, the New Republic, and The New Yorker than in any of the major architecture magazines. The public's growing fascination with architecture over the last two decades might have saved architecture magazines, except that they were read only by practitioners,' wrote Rybczynski.[30]

Despite naysayers, as the sole surviving architecture monthly, Record has proved how the advertising-centric business model that commodifies readers and subjects alike can succeed. Though the commercial interests driving the magazine may come as no surprise to many, I can't help but wonder how architects and editorial staff would feel about the publication if they read a full accounting of the publisher's strategy.

During the year I worked there as

an editorial assistant, it was common for architects to hold off on releasing photography of their buildings until a Record editor let them know whether or not they'd be interested in featuring the project. Few publications enjoy the prized esteem Record holds among architects -- or its decades-long track record as the profession's trendsetter. Such an established brand has something to lose when there's unexplained dissonance between its mission and business practices.

Beyond criticism

Record's raison d'etre has been articulated, and occasionally contradicted, many times by many different figures throughout its history. But by and large, particularly among editors speaking in the recent past, there is an acknowledgement that advertising is inevitably a key ingredient, which suggests that perhaps the argument is not so surprising to the makers of Record.

Among those who would be caught off guard are those that were involved in Record's early days. In the first issue of Record, the first editor-in-chief, Harry Desmond, argued that architecture could be a transformative force for an unrefined America.[31] For the late Frederick Warren Dodge was said to have believed that Record served the architect by featuring the best examples of architecture and encouraging appreciation of good design.

'The magazine dealt with the art of architecture rather than its practice; and to gain the confidence of the nonprofessional reader, as well as the architect, it excluded from its text 'trade notices' and any matter which might appear to be inspired by business motives,' wrote Babson in his 1916 tribute to Dodge.[32] 'Any technical information which might be needed could be found in Sweet's Catalogue; therefore Mr. Dodge felt all the more free to devote the magazine to the art of architecture.'[33]

(His beliefs, if accurate, oppose the stance his own company would take decades later by commissioning the Dichter study, not to mention the practice-focused stance the magazine's editors would adopt.)

But by Record's 75th anniversary in 1966, then-editor-in-chief Emerson Goble wrote an editorial titled 'Criticism is dead; Long live criticism,' responding to complaints that Record had become "more restrained" without the nerve or perhaps the talent to criticise.[34] Goble took the occasion to explain his view of the subtle, near invisible, criticism the magazine practiced under his leadership and how he felt the magazine's only duty is to architects.

'We must show them the latest, best, most significant, most exciting, most promising architecture. Must we put a rating on it?' he wrote. 'I believe that, generally speaking, architects do not need to be told how a building is to be judged…What does sway them is publication, with or without words.'[35]

Fifty years later on Record's 125th anniversary in 2016, three living editor in chiefs gathered for a conversation that was printed as part of the issue, and agreed with Goble about their roles as curators in service to architects. Mildred Schmertz, FAIA, who worked at Record in the late 1950s and was editor in chief from 1985 to 1990 said the magazine mission 'has been the same for 125 years.'[36]

'It's simple: to serve architects in the profession, to keep their loyalty, and to attract advertisers because of the size and quality of our readership,' she said.[37]

'We've always had a curatorial role - making selections of projects that we think are going to interest people for a variety of reasons,'[38] said Robert Ivy, FAIA, who led the publication from 1996 to 2011. 'The merely good isn't a rationale for publication either. Because all architects should be doing good work. So the question is, what

is the lesson in it?'[39]

Cathleen McGuigan, the current editor in chief who has been at the helm since 2011, acknowledged the larger field for competition among architectural publications online and with social media. Online blogs and news websites such as Dezeen, Architizer, Designboom and ArchDaily have larger followings on social media and often post project photography quickly. But Record isn't a spectator. The magazine has grown its Instagram following and has made it known to architects and publicists that, save a few exceptional projects, it requires exclusive photography to feature a building.

'Record's role is arguably even more significant in a world where, every morning, people turn on their computers or look at their phones and see a whole bunch of little postage-stamp-sized images of buildings, from all over the world, and think they know architecture,'[40] she said. 'We send writers to report on projects and we produce first-hand stories in layouts with plans and specifications, with all the information and insight that Record has been providing for decades. There really is no better way to publish the experience of what makes a great work of architecture.'[41]

McGuigan was my boss during my time at Record and though it may appear to impugn my independence to agree with her, I do. There is no other American architecture magazine that routinely dispatches its writers and editors around the world to review a building. The state of architecture magazines in the U.S. is such that it's almost impossible to even ask whether or not Record is letting down its readers, because its sustaining existence is accomplishment enough.

Conclusion

Architectural Record was founded to cultivate an influential audience, architects, to

"We must show them the latest, best, most significant, most exciting, most promising architecture. Must we put a rating on it?' he wrote. 'I believe that, generally speaking, architects do not need to be told how a building is to be judged… What does sway them is publication, with or without words."[35]

inform them of professional news, feats, and elevate the quality of the built environment. Guiding that mission behind the scenes were the powerful business interests of its publishers, who masterfully took advantage of the advertising industry's perceived tackiness among architects to position having a project or essay featured in Record as the optimal way to be seen and known as a professional. At the same time, Record developed a cozy, interdependent relationship with advertisers for building materials manufacturers, filling the magazine's glossy pages with targeted ads that would appeal to architects and end up being used in their projects.

Knowing this history is crucial for editorial staff past, present and future. Architects, the readers and subjects of these magazines, and the journalists and critics who create these publications for their living, deserve to know what forces are at work to shape how the profession is portrayed and why. Without historical information and transparency, there

can be no meaningful inquiry into what defines architecture and architects.

What to do with the findings is a question I cannot answer. An analysis of how Record's business model influenced its articles, building reviews, and essays would be telling and a critique may logically follow. But I hope this essay sparks sufficient curiosity among scholars and researchers and at least one will embark on a rigorous study of Record or other American architecture magazines.

Record was the focus of this essay, but of course it was not the only magazine, in architecture or any other genre, that's been shaped by its publishers' business interests and advertisers. Though today Record can arguably serve as an archetype for American architecture magazines, in no small part due to the fact that it is the only one still publishing, the documents show it was not the favourite to outlast its rivals back in the mid-20th century. To what degree Record's business model and advertising formula contributed to its sustenance and what was different in its competitors' models would be fascinating to understand.

What drove my inquiry is what seems like an opportunity for Record to re-evaluate itself after being bought by a new publisher. Under the ownership of BNP Media, separated for the first time from construction data publications, the time appears ripe for reinvention and reimagining itself. As Record faces the typical headwinds facing any media organization today, the increasing use of digital media not suited to long form articles and a dog-eat-dog attention economy, perhaps the future staff could benefit from re-evaluating Record's relationship with architects. Whether that is possible or if there's even an appetite for such change, among editors or readers, is unclear. But before any veritable call for action can be made, there should first be further diligent efforts to document how Record became the oldest architecture magazine in the U.S. and what that means for architects, now and then.

(WHOLE No. 7.)
Vol. II. PUBLISHED QUARTERLY. No. 3.

The

Architectural Record.

To build up "a pile of better thoughts."—WORDSWORTH.
"And the worst is that all the thinking in the world doesn't bring us to Thought; we must be right by nature, so that good thoughts may come before us like free children of God, and cry "Here we are."—GOETHE.

JANUARY-MARCH, 1893.

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Figure 1

Architectural Record.

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BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION.

MEN play the hypocrite oftener with their purposes than with their actions. It is in the obscurer field that we keep most jealously not only what friend Nym styled "the behavior of reputation," but most frequently affect reputation itself. There is, perhaps, no occasion—unless we find a parallel in politics—where the temptation to parade purposes, to spread before the world a rich Barmecide feast of virtue and good intention is stronger than in introducing to the public (with interested motives) a new publication. Few publishers can be brought to feel particularly grateful to an editor for even a restrained frankness on such an occasion. No wider candor is permitted than Sganarelle's: "I am not so scrupulous as to tell you the whole truth." We know of no publication started avowedly for the sordid but yet not disreputable purpose of making money. True, in making the venture a measure of financial success may have been hoped for tacitly, as not unwelcome or inconsequential; but, of course, if it came, it was merely because from of old it is not permitted that the righteous shall be forsaken or their seed beg their bread. The printing press always is set in motion to publish some new gospel, to restate some old one unheeded, to vindicate some human right tyrannized over or the precincts of the church; unless, indeed, there came to be too little room for it there; which, if everything stated be exactly true, is plausible.

We hope this frankness has not cut the ground from under our own feet; for we want to say that THE ARCHITECTURAL RECORD is a publication with somewhat of a purpose over and above a purely commercial one. This is due to the very character of the field which the magazine must occupy, as well as to intention. The field is one which must be entered with serious purpose or not at all. To amuse the public with Architecture, obviously is out of the question. Not that the art, as practised at present, is without a ludicrous side, or is free from rare little bits of humor, grotesqueness and caricature; but unfortunately there are so few who would perceive or appreciate the fun that the publisher will be the only one who will pay for the joke. As to merely recording—so often in a blunt, free, indiscriminate way—contemporary work popularly classed as architecture, that task already is even too abundantly performed by numerous weekly publications. Only the higher field is unoccupied; but in this country, perhaps more than in any other, entrance into this higher field im-
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Figure 2

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Figure 4

Top. The "Flying Machine" which ran between Philadelphia and New York in 1766, making this rapid trip in *two days*, hence the name.

Left. The "Conestoga Wagon," a type of conveyance that served inland transportation in Pennsylvania in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Right. Peter Cooper and his locomotive, which figured in the early development of American rail transportation.

These tiles were executed at the Enfield Potteries from designs by J. H. Dulles Allen, assisted by Walter P. Suter.

Figure 5

Polychrome Tile Decorations in Elevator Lobbies, illustrating the Story of Transportation—Delaware River Bridge

Figure 6

Figure 7

"Beauty, Envy and Love"

The preliminary pastel sketch for a mural decoration by Edward Trumbull.

This artist is now entering the front rank of his profession through his imaginative faculty, fine color quality and draughtsmanship.

Educationally he is an American product, having made all his studies in this country. He, however, acquired sufficient experience and skill here to become Frank Brangwyn's sole assistant for six years.

Figure 8

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JANUARY

THE

ARCHITECTURAL RECORD

An important phase of the Federal building program is the establishment of subsistence homesteads. Plans for 58 projects have been approved, and the majority of these are already well under way. Proposed as unemployment relief measures, the homesteads depend for their success on a satisfactory integration of industry and agriculture. The 1934 Report (just released) of the Secretary of Agriculture analyzes this problem, and since the section relating to subsistence farming is a pertinent appraisal of the current building program, it is reprinted herewith.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND SUBSISTENCE FARMING

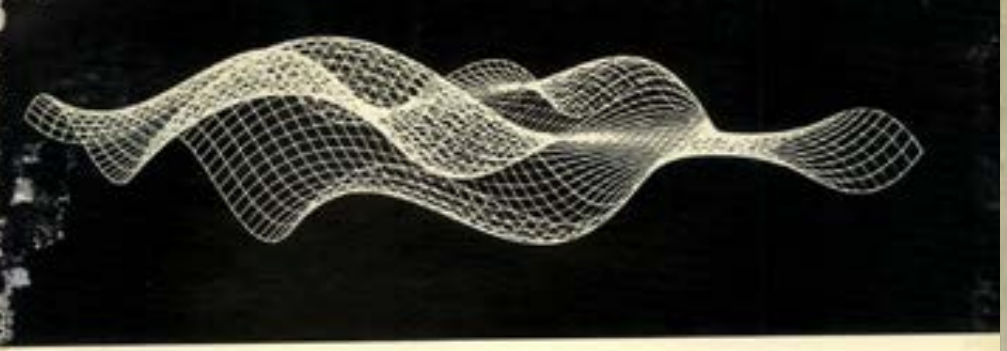
By HENRY A. WALLACE, Secretary of Agriculture

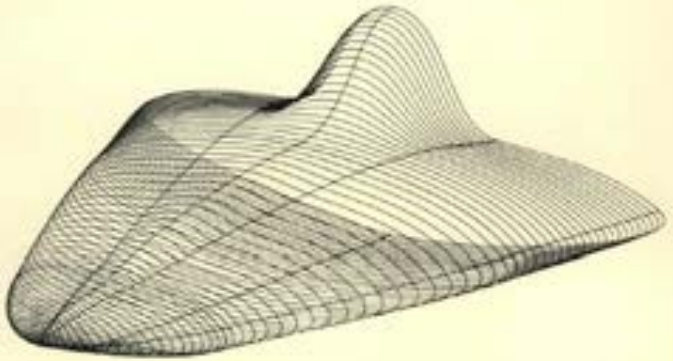
In hard times the unemployed look naturally to the land. They cannot be refused access to it; and yet to admit them into agriculture unconditionally would involve removing certain restraints upon agricultural production. Here is a dilemma. On the one hand, the progress of agriculture absolutely requires a limitation of farm production and therefore of farm employment. On the other hand, national expediency forbids closing the rural country to the urban unemployed.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act creates very little unemployment. Farm owners, and tenants with a reasonably secure tenure, do not become unemployed through crop reductions. Hired labor and certain types of tenants, notably the share-croppers of the South, may occasionally suffer. But the Agricultural Adjustment Administration endeavors to protect these groups. In cotton and tobacco contracts it stipulates that landlords as far as possible shall maintain their normal force of tenants or hired hands. By comparison with other causes of rural unemployment, such as the interruption of the flow of rural population to the towns and the flight of city people to the country, the influence of crop adjustments is negligible. Between 1929 and 1933 nearly 2,000,000 people left the towns.

Six Southern States last spring reported having on their relief rolls from 15,000 to 40,000 farm families per State. For the most part, however, these farm families had been thrown into distress by the depression. Undoubtedly the number would have been greater had the adjustment program not increased the income from cotton in 1933. Moreover, the great majority, perhaps 75 per cent, were still [illegible] another. They were [illegible] self-support. Consider[illegible] crop adjustments relie[illegible] they create. Scores o[illegible]

Figure 10





ARCHITECTURAL RECORD

1 JANUARY 1968 - TWO DOLLARS PER COPY

BUILDING TYPES STUDY: INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS

NEW USES OF THE COMPUTER IN ARCHITECTURE

BUILDINGS BY CAUDILL, ROWLETT AND SCOTT

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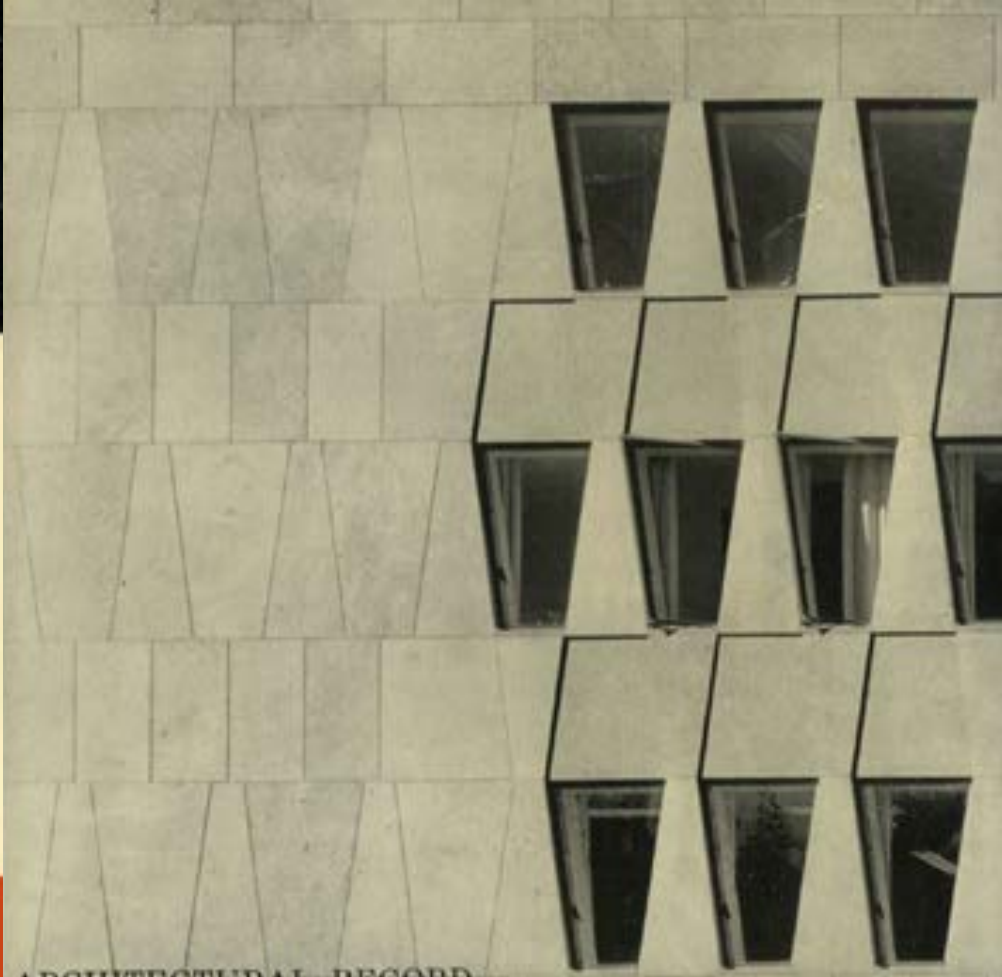
Figure 11



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January 1960 1

Building Types Study: Industrial Buildings

Recent Work of Marcel Breuer

Rehabilitation Centers

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Figure 12

Figure 13

THE JUILLIARD SCHOOL AT LINCOLN CENTER

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Figure 14

FIGURES

The figures are digital copies of Architectural Record, *that were digitized by US Modernist. The dates range from Record's first edition in 1891 to 1970. They are focused on how advertising appeared in the magazine.*

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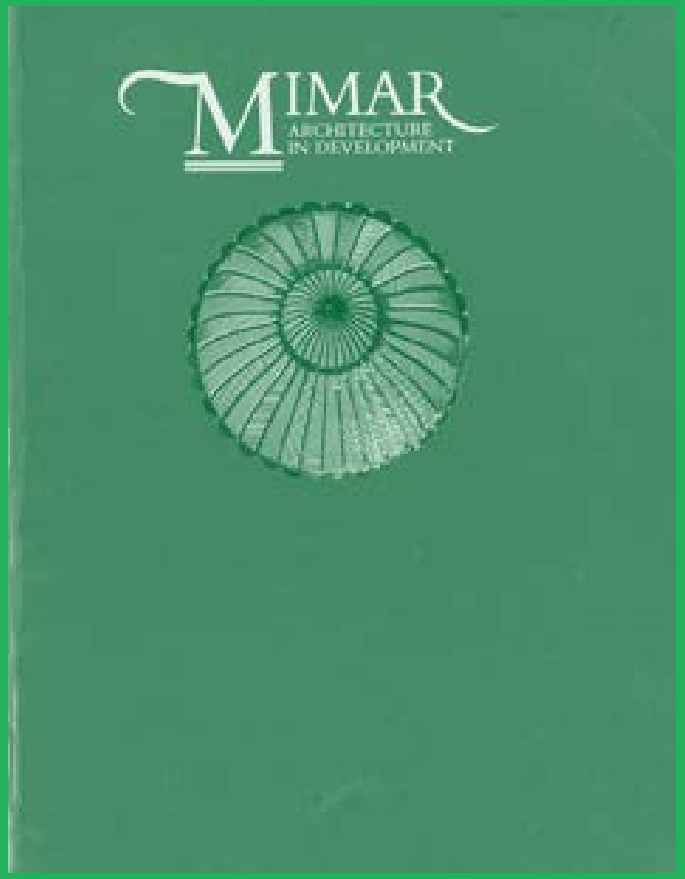
*on **Mimar**, Singapore, English, 1981–1992*



Hassan-Uddin Khan

Towards and Beyond *Mimar: Architecture in Development*

Hasan-Uddin Khan, Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Architecture & Historic Preservation, Roger Williams University, has lived and worked as an architect, educator and writer all over the globe. He graduated from the Architectural Association, London, in 1972, after which he was in private practice in England and Pakistan. He helped set up the Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 1977 and was its second Convenor. He worked for the Aga Khan Trust for Culture as Head of Architecture and Director of Special Projects until 1994. He was founder and Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Mimar: Architecture in Development*, and Academic Editor of the *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* (2012-21). He was Visiting Associate Professor at MIT (1994-99); Visiting Professor at Berkeley in 2000 and 2007; and joined Roger Williams University in 1999, retiring from academia in 2020.

It has been three decades since the journal *Mimar* ceased publication. I am still asked about it and keep being told that it has had an impact on contemporary architecture in Asia and indeed further afield. Revisiting its formation is a tale worth telling, with lessons for subsequent publications.

In 1976 I applied for a job to help set up an award for architecture that was being set up by His Highness the Aga Khan. To cut a long story short, I got the job as assistant to Renata Holod who was the first Convenor, and in 1980 I became Convenor and ran the Award for a couple of years. I worked for with the Aga Khan for 16 years after that!

While I was working for him, I realized that there was no publication that covered architecture in Asia and Africa that was internationally available. There were of course local architectural journals but most of them were of a limited quality and only available within their own countries. The well-known magazines published in the West were only occasionally interested in publishing work in what was then termed the "developing countries". I believed these contexts needed their own voice on the world stage.

In 1980, I made a proposal to the Aga khan that a journal covering the developing countries would be of great value and would complement his architectural award, which by its charter had to remain neutral and could not promote any particular architects or projects, except for the award winners. On the other hand, an independent journal could have a point of view and promote all kinds of works, built and unbuilt. I also strongly believed that the magazine should be of the highest quality so as not to bear the stigma of being "third world" and would compete in quality with the finest magazines anywhere. The Aga Khan agreed to sponsor the journal, and

Mimar was born.

It started as an idea, but I had no experience with publishing or editing and I enlisted the help of Brian Brace Taylor, a respected academic and critic. He had worked on architectural magazines and written about architecture. Together, we conceived the publication. We decided to focus on contemporary architecture in Asia, but to also cover all kinds of buildings from elsewhere. We also felt that the weight of an international homogenizing architecture needed to be countered. In our belief, great architecture is regional and reflects the concerns and aspirations of its local users. And we wanted a name that would set it apart, indicating it as something that emanated from another part of the globe.

We came up with the name *Mimar* inspired by a defunct Turkish magazine *Mimarlik*. To clarify that it dealt with architecture, William Porter, then Dean at MIT suggested we add the somewhat ambiguous Architecture in Development to the title and Mimar: Architecture in Development was born. The word ***mimar*** itself means master-builder in several Asian languages and was easy to pronounce in English. *Mimar*'s unique die-cut cover came from the idea of Mughal miniatures – providing a window into a world.

I was the Editor-in Chief and Brian the Managing Editor. He and I developed all the content together. I generally controlled the magazine's "look" and Brian the managed most of the editorial matter. We continued this relationship throughout the publication's life from 1981 to 1992 – a total of 43 issues.

The design was conceived by Emilio Ambasz, a fine architect and designer. The slick glossiness served its purpose, but also brought with it problems of cost. One of the reasons *Mimar* was a quarterly was that we could just about manage to produce four issues a year with the quality we desired

and the ability to distribute it with the small organization we had. We published it out of Singapore, as I was based in Jakarta. We wanted a place that was not in the west; this was more of a symbolic gesture than anything else. It was also much less expensive to produce there with the quality we wanted and the connections to ship it globally with minimum restrictions and obstacles.

The prominent Singaporean architect, William Lim, and Amir Bhatia (later Baron Lord Bhatia), a London businessman who had interests in Singapore, and a local lawyer, were instrumental in helping us set up a publishing company, Concept Media. Thus, we set up a small office in Singapore.

I enlisted Patricia Thesiera to manage the office and run the magazine. She had worked with the local institutes' architectural journal and knew about production and distribution – again matters about which I knew nothing. She hired two other people to work in the office. She ran a tight ship!

Brian worked out of Paris and myself on a part-time basis, due to work at the Award. We hired a young firm, Viscom Design (now well known in the region), to develop the design and layout the issues. The young designers, Sylvia Tan, Molly Lim, and Hui Huy Ko worked with us throughout the magazine's life and designed most of the books we later produced.

We decided that an Editorial Board of "wise minds" could act as a sounding-board and help guide us towards issues they thought important in different places. Several prominent people based in different countries joined us on a voluntary basis because they believed in what we wanted to do. We were also joined by International Correspondents who were equally involved in advising us.

The Board met twice a year, once at the Secretariat of the Aga Khan and once elsewhere. The first Board consisted of the architects, Professor Intizar Azzouz, from

Libya, Abdullah Bokhari from Saudi Arabia, Charles Correa from India, William Lim from Singapore, Hassan Fathy, the grand proponent of indigenous architecture from Egypt, and Soedjatmoko from Indonesia who was Rector of the UN University in Japan at the time. The first six International Correspondents consisted of architects Rasem Badran and Romi Khosla, Historian and Curator, Soedjarmadji Damais, Professor of Architecture, Udo Kultermann,

the Moroccan artist Mohamed Melehi, and sociologist, Professor Fredj Stambouli from Tunisia. I mention all of them because they were of great importance to us. Both the Board and the Correspondents changed over time.

I should mention that we hardly ever paid for articles or images! We took some of the photographs and the architects gave us drawings and images, and often we took materials from the Aga Khan Award archives. We lived off the financial support of His Highness the Aga Khan and the goodwill and help of well-wishers.

Themes and Contents

Our focus was Asia. Perhaps, that was because it was the most familiar to us and also because there was as a great deal going on there which was not known outside the region. It accounted for about three-quarters of all the articles, with Africa, Latin America and other contexts accounting for the last quarter. We covered some 52 countries in total. Curiously, we never covered Australia because none of us knew it. The regional concentration gave us some opportunities of comparison between all kinds of people and cultures. Unlike the Award, our focus was not Islam, although many of the people living in the region are Muslims and so inevitably, we covered them as well. We tried to maintain a balance. But the underlying premise of everything we published was to raise awareness of good

design. And issues reflected on architecture's relevance within the culture it was produced and on how it could be translated outside its own context. Hence, architecture and its relationship to community was always a concern.

Each issue had an editorial, written by me, with a "counterpoint" by Brian. The editorial cartoon was always present; many of them by Bob Miller, whose sensibility complemented our concerns. We also introduced continuing features such as the design competition aimed at young designers – this was very successful. Again, many of the prominent jurors, such as Charles Moore and Peter Cook, volunteered their services.

The vernacular was important to us as a point of reference; an architecture that springs from the land and the culture was one of our driving forces. However, right from the start we examined contemporary architectural production. For example, in the second issue we looked at the work of the fine modernist Brazilian-Italian architect Lina Bo Bardi who has since become widely known.

By the third issue, we focused on a theme, though there were always other articles to balance this. The themes were wide-ranging: in No. 3, China; No. 9, Hotels in Asia; No. 17, Low Income Urban Housing; No. 27 Spiritual in Architecture; and No. 42 Universities. Usually, at the beginning of a theme, be it the issue on Gardens and Landscapes (No. 8), or the one on Historic Urban Centres (No. 24), there was an essay that would not only introduce the theme but also discuss its relevance between cultures. For example, in No. 24, the Essay "Blueprint for Conservation in the Third World" by Sherban Cantacuzino set out the problems and issues that restoration and urban conservation was facing in different societies. Thinking about architecture within a regional and thematic

context allowed us to explore ideas that are of concern across cultures. We also profiled individual architects.

Building technology was another underlying concern – how people build for themselves and how modern technologies have been used in "Architecture in Development." Vernacular building is of course sustainable and strongly connected to community and technology. So, for example, when we covered Construction Technologies (No. 38) we looked at both the building processes and the social agendas contained therein. Different viewpoints were expressed in the articles on building in the Capital of Bangladesh by Louis Kahn to brick and mud housing in Rwanda.

As much of the "developing world" faces poverty, we consistently looked at architecture and settlements of poorer populations, both urban and rural. For example, in *Mimar* 28 we covered Public Sector Mass-Housing. In other issues, we looked at informal sector settlements, and at a range of situations in rural development.

Beyond *Mimar*

I then decided to try and publish books out of Singapore realizing we had the infrastructure in place to do so. Like *Mimar*, the books were about filling a void about architecture outside the mainstream. The first about an architect was on Charles Correa in 1984, soon followed by one on Hassan Fathy, and ending with one on Miguel Angel Roca of Argentina. We produced six books in total. The book on Geoffrey Bawa is perhaps my favorite and it helped put him on the map.

I discovered how hard it was to sustain the quality of the publication over time, but I believe we did so and kept improving it over its life. Besides editorial judgment and production, the issue of financial sustainability became paramount. *Mimar* was published for a decade. It never made

a profit. Some five to seven thousand copies were printed of each issue and distributed in small numbers to a wide geographical market. The intention had been to eventually break even, but none of us had any real business acumen. We simply started with a mission and idealism.

His Highness the Aga Khan who financed the magazine felt that it should have a greater reach and become financially viable. External consultants reported that *Mimar* could be self-sustaining if it could take advantage of his other publishing ventures. A decision was made to move the operations to London in 1989 and a new publisher, production and marketing team was set up. Brian and I continued to control the content, but the extraordinary team spirit we had in Singapore was never achieved. And the journal never broke even. In 1991, it was decided to shut down operations.

I was, of course, very disappointed and made a case for the magazines' importance and impact. We even launched a reader survey but had a poor response. So, it ended. About a year after it ceased publication, when people realized that it was no longer on the market, reports started coming in as to how badly the loss was felt. By then, it was too late. Even today, people all over the world ask me about *Mimar*, bemoaning its demise.

I believe *Mimar* played a role in the dissemination of ideas about architecture and the promotion of architects and their work from Asia and elsewhere. It discussed issues that people felt were important at the time. It helped foster a discussion about architecture across boundaries that had been missing until then and was one of the few architectural journals that did this.

Today the situation is very different. In-country and architectural institute journals have greatly improved and there are some very good ones. The architectural discourse

is much extended through the magazines and numerous books, and the internet has played a major role. Even after all these years, I feel there is still the need for an international periodical – it could have both hard copy and on-line versions – that has a point of view and could be a champion for new causes, from that of the vernacular and indigenous building to hi-tech design and sustainability. Whether a new *Mimar* will emerge it remains to be seen. The torch is now in the hands of a younger generation.

FIND MIMAR

on ***Journal of the Faculty of Architecture at Middle East Technical University****, Turkey, Turkish and English, 1975–present*

Ali Cengizkan

The Long Quest of the METU JFA: Four Decades of International Scholarly Publishing

Ali Cengizkan is an architect, architectural and urban historian and design tutor. He received degrees from METU Faculty of Architecture, where he taught (2015-1981); chaired (1998-1994) and steered the Faculty (2015-2012).

He was also the dean of the TEDU FA (2015-2021), where he launched 5 departments. He has written, and edited numerous books on architectural and urban design history.

The METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, was founded in 1975 as a publication of the Faculty of Architecture at Middle East Technical University. The institution itself, founded in 1956, was still young, running in the hands of its first decade graduates. At the time, the school comprised only two departments. It would then grow into 3 departments with Industrial Design in 1979, being added to department of Architecture (1956) and City and Regional Planning founded in 1962.

As a pioneering and scientific institution of research in the Middle East, the University owes its name and presence to the early work of Charles Abrams in 1950s, a well-known academician who taught at the MIT, and worked at UN, for which he wrote the program for a centre of excellence in the Middle East on Housing and Settlements[1]. This exposure culminated in the idea of forming a Graduate School of Architecture and Planning, which ended up in the foundation of the University on 26 January, 1957. Obviously, one of the founding Faculties was that of Architecture, with its programmatic presence and novelty, along with its unique building making it recognizable for its fresh modern touches and innovation, to be recognized later. To become a distinguished school of architecture "not unlike the best of the American and British Technical Universities" [2] foreign experts from the UN were brought in to tailor the program of facilities like the presidency, the library, the faculties and other departments which worked in Ankara prior to the design work of the main campus. Two consecutive competitions were handled, after which during the presidency of Kemal Kurdağ architects AltuğÇinici and Behruz Çinici effectively designed and supervised of the campus buildings and spaces.

Supported through channels like the Kennedy Foundation, the Ford Foundation and UNICEF, the university was able to

provide faculty exchange and support young Turkish generation of scholars. The university operated as an English-teaching environment, with the preparatory school for English-learners. Starting to award diplomas at undergraduate and graduate levels in architecture, and city and regional planning, the Faculty also avoided inbreeding, which made it possible for refreshed faculty and doctoratal students to join and enhance reserach within the department.

As the faculty programs were formed in consultation with British and American experts along with Turkish, and further, foreign scholars were entrusted tasks with exceptional power – though at short terms. This constant instutional improvement, in turn, nurtured the collaboration and enthusiasm of instution's graduates. In 1975, they decided to start a periodical in the facult, after dense periods of heavy in-house publications as mimeos, course papers, hand-outs, feeds, notes and releases.[3] To start with, the faculty had a humble printing house.[4]

Three Eras in 46 Years

Foundation Years

There was a yearning for scholarly publications among young lecturers and fresh tutors of the Department of Architecture around 1970s, who had already begun to give provocative conferences and design new course curriculum, along with discussing new media in organized meetings with faculty. Suha Özkan, Mustafa Pultar, Mete Turan, Mehmet Adam, Okan Üstünkök, Selahattin Önür, Ömür Bakırer, whom we call designer tutors, were supported by more senior member historians like Yıldırım Yavuz, ğnci Aslanoğu, and Ömür Bakırer in the foundation years of what would be called the METU JFA. The trigger would come from Suha Özkan[5], who was one of the Vice Presidents of

METU, who would propose a draft directive for the editorial board principles as a member of the Publication Board of the university.[6] An invitation call was forwarded to all members of the architecture faculty to propose articles, essays and manuscripts; what counted was the 'level of quality' and 'sound statements' of the manuscripts, that reflected clear positions.[7]

The bi-lingual journal was launched in January, 1975. From the start, it had a design layout of its own, derived from experiments of prenatal years:[8] There was a concern for national and international recognition – evident in the double-blind refereeing, the format and style of writing, and even representatives in national cities outside Ankara and abroad were settled.[9] The logo and cover were designed by Mehmet Asatekin, who would be one of the founders of the Industrial Design Department in 1979. Naturally, almost everything was handled manually, from

photographic processing to page setting. What is characteristic of this foundation era, was the synergy the contributors felt. The quest was for the truly original research and reflection work with statements raised on and supported by archival documentation. Almost every member of the Editorial Board contributed to every other issue; young scholars were eager to write on untouched issues of architecture, planning and design in Turkey; authors invited to the Faculty in Ankara felt like it was their duty to contribute. cholarly publications were not over-shadowed by neither numerics of ranking/rating standards, nor with abstracting and indexing sophistications. So one feels that every article, every essay, every visual contribution to the Journal was important for its novel statement and standing to the corresponding field.[10] Thus the editor Mete Turan period (1975-1981; thirteen issues) of JFA terminated in 1981, when the coup-d'etat took over the government in Turkey

on September 12th, 1980, and for a certain time suspended all university publications (Figure 1,2).

Sustenance Of Academic Publishing

The following editorship period of Argun Evyapan (1986; only one issue) was a resistance to sustain the JFA, and soon Murat Balamir (1988-2001; fifteen issues) would take over as editor to develop the Journal. During the period the JFA persevered, resisting the pressures from the university, as well as those related with the Higher Education Council. The five to seven years between the first foundation period may be considered a loss, along with faculty members who resigned or were dismissed from the university as a repercussion of the 1980 coup. This had unfavourable and damaging impacts on the making of the Journal. There were times the Presidency tried to suspend the original directive, to select new members, which the Editor fought

against and amended it with a more clear one. The central authority, the Presidency or the Deans' Office, always attempted to crash the autonomous body of the JFA, where the Editorial Board elects new members among faculty for a two-year period, and the Board, among itself decides for the Editor. However, the mechanism worked well and the JFA was flourising still: the Editor pressed for recognition by international scholars, attained continuous readership of a group of scholars worldwide.[11] But over time, the submission turnover of the Journal decreased. Though there were around six hundred free subscibers in Turkey and abroad, the number of manuscript submissions for each issue turned to be less than ten. The bi-annual turned into a single annual publication with four to eight articles a year in a volume (Figure 3).

Flourishing

Though the JFA had ups-and-downs

in parallel to the changes in the codes of state-run higher education institutions and corresponding politics in Turkey, it had the opportunity to develop its own standards and rules-regulations. As of 2001, Balamir, as a defender of rights of the Board, collected a new generation of members, and the Board elected Ali Cengizkan as the new Editor. There were challenges to be overcome and things to be done. First, the Journal had to be published on time;

so a decision was made as to invite early members of Board and friends to submit manuscripts. Then the new Board conducted meetings almost every week on a regular basis to share news and developments. Then the printing house was re-run. It did not take long to adjust that the same printing press could publish in colour, could procure service for whip, journal jacket and binding for better output. Academic publications as milieu was already changing during the first decade of 2000; it made online publications a necessity. The Board decided to shrink number of copies per issue to six hundred, parallel to the design and launch of a web site, as well as keeping subscriptions free of charge as it used to be before. The four year gap from 2001 to 2005 had to be taken for granted, and starting with volume 2005, the JFA began to appear timely (Figure 4). The same year 2005, an industial designer faculty member and the Editor himself designed and launched a web site of the Journal,

starting the attempt to digitise and make the Journal open access, starting from each currently coming issue and feeding in the issues in the past one by one.[12] This was a more sincere invitation than that of done with words. Further close relations with authors as well as readers was maintained through continuous correspondence (Figures 5,6).The submissions multiplied in number, and the JFA found itself as an entrusted, scholarly published Journal as it was before.

As of 2006, the JFA applied to be included in a set of indexing and ranking databases, and ended up to be included in thirteen databases, alongside the two previous ones. Thus, the editors Ali Cengizkan (2001-2013; 17 issues), Çağatay Keskinok (2013-2015; 6 issues), Osman Balaban (2016-2021 on; 13 issues till now) are still honoured to be part of a success story.

Today, at it's 46th year, the METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture introduces itself with the similar diversity in scope, perseverance and diligence in the preparation of the publication: "METU JFA is a biannual refereed publication of METU published every June and December, and offers a comprehensive range of articles contributing to the development of knowledge in man-environment relations, design and planning. It accepts submissions in English or Turkish. METU JFA invites theory, research and history papers on the following fields and related interdisciplinary

topics: architecture and urbanism, planning and design, restoration and preservation, buildings and building systems technologies and design, product design and technologies."

The Journal Today

The JFA is a trustworthy publication which upholds its timeliness, so that mutual relations between the reader scholar and the author scholar maintains firm ground of interaction. Depending on its unique position in terms of history and geography, it has been always been an open platform for idiosyncratic approaches, viewpoints and diverse geographic themes and problems. So, the journal has always been respectful and appreciative of scientific work from diverse positions, though mainstream issues for the journal have always been of prime value. So, global studies by scholars were always welcome in the JFA, making the journal an agent of sharing

information in this shrinking world: not only Turkish, European, American scholars but also African, Latin American, Asian, and Australian articles easily found place in its pages, in Turkish and English.[13]

It is inevitable that the majority of authors and articles are Turkish; but it may be mentioned that the METU JFA is a product of an institution and habitus where the East meets the West; as implied in introductory preface written by Mete Turan in 1975.[14]

> *M.E.T.U. Journal of the Faculty of Architecture is intended as a publication that will shed light on the theoretical and practical issues of environmental problems as well as the different approaches related to the educational and applicational aspects of this field. Its aim is to provide the suitable media for those concerned with environmental problems, where they can discuss and exchange ideas both at conceptual and experimental levels. This journal initiates a communication medium where students and researchers from different academic and professional disciplines can report their scientific research, methods, findings, and experiences with the processes related to man-environment relationships, environmental attitudes, and behavior. This encompasses the reciprocal influences of man and environment on one another; environmental factors at different levels that affect man's perception, and the exchange processes that take place both physically and naturally; the changes are imposed on the environment in one's life process and the reflection of these changes on the cognitive needs of societies and*

individuals; man's responses shown under environmental stress and changing environmental conditions; the total sequence of phenomena and incidents that eventually lead to environmental evaluation and environmental consciousness. The scope of the journal is purposely kept broad. It is our strong contention that an academic, journal for studies related to environmental problems and the man-environment relationship cannot be under the monopoly of one academic or professional discipline; the scope of such a journal must reflect the nature of its content and the multidisciplinary characteristic of all these complex relationships. Due to the nature of the field, studies and research reported may be of a universal nature with broader boundaries as well as of

a local and regional nature; the material to be published can be at abstract and' conceptual as well as concrete levels. Maintaining this broad scope should contribute to the development and accumulation of information concerned with environmental problems. It is our belief that the necessary condition for different disciplines focusing their efforts on analyzing and developing alternatives for the man-environment relationship is to go beyond the limits of a narrowly and rigidly defined understanding of profession. Only with such an approach is it possible to provide the necessary media for communication between persons from different disciplines and to make developments available to the broad range of people concerned with environmental problems. With this

in mind, our journal is not under the hegemony of "pure" architecture, planning or restoration; nor is it the reflection of only a rigid and limited professional outlook which is inevitably bound to lose the interactions within the true nature of a complex wholeby looking at problems in a very narrowly structured framework. Therefore this journal is to consist of articles and reports of investigation by those from different disciplines (e.g. sociology, psychology, ecology, economics, engineering, history, anthropology, geography) studying the man environment relationship from their respective points of view but focusing of environmental problems. M.E.T.U. Journal of the Faculty of Architecture is the outcome of the Bulletin which was published between 1971-1975 as a limited circulation mimeographed

text. Although the Bulletin's issues and range of distribution were limited, it is the predecessor of this journal. There may have been few qualitative changes, but format and organizational changes have been such as to warrant beginning the publication afresh under a new name- M.E.T.U. Journal of the Faculty of Architecture. It is our hope to provide a source for all those who are concerned about the environment and man-environment relations.

As for the themes and variations of the issues, METU JFA has presented a conglomeration of approches to different disciplines in different details, though almost each article and essay are a representative of current discussions and unique critical pioneers. Two provoking issues on "Vernacular Architecture and its Conservation" (1978 Special Issues

4/2 and 5/1)[15] exemplify the geniune interest of faculty on studies of the vernacular at its wake. It was by no chance that Amos Rapaport, David Stea, Geoffrey Broadbent, Alison and Peter Smithson visited the faculty and gave lectures. Files in 2011 (28/2)[16] on "Computational Design in Architecture", and "Contemporary Interpretations of Community Design" (23/2)[17] in 2006 did mark the output of national interest and research in digital technologies and evolving design parameters, while the Files on "Futures for Materials and Industrial Design Education" (2010; 27/2)[18] and "Emotion-Driven Design" (2008; 25/1)[19] show the wide range of current coverage of research and interest of authors. Scholars like Amos Rapoport, Anthony D. King, Ğhan Tekeli, William J.R. Curtis, George Dodds, Dennis Sharp were, and still are supporters of the Journal. Thus, in 46 years of publication, from concerns and conflicts in conservation and preservation policies, to the development of parametric and computational design fields;

from parameters of architectural design and conditions for practical knowledge to theory and design course education; from ecologic concerns and global warming to aspects of local approaches to industrial design implementation, a diverse and vast field of research and scientific approach has been covered.

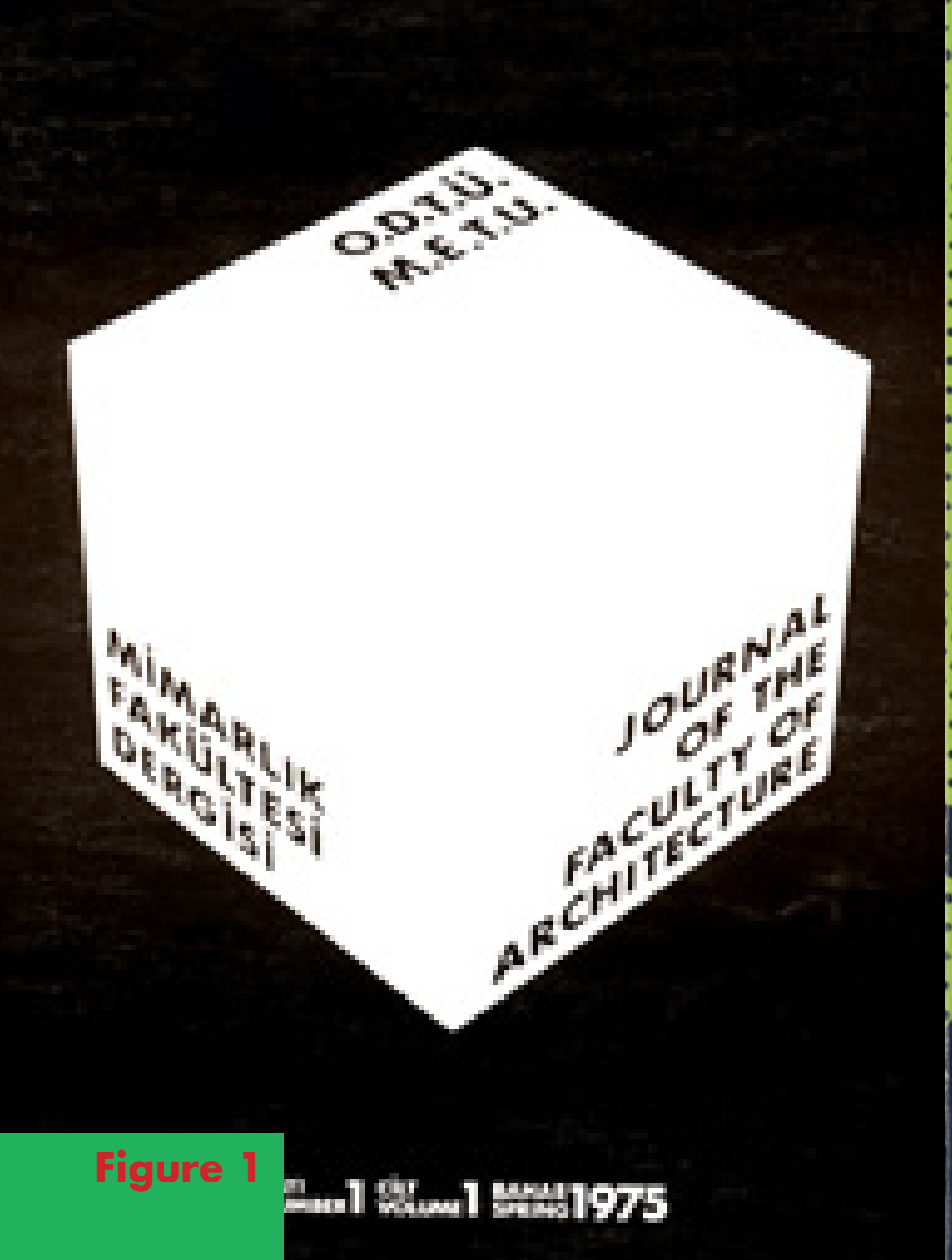


Figure 1

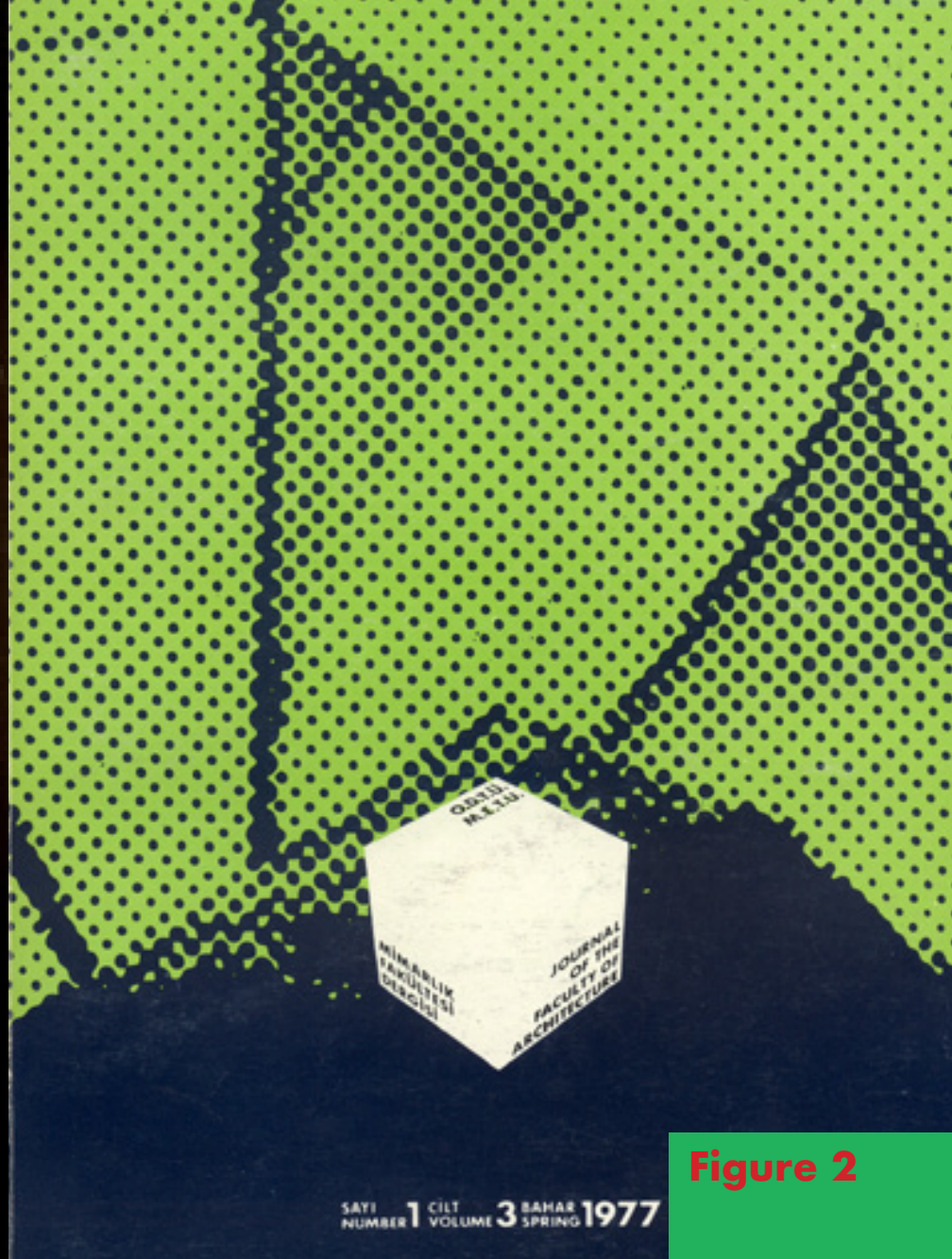


Figure 2

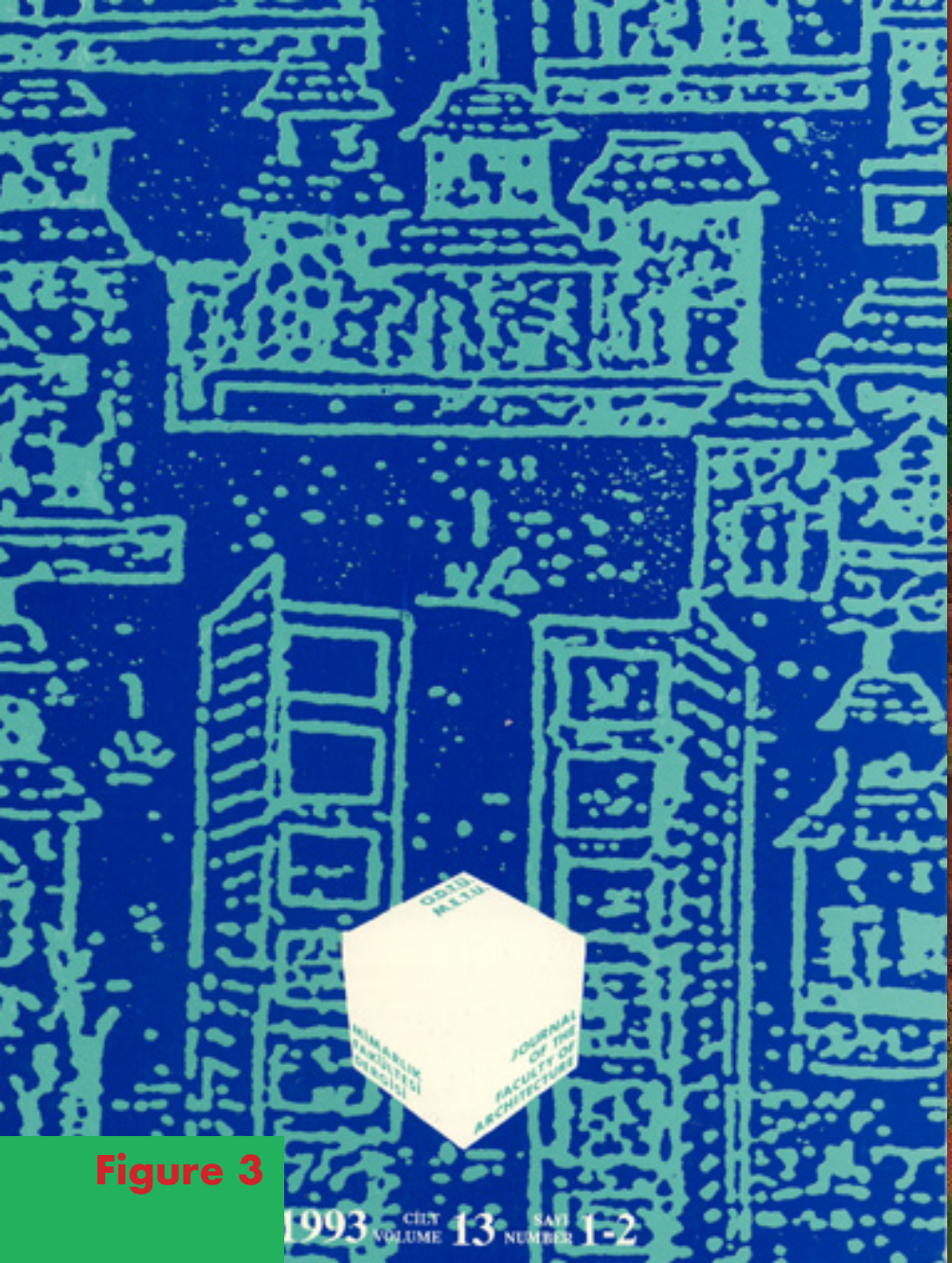
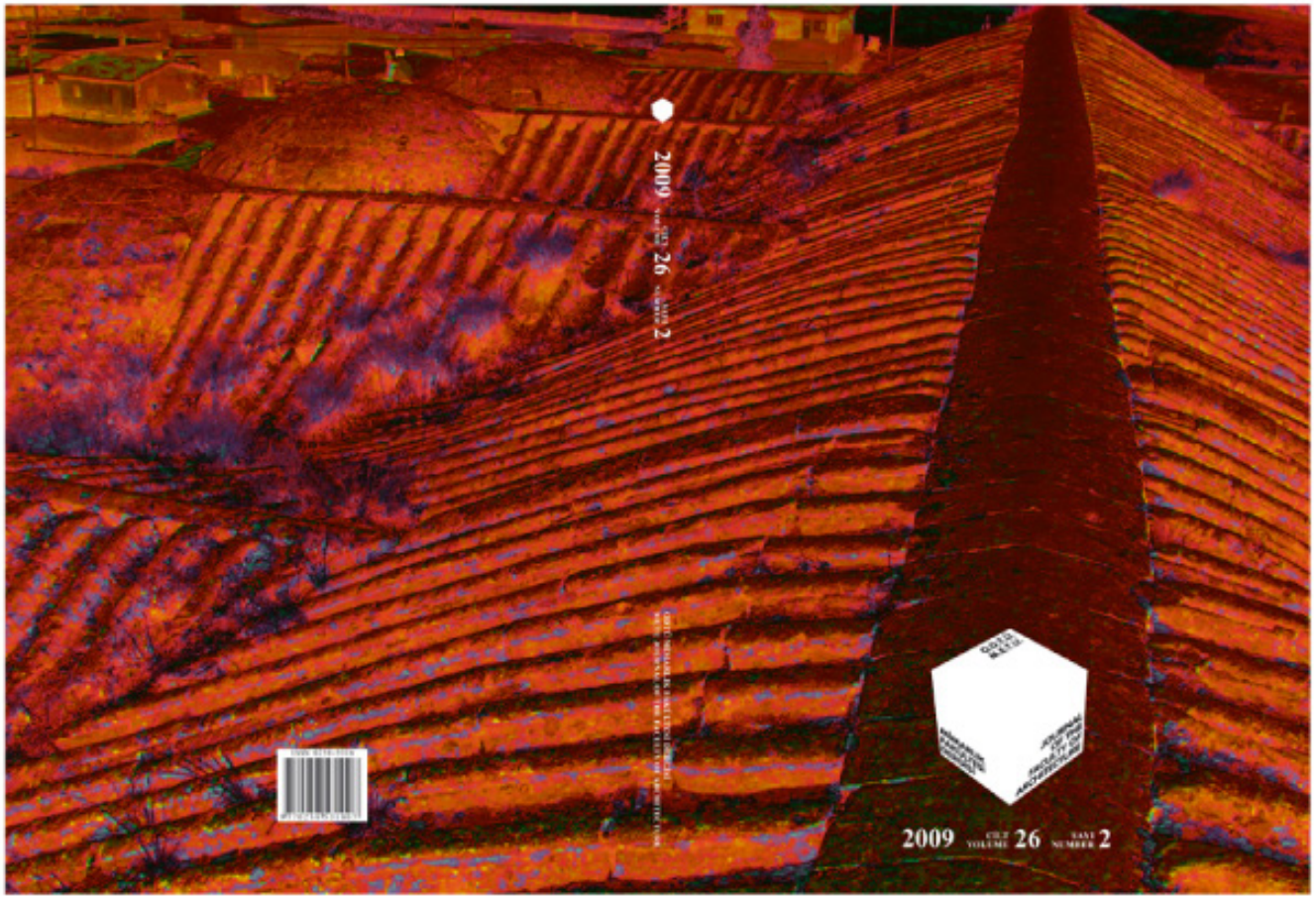


Figure 3

Figure 4

METU JFA
Happy New Year...



ODTÜ MFD
İyi Yıllar...

Figure 5

FIGURES

Figure 1. *METU JFA, Cover of (1975)v: 1, n: 1.*

Figure 2. *METU JFA, Cover of (1977) v: 3, n: 1.*

Figure 3. *METU JFA, Cover of (1993) v: 13, n: 1-2.*

Figure 4. *METU JFA, Cover of (2004) v: 21, n: 1-2.*

Figure 5. *METU JFA, Digital and Hard Copy New Year Celebration, 2009.*

NOTES

1. *Charles Abrams (1901-1970) the well-known urbanist, lawyer and author, prepared reports for universities of Pennsylvania and MIT, founded the NY City Housing and Development Administration. His book Man's Struggle for Shelter: In an Urbanizing World (Massachussetts: MIT Press, 1966), was translated into Turkish (Ankara: Yarın Yayınları, 1970).*
2. *Sargin and Savaş, 611.3. Roger Babson, 'F.W. Dodge: A Tribute', Architectural Record, January (1916) 93-100 (99)*
3. *One of these were the Bülten/Bulletin to be published 4 times starting in 1971. The issues and collected articles and essays with glossaries show that the group was very concerned about the selective language in spheres of architecture and planning, both in Turkish and English. This articulation proves that the bi-linguality of the journal was a decision made by then.*
4. *It is still quite a privilege to have a printing machine within the boundaries of a faculty building in Turkey, unless there are loans and a set-up within the occupation of the education given, as in architecture, planning,*

design and arts. There were duplication machines producing stencils, and it was a cheap way to start publications.

5. *The only vice president in the 66-year-long history of METU, as architect of origin; he would would become well-known in the organization of the Aga Khan Foundation and the Aga Khan Awards in Islamic Architecture in the later years (1982-2007).*
6. *For further information, please see the special volume that brought together the viewpoints of all past and present editors of the Journal, who discussed the early years, past and present policies of publishing, problems of platform and infrastructure: ODTÜ MFD / METU JFA, Volume 32, n: 40. Yıl Özel Sayısı (Special Issue for the 40th Anniversary).*
7. *This aspect was specifically underlined as 'a pursuit for quality' which would set a benchmark for future scholarly work. Özkan, in the source, Notes 6.*
8. *Notes 3.*
9. *This might owe to the share of experience of the well-known Turkish architecture periodical Arkitekt, a bi-monthly that entertained monthly over five thousand copies from 1931 to 1980, as a single-editor-publisher success story.*

10. *The author had the personal opportunity to witness the substantial development history of the JFA when re-organizing the immense archive and documentation of the Journal in 2008, as the Editor of the period 2001-2013. Not only previous Editors' correspondence with authors, with referees, with publication houses, but also referees' successive reports and submissions by authors were classified starting from the first issue. This was done in parallel with re-organizing the journal collection. The process gave the author as Editor the self confidence to pursue other steps.*
11. *However, attempts in this period only succeeded earlier recognitions continue: Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals (https://library.columbia.edu/content/dam/library-web/locations/avery/avery_index/avery%20index%20current%20journals%203-6-2020.pdf), and RIBA Architectural Periodicals Index (https://www.architecture.com/-/media/files/Resources/RIBA-indexed-journals.pdf) were two domains by which the JFA was already distingushed in 1975 and 1977 respectively.*
12. *The original web site http://jfa.arch.metu.edu.tr/ is still running, though around 2011 a plug-in made it interactive and on-line-submissions and publication-in-advance was made*

possible.

13. The scholars who gave valuable interviews to the JFA during its 46 years of publication included: Suha Özkan, İlhan Tekeli, Mete Turan, Yıldırım Yavuz, Mustafa Pultar, İnci Aslanoğlu, Okan Üstünkök, Tuğrul Akçura, Orhan Alsaç, Zeynep Nayır, Üstün Alsaç, Afife Batur, Ömür Bakırer, Suraiya Faroqhi, Gönül Aslanoğlu Evyapan, Jale Necdet Erzen, Cevat Erder, Gönül Tankut, Tansu Şenyapılı, Fehmi Yavuz, Roderick J. Lawrence, Michel Conan, Alpay Er, reflect only a part of this diversified authorship and disciplines. Mehmet Asatekin, Günhan Danışman, Ahmet Acar, Richard Plunz, Robert Paul McMillen, Murat Balamir, Attila Yücel, Suna Güven, Alpay Özdural, Bülent Özgüç, Sibel Dostoğlu, T. Elvan Altan (Ergut), Esra Akcan, Giorgio Gasco wrote their first reputed articles in the JFA. Alison and Peter Smithson, Geoffrey Broadbent, Amos Rapoport, David Stea, Cengiz Bektaş, Anthony D. King, Abidin Kusno, William J.R. Curtis, George Dodds gave interviews to the JFA, during its 46 years of publication, providing it the quality of a source and record of historic value.

14. METU JFA, v: 1, n: 1 (1975) 3-4; http://jfa.arch.metu.edu.tr/archive/0258-5316/1975/cilt01/sayi_1/preface.pdf

15. 4/2: http://jfa.arch.metu.edu.tr/content/view/46/29/. 5/1: http://jfa.arch.metu.edu.tr/content/view/47/29/.

16. 28/2: http://jfa.arch.metu.edu.tr/content/view/89/29/.

17. 23/2: http://jfa.arch.metu.edu.tr/content/view/62/29/.

18. 27/2: http://jfa.arch.metu.edu.tr/content/view/85/29/.

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Archival Throwback

*on **various British publications**, University of Cambridge, Architecture Department Library, Britain, English, 1700-1900*

James Campbell

Riches of the Early Periodicals (1700-1900) in the Cambridge Architecture Faculty Collection

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While it is well known that the Library of the Faculty of Architecture and History of Art in Scroope Terrace contains many rare books, its extraordinary collection of early architectural periodicals is not generally well-appreciated. Indeed the size of the collection is truly astonishing and, as they are hidden in rolling stacks in the basement as far from the entrance as possible, they are easy to miss. This paper explores this collection, and the range of opportunities it offers.

Literature on Architectural Periodicals

Before embarking on a study of the collection it is worth briefly touching on the history of architectural magazines. It is perhaps surprising that there is currently no proper book-length study of early British architectural periodicals.[1] Virtually every architectural researcher will use them at some point, but no one has stepped forward to provide an overview of the subject itself. In France there is the study done by Bertrand Lemoine and Hélène Lipstadt-Mendolsohn in the 1980s,[2] and in Germany there is Rolf Fuhlrott's 373 page book (presumably his doctorate), but no equivalent study exists for the English journals.[3] All we have are a few scattered articles or chapters in books. The development of American journals is covered in an article by Mary Wood in the Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians by published in 1989, [4] while the only significant account of British journals to date is Frank Jenkins short essay in *Concerning Architecture*, the festschrift edited by John Summerson for Nikiolaus Pevsner in 1968.[5] A longer account is well overdue. One of the problems is loss. Fuhlrott identified 290 titles in his study of German examples but estimated that 15% of these no longer existed in any German libraries. No doubt British ones have disappeared too.

Seventeenth Century Beginnings in Britain

Let us start at the beginning. There is naturally a problem of definition when it comes to identifying the first architectural magazine. Jenkins says that the first true architectural periodical was published in the early 19th century. In fact, there had been other publications before this that might arguably be classed as building periodicals. For instance, two centuries earlier, in the 17th century Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* (Figure 1) had been published in monthly fascicules. It was the first book to be published that way and as such is regarded as a landmark in the history of publishing. Fascicules were short parts designed to be collected and bound into a book. Each of Moxon's pamphlets covered one of the building trades. They were published between 1677 and 1683 but they were not a financial success. His son James Moxon ended up completing the work and printing

them as a book in 1703. *Mechanick Exercises* was thus produced periodically and it was definitely on the building trades, but it was arguably not a periodical in the modern sense. The object was always for the readers to collect the set and bind them into a complete work. Moxon's fascicules may not have been journals in the modern sense, but they were influential in their illustrations (Figure 1) which showed the tools of each trade clearly laid out on every page and had a direct influence on Diderot's *Encylopédie* in the 18th century which took the depiction of trades of all kinds to the next level and indeed remains a hugely useful source on all aspects of eighteenth century life and industry to this day.

Eighteenth Century

Moxon was a printer, and it was advances in printing that led to the increasing production of leaflets, pamphlets and newsletters in the eighteenth century.

Architecture did appear in newspapers, particularly in the *Gentlemen's magazine* which was the first periodical to use that the term *magazine*, borrowed from the French for 'storehouse'. The first edition was produced by the printer Edward Cave in 1731 and it managed to appear in print continuously for nearly 200 years, the final copy coming out in 1922. The *Gentleman's Magazine* carried articles on architecture, but it was not dedicated to architecture and pieces on buildings appeared alongside pieces on wide range of other issues. It is thus no more an architectural magazine than today's Sunday supplements or the architectural columns in the daily newspapers.

Builders Magazine and French Periodicals

The first periodical to carry that idea in the title was the *Builders Magazine* printed by John Carter in monthly parts, but the name again is slightly misleading because, like Moxon's *Mechnick Exercises* one hundred years before, it was essentially a book sold in parts. It was first published as a complete book in 1774 and then in a number of reprints in the late 18th and early 19th century. As Jenkin's points out the first architectural periodicals appear not in the 18th century but in the 19th. In France magazines and periodicals seems to have appeared earlier and been more numerous. Bertrand Lemoine and Hélène Listadt-Mendelsohn produced a list of French architectural periodicals containing 194 titles for the 19th century, the first, *Recueil Polytechique* appearing in 1803.[6]

The 1830s: the Architectural Magazine (1834-1839)

Compared to France and Germany, Britain architectural publication lagged behind. Jenkins awards the prize for the honour of being the first true architectural periodical in Britain to Loudon's *Architec-*

tural Magazine. John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843) was an architect and landscape gardener who had already started two magazines on gardening. He was an experienced publisher. His *Architectural Magazine* was first printed in 1834 and ran for five years, the last issue appearing in 1839. In his preface he explains how it seeks to build on and expand on the success of his *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture* which had

first appeared in 1833. You will find the whole print run on the shelves in the basement of the Architecture Department library, although sadly we do not have the originals, only a nicely bound set of five facsimile volumes in yellow cloth published by Cornmarket reprints in 1972.[7]

The first thing that strikes the modern reader about Loudon's *Architectural Magazine* is its format: it is much smaller than modern magazines (130mm x 217mm) and when the issues are bound together it feels and looks like a book. Each issue was exactly 48 pages long. A wide variety of topics are covered in a series of well-written essays designed to appeal to a broad audience and covering everything from building plans and architectural history to technical reports. At the end one finds book reviews and notices. It is illustrated, but the woodcuts are relatively few in number, presumably because they were difficult and expensive to produce. Changes in printing

in this period were to allow an increased number of illustrations and indeed it is these changes that lead to a huge increase in numbers of titles in the ensuing decades. Stamp Duty on periodicals was reduced in England in 1836. As the century progressed newspapers and journals were more easily distributed by rail and steam presses made larger and cheaper print runs possible.[8]

The second oldest journal in the Faculty collection is in German- *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* which first appeared in

1836. Each issue of the journal is bound in two volumes; the text volume is roughly square in format, with occasional full page line drawings but much larger plates are included and bound separately so you have to look at both volumes to get the whole story. The magazine was founded by Ludwig Föster. It ran successfully until the end of the First World War. We have a complete collection in the Faculty library up until 1916.[9]

The next British journal of note was the *Civil Engineer and Architects Journal* (Figure 2) This first appeared in 1837. Remarkably we have a complete run up to 1858. The journal itself seems to have kept going until 1867. As the title suggests, it is particularly as source for building construction. At 215 x 273mm it was much more like a standard modern magazine size, but it did not feature a cover- it was designed to be bound.[10]

1837 was also the date of the first volume of the *Transactions of the Institute of British Architects* (which became the Royal Institute of British Architects in the same year) covering the period 1835-36. This printed the edited transcripts of lectures delivered to the Institute on a wide variety of subjects thought to be of interest. Sometimes they were accounts of the latest technical innovations and sometimes they are reports on archaeology. The publication of these was patchy. The second volume was published in 1842 (strangely still under the same title although by that time it was the Royal Institute of British Architects) and the third in 1853 (then under the title Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects) and thereafter we have a complete run, the 'transactions' changing into a 'journal', the *RIBA Journal*, in 1893 and still appearing monthly to this day.[11]

The 1840s: The Builder

The 1840s began with the appearance

of the *Surveyor, Engineer and Architect* appeared in 1840, published by Robert Mudie. It had a short run, ceasing after his death just two years later. This is thus a rare item and there is no copy in the Cambridge library. In 1840 we also find the first French journal in the collection: *The Revue Generale de L'Architecture et des Travaux Publics*. We boast a complete set of these large format volumes which cover the period 1840-1885. Only a few

years later, *Le Moniteur Des Architectes*, appeared in 1847 and ran continuously until 1900.[12] It is one of a number of French early journals in the collection.

The *Ecclesiologist* which first appeared in 1841 was a sort of forerunner of Scroope, in that it grew out of a Cambridge student society, in this case the Cambridge Camden Society. It was incredibly influential in church design in the 19th century. Each issue was small (121 x 210mm and usually 16-32 pages long and mostly text-based but it as highly influential.[13] It was appeared regularly between 1841 and 1868.

A year later we find the first publication of *the Builder*. This, like the *RIBA journal*, has managed to keep going from its first issue in 1842 in an unbroken run to the present day, having changed its name to *Building* in 1968. Of course, the magazine has changed. It is now A4 format. It was originally taller though not significantly wider. Then, as now, it was published weekly, and initially, like other

journals of the time, it looked more like a newspaper than a magazine (Figure 3). As covers are usually removed for binding it is difficult to know when it first acquired one. Like a newspaper it carried short articles on anything it thought might interest its audience, which, as its title suggests, was not limited to architects but meant to extend to builders and developers. As technology improved it became richly illustrated and is an excellent source of for finding out how

buildings were viewed at the time (Figure 4). It advertisements are invaluable. Indeed they are so useful that there is an index just to the pictures which was produced in 1994.[14]

Acquisition of Periodicals in the Faculty Library in Cambridge

It is worth pausing at this point to consider how the Architecture Faculty in Cambridge acquired these volumes. The Department opened in 1911 before the

First World War but cannot have had much of a library before it moved into Scroope Terrace in the 1920s. It was certainly not in existence in the 19th century when all these journals were produced. Today the library subscribes to journals and at the end of each year binds them into volumes. But these early runs of journals had to be acquired retrospectively by people who knew what they were doing, purchasing whole runs of back issues of bound journals when they were put up for sale at auction or appeared in bookshops and then actively continuing the subscriptions. This is a matter of astute acquisition combined with foresight. Many librarians must have added to the collection over time, but much of the collection was acquired by Robin Middleton, who had a huge knowledge of architectural history and was careful to watch for interesting items coming up for sale. Hence we have such an incomparable collection, not just of books, but of journals. While it is possible to search many of these

online it is sometimes easier to simply sit with the volumes and it takes a surprisingly short time sift through decades of magazines if they are all in the same place.

1850: The Building News

The architecture department library is extraordinarily well stocked with periodicals. So far we have discussed some of the earliest ones. As we have seen, architectural magazines began in the 1830s

and 1840s, but new titles start appearing at an increasing rate in the second half of the century. Sometimes those titles are misleading. For instance the *Reports and papers of the Associated Architectural Societies* appeared for the first time in 1850. This journal, published from 1850-1831, sounds like a conventional architectural journal but it was actually a small format regional archaeological journal. While it not an architectural journal in the conventional sense, it does show the growth of regional archaeological societies in this period and their association with architecture and it highlights the danger of compiling lists of titles.[15] Equally deceptive but in the reverse way, is Calliat and Lance's *Encylopédie D'Architecture* which sounds like a book but was actually a richly illustrated monthly journal running to four series from 1851 to 1892.[16] Eugene-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc produced a rival series titled the *Gazette de Architectes et Du Batiment* in 1866

which ran to two series, ending in to 1871.[17]

1855 saw the appearance of the Building News.[18] Its full title was *The Building News, a weekly illustrated record of the Progress of Architecture, Metropolitan Improvements, Sanitary Reform, &c.* which gives an idea both of its scope and the range of its ambitions. This rather unwieldy title did not last long. It became *The Building News and Architectural Review* in 1860, the *Building News and Engineering Journal* in 1863 before amalgamating with another 19th century journal, *The Architect* (founded in 1869), to become *The Architect and Building News* in 1926. It managed to continue under that title until 1980.[19] All are in the Faculty collection.

1870s: The British Architect

The *Architect* is easily confused with another periodical from this period- *the British Architect*, which first appeared

in 1874 and lasted until 1917. It is large format (238 x 363mm)

and richly illustrated with lots of large line perspectives and carried notices of talks, obituaries and texts of lectures. The target audience is entirely architects and its contents are a telling reflection of their interests and provide a vivid insight into the architecture of the time. Photographs begin to appear in about 1906 alongside the traditional line drawings.[20] The Faculty also boasts a run of the oldest German journal still in print, *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, which was first published in 1867 and now appears under the title DB.[21] The 1880s also saw the appearance of *L'Architecture* the weekly journal of the Central Society of French Architects which ran to 1939, not to be confused the *L'Architecture D'Aujourd'hui* which began life in 1931 and continues to this day.[22] Again both can be found in the stacks in the basement.

American Journals

In the US Architectural periodicals were slow to appear.[23] The *American Architect and Building News* first appeared in 1876.[24] It was not the first journal in the US but three earlier journals *The Architects and Mechanics Journal* 1859-61, the *Architectural Review and American Builder's Journal* (1868-1870) and *The American Architect and Builders Monthly* (1870-71) were short-lived. *The Architectural Record* first appeared in 1891, initially devoted to architectural history but quickly turning to contemporary architecture. From the outset it was full of photographs alongside traditional line drawings, amalgamating with the older *American Architect and Building News* and continuing as the *Architectural Record* to this day.[25] The Faculty boasts a complete run.

The 1890s: Architectural Review and

Architects Journal

While many journals lasted only a few years, two familiar British journals that survive to this day, the *Architects Journal* and the *Architectural Review* began life in the very last decade of the 19th century. The *Architects Journal* grew out of the *Builders Journal, an Architectural Review* first published in February 1895.[26] It changed its name the following year to the *Builders Journal and Architectural Record*, and had another few titles before finally settling on the *Architects Journal* in 1919, the title it retains to this day. It appeared weekly from the beginning and covered both practical matters and the most progressive buildings of the day.

The *Architectural Review* began life in November 1896 as the *Architectural Review for the artist and craftsman*, promoting the arts and crafts movement. From the start it marked a new era in magazine production with glossy pages filled with sumptuous black and white photographs of the latest buildings. While previous journals often carried articles on sanitary ware next to reviews of buildings and had a great deal of technical content, the *Architectural Review* was entirely devoted to the idea of architecture as art and carried articles which were entirely architectural criticism. As such it marked a turning point in architectural journalism as it moved to the form that was to dominate the architectural publishing market int eh 20th century. These were the forerunners of the glossy journals of today such as El Croquis and Wallpaper where you will certainly find advertisements for beautiful bathtubs, but you will never see a how-to guide on plumbing.

The century ends with the first volume of the Danish architects journal Architekten published in 1899 which was richly illustrated with photographs and drawings from the start. The Faculty has the full run to the present day with the exception of a few

early volumes.[27]

Last Words

The architectural periodical is such a rich source of information it is surprising not more has been published on it. Today we use these journals for inspiration, but the early journals in the 19th century, while they certainly carried articles discussing the merits of various buildings and theoretical discussions about how building should look, also performed an essential function in the days before architectural schools of providing practical information on building production including structural design and new materials. It is precisely because they are so instructive that they provide such an insight into not just the interests of the intended audience but also the technology and thinking of the time. In reading these journals we can see the professions and the building world we know today gradually forming. We can also trace the development

of architectural representation and of printing technology as intaglio methods are replaced by lithographic printing and line drawings are replaced by photographs. In periodicals we can trace the development of architectural discourse, but we can find out so much more. There is so much to learn leafing through historical journals. You can, of course, find them online, but handling the originals is so much more rewarding. It is difficult to understand why they have attracted so little scholarly attention.

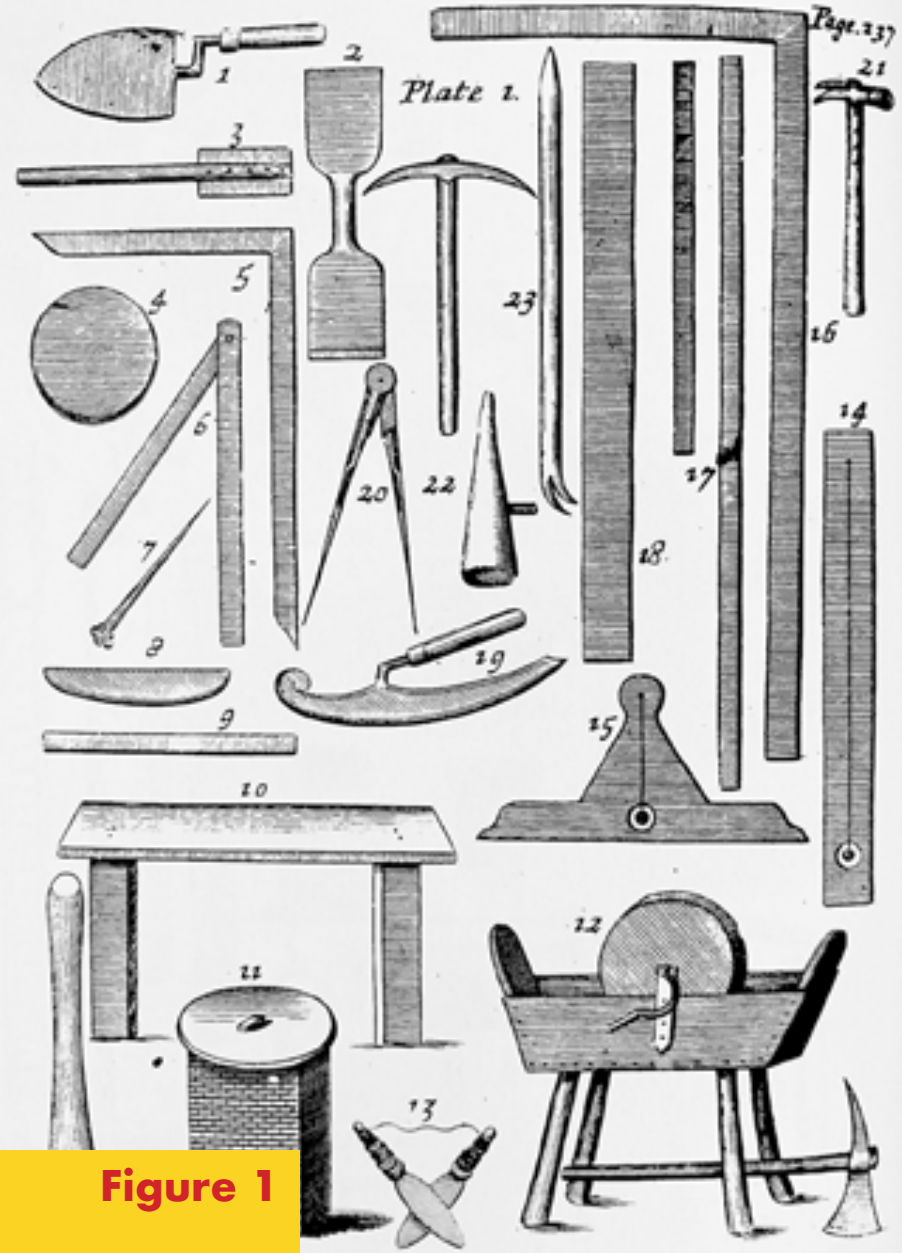


Figure 1

THE BUILDER.

PRECURSOR NUMBER.

FIRST IMPRESSION OF FIVE THOUSAND.

No. 1.] LONDON, DECEMBER 31, 1842. PRICE {Unstamped, 1½d. Stamped ... 2½d.

ADDRESS.

Upon the occasion of addressing, for the first time, a particular class, and that too through the medium of a decidedly class-paper, it seems to us that the views and intentions of its conductor should be unreservedly stated. We commence, then, in the spirit that will characterize our future advocacy of the varied interests enumerated in another page. It is avowed that we enter upon this portion of the wide field of literature and science as our legitimate province, inasmuch as we were brought up, educated, and have long wrought in it; mere qualification for any undertaking is, however, but one amongst the elements of success, and unless combined with well-timed efforts, frequently disappoints the possessor:—we invite the reader to judge of the timeliness of our own by the following incident, the explanations it gives rise to, and of the result in the publication before him.

Conversing a few months since with a leading bookseller and publisher in this metropolis, we had occasion to remark upon the costly, not to say exorbitant, price of Architectural books; this fact was not disputed, and the cause at once ascribed to the smallness of the number of readers, which made it impossible it should be otherwise. We almost held up our hands in astonishment, as we repeated his words "smallness of the number of readers!" Call you five hundred thousand a small number? Can a class of half a million male adults, whom we may emphatically term all readers, and members of reading families; a class of half a million of the pick of British Artisans; a class of the highest intelligence, and (measured by their wages and numbers) highest in wealth: can we talk of the smallness of the number of readers, and assume to know any thing of this large and influential body? It was in this strain that we interrogated our friend the bookseller; it was a burst of somewhat indignant feeling, for we had long thought on the subject, and felt convinced that the fault lay, not with the reader, but rather with the writer and publisher. We have since put the case in a familiar way to other parties, as we will now proceed to do to our readers.

Suppose the Grocers, whose business it is to supply the commodities of their shops in a way suited to the daily wants of customers, were to act upon the principle of refusing to parcel out their tea and sugar, or to dispose of it in less quantities than a chest of the former, or a hundred weight of the latter; or, bringing the parallel nearer, suppose the Bakers, in dispensing the "staff of life," were to set themselves above the standard of purveying the quartern, and half-quartern loaf; or again, that the Butcher should sell his meat in nothing less than the carcase; or that these tradesmen's compiled accounts not including as here) thirty thousand more, making a total of one hundred and fifty thousand, exclusive of apprentices, in this trade alone, who, in common with the other co-operating Building Artificers, require to read and study (and in some instances to abstruseness) on all subjects connected with their craft. For these hundreds of thousands there has hitherto been no retailing of proper food for the mind; no books at moderate prices, and in suitable parcels; and if we except the issue in parts and numbers of works such as those of Mr. Peter Nicholson, the large sale of which confirms the truth of our convictions, nothing in the shape of a trade instructor, or magazine, adapted to their several pursuits has yet been offered to this numerous body. The "Architectural Magazine," by Mr. Loudon, indeed, did wonders in its way; and other journals which have followed in its track are, no doubt, well adapted to the particular departments whose cause they espouse, and promote; * but what is there, we ask again, for the work-shop, and for the fire-side circle of the Building Artisan?

Examine our Prospectus, and contemplate the numbers forming an array of what we have advisedly termed "the pick of British Artisans." Be it remembered, however, that we do not use those words in an invidious sense, or in disparagement of other bodies of the industrious citizens of the empire; but, considering the standard of perfection, in body and mind, required for the proper practising of the Building Arts, and considering also the healthful nature of their occupations, it will not be deemed arrogant in us to speak thus of the class to which we have the honour to belong: in addition, we have the influence which numbers, intelligence, and wealth, if united, must ever secure to us. With all these advantages present to literary eyes and ears, in an age of profound reasoning, printing, and publishing, is it not one of the greatest marvels—a huge paradox—that there is no such thing as a *Builder's Newspaper and Magazine?*

We have just said Newspaper and Magazine, for it has occurred to us (either happily, we opine and trust), to combine them; that is to say, the particular features which distinguish either. We would relieve the Working Builder from a double charge for matter less available to him in practice, as well as from the still greater evil, in many instances, of a dry magazine at home, and a well-mistocked newspaper at a public-house. We have an eye to the superior household and domestic economy which prevails, and which we would have still more constant in the Builder's Circle. We would give him a look on his trade, worth preserving, and a newspaper for the reading of his wife and family, as well as for himself; and, finally, we would make the weekly pence set apart from his earnings, for the gratification of a com-

"*Builder*" in its most extended sense—instancing a house, or other edifice, we regard it from the procurement and preparation of the materials, to the fixing upon its site, and to its full completion for the residence, use, and enjoyment of man, and which includes the making of the design or plan, "breaking" ground, as it is termed; the erection, or building up; decorating, fitting, and furnishing; the supply of water and drainage; and even the laying out of the garden, pleasure grounds, and park. This is the whole art of building, or, in other words, of providing and perfecting human habitations. To all, therefore, who are engaged in the Art as defined, we address ourselves without distinction, and without preference; the interests of all will, to the best of our power, be consulted, promoted, and advocated.

It now becomes us to say a few words as to how far this step (that is, the issuing of the "Precursor Number") is to be considered on our part as an experiment; for, without being over explicit, we should, in case of failure, or rather abandonment, of our enterprise (for failure there can be none, where provision is made against that result), incur the blame of not having given our friends, the Building Classes, a clear view of the part which we humbly conceive it in their duty and interest to take in the business.

The "Precursor" is a *trial number*; and we make the avowal plainly and distinctly. Our part of the affair is to make every effort to supply what we consider a useful and most desirable public object. The part of the building fraternity, to whom it is particularly addressed, and the part of those who regard as a duty all the exertions they are making in the cause of public education; we also of those who pursue the arts out of a pure love and liking, is to support our humble efforts if they deem them worthy of approbation. The [illegible] the exertion called for on either side the bar. Let the covenants between us be of an equitable nature, and as we start upon the principle of discountenancing, so far as practicable, all lottery and rightful speculation (of which we will say more presently), we in the basis of this compact with our friends and readers, we would remove all unnecessary hazard, or complexion of adventure. We give our best exertion in what appears to us a work of common good; if our friends think well and approvingly of those exertions, and that work, let them contribute their part, were it alone for economy and fairness sake.

We do not set rely upon the [illegible]

Figure 2

CIVIL ENGINEER AND ARCHITECT'S JOURNAL.

Vol. I.—No. 1. OCTOBER, 1837. Price 6d. Stamped Edition 7d.

AMERICAN RAILWAYS.

The construction of railways in this country being the all-absorbing subject of the day, and various plans having been lately introduced for laying the rails on continuous sleepers, we determined at the onset of our work to introduce the several systems of construction adopted in America, for which we are indebted to a work lately published in Paris, and edited by Gens. Tell Poussin. We have had the whole of this work translated, and had intended to have gone more fully into the subject; but the press of other matter prevented us giving more than that portion relating to the construction of railways, and which we consider to be of the greatest value. The work enters into a full description of the whole of the American Railways, describing the country, engines, companies, expenses, administration, and legislative documents, some of which we shall hereafter allude to.

The whole of the rails are placed 4 ft. 8½ in. apart throughout the following figures.

Fig. 1 is a section of the railway adopted on the Boston and Providence line.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Parallel holes a are excavated at intervals of 4 feet from centre to centre, 1 foot 6 in. square, and filled in with broken stone 1 foot deep, upon which are laid transverse timber sleepers s, 6 feet 6 inches long, and 8 inches square. The rails, fig. 2, are of wrought-iron, weighing 60 lbs. per yard, similar to the English rails, fixed in cast-iron chairs, as fig. 3, weighing ten pounds, which are spiked down to the sleepers.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4 is a section of the railway adopted on the Jamaica and Brooklyn line, in Long Island: instead of transverse bearers, or longitudinal sleepers, vertical sections of timber a of acacia, larch, white oak, pine, or chestnut, about 12 inches diameter and 9 feet in length, are let into the ground the whole depth, with the largest end downward; the soil is then puddled round them; each block is sawn off level with the underside of the rails, and placed 9 feet apart from centre to centre, every other pair are connected by a light iron bar, s, let in level with the top, and attached by clamps; the surface of the blocks are coated with hot tar or pitch; the rails are fixed immediately on the top of the blocks. This mode of construction is very economical, and calculated to last 15 years before any of the blocks will require replacing; (it would be far better if the vertical pieces were fixed with the smaller end downward, they would then act like a wedge.—Editor.)

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5 is a section of the railway from Amboy to Camden, in the State of New Jersey.

Fig. 5.

, 4 feet apart from centre

to centre. The rails are of wrought-iron, in 16 feet lengths, and similar to fig. 6; width of top 2½ inches, base 3½ inches, narrowest part ¾ in., and height 3½ inches; weight, 40 lbs. per yard. The rails are fixed without chairs, and rest upon the stone sleeper, fastened down with strong cast-iron pins let into the stone between 2 wedges of wood; a thin piece of wood is placed between the rail and the sleeper, to break the direct concussion of the locomotive engine.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7 is a section of the railway from New York to Paterson, across marshy or swampy land.

Fig. 7.

Holes a are dug in two parallel lines, 3 feet apart from centre-to-centre, 1 ft. 6 in. square, and 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet deep, filled in with broken stones, the same as are used for M'Adamized roads, upon which are laid transverse bearers s, of cedar or acacia wood, 6 inches square and 7 feet long, and on these are fixed longitudinal plates c, 6 in. by 8: on the top of the inner edge are attached rails of wrought-iron flat bar, 2½ wide and ¾ inch thick, weighing 1240 lb. per yard.

Fig. 8 is a section of the railway between Philadelphia and Baltimore: parallel trenches a are excavated the whole length of the railway, 1 foot 6 inches wide, and 1 foot 2 inches deep, which are filled up with broken flints well rammed down, and upon it are bedded the sleepers s, 10 inches wide and 4 inches thick, of spruce or other timber, on which are laid transverse bearers c, 6 feet 6 inches long, and 8 inches square, placed 3 feet apart from centre to centre, and fastened to the sleepers by keys. On the top are caulked down longitudinal plates b of oak, 6 inches square; on the edge is a flat wrought-iron rail, 2½ inches wide, ¾ of an inch thick, and in lengths of 15 feet, weighing 15·75 lb. per yard: each rail is fastened by 12 nails.

Fig. 8.

On a portion of the line they have adopted a different construction, similar to fig. 9. Stone sleepers s, 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft., and 1 ft. high, are bedded in gravel or sand sunk in a hole, 2 ft. by 1 ft. 6 in., and 1 ft. 4 in. deep, at intervals of 3 ft. from centre to centre, and on the sleepers are laid the plates s, 6 in. square, secured by cast-iron chairs, spiked down; the rail is similar to last figure.

Fig. 9.

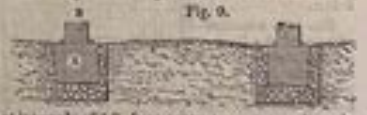


Fig. 10 is a section of the railway from Portsmouth to Roanoke, adopted for alluvial soils. Transverse sleepers s of oak, 6 ft. long, 9 in. wide, and 7 feet deep, are buried in the ground, 3 feet apart from centre to centre, on which are caulked down the longitudinal plates s of yellow pine, 5 inches wide and 9 inches deep; on the edge are laid flat wrought-iron rails, ¾ an inch thick and 2 inches wide, weighing 10lbs. per yard. The transverse sleepers are hollowed in the centre, so as to allow a gravel road on the top for the use of horses.

Fig. 10.

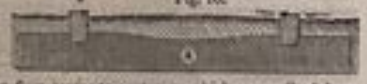
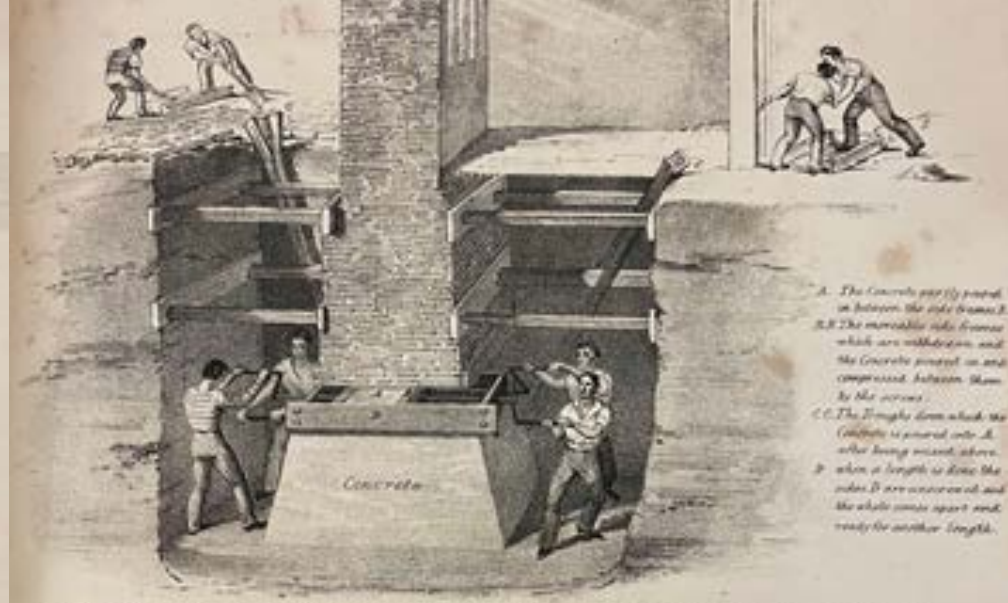


Fig. 11 is a plan, showing one of the lines of the railway from Baltimore to Washington.



A. The Concrete partly poured in between the side frames B.
B.B. The removable side frames which are withdrawn, and the Concrete poured in and compressed between them by the screws.
C.C. The Troughs down which the Concrete is poured into A. other having entered above.
D. when a length is done the sides B are unscrewed and the whole comes apart and ready for another length.

Sections showing the Method of underpinning with Concrete, the Store Houses, Chatham Dock Yard.

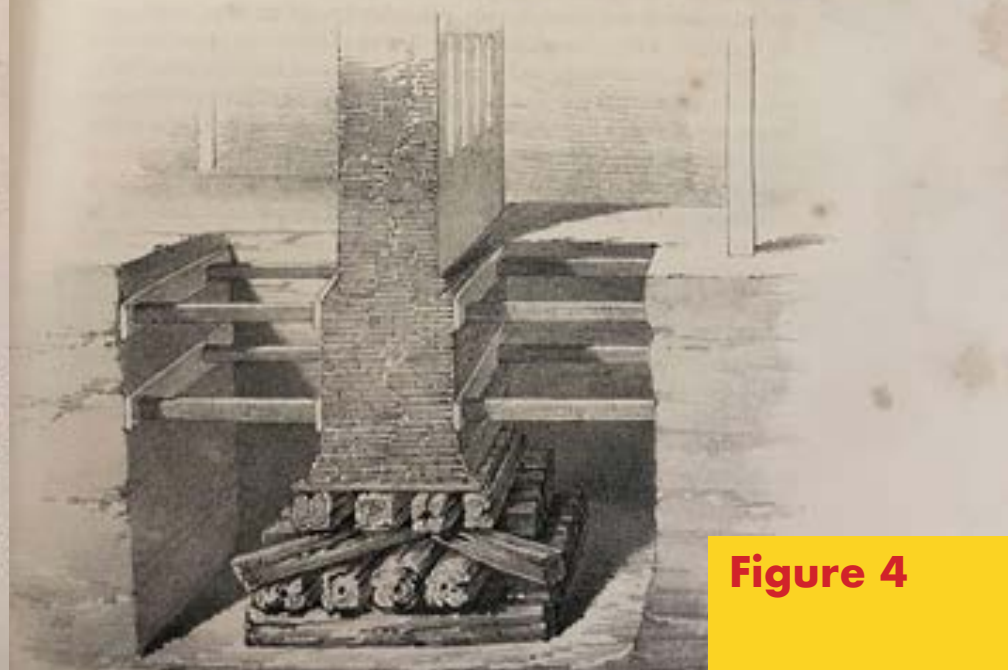


Figure 3

Figure 4

FIGURES

Figure 1. *Bricklayers' tools from Mechanick Exercises by Joseph Moxon (1703).*

Figure 2 *Title page from Civil Engineer and Architects Journal, one of the oldest magazines in the collection. Starting in 1837, the journal ran for twenty years, finishing in 1858.*

Figure 3. *Title page from the Builder showing a typical format for an early 19th century journal, which looked more like a newspaper*

Figure 4. *Typical article from an early nineteenth century architectural periodical, where there was considerable technical content. Here showing underpinning work at Chatham dockyard that had been undertaken in 1834. As well as plans and perspectives of prominent new buildings, periodicals contained regular articles on the latest technical advances.*

NOTES

1. *For a survey of the literature see Richard Wittman, "Print culture and French architecture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: a survey of recent scholarship",* Perspective (online), *1 | 2015, put online 31 January 2017, accessed 09 octobre 2022. URL : http://journals.openedition.org/perspective/5806 ; DOI : https://doi.org/10.4000/perspective.5806*
2. *See Lemoine Bertrand,* Les revues d'architecture et de construction en France au XIXe siècle. *In: Revue de l'Art, 1990, n°89. pp. 65-71; doi : https://doi.org/10.3406/rvart.1990.347856. See also – Marc Saboya,* Presse et architecture au xixe siècle : César Daly et la Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics, *Paris, 1991.*
3. *Rolf Fuhlrott,* Deutschsprachige Architektur-Zeitschriften : Entstehung Und Entwicklung Der Fachzeitschriften Für Architektur in Der Zeit Von 1789-1918 : Mit Titelverzeichnis Und Bestandsnachweisen. *München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1975. Print.*
4. *Mary Woods, "The First American Architectural Journals: The Profession's Voice."* Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, *vol. 48, no. 2, 1989, pp. 117–38. JSTOR, https://doi.org/10.2307/990351. Accessed 9 Oct. 2022.*

5. *Frank Jenkins, 'Nineteenth-Century Architectural Periodicals', in* Concerning Architecture, *ed. John Summerson, 153-160. There is also the short reference to this in Parnell, Stephen, and Mark Sawyer. "In Search of Architectural Magazines."* Arq, *25.1 (2021): 43-54.*
6. *See Lemoine Bertrand,* Les revues d'architecture et de construction en France au XIXe siècle. *In: Revue de l'Art, 1990, n°89. pp. 65-71; doi : https://doi.org/10.3406/rvart.1990.347856. The 194 is derived from counting up early titles from the list they provide at the end of the article.*
7. *At the time of writing, you can find them in stack 37 on the top shelf at the back.*
8. *Ruth Richardson and Robert Thorne,* The Builder Illustrations Index 1843-1883 *(London: The Builder Group, 1994), p.2.*
9. *You can find them in stack 33.*
10. *The volumes are rather tatty and in need of rebinding and currently sit, unloved on the middle shelves of stack 48. The question of covers is a tricky one as covers are usually removed for binding so the form of magazine covers in the nineteenth century is largely unknown.*
11. *You can find the whole run in stack 59.*
12. *The Faculty has volumes from 1855-1893 in stack 58.*

13. *You can find the complete run of this hugely significant work in stack 53.*
14. *The index is by Ruth Richardson and Robert Thorne, is cited above (note 7). It contains an excellent set of introductory essays. There are so many volumes of the Builder in the library in Scroope Terrace that they take up half of stacks 44 and 46 and all of stack 45.*
15. *The Faculty holds volumes 1-20 covering 1850-1889, in stack 43.*
16. *The complete set is in stack 54.*
17. *Stack 54, bottom shelf,*
18. *The Faculty does not have the first few volumes. The earliest in the collection is vol.5, 1859. Thereafter it has a complete set. It starts in stack 47.*
19. *We are missing a few early volumes but otherwise have a complete run. See stacks 34-35.*
20. *The Faculty library does not have a complete set. It hold the first volume and various random volumes up to 1910. They are in stack 44.*
21. *The Faculty collection starts with volume 3 in 1869 and has an unbroken run until 1972.*
22. *In the Faculty they are confusingly housed next to each other in stack 39. There is a complete run of L'Architecture but L'Architec-*

ture D'Aujourd'hui is missing the first volume.

23. Mary Wood, op.cit.

24. This is not in the Faculty library.

25. The Department has a complete run of the Architectural Record up to 1959 in stack 37 but does not have the other journals mentioned.

26. The Department is missing vol 1 but otherwise has a complete set from 1895 to the present day. The Builders journal (stack 35) has become separated from the Architectural Review (stack 38) at some point by a librarian who didn't understand the change of title.

27. Stack 41

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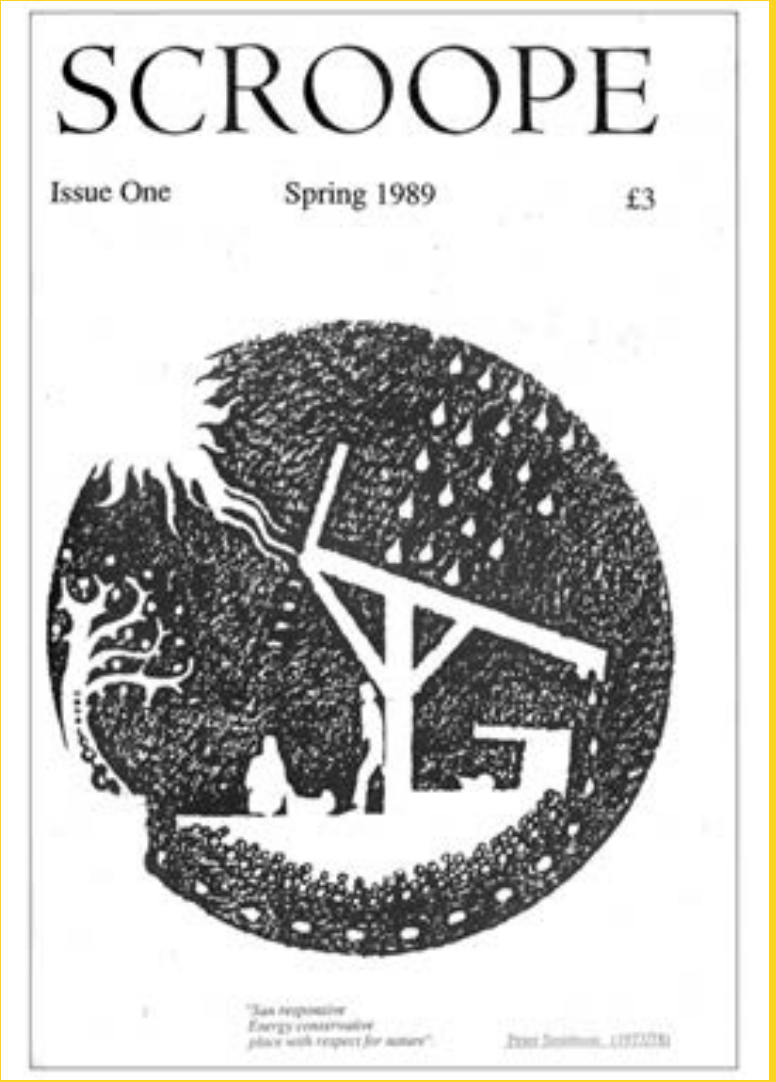

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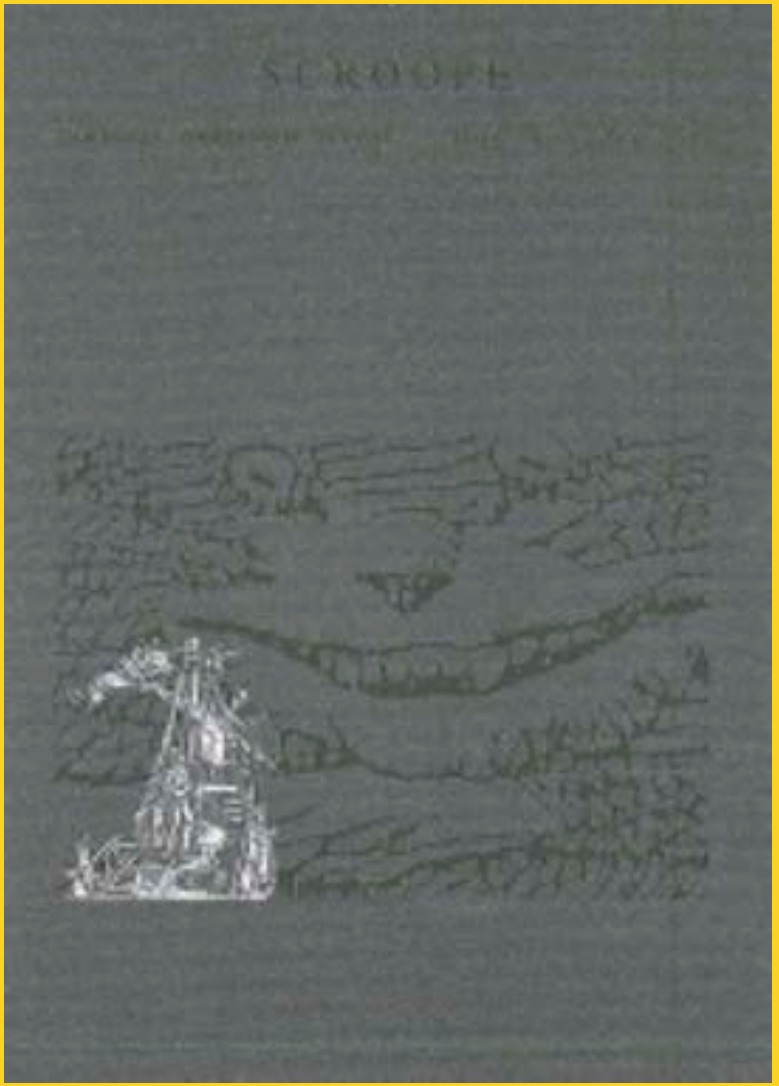

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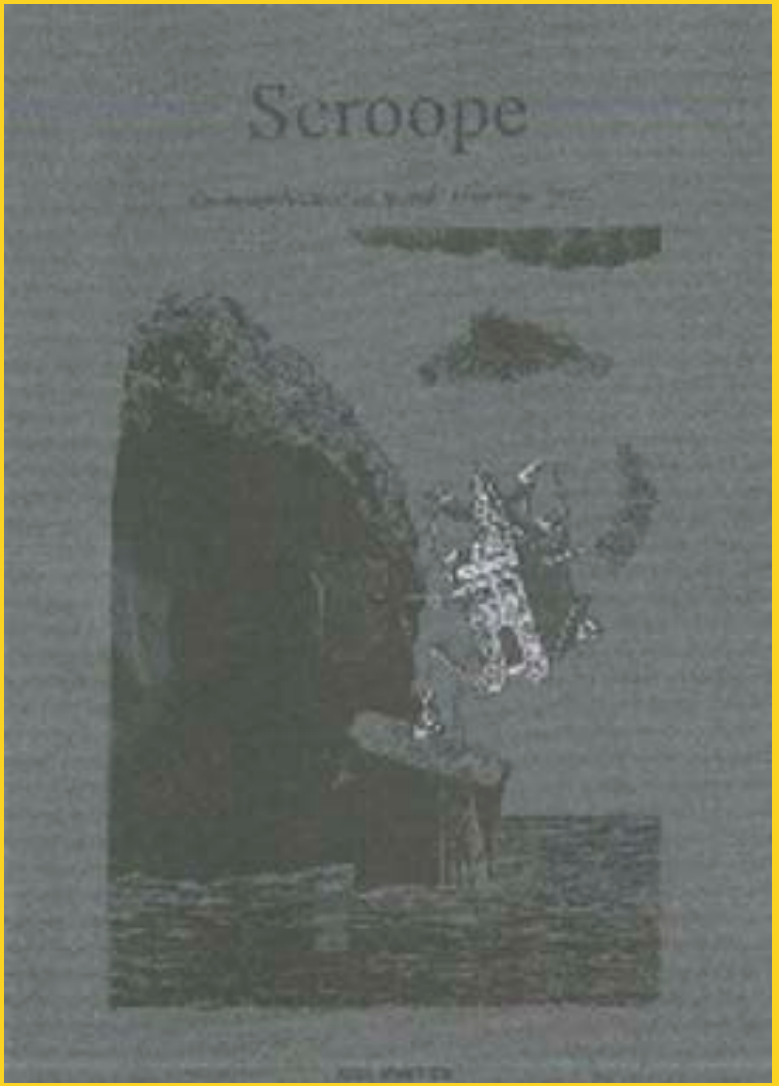

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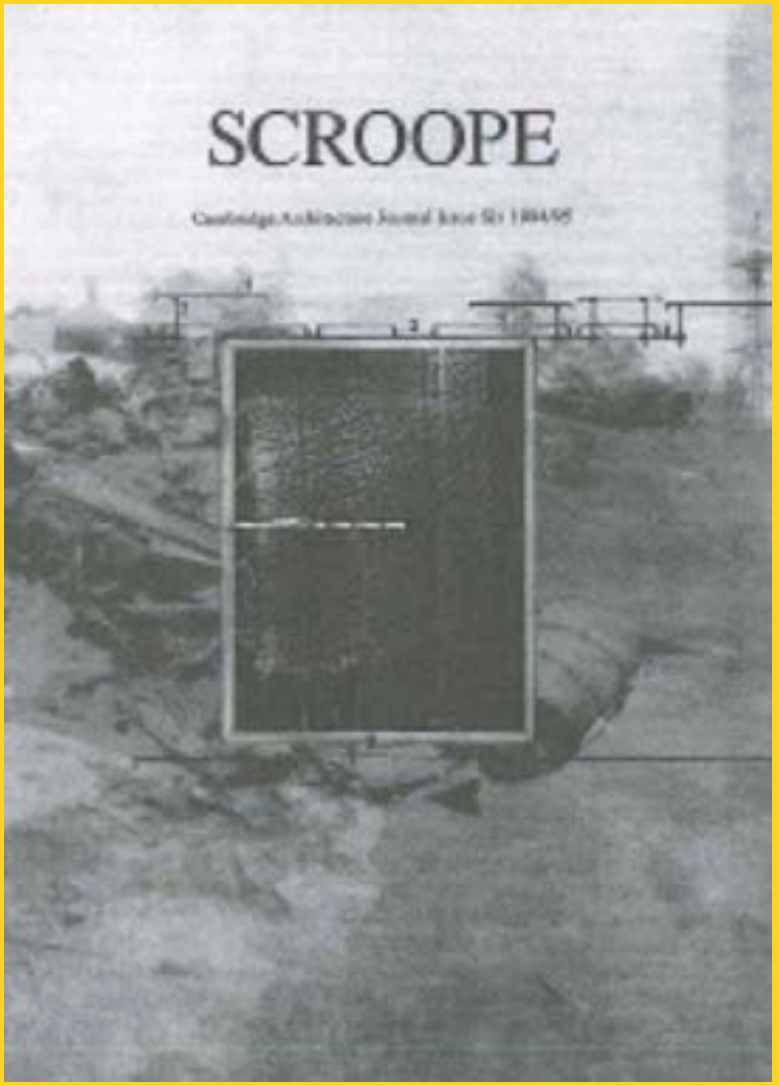

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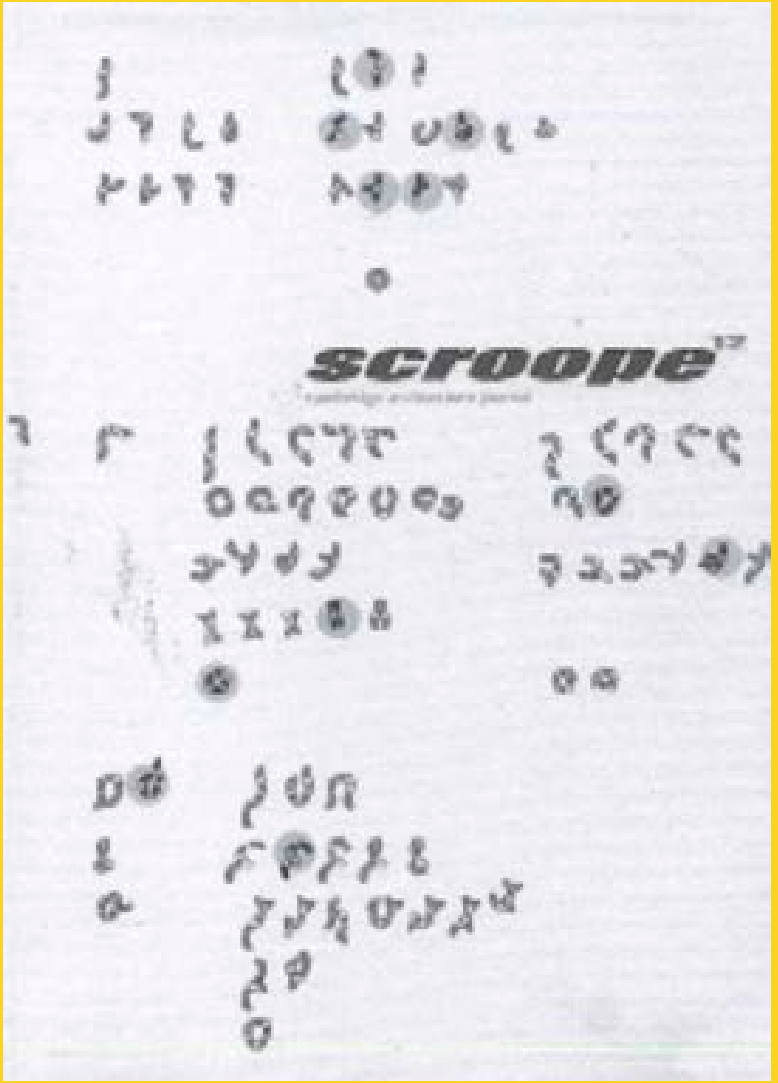

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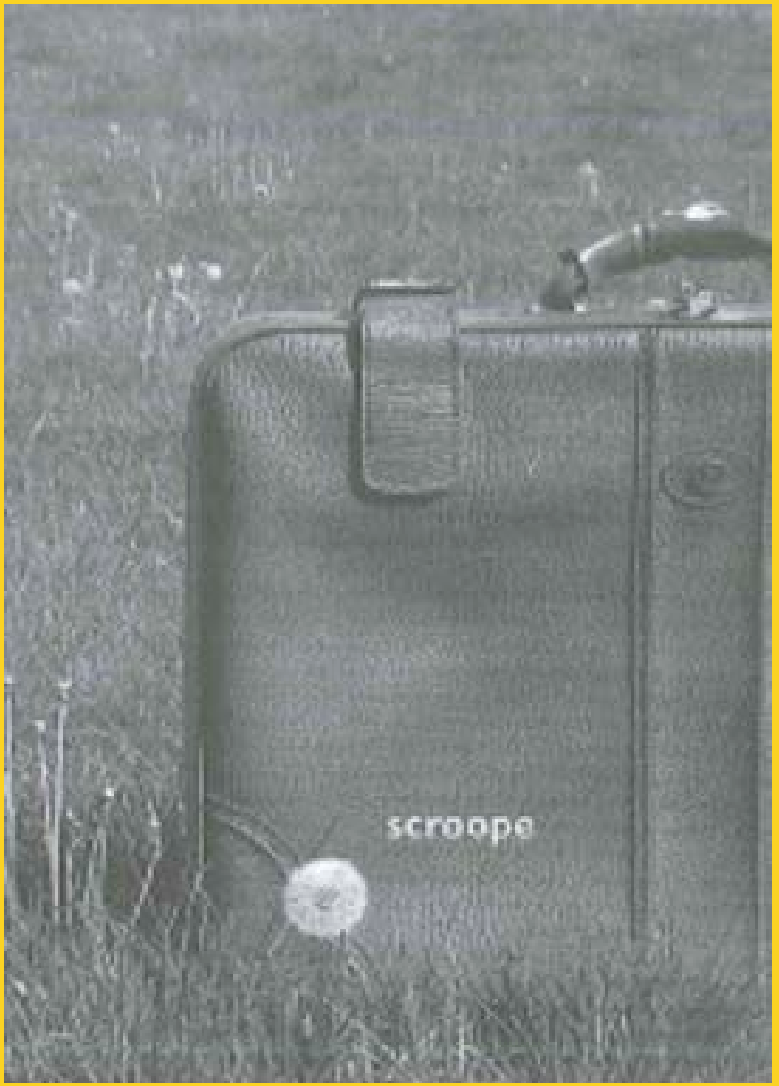

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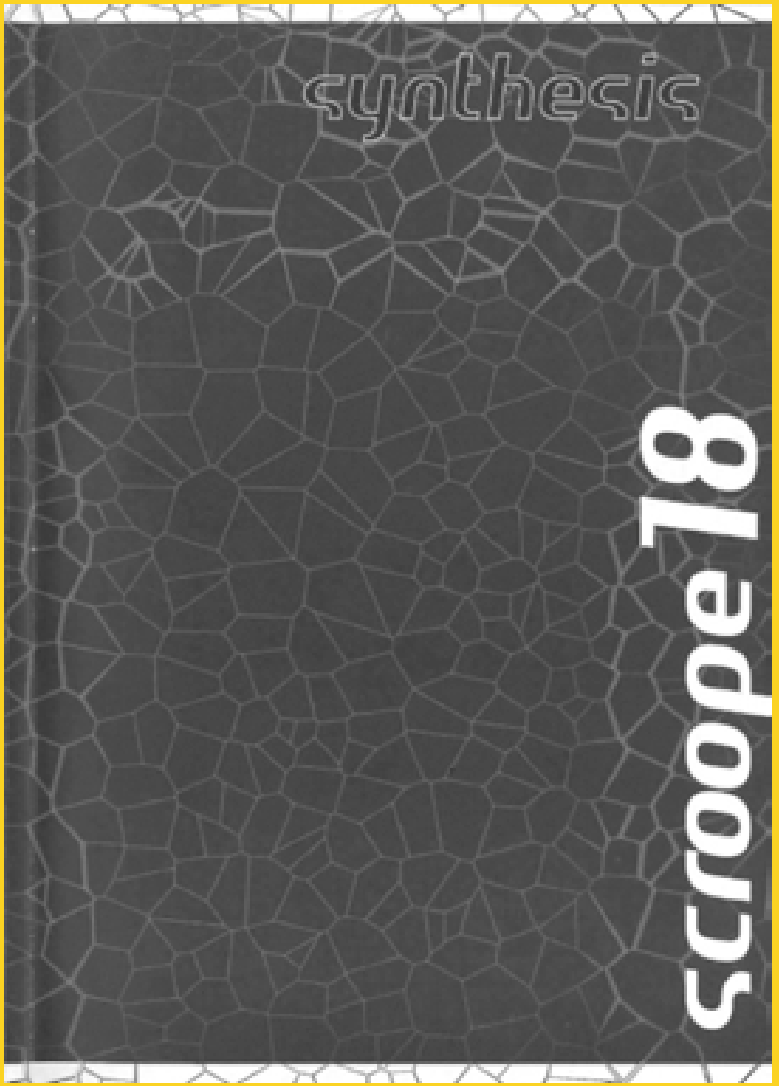

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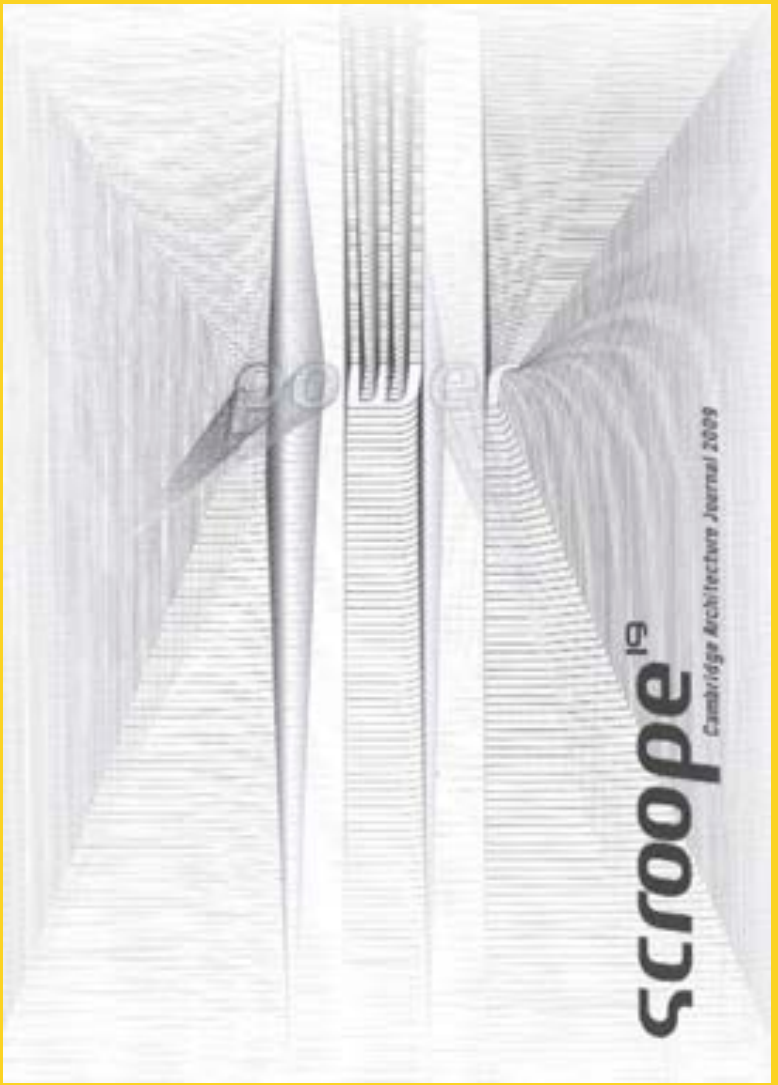

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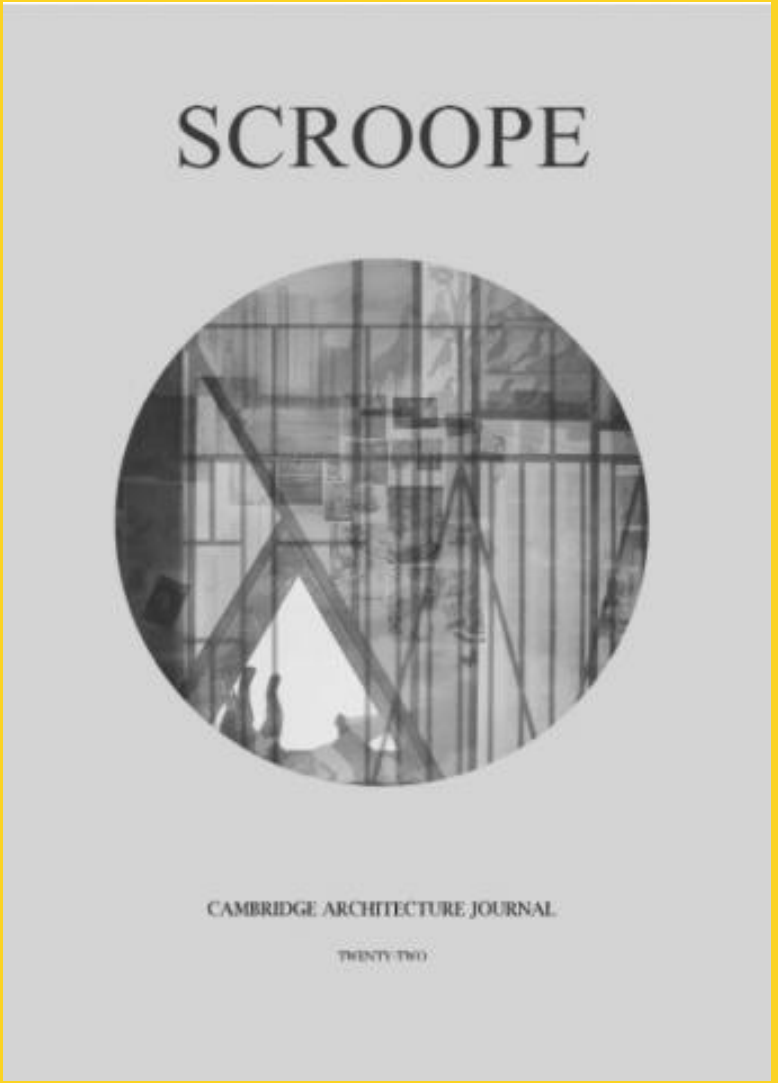
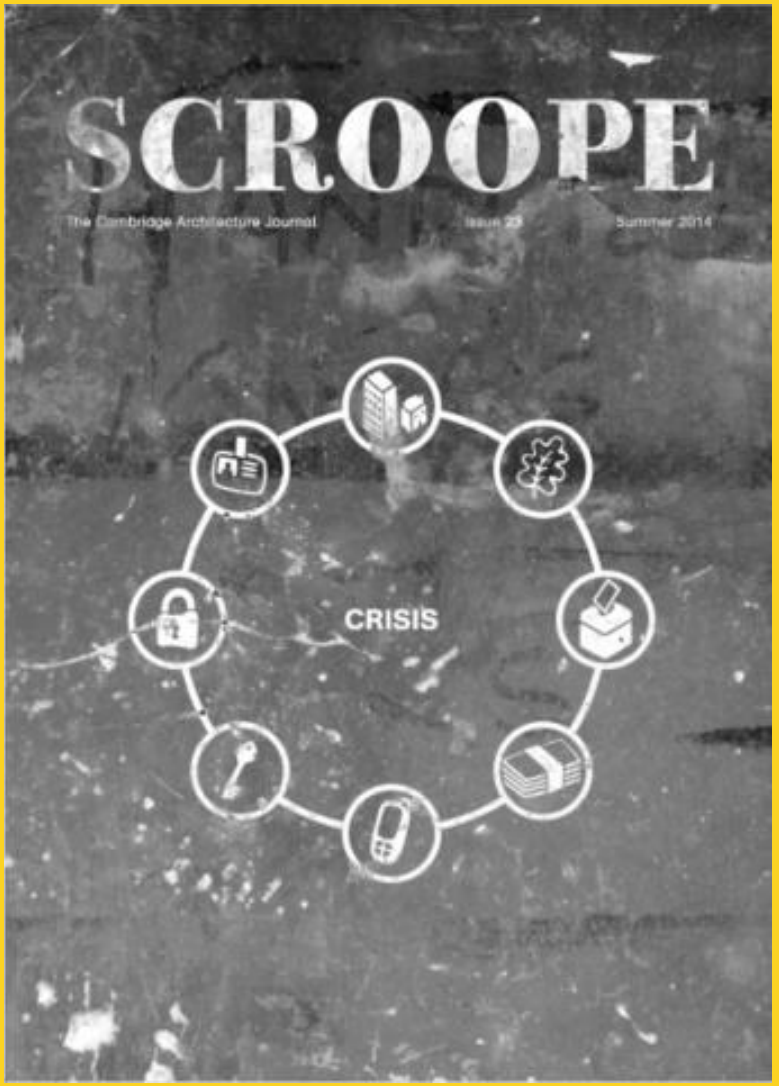
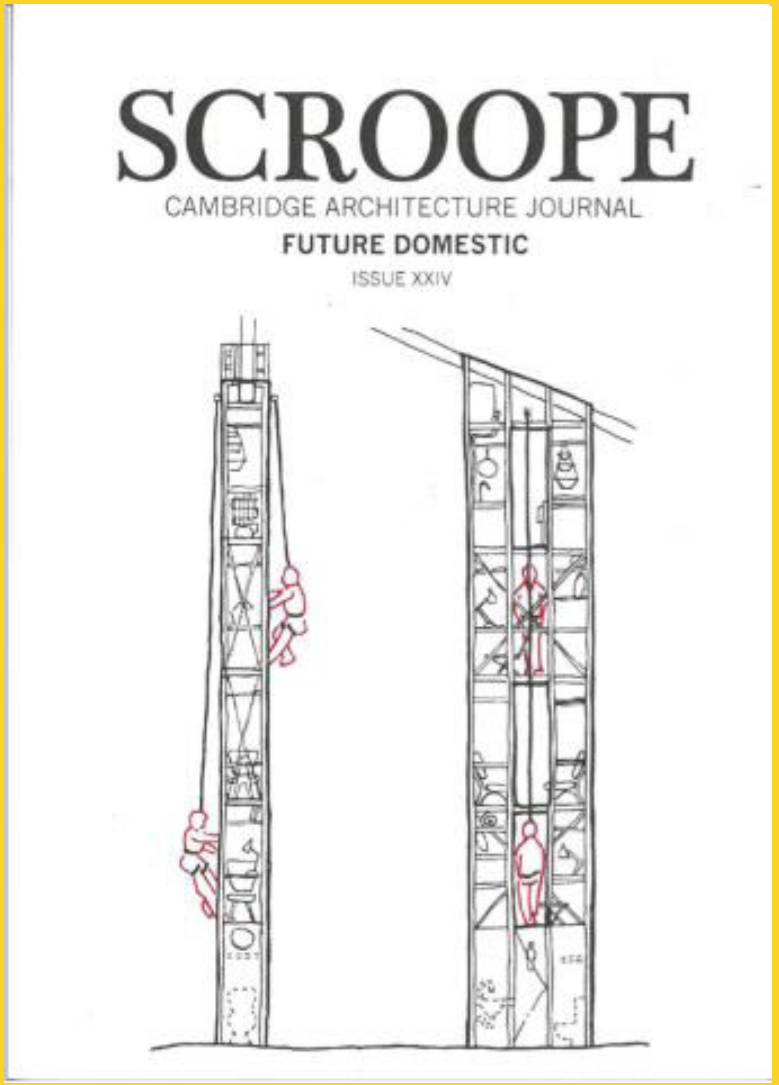
SCROOPE Issue 22
2013



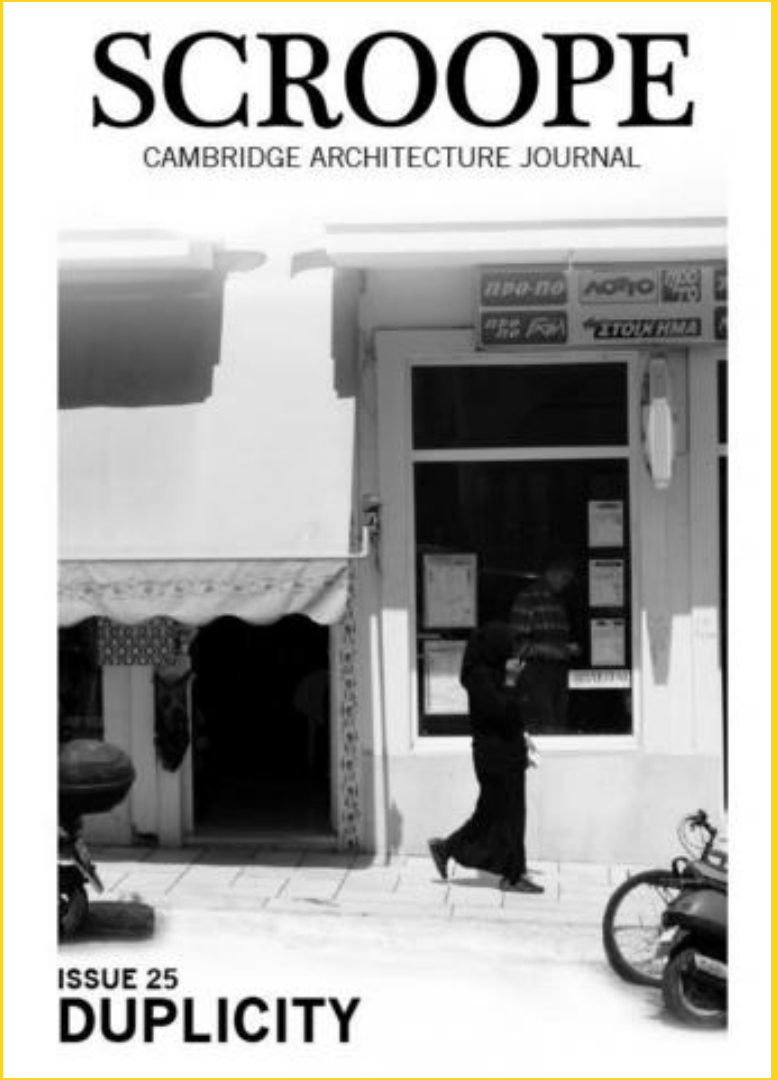
SCROOPE Issue 23
2014



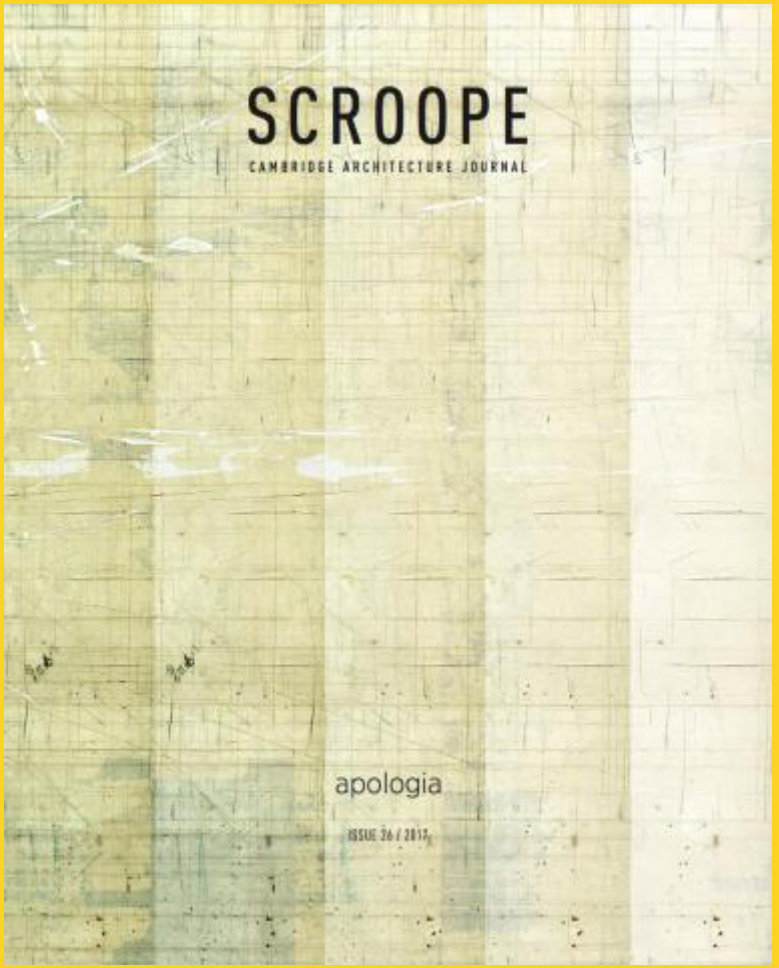
SCROOPE Issue 24
2015



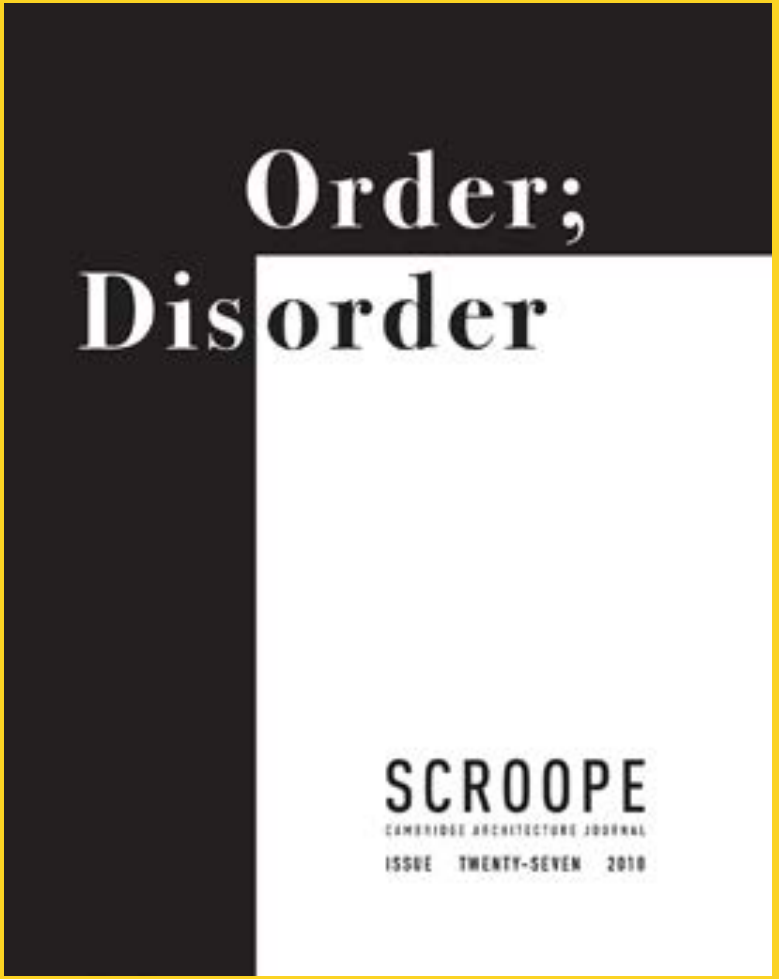
SCROOPE Issue 25
2016



SCROOPE Issue 26
2017



SCROOPE Issue 27
2018



SCROOPE Issue 28
2019

SCROOPE Issue 29
2020

SCROOPE Issue 30
2021