

EXHIBITIONS AS THE MEDIUM OF ARCHITECTURAL REPRODUCTION
“MODERN ARCHITECTURE: INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION”

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ABSTRACT

EXHIBITIONS AS THE MEDIUM OF ARCHITECTURAL REPRODUCTION “MODERN ARCHITECTURE: INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION”

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This thesis studies the influential role of architectural exhibitions in shaping and directing architectural discourses. The study accepts architectural exhibitions and associated publications as the “critical act” of architecture, in which (the work of) architecture is interpreted, reproduced and publicized. The main focus of this thesis is “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” held in 1932 at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA). This particular exhibition is a significant historical event, which officially announced architecture of the early 20th century as “International Style.” The thesis underlines the role of the 1932 exhibition and MoMA as an architectural media in reproducing the works of architecture and reformulating the agenda of 20th century modern architecture especially in U.S.A.

Keywords: “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” “International Style,” Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), Philip Johnson, Reproduction.

ÖZ

MİMARLIĞIN YENİDEN ÜRETİMİNDE ARAÇ OLARAK SERGİLER “MODERN MİMARLIK: ULUSLARARASI SERGİSİ”

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Bu tez mimarlık sergilerinin, mimarlık söylemini şekillendirmesinde ki rolünü çalışmıştır. Mimarlık sergileri ve ilgili yayınları, mimariyi yorumlayan ve yeniden üreten eleştirel bir eylem olarak kabul edilmiştir. Bu çalışmanın başlıca odak noktası, 1932’de New York Modern Sanatlar Müzesi’nde düzenlenen “Modern Mimarlık: Uluslararası Sergisi”dir. Bu sergi, erken dönem yirminci yüzyıl mimarlığını, “Uluslararası Üslup” olarak resmen ilan eden önemli bir tarihsel olaydır. Bu tez, mimari medya ortamı olarak, 1932 sergisi ve New York Modern Sanatlar Müzesi’nin, yirminci yüzyıl erken dönem modern mimarlığın yeniden üretiminde ki etkili rolünü vurgulamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: “Modern Mimarlık: Uluslararası Sergisi,” “Uluslararası Üslup,” New York Modern Sanatlar Müzesi, Philip Johnson, Yeniden Üretim

To My Parents

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Definition

The aim of this study is to illustrate the influential role of architectural exhibitions in the development of debates on architecture. Both the exhibitions and the accompanying publications such as catalogues, books and magazines play a significant role in shaping and directing architectural discourses. In reference to Beatriz Colomina's definition of "reproduction" as a "critical act,"¹ the thesis accepts architectural exhibitions and associated books or catalogues as the "critical act" of architecture, in which (the work of) architecture is interpreted, reproduced and publicized.

The reason why the thesis particularly dwells on the exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), is that the world's first curatorial department of architecture and design was established in 1932 at the MoMA, and it is in this sense that architectural exhibitions started to gain an institutional identity. As a social institution in which architecture is "produced, marked, distributed and consumed," MoMA has a power to reformulate the architectural agenda by means of its particular exhibitions. Among the numerous worth mentioning exhibitions at the MoMA, the main concern of the study will be "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition" (1932), whose significance in the history of Modern Architecture cannot be rejected. It is with this exhibition that architecture of the early 20th century is officially announced and recognized as "International Style."

1.2 Architectural Reproduction

In the Oxford dictionary, the definition of "reproduction" is such as the following,

reproduce/ 1. to cause something to be seen or heard again..., 2. to make a copy...3. to have a specified quality when copied, **reproduction**/ 1. the action or process of representing something... made in imitation of earlier style...²

In this study, the term "reproduction" in architecture is understood in the light of Beatriz Colomina's arguments on "production" and "reproduction" in the introduction of the book,

¹ Beatriz Colomina, co-ed., "Introduction: On Architecture, Production and Reproduction," in Joan Ockman (ed.), 1998, *Architectureproduction* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press).

² *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 1998-99.

Architectureproduction.³ Colomina mainly refers to Walter Benjamin's discussions on "reproduction,"

Reproduction is understood in the sense of Walter Benjamin, that is, as it concerns both the material production of the architectural work, and the works circulation and diffusion through the printed media.⁴

In the introduction article, "On Architecture, Production and Reproduction," Colomina explains the term "reproduction," and mentions the first reproduction in architecture. To do so, Colomina draws attention to Daedalus's Cretan Labyrinth project. Although he was the architect of the Labyrinth, he could never interpret its structure, says Colomina. Instead, Ariadne was the one who interpreted it with the help of a conceptual device (other than itself), and this is, in words of Colomina, the first reproduction in architecture.

Greek legend insists that Daedalus was the first architect, but this is hardly the case: although he built the Cretan labyrinth, he never understood its structure. He could only escape, infact, by flying out of its vortex. Instead it may be argued that Ariadne achieved the first work of architecture, since it was she who gave Theseus the ball of thread by means of which he found his way out of the labyrinth after having killed the Minotaur. Thus while Ariadne did not build the labyrinth, she was the one who interpreted it, and this is architecture in the modern sense of the term. She achieved this feat through, representation, that is to say, with the help of a conceptual device, the ball of thread. We can look at this gift as the "first" transmission of architecture by means other than itself, as architecture's first re-production. The thread of Ariadne is not merely a representation of the labyrinth. It is a project, a veritable production, a device that has the result of throwing a reality into crisis.⁵

In reference to this particular example, Colomina implies that architecture, distinct from the building as a "practical act," is an interpretive "critical act" in which design principles are revealed.⁶ Here, practical act refers to production, and critical act refers to reproduction of architecture in the form of theory, history and criticism.

Departing from this point, the thesis regards exhibitions and associated books or catalogues as the critical act of architecture where architectural work is interpreted, reproduced and introduced to the public. It is in this sense that, the work becomes an object, which is put into a critical process.

³ Colomina, 1998, p. 5.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

Since any criticism reveals the traces of its narrator, the term “narration” becomes important for this study. It will be described in relation to the definition of the term “reproduction” in Colomina’s essay.

Narrator is a subject who identifies the production. It is the narrator who realizes the act of reproduction. As a reproducer, the narrator publicizes the work and provides the communication between the producer and the audience. In this study, both exhibitions as the visual media and accompanying catalogues as the printed media are tools by which the work is reproduced according to the narrator’s imagination. The curator of an exhibition or the critic, who gives a new context and new meaning to the production, rebuilds the “built architecture”. By the term “rebuilding”, the thesis refers to the “critical act” of architecture, as mentioned by Colomina, and by the term “built architecture” to the “practical act” of architecture, which is the work itself.⁷

Here, the audience refers to the viewer of an exhibition or the reader of a catalogue. The work, which is interpreted, criticized and reproduced by the curator, is re-reproduced by the audience or viewer. The act may charge a new meaning to the work by putting the object into a new condition. Here the difficulty in the mode of description and therefore the methodology of the survey, which tries to re-reproduce a reproduction (that is the exhibition catalogue) or to read the exhibition catalogue, will be the major challenge of this thesis.

1.3 “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition”

Among the numerous worth mentioning exhibitions at MoMA, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” in 1932 is known as the most influential event in the history of modern architecture. The idea for the exhibition was developed by the director of MoMA, Alfred Barr who asked Henry Russell Hitchcock, the great historian of modern art and architecture, and Philip Johnson, the architect known as the curator of the exhibition, to organize the first architectural exhibition at MoMA. By means of the exhibition and the accompanying publications, the architecture of the early 20th century is officially announced and labeled as the “International Style.”

The show ran for six years in America, displaying European modern architecture to American public. It proved the fact that early Modern Architecture, especially in Europe, had some qualities in common that announced the existence of an emerging global style.

⁷ Ibid, p. 20.

Related with the exhibition, there are three publications. However, the book titled *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*, one of the significant reference books of the history of modern architecture, is the major publication that makes the exhibition known worldwide.

The thesis argues for the fact that the exhibition and its accompanying publications are the mediums that put the projects (the architectural works) into a critical process. The exhibition and any publication related with the exhibition are tools that reproduce the selected projects (production). Here reproduction, in both the visual form (that is the exhibition) and literary criticism (that is the catalogue), has the power to change the content of the product (the project). Consequently, the exhibition and the related publications as the medium of reproduction, affect the career of both the producer (architect) and the reproducer (curator).

The aim of this study is to illustrate the role of “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” as the most influential event in reproducing (the works of) architecture and reformulating the agenda of 20th century modern architecture. By means of the exhibition and related publications, selected projects gained a significant value as being among *the* projects of International Style.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The introductory chapter defines reproduction in terms of architectural exhibitions and accompanying publications as a critical act of architecture. In the second chapter, by looking back over MoMA’s architectural exhibitions, the significance of MoMA will be highlighted as the first curatorial institution where the modern architectural works were reproduced.

In the third chapter, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” which is the main focus of the study, will be evaluated as a medium of reproduction. The exhibition itself acts as a subject that reproduces architectural works or in other words puts the works into a critical process. To better illustrate this argument, there will be a re-reading of the exhibition book, *The International Style*. In doing so, the thesis will underline its significance in reproducing the new architecture.

In the fourth chapter, reactions to “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” will be mentioned. Here, the exhibition itself will be accepted as an object, which is reproduced by the viewers. “The International Style Exhibition,” which is held in 1992 by the curator

Terence Riley in order to replay the original 1932 “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” will be introduced and how the 1932 exhibition is *reproduced* will be discussed. The thesis will conclude by taking into account the role of the 1932 exhibition and MoMA as part of architectural media in the reproduction of architecture.

CHAPTER 2

SIGNIFICANCE OF MoMA AS AN INSTITUTION IN ARCHITECTURAL REPRODUCTION

In this chapter, the thesis will introduce MoMA as an institution, a social association for art and architecture that displays the nature of “media” by means of its exhibitions and their accompanying books/catalogues, publications and social events. “Media” is where any production is reproduced. Then, MoMA provides spaces where the work of art and architecture is reproduced, displayed and shown to the society. In this sense, exhibitions are social events in which the work is “reproduced.” Here, it should be noted that for the sake of the thesis, the architectural exhibitions at MoMA are the main concern, and discussions are limited to the architectural exhibitions.

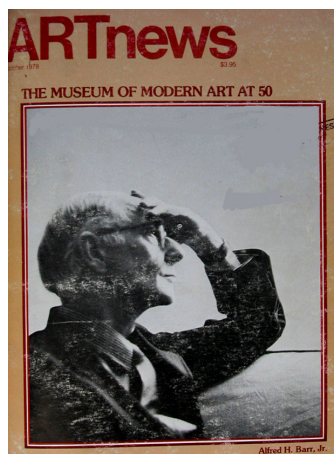


Figure 2.1 Front Cover of the Special Issue of ARTnews Devoted to MoMA. In “The Museum of Modern Art At 50,” October 1979, *ARTnews*, Vol.78 (8).

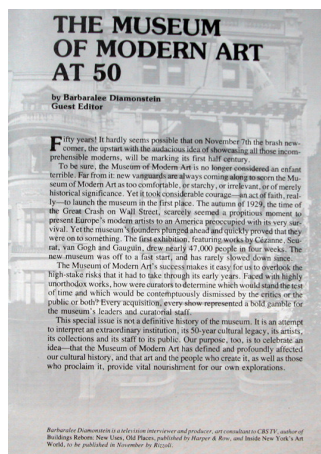


Figure 2.2 Introduction Page to the ARTnews Special Issue Devoted to the 50th Anniversary of MoMA. In Barbaralee Diamonstein, October 1979, “The Museum of Modern Art At 50,” *ARTnews*, Vol. 78 (8).



Figure 2.3 An article on “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition.” In Peter Blake, October 1979, “Architecture is an Art and MoMA is its Prophet,” *ARTnews*, Vol. 78 (8).

In 1979, Art News magazine devoted an issue to the 50th anniversary of MoMA (Fig. 2.1). In the introduction to this particular issue, the significance of MoMA to the cultural-social history is stated, as follows,

This special issue is not definitive history of the museum. It is an attempt to interpret an extraordinary institution, its 50-year cultural legacy, its artists, its collections and its staff to its public. Our purpose, too, is to celebrate an idea—that the Museum of Modern Art has defined and profoundly affected our cultural history, and that art and the people who create it, as well as those who proclaim it, provide vital instruments for our own exploration.

public. Our purpose, too, is to celebrate an idea that the Museum of Modern Art defined and profoundly affected our cultural history, and that art and the people, who create it, as well as those who proclaim it, provide vital nourishment for our own explorations.⁸

MoMA as an institution contributes to the development of architectural debates. It has an important place in documenting the prominent edifices of the 20th century architecture and transporting them into the history of architecture. Its significance to architecture cannot be rejected. Relating to this subject, Hans Ibelings states,

Ever since the Modern Architecture exhibition held in that museum in 1932, every MoMA exhibition devoted to a new group or movement has been regarded as an important signal, as confirmation of the movement's significance and as official recognition.⁹

Here, Ibelings also implies the significance of the "Modern Movement: International Exhibition," which with its accompanying publications have changed the course of the history of American architecture. It is also with this exhibition that people started to show special attention to the exhibitions at MoMA. In the third chapter, the thesis will attempt to illustrate the significance of this particular exhibition.

2.1 The Role of MoMA in Modern Art and Architecture

The museum was established in 1929 by the help of three patrons of arts, Miss Lillie P. Bliss, Mrs. Cornelius J. Sullivan and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr. The founding director was Alfred H. Barr who intended to provide an extensive collection to make the institution "the greatest museum of Modern Art in New York."¹⁰

Since 1929, museum's mission has been establishing, preserving and documenting a collection of the best patterns of contemporary art and architecture to be the foremost museum of modern art and architecture in the world. Through exhibitions and educational programs, research centers, libraries, archives and publications, the museum tends to introduce a multi-departmental structure devoted to painting, sculpture, film, video, photography, drawing, architecture and design to national and international audiences.

⁸ Barbaralee Diamonstein, October 1979, "The Museum of Modern Art at 50," *ARTnews*, Vol. 78 (8).

⁹ Hans Ibelings, 2002, *Supermodernism: Architecture in the age of Globalization* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers), p. 55.

¹⁰ Russell Lynes, 1973, "Musical Chairs and Other War Games," *Good Ole Modern: An Intimate Portrait of the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Athenewn), pp. 238-239.

As an educational institution for both general public and special segments of the community, MoMA offers an assortment of publications and reproductions to underline the most recent significant developments in the world of modern art and architecture.

MoMA introduces itself as an institution where all the artistic patterns and design approaches from the beginning of 20th century till today have been represented for a better understanding of the Modern art and architecture. Through the leadership of its trustees and professional staff, museum seeks to provide an environment for building a collection of masterworks and introduce the Modern Movement in all visual media to the public.¹¹



Figure 2.4 Museum Garden Which Was Designed by P. Johnson. In Russell Lynes, 1973, “Musical Chairs and Other War Games,” *Good Ole Modern: An Intimate Portrait of the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Athenewrn), pp. 238-239.

Figure 2.5 MoMA Building by E.D.Stone and Goodwin, 1939. In [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.louvre.or.jp/.../mdl/trims3/musmid3.html> [Accessed: 22 March 2005].

2.2 Architectural Exhibitions at MoMA

The history of architectural media is much more than a footnote to the history of architecture. The journals and now the galleries help to determine that history. They invent “movements” create “tendencies”, and launch international figures, promoting architects from the limbo of the unknown, of the building, to the rank of historical events, to the canon of history. And later they may kill off these same figures.¹²

¹¹ Museum of Modern Art, 2002, “Mission Statement,” [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: http://www.moma.org/about_moma/index.html [Accessed: March 2004].

¹² Colomina, 1998, p. 20, **quoting** Bernard Tschumi, 1978, *Architectural Manifestoes*.

Proposed by Alfred Barr, the world's first curatorial department of architecture and design was established in 1932 at the MoMA. The collection in the MoMA, providing an extensive document through building models, drawings and photographs, covers the contemporary issues and movements to inform the qualities of the projects and represent the concepts they embodied in.

Since its establishment, the department has been involved in an extreme number of exhibitions providing an overview of modern architecture. By looking back over MoMA's architectural exhibition, it is possible to identify all the special events that highlight the 20th century architectural history. The department is known as an influential voice with its exhibitions, which have "helped change the look of American audience by creating a guiding rule in modern age."¹³

Through its exhibitions, MoMA constitutes an "official narration"¹⁴ of the 20th century architecture. By means of the contents, themes and subjects covered by the exhibitions, MoMA exhibitions make a story of modern architecture in which the most important figures and events of the 20th century architecture are documented. MoMA's architectural exhibitions can be mainly explained under three main categories: "**monographic**" or "**one-person**"¹⁵ exhibitions, "**thematic**" exhibitions and "**one-movement**"¹⁶ exhibitions (See Appendix, The List of Architectural Exhibitions at MoMA, 1932-2005).

Some exhibitions at MoMA are devoted to individual architects or groups. These "**monographic exhibitions**" play an important role in the career of the architects. The projects presented at MoMA are by nature or by cultural choice set apart from the others.¹⁷ The museum constitutes a sort of "bank" or an archive for these works and creates a privileged status.

By the mid-1970s, [Luis] Barragan's work was largely unappreciated, if not actually dismissed, inside Mexico and unknown outside of it [...]. In 1976, New York's Museum of

¹³ Peter Blake, October 1979, "Architecture is an art and MoMA is its prophet," *Art News*, Vol. 78 (8), p. 97.

¹⁴ Arthur C. Danto, July 2000, "MoMA: What is in a Name," *Academic Search Premier*, Vol. 271 (3), p. 2.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Maries Clarte O'Neill and Colette Dufresne Tasse, 1997, "Looking in Everyday Life: Gazing in Museums," *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Vol. 16 (2), p. 134.

Modern Art (MoMA) opened a well-received exhibition of Barragan's postwar work. The lavishly illustrated, sparsely worded catalogue by the Argentine-born, New York-based architect and curator Emilio Ambasz, sold more than fifty thousand copies worldwide and made Barragan famous.¹⁸

The monographic exhibitions are mostly about the masterworks of the architect in order to display his/her architectural position. Important figures of the "one-person" exhibitions are Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier whose not only the architectural works but also paintings and design objects were presented, and Mies Van Der Rohe, a prominent architect of 20th century both in America and Europe, whose works were presented to underline their significance in the development of contemporary architecture. Among other well-known figures are Louis Kahn, Alvar Aalto, Louis Sullivan, Emilio Ambasz, Tadao Ando, Bernard Tschumi, and Rem Koolhaas (OMA).

"Thematic exhibitions" at MoMA are mainly concerned about the architectural practices whether by focusing on the technological developments or on cultural differences and their reflections on architecture. Thematic exhibitions usually present recent approaches in architecture. "Built in U.S.A" (1944), an exhibition to present the characteristics of the buildings in the inter-war years; "Light Construction" (1995) demonstrating a new attitude in the form and surface of an architecture of lightness; "Un-private House" (1999), an exhibition displaying the recent architectural approaches and the changing meanings of privacy in house design; "Envisioning Architecture" (2002), an exhibition presenting the important collection in the history of architectural models and graphic materials; and "Tall Buildings" (2004) an exhibition re-defining the twenty-first century large-scale architecture, are the examples for the thematic exhibitions at MoMA.

Named by Arthur Danto in the article "MoMA: What Is in a Name?", **"One-movement"**¹⁹ exhibitions at MoMA are devoted to a radical movement which, as far as the thesis is concerned, declares an architectural "style" labeled and formulated by the curators' imagination. The "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition" in 1932 and "Deconstructivist Architecture" in 1988 are the well known "one-movement" exhibitions of 20th century architecture that took place at MoMA, and it is not by chance that these exhibitions were organized and installed by Philip Johnson. Johnson in collaboration with Henry Russell Hitchcock and Alfred Barr labeled and launched the architecture between

¹⁸ Keith L. Eggener, May 2002, "Placing Resistance: A Critique of Critical Regionalism," *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 55 (4).

¹⁹ Danto, 2000, p. 2.

1922 and 1932 as “International Style.” In a similar way, Johnson codified and “popularized” the emerging architecture in 1980s as “Deconstructivist Architecture.” It should be noted that the terms “international style” and “deconstruction” in architecture are institutionalized, officially recognized after these exhibitions at MoMA. Whether it is devoted to an individual architect or a movement, exhibitions provide an operational and productive context, which gives the architectural work a new meaning, situates it in the culture of architecture, and promotes it commercially and popularized it.

2.3 Alfred Barr and the Museum of Modern Art, New York

As an American art historian and museum director, Alfred Barr has a controversial role in shaping the history of the MoMA in New York. Having received his master of architecture at Princeton University in 1868 and studying art and architecture, Barr mounted his first exhibition on Kandinsky’s work at Harvard University in 1924. After accomplishing his doctoral courses at Harvard, Princeton and Wellesley College, he traveled Dessau, visited Bauhaus, and impressed by the Bauhaus education.



Figure 2.6 A Portrait of Alfred Barr, 1967. In Lynes, 1973, “Musical Chairs,” pp. 238-239.

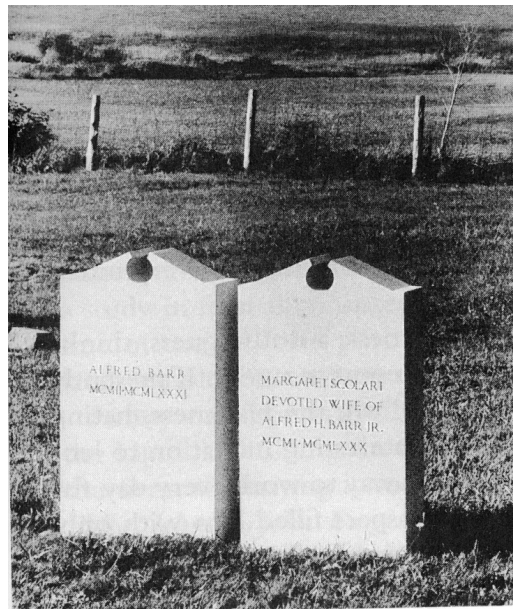


Figure 2.7 Memorial Tablets Designed by Philip Johnson for Graves of Alfred and Margaret Barr, 1983. In Franz Schulze, 1994, “Philip and David at Home,” *Philip Johnson: Life and Work* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), p. 99.

Returning to USA, Barr became director of MoMA in 1929. This was a post he retained until his retirement in 1967. Barr took role in the organization of a series of exhibitions, which played an influential role on visual art and architecture; to name just a few, the well known exhibitions are “Cezanne,” “Gauguin,” “Seurat and van Gogh” (1929-30), “Matisse” (1931 and 1951), “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” (1932), “American Sources of Modern Art” (1933), “Machine Art” (1934), “African Negro Art” (1935), “Cubism and Abstract Art” (1936), “Fantastic Art,” “Dada,” “Surrealism” (1936), “Picasso” (1939 and 1946), “Italian Art of the United States” (1941), “Artists of the People” (1941), and “What is Modern Painting?” (1943).

As a director, who saw museum as an educational institution, Barr has an influential role in exhibiting, collecting, documenting and publishing the works of the prominent figures of art and architecture of the 20th century at MoMA.

2.4 Henry Russell Hitchcock and the Museum of Modern Art, New York

As an architectural historian, Hitchcock educated at Harvard, and taught at Smith College and New York University. Between 1949 and 1955, he was the director of the Smith College Museum of Art. Studying at Harvard, Hitchcock wrote for the newspaper *Hound & Horn*, where he met Philip Johnson and Alfred Barr. The three decided to mount an exhibition on Modern Architecture. Hitchcock’s famous book *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (1929) formed the basis of the texts that took place in the “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” (1932) catalogue and the book, *The International Style: Architecture since 1922* (today it is printed under the title *The International Style*).

Hitchcock organized a series of exhibitions at MoMA; the well known exhibitions are “Early Museum Architecture” (1934), “Modern Architecture in England” (1937), “Architecture for the State Department” (1953) and “Gaudi” (1957).

As a senior in architectural history (among his students is Vincent Scully), Hitchcock wrote significant books and articles that contribute to define the architectural history of 20th century. Besides his well known books *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* and *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*, some of the significant publications are *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times* (1936), *The Nature of Materials* (1942), and *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1958). Hitchcock died of cancer at age 83 when teaching at the New York University Institute of Fine Arts.

2.5 Philip Johnson and the Museum of Modern Art, New York

Philip Johnson, who has been influential in the development of architectural discipline in the 20th century, was the curator of a number of exhibitions held at MoMA. As a trustee, benefactor and significant collector, Johnson also had an important place in gathering the contemporary art collection at MoMA.

He donated an extensive number of artwork from different movements such as the areas of Abstract Expressionism, Pop Art, and Minimalism, which are among the significant examples of the 20th century art.²⁰ To name just a few, the well-known donations are Portrait of Doctor Mayer-Hermann (1932), Bauhaus Stairway (1942), Flag (1955), Gold Marilyn Monroe (1962), Litanies and Document (1963) (Fig.2.8, 2.9, 2.10).



Figure 2.8 Otto Dix, Dr. Mayer-Hermann, Gift by Philip Johnson, 1926. In [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.moma.org/collection/provenance/items/...> html [Accessed: 22 March 2005].



Figure 2.9 Oskar Schlemmer, Bauhaus Stairway, Gift by Philip Johnson, 1932. In [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.moma.org/collection/provenance/items/...> html.

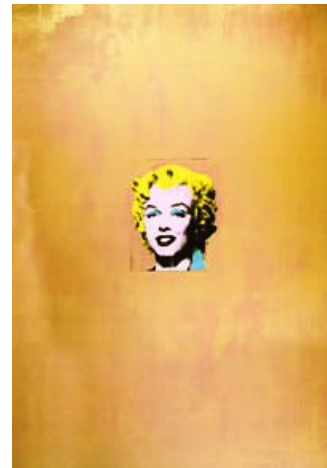


Figure 2.10 Andy Warhol, Gold Marilyn Monroe, Gift by Philip Johnson, 1962. In [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.moma.org/collection/provenance/items/...> html.

Before designing his first building at the age of thirty-six, Johnson was a critic, author, historian, museum director but not an architect. As a result of his close friendship with the young art historian Alfred Barr who was the director of the Museum of Modern Art, and his

²⁰ Jodi Hauptman, Spring 1995, "Philip Johnson: MoMA's Form Giver," *MoMA Journal*, pp. 20-24.

meetings with another art historian Henry Russell Hitchcock, Johnson's interest was shifted towards the European architecture of the 1920s.

1932 was a turning point for Johnson. In collaboration with Hitchcock and Barr, he organized the influential exhibition at MoMA known as "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition," which introduced European contemporary architecture to the American public. Projects on this particular MoMA exhibition displayed the principles of early modern architecture as codified by Johnson, Hitchcock and Barr.



Figure 2.11 Johnson Supervising the Installation of "Machine Art" Exhibition, 1934. In Schulze, 1994, "The Rise and Fall of Art," p. 99.

Figure 2.12 "Machine Art" Exhibition, 1934. In Peter Blake, "Introduction: The Museum of Modern Art." in Peter Noever, (ed.), 1996, *Turning Point* (New York Wien: Springer-Verlage), p. 47.

Figure 2.13 "Machine Art" Exhibition, 1934. . In [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.moma.org/collection/provenance/items/...> html.

Following this particular exhibition, Johnson put on eight more exhibitions at MoMA. One of the most influential is "Machine Art," which took place in 1934. Johnson described this "outstanding achievement" a more significant event in his life than the famous "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition." The exhibition was a beginning for MoMA in a sense that the museum started to concentrate on the issues related to the beauty of the machine, machine aesthetic and machine-made objects (Fig. 2.11, 2.12, 2.13).

Having received B.Arch in 1943 and practiced architecture in Cambridge until 1946, Johnson became the head of architectural department in 1947 at MoMA. After his return to MoMA, he organized one of his most important accomplishments, namely "the Architecture of Mies Van Der Rohe" exhibition in 1947. It is a monographic exhibition displaying the first full-scale documentation of Mies Van Der Rohe's architectural career, whose achievements had an influential role in the works of Philip Johnson (Fig. 2.14, 2.15).



Figure 2.14 Johnson and Mies van der Rohe in the Mies prospective exhibition, 1947. In Schulze, 1996, “Barr Again, MoMA Again, Mies Again,” p. 179.

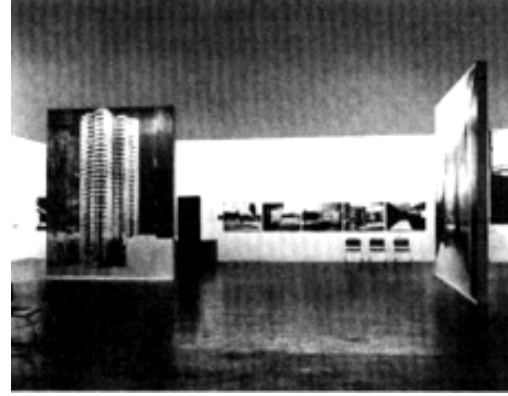


Figure 2.15 “Mies van der Rohe,” 1947. In Blake, 1996, “Introduction: The Museum of Modern Art,” p. 47.

As an architect, Johnson is usually known with his works in the early 1950s when he was still under the influence of Mies Van Der Rohe. He designed a garden at MoMA, known as the Museum Garden, which was a place for social occasions (Fig. 2.4, 2.20). As stated by Dennis Sharp, Johnson accords his approach to architecture from “Modernist” to “Post-Modernist” and “anti- Modernist.” Departing from this point, Sharp emphasizes the fact that Johnson shows “more interest in style than in substance.”²¹



Figure 2.16 Philip Johnson and Gerald Hines, 1985. In Schulze, 1996, “The PoMo Revel,” p. 364.



Figure 2.17 Peter Eisenman, Philip Johnson and Frank Gehry, 1991. In Schulze, 1996, “Decon,” p. 340.

²¹ Dennis Sharp, 1991, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Architects and Architecture* (New York: Quatro publishing), quoting Philip Johnson, 1991, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: http://www.greatbuildings.com/architects/Philip_Johnson.html [Accessed: October 2003].

Besides the “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” another important experience of Johnson as a curator is the exhibition of “Deconstructivist Architecture” held in 1988 at MoMA. Johnson organized the exhibition in collaboration with Mark Wigley. The term “Deconstructivist Architecture” is institutionalized for the first time after this particular exhibition. The Deconstructivist Architecture exhibition, which was as polemical as the “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” is among the significant events of the 20th century architecture. With this exhibition, the existence of a new movement in architecture, which is “Deconstruction,” is announced (Fig. 2.18, 2.19).

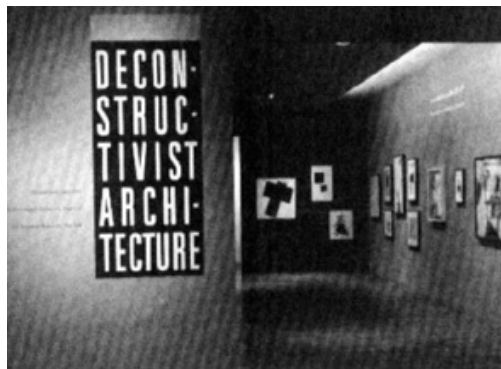


Figure 2.18 “Deconstructivist Architecture,” 1988. In Blake, 1996, “Introduction: The Museum of Modern Art,” p. 63.

Figure 2.19 “Deconstructivist Architecture,” 1988. In Blake, p. 63.

The exhibition received a lot of attention and also criticism from the community of architecture. The architects presented in the exhibition stated that they did not want to be a part of it. Compared with the “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” which has played an influential role in the course of architectural history, “Deconstructivist Architecture” exhibition was short lived. Kate Nesbitt states,

[...] [T]he curators attempted the same kind of reorientation of the profession, the same codification of a “movement” as in the previous influential shows. While attracting some attention, the exhibition [Deconstructivist Architecture Exhibition] did not launch another major trend.²²

Johnson, as a curator, who interprets and reproduces the production by revealing its design principles, situating it into a new context, and attaching to it a new meaning is the narrator of the most significant events that change the course of architectural history in the 20th century,

²² Kate Nesbitt. ed., 1996, *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory 1965-1995* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), p. 27.

particularly in America. Then, MoMA as an institution has been a platform where the architectural work is interpreted, reproduced and introduced to the public.



When Alfred Barr retired in 1967 after thirty-seven years, he said that one of his greatest pleasures in the Museum was "the most beautiful garden in New York," designed by his old friend Philip Johnson.



Figure 2.20 A Portrait of Alfred Barr, 1967. In Lynes, 1973, "Musical Chairs," pp. 238-239.

Figure 2.21 Philip Johnson's 90th Birthday, 1996. In Blake, 1996, "Introduction: The Museum of Modern Art," p. 68.

Johnson died in 25 January 2005 in his residence, Glass House in New Canaan, Connecticut, when he was ninety-eight years old.

CHAPTER 3

“MODERN ARCHITECTURE: INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION”

This chapter studies “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” (1932) in order to illustrate how exhibition becomes a critical act, a medium of reproduction in which the architectural principles are revealed, interpreted, and publicized. Since the exhibition is over, the study is carried out on the basis of the exhibition book, *The International Style* (originally published under the title, *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922*). This is re-reading of the book, which is known as one of the prominent reference books in the history of architecture.

Alfred Barr, Henry Russell Hitchcock, and Philip Johnson worked in collaboration for the realization of this particular exhibition. Barr, who was the director of MoMA, intended to organize the first architectural exhibition at MoMA, and asked Hitchcock and Johnson to organize this exhibition. Johnson is known as the curator of the exhibition. Hitchcock mainly worked on the texts that would take place in the exhibition catalogue, and the book.

3.1 Development of the Idea for the Exhibition

International character of the new architecture was firstly mentioned by Walter Gropius in the publication of *Internationale Architektur* in 1925, later by Hitchcock in reference to the works of European avant-garde architects in his book *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (1929) and in an article “Review of *Internationale Architektur*” (in *Architectural Record*, August 1929) written on the work of Gropius, and by Barr in *Notes on Russian Architecture* in 1929. After MoMA’s exhibition in 1932, international character of the emerging architecture has become to be universally recognized as “International Style.”

The idea for the show was proposed by Barr. “The man [Alfred Barr], who had a controversial role in the promotion of modern art and culture,”²³ was planning to organize an exhibition in order to introduce modern European architecture to the American public. This would be the first architectural exhibition at MoMA, where mainly the works of painters were presented.

²³ Roger. J. Crum, 2003, *Alfred Barr* (Oxford University Press), [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.groveart.com> [Accessed: November 2003].

Johnson and Hitchcock, both recent Harvard graduates, joined forces with Barr to organize the exhibition. Johnson knew Hitchcock from his book *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (1929). Hitchcock was also the author of the article “J.J.P Oud” and it was not the first time that he was analyzing the development of modern architecture. Within several weeks, Johnson and Hitchcock became friends and they were charged to collect the materials for the exhibition project.

We three felt that the current *new style* was of vital interest to all of us, and we decided to tour Europe by car to look at it. Our trips together in 1930 and 1931 were an education to me. We had no itinerary except to go through cities, just plain looking. We went to the Bauhaus and all usual places. In Brno, Czechoslovakia, though, we found a building that wasn't on anybody's list. As we drove along, we discussed the idea of mounting an exhibition devoted to the new architecture.²⁴

For Barr, Hitchcock and Johnson, the works to be displayed would manifest a “new style;” the works should have been the best examples illustrating the characteristics of the new emerging architecture.

After the first stop in their trip to Europe, Johnson and Hitchcock came together to study their first observations. In a letter written to Margaret Barr, Johnson, who believed that the exhibition book would be similar to the one he and McAndrew²⁵ had considered about one year ago, stated that,

But the book I cannot put it any off any longer although we just got the idea day before yesterday. It had been in mind for a year as you know, but I didn't really want to take the risk of along carrying through such an ambitious plan when I knew so little about architecture really. And Russell has had the idea because he realized that his book was badly illustrated. So what the plan is now is to *rewrite in a more popular way* paying close attention to the buildings illustrated, parts of his book and incorporate about 150 full page half-tones. The text will be first and then the pictures in a bunch. Of course one disadvantage perhaps will be that the book will be in German... the text will be particularly be a translation of *Russell's big book* [...]²⁶

Here, what Johnson refers as Russell's big book is *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration*. The book mainly focuses on the shift in architecture and the development in contemporary architectural production in America and some European countries basically in

²⁴ Philip Johnson, 1995, “Foreword to the 1995 Edition,” *The International Style* (New York: Norton), Original published under the title *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922* in 1932), p. 14. (emphasis mine)

²⁵ John McAndrew was an architectural student and Johnson's friend from Harvard. They acquainted with each other in one of Johnson's meeting with Barr.

²⁶ Franz Schulze, 1996, “MoMA Russel and the New Style,” *Philip Johnson : Life and Work* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), pp. 60-61, **quoting** Philip Johnson, May 1930, letter to Margaret Barr. (emphasis mine)

France, Holland, Austria and Germany. In the book, the new tradition as a new manner in architecture is titled as a “modern style.”

In that letter to Margaret Barr, Johnson talks about their intentions to rewrite Hitchcock’s big book in a “*more popular way*” for the exhibition book. To do so, they planned to add after the text, a bunch of building illustrations. It should be noticed that emphasis on illustrations, images of buildings helps introducing a new style in a more popular way; this is actually popularization of new approach in architecture.

According to Schulze, since Hitchcock was much more senior in architecture, compared to Johnson and Barr, he spent much of his time in reviewing the texts that would take place in the exhibition book. Johnson had also advantages of his own; he knew modern European architecture more than any American architect.²⁷ In a foreword to the 1995 edition of the book “the International Style,” Johnson writes,

Of the three of us, Russell had the great eye. He was a supreme historian. The text of our book was his. Alfred was the resident ideologue and goad; he was the one who came up with the title of the exhibition, insisting on capitalizing “International Style.” He was the one who shaped our thinking, who led the battle for *strict principles*.²⁸



Figure 3.1 Philip Johnson, Alfred H. Barr, Margaret Scolari Barr, Cortona, 1932. In Schulze, 1996, “The Rise and Fall of Art,” p. 91.



Figure 3.2 A Portrait of Henry Russell Hitchcock, 1935. In Schulze, 1996, “MoMA, Russell, and the New Style,” p. 63.



Figure 3.3 A Portrait of Lewis Mumford, 1938. In Schulze, 1996, “The 1932 Show: The Revolution Goes Uptown,” p. 77.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 61.

²⁸ Johnson, 1995, “Foreword,” p. 14. (emphasis mine)

3.1.1 Proposals for the Exhibition

In December 1930, Johnson submitted to A. Conger Goodyear, the president of the board of trustees of the MoMA, a proposal for the exhibition on modern architecture. This was a preliminary proposal, which was revised latter, and kept in a publication titled *Built to Live in* by Johnson in March 1931.²⁹ In this proposal, the need for an exhibition of modern architecture is explained as below,

There exists today both here in America and abroad a marked activity in architecture. Technical advances, new methods and fresh thoughts are solving contemporary building problems in a manner that can truly be called modern. A progressive group of architects, who have put aside traditional forms and are striking out along new and vigorous lines, are at work [...].³⁰

The progressive architects stated in the quotation are those figures mentioned as “The New Pioneers” in Hitchcock’s book *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration*. These new pioneers, namely Frank Lloyd Wright, Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier and J.J.P. Oud are accepted as the major figures of modern architecture, and in turn they are to be given a prominent place in the exhibition of modern architecture.

In the preliminary proposal, the exhibition is presented as a solution for american Architecture by displaying new methods of construction and building. It is written that,

American architecture finds itself in a chaos of conflicting and very often unintelligent building. An introduction to an integrated and decidedly rational mode of building is sorely needed. The stimulation and direction which an exhibition of this type can give to contemporary architectural thought is incalculable [...] how welcome would be a display of solutions to this problem arrived at by European and American experts.³¹

The direction of the exhibition was intended to be under the supervision of a committee, which was consisted of Barr, Goodyear, Homer H. Johnson (Philip Johnson’s father), Johnson (as a secretary), Dr G. F. Reber (a Swiss art collector), Mrs. John D. (Abby Aldrich) Rockefeller Jr. (Trustee and museum founder) and Alan R. Blackburn (committee’s secretary).³²

²⁹ Terence Riley, 1992, “Part Two: Autumn 1930,” *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication), p. 19.

³⁰ Terence Riley, 1992, “Appendix One: Preliminary Proposal for an Architectural Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art by Philip Johnson,” *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication), p. 213.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Riley, 1992, “Part Two,” p. 23.

In the program for the exhibition, three principal divisions were defined: The first division would be devoted to the works of nine of the most prominent architects in the world from America Raymond Hood, Frank Lloyd Wright, Norman Bel-Geddes, Howe and Lescaze, Bowman Brothers, from Germany Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, from France Le Corbusier, from Holland J.J.P. Oud. The second division, the industrial section, would be for the architectural works, which stressed the connection between the architecture and industry. In this section, the main emphasis would be focused on the problems of planning and construction rather than on finished architectural expression. The third division would display the projects participated to the worldwide competition open to students and architects under thirty-five years of age. It was planned that all the competition projects would be presented with model, plans and a detailed report documenting cost information.

The exhibition proposal was revised and resubmitted by Johnson in February 1931. The revised proposal included some important changes. In the first section, an additional name to the previous proposal was Richard Neutra, who according to Hitchcock was one of the most important architects of the International Style in America. In this way, the number of architects to be displayed became ten, six from America and four from Europe, whose works would be presented not only with models (as suggested in the first proposal) but also with plans, elevations, perspectives and photographs. It is suggested that not models but photographs could better represent the actual buildings.³³

Under the section of “industrial exhibits,” which was renamed as “Solutions to Three American Building Problems,” three main subtitles were proposed: “City Building,” “Factory Organization,” and “Housing Projects for Minimum Wage Earners.”

Since the organizers attempted to conceive much more attention of audience to present the international character of architecture, in the revised exhibition proposal, there was also included a prospectus of MoMA. In doing so, the organizers might have intended to use the (prestigious) name of MoMA, and to introduce MoMA as the world’s first curatorial department of architecture and design to the general public. Despite the financial pressure, Johnson decided for additional publications accompanying the exhibition.

³³ Terence Riley, 1992, “Part Three: Winter 1931,” *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication), p. 28.

3.1.2 “Rejected Architects” Exhibition

During the preparation of the exhibition for modern architecture, Johnson, Barr and Hitchcock were also involved in another exhibition “Rejected Architects,” opened in April 1931 in a store front at the corner of 57th Street and Seventh Avenue, opposite Carnegie Hall in Manhattan.³⁴ This was a counter-exhibition, which protested the exclusion of a number of young “modern architects”³⁵ from the annual exhibition of “Architectural League of New York” held in 1931 at the Grand Central Palace.³⁶

The [Rejected Architects] exhibition was mounted in response to an annual show at the Architectural League of New York, which had selected a number of predictably conventional buildings done in fashionable, historicist manner - and rejected close to a dozen “modern” structures by architects then considered dangerously radical.³⁷

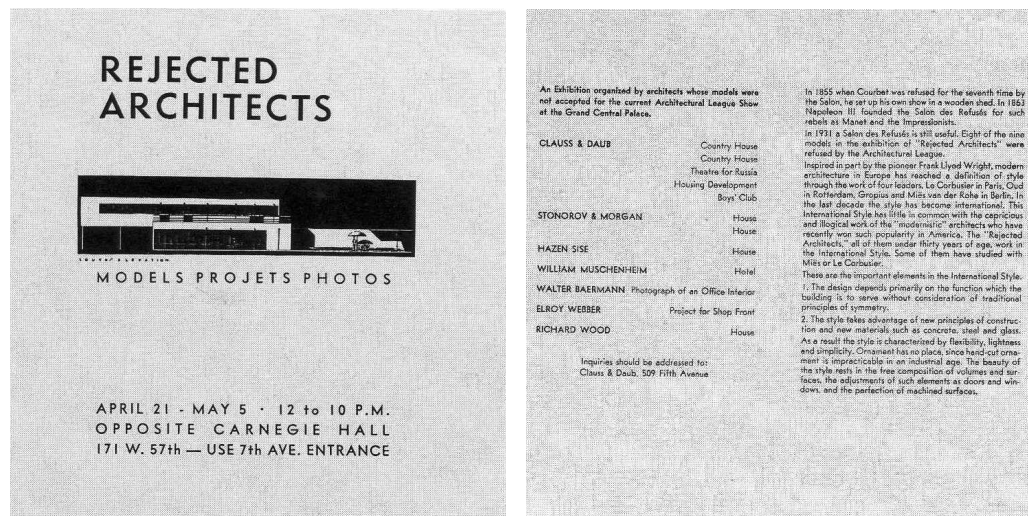


Figure 3.4 Rejected Architects: Exhibition Pamphlet. In Terence Riley, 1992, “Appendix Three: Rejected Architects’ Pamphlet by Philip Johnson,” *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication), p. 215.

It seems that “Rejected Architects” exhibition played a significant role in the preparation process of exhibition for modern architecture. Actually, this is the first exhibition realized by Johnson, Barr and Hitchcock, which introduced modern manner in architecture to American public. In a text in the pamphlet of the exhibition, Johnson claimed,

³⁴ Peter Blake, “Introduction: The Museum of Modern Art.” in Peter Noever, (ed.), 1996, *Turning Point* (New York Wien: Springer-Verlage), p. 50.

³⁵ The names of the young architects are Clauss & Daub, Stonorov & Morgan, Hazen Sise, William Muschenheim, Walter Baermann, Elroy Webber, and Richard Wood.

³⁶ Blake, 1996, p. 50.

³⁷ Ibid.

Inspired in part by pioneer Frank Lloyd Wright, modern architecture in Europe has reached a definition of style through the work of four leaders Le Corbusier in Paris, Oud in Rotterdam, Gropius and Mies van der Rohe in Berlin. In the last decade the style has become international. This International Style has little in common with the capricious and illogical work of the modernistic architects who have recently won such popularity in America... the Rejected Architects all of them under thirty years of age, work in the International Style... some of them have worked with Mies or Le Corbusier.³⁸

In fact, the basis of the principles of International Style explained in the International Style exhibition book was laid down first in the pamphlet of “Rejected Architects” exhibition. It can be said that “Rejected Architects” exhibition seems to be a preliminary show on Modern Architecture, which was realized one year ago (Fig. 3.4).

1. Design depends primarily on function, which the building is to serve without consideration of traditional principles of symmetry.
2. The style takes advantage of new principles of construction and new materials such as concrete, steel and glass [...] The style is characterized by flexibility, lightness and simplicity. Ornament has no place, since hand-cut ornament is impracticable in the machine age. The beauty of the style rests in the free composition of volumes and surfaces, the adjustment of such elements as doors and windows, and the perfection of machined surfaces.³⁹

3.1.3 Selection of the Projects for the Exhibition

The more Barr, Johnson and Hitchcock worked on the documents they had collected, the more they discovered the principles required for the definition of the new “artistic style.” Pursuing architecture should replay the cultural needs despite all the financial and political difficulties of its time after the war. The “new architecture” Johnson and Hitchcock were searching for, in fact had been developed in the context after the First World War. They observed the fact that the runaway inflation and increasing need for housing after war brought forth new approaches to architecture.

The influence of advanced technological innovations after the war that effectively surrounded all of Europe emerged as *Neues Bauen* in Germany.⁴⁰ The new architecture, revealed as *De Stijl* in Holland, had changed the content of architecture into more minimalist forms for the buildings.⁴¹ While Russia named the postwar architecture as *constructivism*, in

³⁸ Terence Riley, 1992, “Appendix Three: Rejected Architects’ Pamphlet by Philip Johnson,” *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication), p. 215.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Franz Schulze, 1996, “Mies,” *Philip Johnson : Life and Work* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), p. 66.

⁴¹ Ibid.

France Le Corbusier gave the name *Vers Une Architecture* to his famous book, which displays the reflections of the war on architecture.⁴²

Although Johnson and Hitchcock were aware of the significance of the political, social, economic consequences of the war in the architectural production, they insisted on the definition of certain aesthetic values for a style in the new architecture. Hitchcock's thesis was an extension of his fundamental beliefs originally discussed in the book *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (1929), which both Johnson and Barr agreed. Hitchcock explains his thesis on the aesthetic of the new architecture as the following,

The aesthetic of the new architecture was ultimately of greater consequence than its social, political, or technological significance. Form and style are what make architecture art as distinct from something else.⁴³

Johnson, in one of his letters, mentioned about the architectural “depression” in Berlin after the war,

The architects here, are so concerned with cheap building, and are so suck in whatever shape the modern movement happens to take in their community, that they cannot take aesthetic stock of their work [...] We have come to the conclusion that no building is done without expense and that even in the movement those architects are the best who build expensively [...]⁴⁴

The keywords for an emerging “style” were clarified during the preparation process of the exhibition. Johnson, who at that time was the secretary of the museum, had a chance to follow the latest developments in architecture from the shows and publications. This was a good experience for Johnson to observe the recent approaches in the architecture, such as the avoidance of applied decoration, mass production, and admiring horizontality of European modern architecture instead of tall buildings, which Johnson called as “American megalomania.”⁴⁵

By exposing the principles they needed for the new architecture, Barr, Hitchcock, and Johnson made an explanation for those architects who would not be included in the exhibition. In their imagination, these (not-included) architects did not accomplish the

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 67.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 66, **quoting** Philip Johnson, letter to Louise Johnson on 6 August 1930.

⁴⁵ Philip Johnson, 1979, “Unnecessary and Merely Imitative,” *Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press), **quoted** in Schulze, 1996, “The American Invasion,” *Philip Johnson : Life and Work* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), p. 72.

principles of the new “style.” Instead, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, J.J.P. Oud, Walter Gropius and Frank Lloyd Wright were among the most respected architects, who were selected and decided to be included in the exhibition.



Figure 3.5 View of Work by Le Corbusier, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” 1932. In Peter Blake, October 1979, “Architecture is an Art and MoMA is its Prophet,” *ARTnews*.

Figure 3.6 Installation View of “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” 27 October 1932. In Riley, 1992, “The Installation Design,” p. 75.

Hitchcock, who was spending much of his time in Paris, highly respected the works of Le Corbusier. However, Johnson who was in Berlin at that time, admired the works of Mies van der Rohe, which, he believed, were the best representatives of the new architecture. Subsequently, came the works of Oud and Gropius. In a letter written to Hitchcock, Johnson attacked Hitchcock’s favorite architect, Le Corbusier,

Le Corbusier’s pavilion de la Suisse is bad in plan and frightfully exciting as sculpture... he does not know the materials. I am afraid Oud was right. Le Corbusier is no architect... Alfred thinks [he] is entering the mannerist phase of architecture, God forbid.⁴⁶

For the masters of modern architecture, Barr, Hitchcock, and Johnson decided to reserve a prestigious place in the exhibition. Although they respected Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, J.J.P. Oud and Walter Gropius as the prominent architects of modern architecture, they preferred to include Frank Lloyd Wright in the place of Gropius. The exclusion of Gropius from the prestigious place, who was also mentioned among the figures of “The New Pioneers” in Hitchcock’s famous book, and inclusion of Wright, brought a lot of questions.

⁴⁶ Ibid., P. 67.

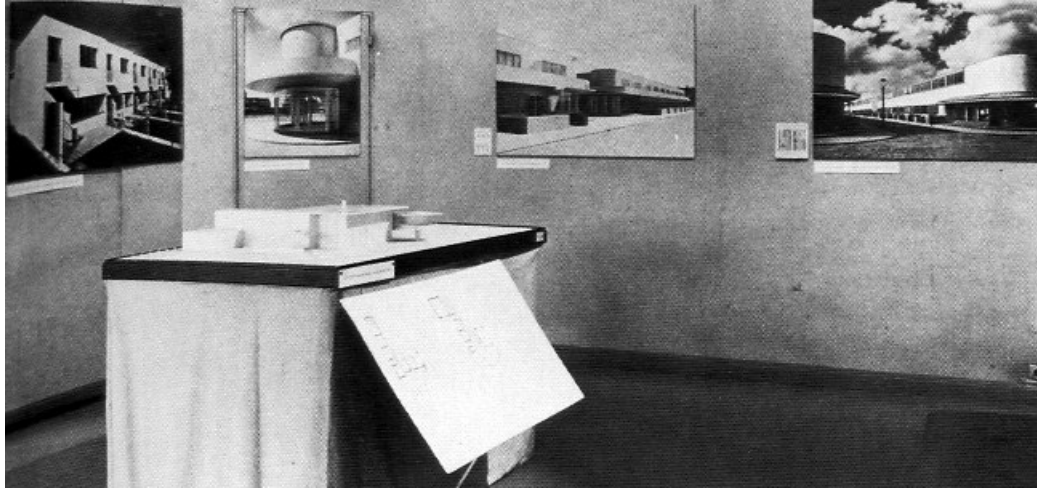


Figure 3.7 View of Work by J.J.P. Oud, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” 27 October 1932. In Riley, 1992, “The Galleries,” p. 69.

As it is stated by Terence Riley, since the organizers of the exhibition tried to introduce an international phenomenon of the new style, and since Gropius and Mies were both from Germany, the organizers might prefer to include Wright’s House on Mesa project, which they were enthusiastic about.⁴⁷

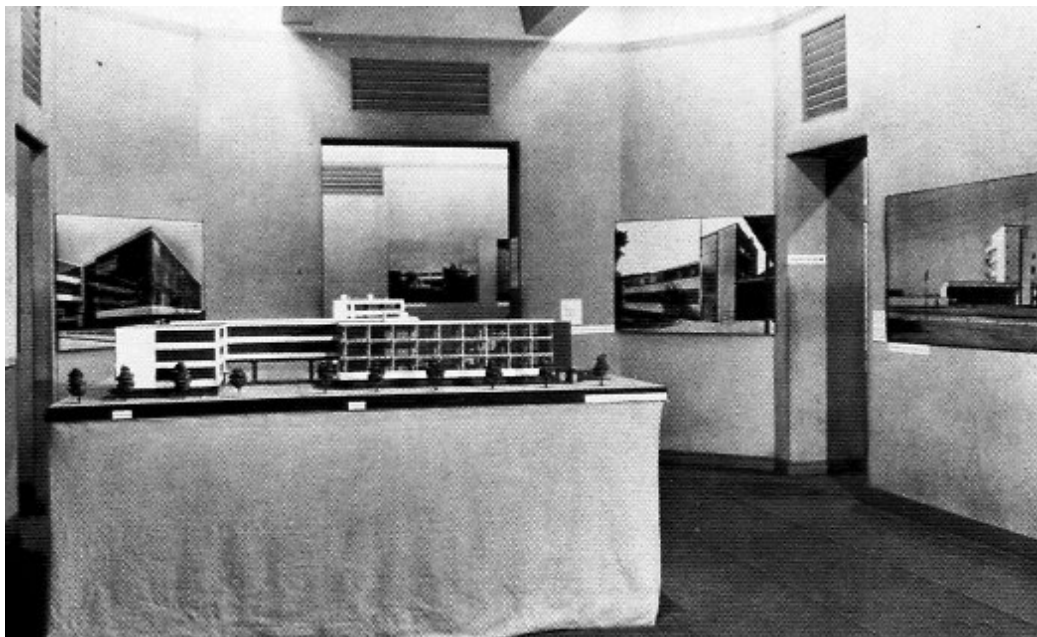


Figure 3.8 View of Work by Walter Gropius, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” 27 October 1932. In Riley, 1992, “The Installation Plan,” p. 71.

⁴⁷ Terence Riley, 1992, “Part Seven: Winter 1932,” *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication), p. 72.

Concerning the works of architects abroad, the organizers insisted on displaying actual (realized) buildings. All the projects of European architects should display the built works. Johnson stated that “things actually constructed have much more propaganda force in America than any project could possibly have.”⁴⁸ Inevitably one of the main reasons of rejecting to display works of Russian Constructivists is that these projects seem *unbuildable*. Barr criticized these works as “romantically impossible projects.”⁴⁹

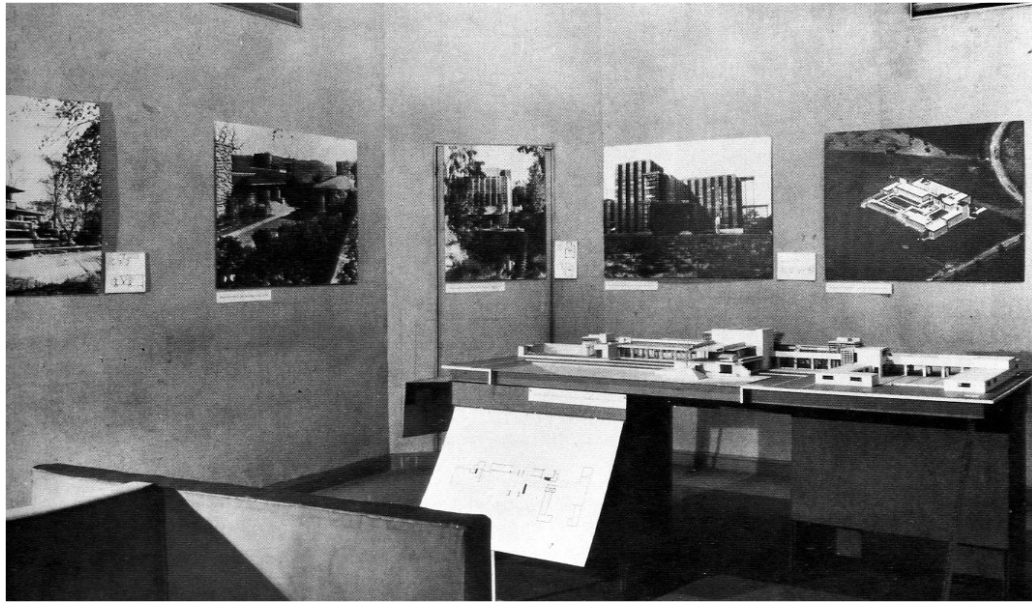


Figure 3.9 View of Work by Frank Lloyd Wright, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” 27 October 1932. In Riley, 1992, “The Galleries,” p. 69.

3.1.4 Final Memorandum for the Exhibition

In September 1931, Johnson submitted the last memorandum on the architectural exhibition to the Museum of Modern Art, including a list of the museums where the exhibition would take place; content of the exhibition; recommendations for installation; required dimensions and materials of the models and quality of photographs; the form of the catalogue; and a list of lectures accompanying the exhibition.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Philip Johnson, 1931, Museum Archive, **quoted** in Terence Riley, 1992, “Part One: Summer 1930,” *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication), p. 29.

⁴⁹ Alfred Barr, 1931, “Notes on Russian Architecture,” *The Arts*, Vol. 15 (2) **quoted** in Riley, p. 29.

⁵⁰ Terence Riley, 1992, “Appendix Four: Subscribers Memorandum by Philip Johnson,” *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication), pp. 220-221.

Names of the galleries where the exhibition would be displayed for a year, were suggested to be New York Museum of Modern Art, Pennsylvania Art Museum, Seattle Art Institute, San Francisco The M. H. De. Young Memorial Museum, California Los Angeles Museum, Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Cleveland Museum of Art, Toledo Museum of Art, Cincinnati Art Museum, Milwaukee Art Institute, Fogg Art Museum, Pittsburgh Carnegie Institute, St. Paul Institute, Rochester Memorial Art, Worcester Art Museum, Art Institute of Omaha and Houston Museum of Fine Arts.⁵¹

In the final memorandum, Johnson determined the number and the quality of models and photographs that would take place in the exhibition. According to the memorandum, five models from America and five models from Europe would be presented, the size of each model would be approximately 3ft.x 6ft and they should be constructed specially for the show. The materials of the models were limited to celon, wood, glass, chrome, steel and marble. Together with the models, it was suggested that there would be five enlarged black and white photographs, mounted on plywood with 35 inches height.⁵²

Johnson also prepared a recommendation explaining the specially prepared catalogue of the exhibition. He suggested that,

A specially prepared catalogue will be an important educational asset of the exhibition.

The catalogue will contain 100 pages reproductions of the work of all the architects. The text will be a scholarly, historical and critical treatise on each architect, illustrated by material of historical as well as contemporary interest. In the case of three German architects, the catalogue will contain the first three scholarly monographs written on these men in any language. The monographs will be prepared by Professor Henry-Russell Hitchcock, whose book "Modern Architecture" is the only scholarly work which has appeared on the subject to date. *Thus the catalogue will have a permanent value as a document in the history of architecture* and will at the same time explain the aims and achievements of the greatest contemporary architects.⁵³

In the final memorandum, there was also a list of the lectures accompanying the exhibition. Two of these lectures would be given by Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson as the organizers of the exhibition.

From the fall of 1930 till the opening of the show in 1932, Barr, Hitchcock and Johnson had been mostly working independently for the exhibition and the accompanying catalogue. The

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 220.

⁵² Ibid., p. 221.

⁵³ Ibid. (emphasis mine)

counterattack between them was due to their different ways of understanding and evaluating the characteristic of the new architecture. The three put their efforts and shared the position in the preparation of the exhibition and the critical book devoted to a new architecture and a “style”.

Finally, after touring Europe and studying the examples of European Architecture, Johnson and Hitchcock organized the first and the most speculative architectural exhibition at MoMA in 1932.

3.2 A Re-View on “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition”

The MoMA launched the first modern architecture trend in United States with the International Style exhibition.⁵⁴

Officially titled “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” the show opened on February 10, 1932 in the Heckscher Building, at Fifth Avenue and 56th Street, and remained on view in that location for six weeks, and during this period it put up about 33 thousand attendances.⁵⁵ It was the first “traveling-exhibition” that subsequently toured the United States for six years. Terence Riley notices the fact that compared with “The Architect and the Industrial Arts” exhibition in 1929 in Metropolitan Museum of Art in which 186 thousand people attended; the 1932 exhibition received “unenthusiastic reactions.”⁵⁶

Named as “Exhibition 15” in the museum’s archive, the show consisted of three main sections as it was projected before in the proposal of February 1931, yet with some changes: The section of “Modern Architects” included models, photographs and projects of the most prominent architects, namely Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, Frank Lloyd Wright, J.J.P. Oud, Walter Gropius, the Bowman Brothers, Richard Neutra, and Raymond Hood. “Housing” section presented “the need for a new domestic environment” as it was identified by Lewis Mumford. “The Extent of Modern Architecture” section included the works of thirty seven modern architects from fifteen countries who were influenced by the works of Europeans of 1920s.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Nesbit ed., 1996, p. 27.

⁵⁵ Blake, 1979, p. 96.

⁵⁶ Terence Riley, 1992, “Critical and General Reception,” *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication), p. 85.

⁵⁷ Riley, 1992, p. front cover of the catalogue.

The starring roles still belonged to the individual “prominent” architects, nine of them, as proposed, but with Richard Neutra replacing Norman Bel Geddes [...] the subtopics earlier associated with the industrial division were funneled into a section called Housing, which included more photographs of work for the most part by other architects, notably the German Otto Haesler... the “world-wide” competition was eliminated in favor of an ensemble of photographs of work by figures of lesser rank than the featured players,... this was the third division, offered primarily as evidence of the global reach of the new architecture.⁵⁸

Referring to Riley’s reconstructed drawing of the installation plan of 1932 event, the gallery divided into five parts and each division displayed a different section (Fig. 3.10). While the projects related to the first section, “Modern Architects,” were mainly located in the main and central galleries, the remaining projects related to “Housing” and “The Extent of Modern Architecture” sections were installed in different divisions.⁵⁹

As the curator, who determined the contents of the exhibition, Johnson saved the most esteemed space for the works of their four favorite architects, the Villa Savoye of Le Corbusier, the Tugendhat House of Mies van der Rohe, the House on the Mesa by Frank Lloyd Wright and a house by J.J.P. Oud.

3.2.1 Illustrations

The show consisted of seventy-five photographs from abroad, installed by Johnson. While seventeen of the photographs were taken by the organizers of the exhibition, the remaining visual materials including photographs and plans, were provided by the architects themselves. Since the installation design for each section was different, the required materials varied from section to section.

⁵⁸ Franz Shulze, 1996, “The 1932 Show: The Revolution Goes Uptown,” *Philip Johnson : Life and Work* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), Original published in 1994, P. 75.

⁵⁹ Riley, 1992, “Part Seven,” p. 68.

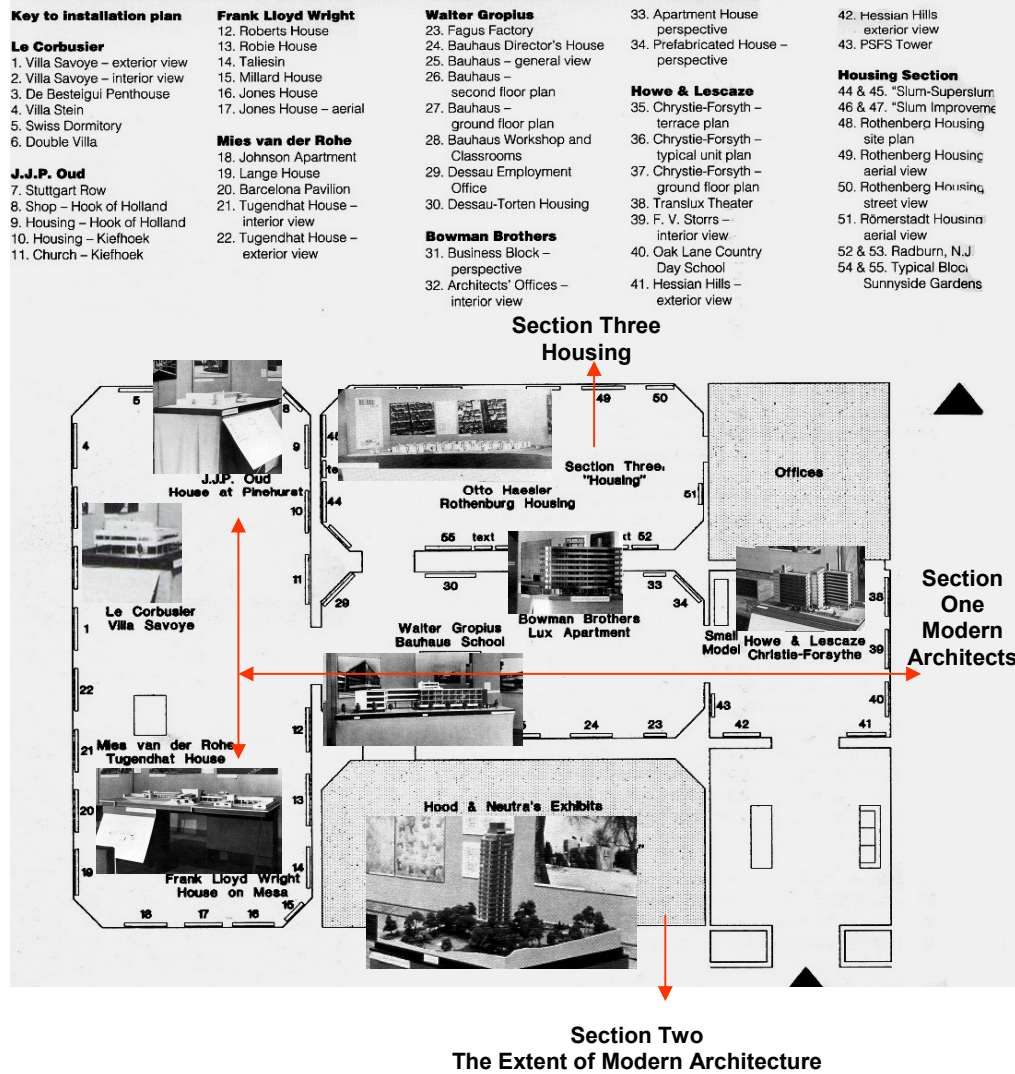


Figure 3.10 Reconstructed Plan by Terence Riley, "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition," 27 October 1932. In Riley, p. 68, (edited by Baharak Tabibi).

For the section “Modern Architects,” since it was planned to present the built works, except from drawings (plans, perspectives or elevations), which were attached to the stands of the models, there were also black and white reproductions of photographs provided by their architects, which were placed behind the models on the wall. This section included forty-eight photographs (Fig. 3.11).



Figure 3.11 View from “Modern Architects” Section, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” 30 August 1932. In Riley, 1992, “Part Three: Winter 31,” p. 42.

For the section “The Extent of Modern Architecture”, there existed no plans of any projects but photographs yet in a smaller size. This section contained forty projects of thirty seven architects, each presented with a photograph again in black and white reproduction (Fig. 3.12).

In the “Housing” section, different from the other sections, there were text panels. This section included eleven photographs, three text panels and a site plan located behind the model (Fig. 3.16).

As it is stated by Riley, photographs related to the projects that appeared in the exhibition were different from those that were published in the catalogue. Less than half of the images reproduced in the catalogue were not included in the exhibition.

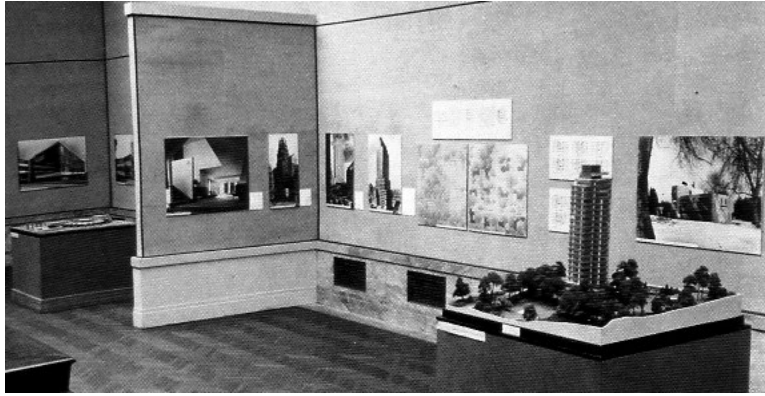


Figure 3.12 View of Work by Raymond Hood, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” 27 October 1932. In Riley, 1992, “The Installation Design,” p. 75.

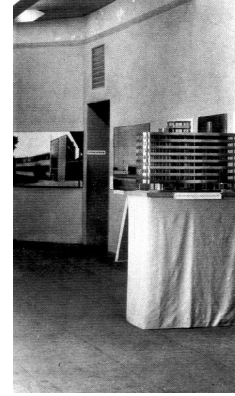


Figure 3.13 View of Work by Bowman Brothers, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” 27 October 1932. In Riley, 1992, “The Installation Plan,” p. 75.

The catalogue complemented rather than documented the exhibition. In the curator’s own words the purpose of the catalogue was “to explain the aims and achievements of the greatest contemporary architects,” a significantly greater ambition than merely documenting the exhibition. Ironically the Catalogue and, to some extent, the book *The International Style*, published at the time of the exhibition, have supplanted the actual historical event.⁶⁰

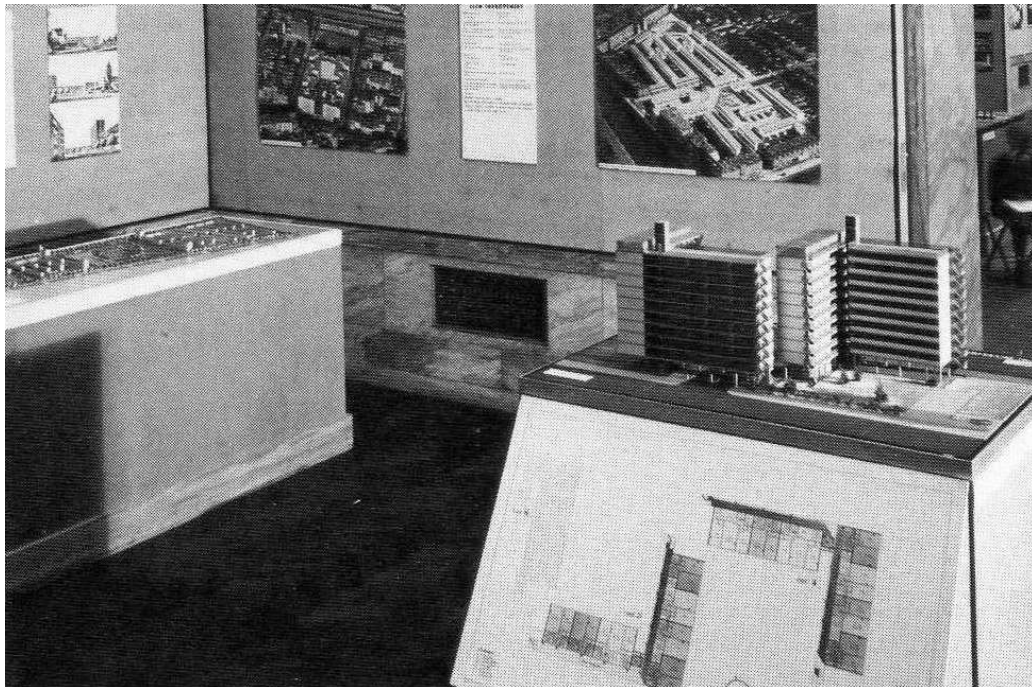


Figure 3.14 View of Work by Howe & Lescaze, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” 27 October 1932. In Riley, 1992, “The Installation Design,” p. 75.

⁶⁰ Riley, 1992, p. 9. (emphasis added)

3.2.2 Models

The show consisted of ten models, nine of which belonged to the “Modern Architects,” section and were presented in the main and central galleries: the model of House on Mesa by Wright, House at Pinehurst by Oud, Bauhaus School by Gropius, Villa Savoye by Le Corbusier, Tugendhat House by Mies van der Rohe, Lux Apartment by Bowman Brothers, Chrystie-Forsyth by Howe & Lescaze, Apartment Tower by Raymond Hood and Housing project by Neutra. Referring to the reconstructed installation plan by Riley, for the “Housing” section, the Rothenberg Housing project by Otto Haesler was also presented with a model (Fig. 3.16).



Figure 3.15 Philip Johnson with Architectural Models of the Exhibition, 1933. In Blake, 1996, “Introduction: The Museum of Modern Art,” p. 48.



Figure 3.16 View of Model by Otto Haesler, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” 23 March 1932. In Riley, 1992, “The Installation Design,” p. 78.

It was planned that in the final presentation, the American models represented unbuilt works and the European models completed buildings.

3.3 Publications Related to the Exhibition

As it is stated before, besides the catalogue, Johnson planned to make additional publications for the exhibition. The publications accompanying the exhibition were published in three forms; *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition*,⁶¹ (1932) known as the original

⁶¹ Henry Russell Hitchcock, Philip Johnson, and Lewis Mumford, 1932, *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art), **quoted** in Shulze, 1996, “Selected Bibliography,” p. 444.

catalogue of the exhibition, *Modern Architects*,⁶² (1932) and the book *The International Style: Architecture since 1922* (1932).⁶³

As it is stated by Riley, “ironically the Catalogue, and to some extent, the book *The International Style*, published at the same time of the exhibition, have *supplanted the actual historical event*.”⁶⁴ The exhibition and the accompanying publications are constitutive of each other. However, publications as the only existing evidence and document after the exhibitions have significant position. The publications accompanying “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” have played a significant role in giving permanent validity to the exhibition. These publications are among tools to make this event known worldwide; they are tools to publicize and distribute the exhibition.

The original catalogue *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition*, includes a foreword by Alfred Barr, a historical note by Johnson, a statement titled “The Extent of Modern Architecture” by both Johnson and Hitchcock, and biographical texts on the prominent architects; on Mies by Johnson, and on Wright, Gropius, Le Corbusier, Oud, Hood & Lescaze, Neutra and the Bowman Brothers by Hitchcock. It also includes a separate section on housing, *Siedlung*, written by Lewis Mumford.⁶⁵

Another publication, in which the text was identical with that of the original catalogue, was published in 1932 with a different title, *Modern Architects*. It should be mentioned that the discrepancy between the two titles of the publications is due to the arrangement between the publisher and the MoMA.⁶⁶

The cover of the original catalogue included a photograph of Tugendhat House by Mies van der Rohe⁶⁷ who was Johnson’s favorite architect. Hence, Johnson believed that he could be

⁶² Henry Russell Hitchcock, Philip Johnson, Alfred Barr, and Lewis Mumford, 1932, *Modern Architects* (New York: Norton, The Museum of Modern Art), **quoted** in Shulze, 1996, “Selected Bibliography,” p. 444.

⁶³ Henry Russell Hitchcock, Philip Johnson, 1932, *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922* (New York: Norton), Later published in 1966 and 1995.

⁶⁴ Riley, 1992, p. 9. (emphasis added).

⁶⁵ Shulze, 1996, “The 1932,” p. 76.

⁶⁶ Howard P. Wilson, 1923, “An Account of the Early Days of W. W. Norton and Co,” *W. W. Norton Editorial Archives* (Colombia University Press), **quoted** in Riley, 1992, p. 201.

⁶⁷ Blake, 1979, p. 97.

able to put up with the standard characteristic of the new architecture, and his Tugendhat house should be the best illustrative of the new style. According to Johnson,

[Tugendhat house] is like the Parthenon. One cannot see anything from pictures. It is a three-dimensional thing, which simply can't be seen in two. It is without question the best looking house in the world.⁶⁸

Known as one of the significant reference books in history of modern architecture, the book titled *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*, published concurrently with the exhibition. Among the three, this book is the major publication that makes the exhibition known worldwide. With the new additions, the book republished in 1966 and 1995 under the title *The International Style*. This publication is also translated into Italian (1982), Spanish (1984), German (*Der Internationale Stil*, 1985) and French (*Le Style International*, 2001) (Fig. 3.17, 3.18, 3.19).

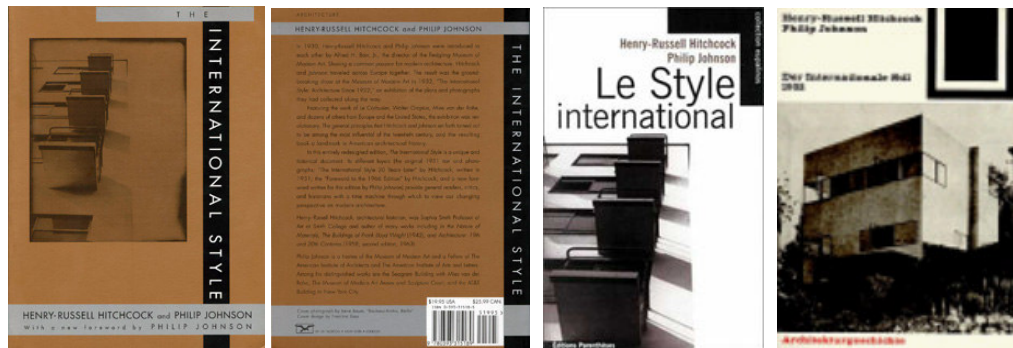


Figure 3.17 Front and Back Cover of the Catalogue. In Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, 1995, *The International Style* (New York: Norton), Originally published under the title *The International Style. Architecture Since 1922* in 1932.

Figure 3.18 “Le Style International,” Front Cover of the Catalogue Published in French.

Figure 3.19 “der Internationale Stil,” Front Cover of the Catalogue Published in German.

The International Style: Architecture since 1922 was published concurrently with the show. Its fundamental message, while largely identical with that of the catalogue, was more frankly propagandistic in tone, more nearly uncompromising in its estheticism, and only qualified in its attention to social issues in architecture. The text was completely Hitchcock's, while Johnson edited it, [...]. Among the principles of the International Style, volume, regularity, and the avoidance of applied decoration were explored in special detail. One chapter devoted to the *Siedlung*, or housing colony, amounted to a reconstruction of Lewis Mumford's catalogue essay, although with Hitchcock viewing the subject, predictably, against the backdrop of style rather than communitarian welfare. In another chapter but with much the same frame of mind, he came down hard on functionalism, the doctrine that in his view ill-advisedly regarded building more as a product of science than of art.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Schulze, 1996, “Mies,” p. 68.

⁶⁹ Shulze, 1996, “The 1932,” p. 78.

Since the original exhibition book, *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*, which was published in 1932, is out of reach, the thesis refers to its 1966 and 1995 editions. This particular book is designed by Chris Welch, with 21 cm in lengths and 15.5 cm in widths. On the front cover, which is designed by Francine Kass, is a photograph by Irene Bayer of the Bauhaus School at Dessau, Germany, designed by Walter Gropius in 1926.

The 1966 and 1995 editions of the exhibition book contain 260 pages with 133 illustrations in black and white format. Both 1966 and 1995 editions include a preface by Alfred Barr, a new additional foreword by Henry Russell Hitchcock, the texts describing the main principles and common qualities of the International Style buildings, and an appendix in which is a reprint of the article, “The International Style Twenty Years After,” written by Hitchcock and originally published in *Architectural Record* in August, 1951. In addition to these texts, in the 1995 edition, there is also a new foreword by Philip Johnson.

Coming to illustrations, the 1966 and 1995 editions include the illustrations of the works of 48 architects (mainly European avant-garde architects of the Modern movement), firms and official groups from 15 countries displayed in the exhibition. While most of the architects, participated in the exhibition, were from Germany including Marcel Breuer, Walter Gropius, Ernest May, Erich Mendelsohn, Mies Van Der Rohe and Hans Scharoun. There were others from different countries, J. J. P. Oud, Mart Stam, Johannes Brinkman and L. C. Van Der Vlugt participated from Netherlands. Italy was represented by Luigi Figini and Gino Pollini; France by Le Corbusier and Andre Lurçat; Spain by Jose Manuel de Aizpurua and Joaquin Labayen; Finland by Alvar Aalto and Erik Bryggman; Sweden by Gunnar Asplund and Sven Markelius; Switzerland by Werner Moser; Britain by Joseph Emberton; and Japan by Mamoru Yamada. The most notable of the six American architects were namely Raymond Hood and J. Andre Fouilhoux, George Howe with the Swiss immigrant architect William Edmond Lescage, and another recent immigrant, Richard Neutra.⁷⁰

3.4 Re-reading the Exhibition Book: *The International Style*

Since the exhibition is over, the study is carried out on the basis of the exhibition book, *The International Style*. This part of the thesis is re-reading the exhibition book inevitably with a critical perspective. The book as the main object of this study will be described on the basis

⁷⁰Andrew Ballantyne, 2003, *International Style* (Oxford University Press), [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.groveart.com> [Accessed: November 2003].

of architectural reproduction. In doing so, the thesis may charge a new content to the production (exhibition book) by placing it into a critical process.

3.4.1 The Idea of a New Style

Two questions are needed to be answered to better elaborate the term “style”. Why did Hitchcock, Johnson and Barr so insist on the definition of a *style*? And, why was the conception of *International* attached to the term, *style*?

In the introduction, the revivalist “styles” of the 19th century are criticized since “[they] were but a decorative garment to architecture, not the interior principles according to which it lived and grew.”⁷¹ And, for the early 20th century architecture, on the basis of the works of the prominent architects, which share common trait and characteristics, the existence of “a single new style” is announced. The authors argue for the fact that the common characteristics, norms and principles of this new “style,” (by which the style is defined and distinguished from the other styles) have to be described. It is stated that:

Today a single new style has come into existence. The aesthetic conceptions on which its disciplines are based derive from the experimentation of the *individualist*. They and *not the revivalists* were the immediate masters of those who have created the new style. This contemporary style, which *exists throughout the world*, is *unified and inclusive* [...] ⁷²

To clarify the phrase *International Style*, the existence of a “general discipline” can be considered. The new language that took shape at the beginning of 1920s is adopted throughout the world by achieving a general discipline in which the architects seek to represent *national, cultural, and historical uniqueness*.⁷³ Since the new “contemporary style” is “global” in its reach, and exists throughout the world without any attachments to the local, it is called “International.” In the preface, Barr claims,

I believe that there exists today a modern style as original, as consistent, as logical, and as widely distributed as any in the past. The authors [Hitchcock and Johnson] have called it the International Style.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Henry Russell Hitchcock, 1995, “The Idea of Style,” *The International Style* (New York: Norton), Original published under the title *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922* in New York in 1932, p. 34.

⁷² Hitchcock, 1995, “The Idea,” p.35. (emphasis mine)

⁷³ *What is the International Style?*, 2003, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://artlog.co.il/telaviv/what.html> [Accessed: April 2004].

⁷⁴ Alfred Barr, 1995, “Preface,” *The International Style* (New York: Norton, 1995), Original published under the title *The International Style: Architecture since 1922* in New York in 1932, p. 27.

Here I should refer to the main argument of this thesis, which emphasizes the role of the narrator as a subject who interprets and re-identifies the product. The authors as the narrator assert a new meaning to the early 20th century architecture by naming it the “International Style.” The principles for the new style are derived from the experiences of those who prepared the exhibition and the accompanying publications. It is the imaginations of Johnson and Hitchcock that define the new emerging style in architecture as the International Style. Even though it is criticized because of its “reductionist stereometry,”⁷⁵ this definition still preserves its validity today.

Since they are the authors who make the definition of the new style and the principles for the emerging architecture, the architects and the works selected for the exhibition and the catalogue are limited to what the authors aimed to express. Johnson and Hitchcock worked on the principles for the new style and selected the best examples of the new architecture. The remainder or the omitted were those who did not accomplish the principles of the new “style” in the author’s imagination. Being selective is a critical act in the sense that, the curators selected the projects with a critical perspective to create a single style.

Related with the exhibition book, *The International Style*, Panayotis Tournikiotis states,

In the book...[[Hitchcock] transforms himself into a *kind of guide*, a subject who not only knows the way himself but shows us the direction in which we ought to be heading. At the same time he lays down rules addressed to the young architects just embarking on their careers. Thus, in a book that is *explicitly historical but implicitly normative*, he takes part in establishing and also in *reproducing* the new architecture.⁷⁶

As stated by Tournikiotis, *The International Style* is a descriptive and a normative book that contributes to the reproduction of modern architecture, and directs architects on the way to be modern.

Written by an architect [Hitchcock] who became a historian of architecture and never denied his commitment to the side of the new style and by an architect [Johnson] talking the first steps in his career, *The International Style* supplied the public with a catalogue of morphological and compositional elements that amounted to quite a satisfactory description of one of the main directions of modern architecture and thus contributed to its *reproduction*. In other words, it was a *guidebook for architects who wanted to be modern*.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Heinrich Klotz, 1988, “Vision of the Modern,” *Journal of Architectural Theory and Criticism*, vol. 1 (1), p. 6.

⁷⁶ Panayotis Tournikiotis, 1999, “The Objectification of Modern Architecture,” *The Historiography of Modern Architecture* (Cambrid: The MIT Press), pp. 116-117. (emphasis added)

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 140. (emphasis added)

To remember: In the exhibition proposal, Johnson explained their intentions for the catalogue such as the following,

*A specially prepared catalogue will be an important educational asset of the exhibition.
[...]
Thus the catalogue will have a permanent value as a document in the history of architecture and will at the same time explain the aims and achievements of the greatest contemporary architects.*⁷⁸

As it is stated in the quotation above, one of the main objectives of the exhibition was to have a permanent value as a documentation of modern architecture and also as a tool of education. Then, it was inevitable that the accompanying publications (not only the catalogue but also the book) were written in a didactic and normative way in order to educate architects and document the achievements of modern architecture.

The International Style is defined with reference to the prominent architects of the early 20th century; the basic principles of new architectural style are derived from their architectural works. These architects are set apart from the others. Their works gain a new identity, and a permanent validity in a sense that they constitute the basis of the modern architecture. Being selected as the representative of the International Style brought the architect to a privilege position. The process of selection is a critical act, which is dependent on the authors' interpretation of contemporary approaches to architecture.

3.4.2 Principles of the “International Style”

What was the author's imagination in producing a descriptive classification of the projects? As it is stated before, Hitchcock's publication of 1929, *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* has an influential role in shaping and directing his ideas explained in *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*. In one of the sections in the book *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration*, which is titled “The New Pioneers,” Hitchcock relies on a set of components, which manifest themselves as the logical and morphological expressions of the new architecture.⁷⁹ On the basis of Hitchcock's explanation, Tournikiotis classifies the components of new architecture such as the following,⁸⁰

⁷⁸ quoted in Riley, p. 221. (emphasis mine)

⁷⁹ Henry Russell Hitchcock, 1929, “The New Pioneers,” *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (New York: Hacker Art Books).

⁸⁰ Henry Russell Hitchcock, 1929, “The New Pioneers,” *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration*, **quoted** in Tournikiotis, pp. 132-133.

1. *Structural component dependent on the new construction methods*: ‘ferro-concrete construction’ [...], ‘steel skeleton construction’ [...], ‘moving partitions’ [...], ‘technical extravagances in the use of glass and balconies’ [...].
2. *External morphological elements dependent on the new construction methods*: ‘terrace roof’ [...], ‘entirely cantilevered facades’ [...], ‘screen walls’ [...], ‘ribbon windows’ [...], ‘corner windows’ [...].
3. *Internal elements dependent on the new construction method*: ‘open plan’ [...], ‘treatment of the interior as a single space’ [...], ‘moving partitions made it possible to utilize the upper story as one room or four’ [...], ‘exterior and interior are interwoven in one composition of open spaces and plans’ [...].
4. *Elements not dependent on the new construction methods*: ‘extreme simplification’ [...], ‘reduction of the forms to the simplest geometrical’ [...], three dimensional expression in terms of volume and not of mass’ [...], ‘strong emphasis on horizontality for its own sake proved to be strikingly new principle of composition’ [...], ‘asymmetrical balance’ [...], ‘circular staircase’ [...], ‘delicate and discreet use of color’ [...].
5. *Negative elements*: ‘symmetrical arrangement’ [...], ‘monumental disposition’ [...], ‘picturesqueness’ [...], ‘heavily massive’ [...], ‘over-complicated’ [...], ‘use of brick’ [...], ‘traditional materials’ [...].⁸¹

These descriptive elements help Hitchcock and Johnson fix their ideas in constituting the basic principles of *The International Style*.

The idea of style as the frame of potential growth, rather than as a fixed and crushing mould, has developed with the recognition of underlying principles [...] The principles are few and broad. They are not mere formulas of proportion such as distinguish the Doric from the Ionic order; they are fundamental, like the organic verticality of the Gothic or the rhythmical symmetry of the Baroque.⁸²

The authors believed that early Modern Architecture, especially in Europe in 1920s, had some qualities in common that “suggested a style global in its reach.”⁸³ They elaborated three main principles as the characteristics of *The International Style* architecture.

First there was an emphasis on volume space enclosed by thin planes or surfaces as opposed to the suggestion of mass and solidity. Second, regularity as opposed to pure radical symmetry served as the chief means of ordering design. And third, the architecture resisted frivolously or arbitrarily applied decoration.⁸⁴

By means of these principles, the organizers introduced a guide for modern architecture. That is to say that they contributed to the reproduction of the new architecture.

⁸¹ Hitchcock, 1929, **quoted** in Tournikiotis, pp. 132-133.

⁸² Hitchcock, 1995, “The Idea,” p. 36.

⁸³ Franz Schulze, 2003, *Philip Johnson* (Oxford University Press), Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.groveart.com> [Accessed: November 2003].

⁸⁴ Hitchcock, 1995, p. the back cover of the book.

3.5 Evaluation: The Exhibition as a Medium of Reproduction

Since any exhibition has an aim according to its reproducer's (curator) point of view, it has not only a power to give a new position to the career of both the producer (architect) and reproducer (curator), but also it has a power to give a new content to the product itself. The product gains a new identity just from the time the event occurred. As a practical act of architecture, the building (product) might have not the same meaning, which was given by its architect (producer) before. For "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition," the purpose is to announce the birth of a new emerging style. The principles of the new style were sought in the works of certain distinguished individuals. The works of these architects immediately gained a new meaning as the representative of modern architecture, and took place in the exhibition book, which describes the norms and standards of the International Style.

They propose a *genealogy* for the foundation of the modern movement and at the same a *grammar* for architects to use.⁸⁵

By exposing the three principles on structure and design that controlled the architecture since the beginning of the 20th century, the authors created a "dominant and global style" in architecture, and titled it "International Style." The exhibition as a significant event, in which design principles of the new emerging architecture were revealed, and a new architectural "style" was identified, put the objects to a process of reproduction. With this exhibition, there emerged a style, which gave a new context to the works. The new style was made explicit to the audience (that is the viewer of the exhibition or reader of the catalogue) by pointing up its common features and principles. This is rebuilding a built architecture; it is a critical act, which immediately changes the identity of the product.

⁸⁵ Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 113.

CHAPTER 4

REPRODUCTION(S) OF “MODERN ARCHITECTURE: INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION”

In this chapter, the thesis will illustrate the influential role of “Modern Architecture: The International Exhibition” (1932) in the development of the debates on 20th century architecture. The exhibition (as a subject) puts the objects (architectural works) into a critical process, as a medium of reproduction in which the works are re-interpreted and distributed through the agency of press. However, it should be noted that the exhibition also finds itself in a critical process; it becomes an object *reproduced* by the critics.

4.1 Reactions during the Exhibition

Since this particular exhibition with its related publications is a significant public event that plays an influential role in the history of the 20th century architecture, especially in U. S. A, the reactions after the event are unavoidable. Just a few days after the exhibition was opened, in the article titled “Present Trends in Architecture in Fine Exhibit” that was published in *The ARTnews* magazine on 13 February 1932, Ralph Flint qualified the characteristics of the emerging architecture. Flint states that,

No matter how monotonous or repetitious or otherwise uninspiring the new style may appear to be in its lesser manifestations. There can be no doubt about its magnificent simplicities and structural logic for large-scale work. It is most probably the most powerful lever in getting us away from our jumbled aesthetic inheritances that could have been devised. After continued contemplation of the new modes, even the work of such moderns as Frank Lloyd Wright begins to look overloaded and fussy, and we begin to eye our surroundings with a fresh severity.⁸⁶

Inevitably the majority of professionals were aware of the potential importance of 1932 event on history of architecture in America. However, the organizers’ intention was to change what American public perceived as architecture by identifying “magnificent simplicities and structural logic” for new architecture, and they succeeded. The works were displayed mostly by models and photographs, and the exhibition was placed in MoMA, an important public institution in New York, that guaranteed to attract an extreme number of audiences both public and professionals (architectural community).

⁸⁶ Schulze, 1996, “*The 1932*,” p. 80. **quoting** Ralph Flint, February 1932, “Present Trends in Architecture in Fine Exhibit,” *The Art News*, Vol. 13 (5).

In another article titled “The International Style” that was published in March 1932 in *The Architectural Forum* magazine, the editor Kenneth K. came closest among the critics perceiving and identifying the quality of “well chosen and perfectly staged exhibition.” (Fig 4.1). In this article he stated that,

New York architects, and incidentally the interested though somewhat bewildered public, have been treated to an exceptionally well chosen and perfectly staged exhibition of the work of exponents of “International Style.” “Modern” or “Moderne” are less descriptive and connotative terms, for the examples shown were distinctly of an established *style*, unified in idea and in form. This consistency was surprising for it showed how fully formulated the new “International Style,” [...] emphasis on the solution of the problem of *use*, “design” limited to the simple structural necessities. [...] the style is the result of conscious effort applied to solving a physical problem by the simplest means. [This is] an architecture that will be truly “functionally efficient, economically sound and aesthetically satisfying.”⁸⁷

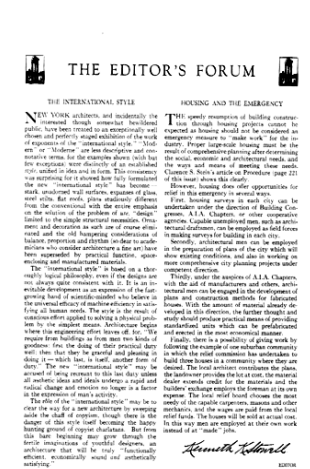


Figure 4.1 Writings on “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” from the Editor. In Kenneth K., March 1932, “The International Style,” *The Architectural Forum*, Vol. 72 (6), p. 253.

The criticisms on the exhibition were not entirely affirmative. In another essay published in *The New York Times* magazine in February 1932, the author H. I. Brock treated the principles of new style as “a mental slavery to the machine idea”. In his article titled “Architecture Styled International,” Brock states that,

In practice, the windows are either glass sides to certain rooms or horizontal slits at about eye-level of a standing person in other rooms. Out of this simple combination must be extracted whatever interest fenestration may give to a façade which must, be rigid rule, have no other ornament and which, by strict dogma, should be flat and white wherever it is not glass [...] Within this style (he quoted Hitchcock) there are no subsidiary manners which are ecclesiastical or domestic or industrial. The symbolic expression of function by allusion to the past, which the half-modern architects at the beginning of the century developed, has ceased to be necessary [Brock continued] there is suggested in the quotation above a mental slavery to the machine idea.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Kenneth K., March 1932, “The International Style,” *The Architectural Forum*, Vol. 72 (6), p. 253.

⁸⁸ H. I. Brock, February 1932, “Architecture Styled International,” *The New York Times*, Vol. II (22), quoted in Schulze, 1996, “*The 1932*,” p. 81.

In fact, the phrase International Style all by itself was the first problem that catches the attention of the audience. As it is mentioned before to clarify the phrase *International Style*, the existence of a “general discipline” can be considered. What is paradoxical here is that: Although the term “international,” which was a revolution in 1920s, implies the state of being “global” and refusing any border in opposition to the idea of nationalism, attaching the term with such a critical word, “style,” was criticized as a “reductionist” attitude.⁸⁹

As it is stated by Schulze, another provocative attack on the new style was launched by Kurt Lonberg-Holm in the magazine *Shelter*. Holm “attacked the elevation of the concept of style as applied to the architecture shown in the exhibition,”⁹⁰ and rejected “formalism” as announced by the exhibition.

Undoubtedly, the most “vituperative” judgment on the new architecture was launched by the American architect, Frank Lloyd Wright. A month before the exhibition opened, in January 1932, Wright, who requested not to be included to the exhibition because he believed that the exhibition might cast a shadow on his career, asked the organizers to remove himself from the exhibition. He cabled Johnson,

My way has been too long and too lonely to make a belated bow as a modern architect in company with a self advertising amateur and a high powered salesman no bitterness and sorry but kindly and finally drop me out of your promotion.⁹¹

Beginning from the time he was invited to participate the exhibition, Wright warned Barr, Hitchcock and Johnson to remove himself from the exhibition, agreeing to stay if only the organizers persuaded to publish his essay, “Of Thee I Sing,”⁹² in a special issue of *Shelter* magazine and to distribute some copies of this essay to the audiences during the exhibition⁹³. However, Wright was not satisfied by this favor. He criticized the way photographs, models and drawings were published in the magazine, and then he rejected to continue to take place in the exhibition and the accompanying catalogue. In April 1932, he wrote to Johnson,

⁸⁹ Klotz, 1988, p. 6.

⁹⁰ Mies van der Rohe, June 1923, “Bürohaus,” **quoted** in Schulze, p. 81.

⁹¹ Frank Lloyd Wright, January 1932, telegram to Johnson **quoted** in Riley, 1992, “Critical and General Reception,” p. 87.

⁹² Frank Lloyd Wright, April 1932, “Of Thee I Sing,” *Shelter*, pp. 10-11. **quoted** in Schulze, 1996, “*The 1932*,” p. 82.

⁹³ Ibid.

[the essay was published] with objectionable editorial comment under an objectionable pirated photograph of the damaged model of the House on the Mesa taken from an objectionable angle that best *serves your objectionable propaganda* [...] editorial is essentially Hitchcock. Sincerity is one of his limitations I am bound to respect⁹⁴.

In reply, Wright received two letters from Hitchcock and Johnson. Hitchcock wrote,

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am sorry that in this question of whether your exhibits are or are not to remain in the show you should descend to unanswerable vulgarity. The decisions are not mine as to what will be done. But I must say that at last I am conceived that there is no further reason for attempting to remain on working terms with you. My "sincerity" which you find a limitation makes it impossible to alter my opinions of your work and your career. But I think it fair to say that there is not another architect in the world who would act as you have done in relation to this exhibition. If you represent the right path and we the wrong, which is conceivable, you should be delighted that the bad influences that we are supposed to be maliciously propagandizing through this show are counteracted by the presence of your own work...

I suppose you can comfort yourself with the consolation, and a proud one it is, that Michelangelo was impossible to get on with, and posterity has forgiven him. In so far as we are posterity doubtless we already forgive you...

I regret now that we have ever begun to know you personally. But knowing you, I realize we could not otherwise have had dealing with you at all.

Believe, dear master, in the expression of my warmest and most respectful sentiments.

Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr.⁹⁵

As it is indicated in above letter, from April 1932 onwards, the works of Wright was removed from the exhibition. In fact, it was not the first time that the organizers' position to identify the architects of International Style was criticized by the contributors of the exhibition. In another article Raymond Hood, whose works were also displayed in the exhibition, also judged "the validity of the curators' decision to identify [the architects in the exhibition] internationalists."⁹⁶

Some of the works displayed in "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition" were criticized since these works did not satisfy the characteristics that Barr, Hitchcock and Johnson had claimed for the architecture of International Style. On the other hand, the exhibition became essential to the careers of participant architects, namely, Le Corbusier, Oud, Neutra and Mies van der Rohe. The works of these architects immediately gained a new meaning as the representative of modern architecture, and took place in the exhibition book, which describes the norms and standards of the International Style. Any work that did not accomplish these standards would be codified as not modern. Schulze quoted an article by critic Peter Blake, who stated that,

⁹⁴Frank Lloyd Wright, April 1932, letter to Johnson, **quoted** in Schulze, p. 83. (emphasis mine)

⁹⁵ Henry Russell Hitchcock, April 1932, letter to Wright, **quoted** in Schulze, p. 84.

⁹⁶ Schulze, p. 81.

[More than a few people central to the modern movement] loathed the term [International Style] and found it insulting, just as they loathed the term “modernist.” They were modern architects [...] ⁹⁷.

Since any exhibition has an aim according to its reproducer’s (curator) point of view, it has not only a power to give a new position to the career of both the producer (architect) and reproducer (curator), but also it has a power to give a new content to the production itself. Considering “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” the participant architects started to be known as “modern,” which forced them to built according to the principles of “International Style” as identified by the organizers. For this matter, Wright’s reaction against the 1932 exhibition might have been perceptive enough. Despite all the attacks on the exhibition, Johnson in a letter written to J. J. P. Oud, states that,

I may safely say that there was not one really critical review of the exhibition. For the most part the critics make excerpts from the catalogue, or if they are constitutionally opposed to modern architecture, they merely remark that the exhibition displease them. ⁹⁸

4.2 Reactions after the Exhibition

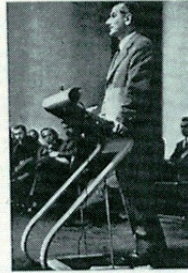
The first meeting to evaluate the consequences of the “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” was organized by MoMA in February 1948 with the contributions of Johnson (as moderator), Hitchcock, Mumford and Barr. They came together with the British “New Empiricists” and California “Bay Region” architects, and discussed “What is happening to Modern Architecture?” The discussions were developed on the basis Mumford’s essay in New Yorker in which he defined the “Bay Region Style” for modern architecture in America as “native and humane form of modernism.” It is in this way that Mumford localized the International Style. However, in this meeting “What is happening to Modern Architecture?” Barr, Hitchcock and Johnson criticized Mumford’s definition for regional architecture as lacking the universal characteristic of the International Style. According to Hitchcock, the “Bay Region Style” was “less serious, provincial version of the International Style.” ⁹⁹ (Fig. 4.2)

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 86.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 81.

⁹⁹ Gail Fenske, “Lewis Mumford, Henry Russell Hitchcock and the Bay Region Style,” in Martha Pollak (ed.), 1997, *The Education of the Architect* (Cambridge: The MIT Press), pp. 37-41.

What is Happening to Modern Architecture?



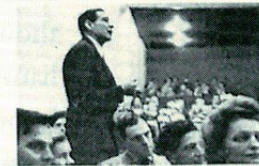
Mumford



Johnson

Barr

Hitchcock



Chermayeff



Blake

A Symposium
At the Museum of Modern Art



Tunnard

McAndrew

McQuade

Figure 4.2 "Bay Region Style," MoMA Bulletin, 1948. In Gail Fenske, "Lewis Mumford, Henry Russell Hitchcock and the Bay Region Style," in Martha Pollak (ed.), 1997, *The Education of the Architect* (Cambridge: The MIT Press), p. 39.

In 1951, Hitchcock reevaluated the exhibition and made a re-reading of the catalogue. He wrote an article, “The International Style Twenty Years After,” in *Architectural Record* magazine (Fig. 4.3). The article focused on the reflections of the exhibition on the development of architecture in the last twenty years. Although the organizers were aware of the fact that they acted hastily in interpreting the characteristics of International Style Architecture, they still accepted all those principles declared in 1932, indicating the buildings of the “International Style” as the “only proper pattern or program for modern architecture.” Yet Hitchcock criticized their attempt to define the principle related to ornamentation. He indicated that since ornament was a matter of taste, the principle of “articulation of structure” instead of “The Avoidance of Applied Decoration” should have been considered¹⁰⁰.



Figure 4.3 Illustrated Pages from Hitchcock's Article. In Henry Russell Hitchcock, August 1951, “The International Style Twenty Years After,” *Architectural Record*, Vol. 110 (2), pp. 89-98.

In the article, related to the works of Wright as a “distinction architect,” Hitchcock still considered that Wright built in International Style. He added that although both Wright (Organic Architecture) and Gropius (Bauhaus style) had their own individualist style, their architecture could be accepted merely an important representative of the International Style. However, Le Corbusier and Mies were still the best representatives of Modern Architecture.

Related with the works of architects during the last twenty years after the exhibition, Hitchcock evaluated the fact that although the works of some architects followed the rules and principles of the emerging architecture, their works were criticized as being aesthetically not successful. Hitchcock explained that their intention was not to create a “closed system”

¹⁰⁰ Henry Russell Hitchcock, August 1951, “The International Style Twenty Years After,” *Architectural Record*, Vol. 110 (2), pp. 89-98.

for “the whole of modern architecture, past, present and future.” Relating with Hitchcock’s article, Tournikiotis states,

The book [*The International Style*] was largely responsible for giving currency to the expression “the International Style.” However, even in 1951 Hitchcock was rightly drawing attention of architects to a shift in the meaning of the label by comparison to the architecture it had originally denoted: the functionalism that Hitchcock and Johnson had begun by calling into question had come to be synonymous with the International Style. Hitchcock also availed himself of the opportunity to predict with admirable foresight that architecture had then already entered a “late period” of the International Style whose main features would be the academic repetition of standardized “formulas” and a reaction against the principles of the Style.¹⁰¹

Here, Tournikiotis notices a shift in the 1950s in the meaning of the International Style, which was then reduced to functionalism and repetition of standardized formulas.

By 1958, “when the first evidences of Post-Modernism appeared in architecture,”¹⁰² Hitchcock prepared a declaration that “the International Style is over” because the two protagonists of the exhibition, Oud and Le Corbusier had died.¹⁰³



Figure 4.4 Introduction Pages devoted to the Celebration of 50th Birthday of The International Style. In Barry Bergdoll, June 1982, “International Style celebrate its 50th birthday,” *Architectural Record*, pp. 45-47.

¹⁰¹ Tournikiotis, 1999, pp. 140-141.

¹⁰² Barry Bergdoll, June 1982, “International Style celebrate its 50th birthday,” *Architectural Record*, p. 45.

¹⁰³ Hitchcock, 1995, “Forward To,” p. viii.

In 1982, Harvard Graduate School of Design prepared a celebration for the International Style's golden anniversary to reevaluate the events of 1932. The symposium of 1982 was the historical evaluation in which the influence of the International Style exhibition in 1932 was underlined again. It was a two-day symposium titled "the International Style in perspective" with the contributions of the original organizers and presentations by David Handlin, Kurt Foster, Rosemaire Bletter, Robert A.M.Stern, Anthony Vidler and Neil Levine¹⁰⁴ (Fig. 4.4).

In one of the first panel discussions, Handlin and Foster discussed how the curators, with this particular exhibition, took a significant place in American architectural history and practice. While Handlin focused on how American public welcomed the modern architecture of 1932, Foster argued "the implications of the International Style fifty years later by taking that myth as the basis for modern architecture [...]"¹⁰⁵ He made the criticism of the exhibition in which the significant architectural examples of 1920s were ignored,

[...] Much of what we consider the most innovative architecture and theoretical statements of the 1920s was ignored entirely in the New York show. As only executed buildings were shown, many projects and unsuccessful competition entries which were to have a more fertile effect on architectural imaginations played no role in Hitchcock and Johnson's definition. Even the work of architects represented had in fact been carefully screened to illustrate only those principles Hitchcock and Johnson posited as the necessary characteristics of modern architecture.¹⁰⁶

In the panel discussion titled "Meaning and Abstraction in the Language of Modern Architecture," there took place the presentations of Anthony Vidler and Neil Levine. While Vidler analyzed the works of Le Corbusier, Levine's text asserted F. L. Wright, "as the most successful architect in representing and abstracting at once in his personal architecture."¹⁰⁷

In the panel discussion titled as "From Avant-Garde to Official Style," the critics Rosemaire Bletter and Robert A.M.Stern argued that "the architectural strands had lost their identity in the neat international style knot". They continued, "*the international style was never so universally accepted as its critics claim [...]*"¹⁰⁸ In fact, following words of Johnson seem to be a good reply to this criticism. In one of the panel discussions, he stated,

¹⁰⁴ Bergdoll, June 1982, p. 45.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

We decided to sweep everything under the rug to make an effect [...] and we certainly did; *you're still talking about it.*¹⁰⁹

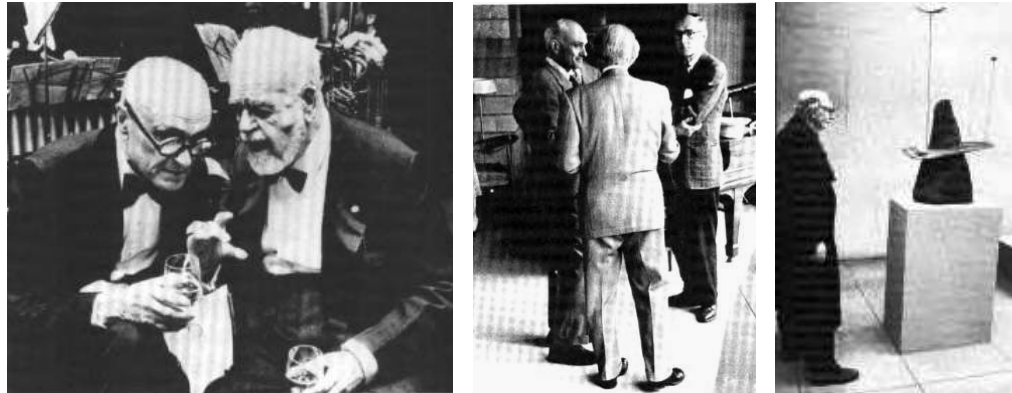


Figure 4.5 Philip Johnson and Henry Russell Hitchcock, 1985. In Schulze, 1996, “Burgee: Discarded by the Discarded,” p. 403.

Figure 4.6 Philip Johnson Frank Lloyd Wright, Alfred Barr, 1950. In Schulze, 1996, “The Early Fifties: Work, People, Worldview,” p. 201.

Figure 4.7 Alfred Barr, 1950. In Lynes, 1973, “Musical Chairs,” pp. 238-239.

4.3 Architectural Education in the U.S.A after the Exhibition

Related with the contribution of “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” to the change in the architectural education system, Blake mentions,

Soon after the 1932 exhibition closed, architectural education in the U. S. changed radically, from the traditional routines inherited from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts to something quite close to Bauhaus in spirit. Only four years after the Modern Architecture exhibition closed at MoMA, Mies van der Rohe was invited to head the School of Architecture at Armour Institute in Chicago, and Gropius was invited to head the architectural program at Harvard. And within another ten years or so, there was hardly a single school of architecture in the U. S. not dominated by the ideas first advanced by the International Style architects in Europe, and first publicized in the 1932 exhibition mounted at MoMA by Philip Johnson and his friends.¹¹⁰

Riley remarks that,

While critics’ and historians’ opinions of the merits of the International Style vary widely, the importance of Exhibition 15 in relation to the subsequent history of American architecture is rarely disputed. The substantive effects of the exhibition are many: the introduction of the European architectural avant-garde, particularly Mies van der Rohe, to America; the increased visibility and acceptance of modernist architects before the Second World War; and the postwar emergence of the “Harvard School” under the leadership of Walter Gropius.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. (emphasis mine)

¹¹⁰ Blake, 1996, p. 52.

¹¹¹ Riley, 1992, p. 11.

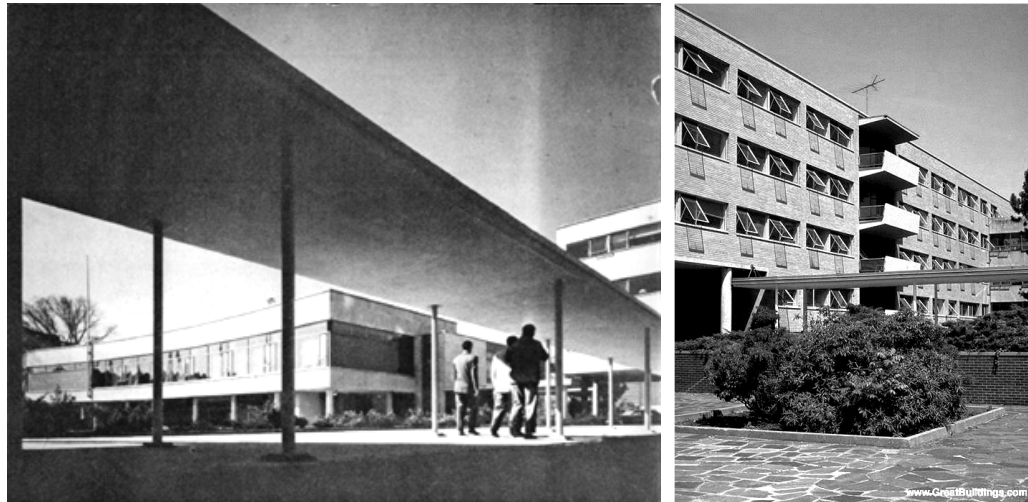


Figure 4.8 Harvard Graduate Center, 1950. In Henry Russell Hitchcock and Arthur Drexler ed., 1952, *Built in USA: Post-war Architecture* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art), p. 62.

The phrase “International Style,” is an adaptation of Bauhaus style to American architecture. Bauhaus, as a German expression meaning “house for building,” is a social institution, founded by Walter Gropius in 1919 in Weimar, to form a new social order in Germany after the war. The institution which was moved to Dessau in 1925, resigned in 1928 by Gropius. In 1930, Hannes Meyer leaved his position of directorship to Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Mies stayed as director until 1933, when the Nazis closed the Bauhaus in Germany. Then, many of Bauhaus members immigrated to the U.S.A. The Bauhaus tradition under the leadership of Mies van der Rohe contributed to the development of modern architecture in America under the title “International Style.” The term which was given prominence and universal validity after 1932 “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” took the place of Beaux Arts Architecture, which was developed at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris and became popular at the beginning of 20th century in America. After “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” at MoMA, all those leading architects of European Modernism were invited to America to begin teaching at architectural schools; Mies van der Rohe was invited as head of School of Architecture at Armour Institute in Chicago in 1933; Gropius was invited as head of the architectural program at Harvard in 1937, who founded The Architects Collaborative, and designed the first complex of buildings at Harvard in the International Style; joined with Gropius, Marcel Breuer, who studied at the Bauhaus school of design in Weimar, became the chair of the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University in 1937. Students of Breuer, including I.M. Pei, played influential roles in the

development of the architectural program at Harvard University. After 1932, there was no longer any school of architecture that was dominated by Beaux-Arts education.¹¹²

4.4 Reflections of the 1932 exhibition on MoMA Exhibitions

Since the exhibitions are among tools to follow the popular agenda, by looking back to MoMA's architectural exhibitions, it is possible to document and read both the history of modern architecture, and also the history of MoMA as a social institution. Actually, some of MoMA's architectural exhibitions, realized after this significant exhibition, seem to be the outcomes of the 1932 event. After MoMA's first architectural exhibition, most of the exhibitions focused on the works of those Internationalist architects to display the developments of early modern architecture and design in America.

Many of the monographic exhibitions were devoted to the masters of the International Style Architecture, who had been given a prestigious place in the 1932 exhibition (the exhibitions on Le Corbusier in 1935, 1949, 1951, 1963, 1965, 1978 and 1987; Frank Lloyd Wright in 1938, 1940, 1946, 1949, 1952, 1962, 1963, and 1994; Mies Van Der Rohe in 1947, 1966, 1969, 1978, 1986, 1992, 1993, and 2001).

As it is mentioned before, the works of these figures gained a significant value as being among *the* projects of International Style. Their works became a kind of model to be followed. The exhibition as a reductive and selective operation attaches a mark and a new meaning to these works. Both the architects and their works are commercially promoted. This creates a privileged position for these figures, which directly shaped architectural history and discourse. That is to say that history of modern architecture is written mainly in reference to the works of these prominent architects. Johnson, twenty years after the exhibition, said to a reporter about Gropius, Mies and Le Corbusier,

Nobody considered these men seriously. Nobody thought of them as much of a threat. People were curious, that's all. Yet today the battle has been largely won.¹¹³

¹¹² Bauhaus and International Style, [Internet, WWW], ADDRESS: <http://www.bozzle.com/perBauhaus.html> [Accessed: 22 March 2005].

¹¹³ Lynes, 1973, "A Giant Step," pp. 87-88.

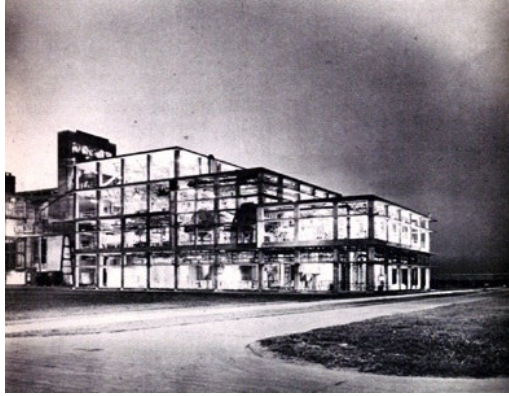


Figure 4.9 From “Built in U.S.A: Post-War Architecture” Exhibition, Bluebonnet Plant, Corn Products Refining, 1949. In Hitchcock and Drexler ed., p. 60.

Figure 4.10 From “Built in U.S.A: Post-War Architecture” Exhibition, General Motors Technical Center, 1951. In Hitchcock and Drexler ed., p. 96.

Concerning thematic exhibitions at MoMA, the most significant exhibitions developed under the influence of “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” are “Built in U.S.A” by Elizabeth Mock in 1944 and “Built in U.S.A: Post-War Architecture” by Philip Johnson in 1953 (Fig. 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 4.12). In the preface of the catalogue of “Built in U.S.A: Post-War Architecture”, Johnson stated that,

The battle of modern architecture has long been won. Twenty years ago the Museum was in the thick of the fight, but now our exhibitions and catalogues take part in that unending campaign described by Alfred Barr as “simply the continuous, conscientious, resolute distinction of quality from mediocrity-the discovery and proclamation of excellence”.

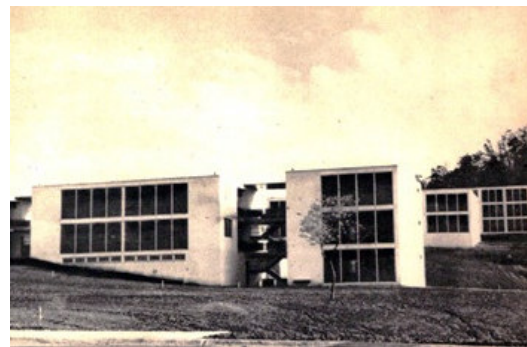


Figure 4.11 From “Built in U.S.A: Post-War Architecture” Exhibition, Harry A. Caesar House. In Hitchcock and Drexler ed., p. 53.

Figure 4.12 From “Built in U.S.A: Post-War Architecture” Exhibition, Garden Apartments, 1950. In Hitchcock and Drexler ed., p. 105.

The buildings selected for the exhibition of “Built in U.S.A” more or less continued the standards and ideas of International Style Exhibition. It seems that the event of 1932 would be a starting point for the exhibitions displaying the development of modernist, anti-ornamentalist, anti-historicist and functionalist approaches in American architecture. Looking back over MoMA’s architectural exhibitions, particularly those exhibitions after 1990s, such as the exhibitions of “Light Construction” in 1995, “Tall Buildings” in 2004, it is possible to draw some parallels to early modern architectural approaches in terms of form (e.g. “Miesian Box”), material use and surface treatment.

4.5 “The International Style Exhibition” 1992: “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” *Reproduced*

In March 1992, Terence Riley the current chief curator of Architecture at MoMA offered a repetition of the original show, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” to replay this influential event. The exhibition was titled as “The International Style,” and organized at Colombia University’s Buell Center in New York.

The 1992 show reconstructed the 1932 exhibition by the help of a commission from Colombia Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation in New York. The students were charged to collect the original materials of the 1932 exhibition from MoMA archive. Since the only existing materials from the original show were cartoons of negatives, Riley planned to remake the models displayed in 1932 exhibition. To recapture the event of 1932, the students printed 100 images from negatives reproduced in black and white format. It was planned that the show would travel through Europe and U. S. for the next two years to give an opportunity to re-evaluate this historical event.

The show was announced in famous architectural magazines (Fig. 4.13, 4.14, 4.15). In the article “Modern Again,” published in *ARTnews* magazine, Peter Lemos remarks that, “the 92 version of the show [...] is a partial, somewhat conjectural reconstruction.”¹¹⁴ He continues,

The Modern Movement as espoused by the architects shown in the 1932 exhibition was possessed of a visionary, moralistic, even socialistic, agenda. But reduced to a “style,” dubbed “international,” and unleashed on a nation anxiously awaiting a better future, it was indirectly responsible for launching a wave of blank boxes across America. For many Americans these are the hallmarks of modern architecture. Clearly the goal of this show and Riley’s catalogue (Rizzoli) is to disabuse them of that notion.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Peter Lemos, 1992, “Modern Again,” *ARTnews*, Vol. 91 (6), p. 22.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

In the article “Recreating the International Style,” in *Progressive Architecture*, Thomas Fisher explains the role of media in shaping and directing architectural discourses referring to the 1932 exhibition and the 1992 version of it. Fisher states that,

If there ever was an example of how media can alter the course of architecture, it was the book *The International Style*, by Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, and the corresponding 1932 exhibit initiated by the Museum of Modern Art. [...] Now, with the rehanging of the original exhibit at Colombia University Buell Center, we have a chance to reevaluate the show and the biases behind it.¹¹⁶

He continues,

Colombia’s Buell Center has rendered a great service to the profession by rehanging the International Style show; we have only to act now upon what was overlooked there.¹¹⁷



Figure 4.13 An Introduction Page devoted to “The International Style” Exhibition, 1992. In P. D. S., May 1992, “Style and Substance in Reprise of 1932 MoMA Show,” *Architectural Record*.

Figure 4.14. An Introduction Page devoted to “The International Style” Exhibition, 1992. In Peter Lemos, 1992, “Modern Again,” *ARTnews*, Vol. 91 (6), p. 22.

Figure 4.15 An Introduction Page devoted to “The International Style” Exhibition, 1992. In Thomas Fisher, April 1992, “Recreating The International Style,” *Progressive Architecture*, Vol. 73 (4), pp. 26-27.

The 1992 exhibition *reproduced* the 1932 historical event by focusing on three sections just as the original exhibition: Nine “Modern Architects” including architectural models and photographs from the works of Le Corbusier, J. J. P. Oud, Raymond Hood, Frank Lloyd Wright, Howe and Lescaze, Bowman Brothers, Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, and Richard Neutra; “The Extent of Modern Architecture” including the works of various

¹¹⁶ Thomas Fisher, April 1992, “Recreating The International Style,” *Progressive Architecture*, Vol. 73 (4), pp. 26-27.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

Modern Architects from different countries; and finally a section on “Housing” by the contribution of Lewis Mumford.¹¹⁸

Since the purpose of the curator, Riley, was to document the process of 1932 event and to display the curatorial development, the show of 1992 was accomplished with a catalogue titled, *The International Style: Exhibition 15 & the Museum of Modern Art*, which reproduces the original event. Riley states that,

The purpose of this research [...] is first and foremost documentary to look more closely at the event, its planning and the circumstances surrounding it in order to understand more fully what actually transpired. A secondary goal may also be realized though it is necessary beyond the scope of this essay. If the development and planning of Exhibition 15 are now only dimly known, the *critical history* of the event must also be considered *incomplete*. As the *International Style* has come to be near analogous to the history of modernism in America, it is hoped that this essay may contribute to a broader, *critical reevaluation* of the event and its subsequent transformations over the past sixty years.¹¹⁹

The catalogue includes a foreword by Philip Johnson, the only living member of the exhibition; a preface by Bernard Tschumi, the dean of the Columbia Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation; a chronological development of the International Style exhibition from summer 1930 when the idea for the exhibition was appeared until winter 1932 when the exhibition opened; and some critical notes on the event by Terence Riley. In the last part of the catalogue, visual materials (photographs, plans and sections) in the original 1932 exhibition catalogue, “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” were reprinted.

Riley avoided criticizing the event, believing that it was beyond the scope of his impartial research, and made a reevaluation of the 1932 exhibition. He suggested that what made the International Style a *success d'estime* was related to something beyond the curatorial position.

The intention [of this research] has been to suggest, first that current conceptions of the International Style are *not necessarily related* to the actual *positions of the curators* in 1932 and, second, that the intervening transformations and eventual degradation of the critical material presented in Exhibition 15 are not necessarily linked to a flaw in its critical position. Any subsequent critical reevaluation of the trajectory of International Style should move beyond Exhibition 15 itself and engage the *cultural forces* that produced the later-day manifestations of the “International Style” [...]¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ In P. D. S., 1992, “Style and Substance in Reprise of 1932 MoMA Show,” *Architectural Record*.

¹¹⁹ Riley, 1992, p. 11. (emphasis added)

¹²⁰ Terence Riley, 1992, “Afterword,” *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication), p. 97.

In the preface of the catalogue, what is criticized after sixty years is still the stylistic label, which identified the architecture of 1920s. Tschumi states that,

[...] Today the word style is discredited by all except critics attempting to reduce serious research by young architects through derogatory labels (“decon,” “neo-modernism”), unfairly ignoring the social and programmatic concerns that often underlie contemporary experimentation. Today the absolute notion of fixed, identifiable styles is increasingly replaced by ever changing and self-challenging conceptual devices¹²¹.

He continues,

A final note on the word international. As we may hope today that the idea of nationalities and nationalism will become a thing of past, long before World War II and the Cold War the title of the 1932 exhibition showed great revolutionary insight. Too bad that insight was later narrowed to a “style.”¹²²

Inevitably, the reproduction of 1932 event is a significant documentation for the history of modern architecture and for the future studies. In spite of all those criticisms on 1932 exhibition (attack on the term style, interrogating curatorial position in defining a new architecture, and etc.), the goal of 1992 is to reprise and reproduce the event of 1932: “It is very important that if people are going to keep referring to this show they know what was in it.”¹²³ (Fig. 4.13)

To conclude, 1992 “The International Style Exhibition” and its accompanying catalogue, is completely a one-to-one reproduction of the event of 1932. In the catalogue, the conceptions of the International Style, the position of the organizers in codifying a new architecture and even the way of presentation are reevaluated by the critic, Terence Riley. As it is mentioned before, any exhibition acts as a subject, which puts the objects into a critical process. “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” had a power to reproduce the architectural works according to the organizers’ imagination; design principles of the new emerging architecture were revealed, and a new architectural “style” is identified by Barr, Hitchcock and Johnson who put the works into a process of reproduction and gave a new context and content to these works. However, just from the time the exhibition opened, it also finds itself in a critical process. The roles are changed, and the exhibition becomes an object to be re-reproduced by the critics, and even by the contributors of the exhibition.

¹²¹ Bernard Tschumi, 1992, “Preface,” *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli International Publication), p. 7.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ In P. D. S., 1992, “Style and Substance in Reprise of 1932 MoMA Show,” *Architectural Record*.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The thesis has studied the influential role of “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” in the reproduction of architecture. In doing so, the thesis has tried to show how this significant event becomes both the medium (subject) and object of the reproduction process. That is to say that not only the exhibition reproduces the architectural works, but also it is reproduced by the audience. Here, the audience is not only the professionals of architecture but also the public. This thesis believes in the fact that reproduction process is a critical act in which the object (architectural work or the exhibition itself) is criticized, interpreted, publicized, and distributed. Actually, it is this critical act (i.e. “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition”) that determined, directed and shaped architectural discourse in the early 20th century, particularly in the U.S.A.

Museums are among the powerful mediums where the canons might be produced, reproduced and conveyed to the history of art and architecture. As it is defined in the Dictionary of Philosophy, the notion of “canon,” which comes from Greek *Kanon* (meaning measuring rod, rules) refers to established principles, norms, standards, and criterion.

Considering MoMA, it is a place of where the canon of Modern Architecture is produced under the title of the International Style with the “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition.” The organizers of this particular exhibition, Barr, Hitchcock and Johnson “[...] who led the battle for *strict principles*,”¹²⁴ insisted on the definition of the rules and norms for Modern Architecture. Then, these figures are among the canon-makers of 20th century modern architecture, and in turn the products displayed in this particular exhibition, become the canonical objects approved by these figures. The accompanying publications of this particular exhibition, which were written in a deductive and normative way, take part in the creation of the canon of International Style. Here, it should be noticed that constructing a canon suggests a continuous process of reproduction; “[...] the canon is not a ‘structured structure’ [...] rather, it is a *structuring* structure which is in a continuous process of reproducing itself,”¹²⁵ remarks Christopher B. Steiner in the article entitled “Can the Canon Burst.”

¹²⁴ Johnson, 1995, “Foreword,” p. 14. (emphasis mine)

It is the process of reproduction that makes the canon permanently known. For example, the 1992 version of the 1932 exhibition is a part of the process of reproduction that contributes the canon of International Style. The importance of reproduction (of canon) can be better understood in the words of Michael Camille in an article entitled “Rethinking the Canon: Prophets, Canons and Promising Monsters,” in which he states that, “[...] canons are created not so much out of a series of worthy objects as out of the possibilities of their reproduction,”¹²⁶ In this article, for the images displayed as a canon in the Musée Des Monuments français, Camille argues that,

[...] a canon is not made up of the actual objects but only of representations of those objects¹²⁷.

Then, thinking on “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” it can be said that, it is the imagination of Barr, Hitchcock and Johnson that reproduced the works of architecture by defining the strict principles, and assigning these works new meanings and contents in a way to produce the canon of the International Style. It should be emphasized that, in reference to Camille argument, they were the reproductions of the architectural works (displayed in this exhibition) that created the canon. Here, the reproductions are not only in the visual form (models, photographs), but also in the written form (the catalogue, the book and also criticisms done after the exhibition). Selecting these canonical products by the organizers (reproducers) is a critical act that also brings a privilege position for not only the producer and its product but also for the reproducer itself.

MoMA as a social institution where the nature of “media” displayed, by means of its exhibitions and their accompanying publications, has contributed to the production of the history of modern architecture. Repeating the quotation from Tschumi,

“The history of architectural media is much more than a footnote to the history of architecture. The journals and now the galleries help to determine that history.”¹²⁸

MoMA, which was a significant place in documenting the prominent figures and their productions, especially after “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,” has played an

¹²⁵ Christopher B. Steiner, June 1996, “Can the Canon Burst,” *Art Bulletin*, Vol. LXXVIII (2), p. 217.

¹²⁶ Michael Camille, June 1996, “Canons and Promising Monsters,” *Art Bulletin*, Vol. LXXVIII (2), p. 198.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

| ¹²⁸ Colomina, 1998, p. 20, **quoting** Bernard Tschumi, 1978, *Architectural Manifestoes*.

important role in reproducing the works of architecture and transporting them into the history of architecture. Through its exhibitions, MoMA constitutes an “official narration”¹²⁹ of the 20th century architecture. The terms “international style” and “deconstruction” in architecture are institutionalized after the exhibitions of Modern Architecture and Deconstructivist Architecture.

Ever since the Modern Architecture exhibition held in that museum in 1932, every MoMA exhibition devoted to a new group or movement has been regarded as an important signal, as confirmation of the movement’s significance and as official recognition.¹³⁰

It should be stated that there is a mutual relation between the institution, curators and architects. Each contributes to the other’s significance and popularity. This is in the sense that, MoMA, where the world’s first curatorial department of architecture was established, has gained its power by commercially promoting not only organizers and curators but also architects and their works.

Douglas Davis sees Johnson’s parallel experience of 1932 exhibition in 1988 “Deconstructivist Architecture” exhibition as “the use of MoMA as a platform for old boy promotion.”¹³¹ Named as “Deconstructivist Architecture,” the curator Johnson, attempted to declare a radical movement in a similar way that codified and popularized the International Style in 1932. It should be noted that as the producer of the International Style, Johnson who won the audiences’ confidence after 1932, somehow accomplished to bring up the same debates to the agenda under the title of “Deconstructivist Architecture.” Here, the curator used the power and the position he gained after 1932 exhibition. Schulze stated that,

He [Johnson] was trying to do again what he had done in the MoMA “Modern Architecture” show of 1932; namely, illuminate the most promising pathway that a vital new architecture might follow-specially, in this case, away from an aging postmodernism to something called Deconstructivism.¹³²

Although the term “International Style” is an application of European Modern Architecture to America, it seems that the effects of the term are not only limited to this continent. It is possible to say that after this exhibition, the European avant-garde was codified as the

¹²⁹ Arthur C. Danto, July 2000, “MoMA: What is in a Name,” *Academic Search Premier*, Vol. 271 (3), p. 2.

¹³⁰ Ibelings, 2002, *Supermodernism*, p. 55.

¹³¹ Douglas Davis, January 1989, “Slaying the Neo-Modern Dragon,” *Art in America*, pp. 43-49, **quoted** in Schulze, 1996, “Decon,” p. 398.

¹³² Schulze, 1996, “Decon,” p. 398.

International Style, which brings a universal validity to these works and their architects. As a manifestation of modern architecture, the International Style creates a kind of brand and promotion to European architecture.

Considering the reflections of “Modern Architecture: International Exhibition” in today’s architectural production, it can be said that, as a globally appreciated event, the exhibition has accomplished its goals. It seems that the 1932 historical event, its organizers and its selected architects never fall outside the architectural agenda. That is to say that the exhibition continues to be reproduced in the form of history and literary criticism.

Generally speaking, museums prepare a ground where the canons (of art and architecture) might be created and reproduced. It is one of the purposes of museums to display the canons of architecture and let them take their place in the history of architecture. They show both what is produced and reproduced in a certain time period. Thus, museums all by themselves are powerful mediums to document and tell the story of the most significant events in the history of art and architecture.

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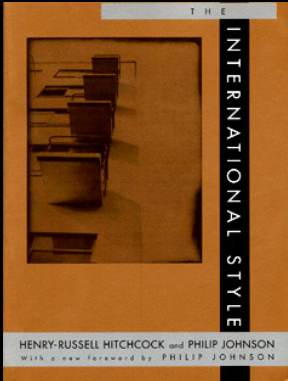
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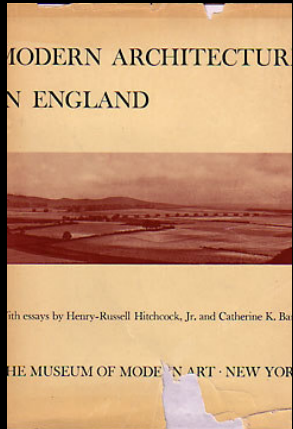
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Table 1. List of Architectural Exhibitions at MoMA 1932-2005


DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
1932	Modern Architecture: International Exhibition	Henry Russell Hitchcock & Philip Johnson	This is an exhibition the “strict principles” for modern architecture revealed. The exhibition has a significant place in the history of 20th century architecture.	
1933	Early Modern Architecture: Chicago, 1870-1910	Philip Johnson	The exhibition displays the development of early modern architecture.	
	The Works of Young Architects in the Middle West	Philip Johnson	The works by Robert W. McLaughlin and Howard T. Fisher are shown to present the architects' approaches to new problems.	
	Project for a House in North Carolina By William T. Priestly			

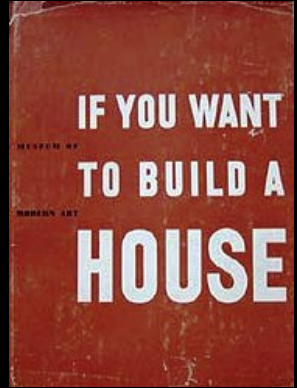
DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	A House by Richard C. Wood			
1934	Philadelphia Savings Fund Society Building by Howe and Lescaze			
	Machine Art	Philip Johnson	“Abstract and geometric beauty,” “kinetic rhythms,” “beauty of material and surface,” and “visual complexity and function” are identified as being central to the aesthetic of Machine Art.	
	Early Architecture Museum	Henry Russell Hitchcock		

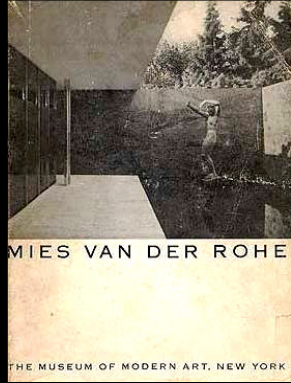
DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	Housing Exhibition of the City of New York	Carol Aronovici		
1935	Modern Architecture in California			
	Le Corbusier			
1936	The Architecture of Henry Hobson Richardson			
	Architecture in Government Housing			
	Modern Exposition Architecture			
1937	Project for a Community Center...			

DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	Modern Architecture in England	Henry Russell Hitchcock		
1938	A New House by Frank Lloyd Wright (Falling Water)		The exhibition is about a masterwork of Frank Lloyd Wright whose architecture appealed not only to professionals but also to the public generally. The House, namely Falling Water, strengthens Wright's position in the development of Modern Architecture.	
	Alvar Alto : Architecture and Furniture			


DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	The Wooden House in America			
	Architecture of Eric Mendelsohn, 1914-1940			
	Defense House			
1942	Modern Architecture for Modern School			
1943	Brazil Builds			
	Five California Houses			
1944	Building with Wood			

DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	Tomorrows Small House. Models and Plans	Elizabeth B. Mock	It is an exhibition displaying the eight “war time housing”.	
1945	Built in U.S.A	Elizabeth B. Mock	This exhibition is organized twelve years after the museum’s first architectural exhibition. The emphasis is given to the works of the Modern architects. The selection of the buildings was done according to the rigid standards and ideas of “International Style” exhibition in 1932.	
	Integrated Building: Kitchen, Bathroom, and Storage			


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1946	If You Want to Build a House	Elizabeth B. Kessler	The exhibition discusses the relation between architecture, literature and sentimentality. It discusses to consider the climate, the environmental conditions, and the needs of the people.	
	New Dormitories for Smith College			
	Architecture in Steel by Konrad Wachsmann			
	A House for U.N.O.: Must We Repeat the Geneva Fiasco?			


DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	A New Country House by Frank Lloyd Wright: Scale Model			
1947	Mies Van Der Rohe	Philip Johnson	This is a prospective exhibition on Mies after the museum's first architectural exhibition on "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition."	
	Two Cities: Planning in North & South America			
1948	Louis Sullivan, 1856-1924	Philip Johnson		
1949	Hidden Talent Competition- Architecture			

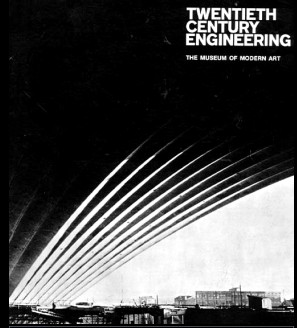
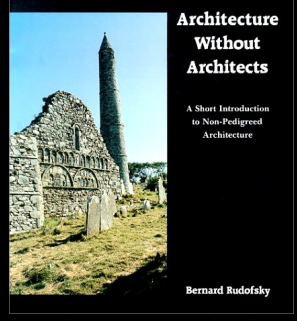
DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	From Le Corbusier to Niemeyer, 1929-1949	Philip Johnson		
	Frank Lloyd Wright: A New Theatre	Philip Johnson		
	The House in the Museum Garden			
	Painting and Sculpture in Architecture			
1950	Mies Van Der Rohe: A Glass and Steel Apartment House for Chicago			
	Exhibition House by Gregory Ain			
	Skidmore, Owings and Merrill: Architects, U.S.A.			
	Matthew Nowicki, Architect, 1910-1950	Philip Johnson		
1951	Modern Bible Illustration			


DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	Le Corbusier: Architecture, Painting, Design			
1952	Frank Lloyd Wright: Buildings for Johnson's Wax			
	Architecture in the New York Area			
	Two Houses- New Ways to Build: F. Kiesler and R. Buckminster Fuller			
1953	Built in U.S.A.: Post-War Architecture	Philip Johnson	The exhibition displays the characteristics of the buildings in the post-war years according to their quality and significance. The projects are largely selected from the works of Frank Lloyd Wright, Mies Van Der Rohe and le Corbusier.	


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	Architecture for the State Department	Arthur Drexler, Henry Russell Hitchcock		
1954	Japanese Exhibition House	Arthur Drexler	The exhibition is devoted to the Japanese Exhibition House built in the garden of the Museum of Modern Art. It was made in Nagoya in 1953 and shipped to the United States. The building is chosen to display the close relationship between the characteristic of Japan and western architecture.	
	The Modern Movement in Italy: Architecture and Design			
1955	Latin American Architecture Since 1945			
1956				

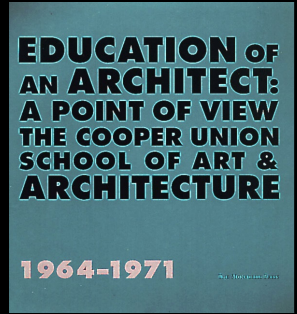
DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
1957	Building for Business and Government			
	Gaudi	Henry Russell Hitchcock & Arthur Drexler	The exhibition is devoted to the works of the Catalan architect Antoni Gaudí. The most important projects presented in this exhibition are the Sagrada Família, the Casa Milà and the Park Güell.	
1958	Architecture Worth Saving			
1959	Architecture and Imagery			
1960	Visionary Architecture	Arthur Drexler		
1961	Richard Medical Research Building- Louis I. Kahn, Architect			


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1962	Frank Lloyd Wright Drawings	Arthur Drexler	The exhibition presents Frank Lloyd Wright's works and drawings.	
1963	Le Corbusier: Buildings in Europe and India	Arthur Drexler		
	"Falling water": A Frank Lloyd Wright House Revisited			
1964	Philip L. Goodwin Galleries of Architecture and Design			

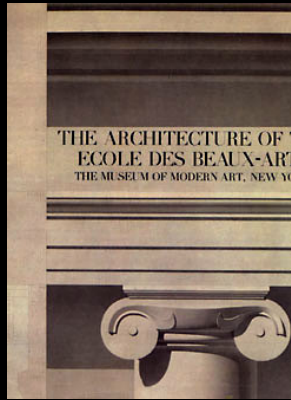
DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	Twentieth Century Engineering	Arthur Drexler		 
	Architecture Without Architects	Bernard Rudofsky	This is an exhibition for a study of “non-formal,” “non-classified” architecture.	
1965	Modern Architecture, U.S.A.			
	Le Corbusier, 1887-1965			

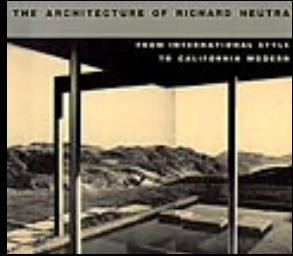
DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
1966	Louis I. Kahn (Architecture)	Arthur Drexler		
	Mies Van Der Rohe Drawings "Greetings"			
1967	The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal			
	Habitat'67 (Architecture)			

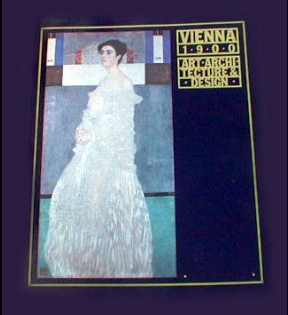
DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	Architectural Fantasies: Drawing from the MoMA Collection			
1968	York House (Architecture)			
	James Stirling: Three University Buildings			
	Architecture of Museums			
1969	Drawing by Eric Mendelsohn, Architect			
	Ludwig Mies Van Der Rohe "Memorial"			

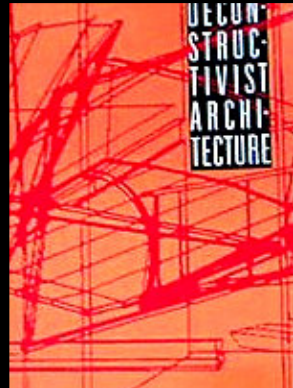
DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	Function Without Form. Two Models for an Undesignable City			
1970	Theo Van Doesburg: The Development of an Architect			
	Work in Progress: Architecture by Johnson, Roche, Rudolph			
1971	Architecture for the Arts: The State University of New York College at Purchase			
	Education of an Architect: Point of View	Cooper Union of School of Art and Architecture	This is a collection of works by the students and faculty members of Irwin S. Chanin School of Architecture of the Cooper Union.	


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1972	Italy: The New Domestic Landscape	Emilio Ambasz	The exhibition has remained a historical reference point for the study and understanding of Italian design since the second world war.	
	Five Architects	Arthur Drexler	Known as the New York Fives, the exhibition displays the works of P. Eisenman, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmay, John Hejduk, and Richard Meier.	
1973				
1974				
1975	Shinjuku: The Phenomenal City	Peter Gluck	The exhibition is about a section of Tokyo that was designed as a part of a master-plan.	


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	The Beaux Art	Arthur Drexler	The exhibition contains 200 drawings from the mid 19 th century, done by the architects from the Ecole des Beaux-Art. The exhibition explains “crisis” or “shock” of Modern Architecture.	
1976	How to Redesign American Taxicabs?	Emilio Ambasz		
1977				
1978	Ludwig Mies Van Der Rohe	Ludwig Gleeser		
	Le Corbusier	Arthur Drexler		


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1979	Art of the Twenties	Arthur Drexler	The exhibition includes the works of Richard Neutra and his neglected achievement which is presented 47 years after "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition" (1932). The exhibition represents the architect's famous work "Lovell house", 1927-29.	
	Buildings for Best Product	Arthur Drexler		
	Transformation in Modern Architecture	Arthur Drexler		
1980				
1981				
1982	Architecture of Richard Neutra: From International Style to California Modern	Arthur Drexler	The show is an archive of Neutra's works displaying his contribution to the development of a new architecture in America.	

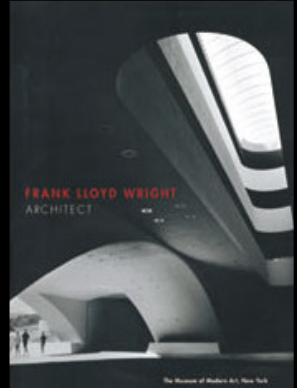
DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
1983	Three New Skyscraper	Arthur Drexler		
1984				
1985				
1986	Vienna 1900: Art, Architecture & Design	Kirk Varnedoe, Franco Borsi	The exhibition offers a compelling overview of all the visual arts of early modern Vienna.	
	Mies Van Der Rohe Centennial	Arthur Drexler	This is a retrospective exhibition, devoted to Mies's works, bringing out his position and career as an architect of Modern time both in Europe and America.	


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1987	Mario Botta	Stuart Wrede	The works of Swiss architect Mario Botta, including photographs, models, and original drawings, are exhibited.	
	Le Corbusier	Stuart Wrede	The exhibition illustrates five key projects from the years 1927 to 1933 with models and the original drawings lent by the foundation Le Corbusier in Paris.	
1988	Deconstructivist Architecture	Philip Johnson & Mark Wigley	This is an exhibition of recent works by seven international architects. The exhibition includes drawings and models by Frank O. Gehry, Daniel Libeskind, Rem Koolhaas, Peter Eisenman, Zaha M. Hadid, Bernard Tschumi and the firm of Coop Himmelblau.	



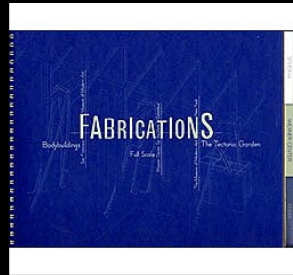
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1989	Emilio Ambasz/ Steven Holl: Architecture	Stuart Wrede	The exhibition is devoted to two architects, Ambasz and Holl, whose practices are based in the United States. Although the bodies of their work are different “they share traits that make a comparison illuminating”.	
1990	Architectural Drawings of the Russian Avant-Garde	Stuart Wrede	This exhibition contains over 150 drawings from the Shchusev Museum of Architecture in Moscow; the most important drawings are devoted to the Russian constructivist architects of 1920s.	
1991	Hines V: Tadao Ando	Stuart wrede	The exhibition focuses on eleven projects done by Ando.	

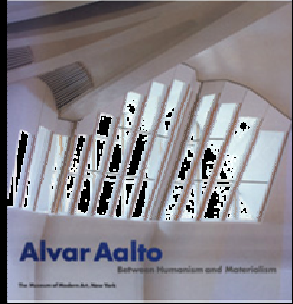


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1992	Louis I. Kahn: In the Realm of Architecture	Vincent Scully	The exhibition displays Kahn's works as a modern architect who has an important place in the development of architecture in the second half of the 20 th century. The structural character of his architecture is emphasized.	
	Projects: A Space without Art			
	Ludwig Mies van der Rohe: Two Skyscrapers for Berlin	Matilde McQuaid	Two projects for skyscrapers in Berlin are presented with seven drawings, three photo panels, and two models from the Mies van der Rohe archive.	

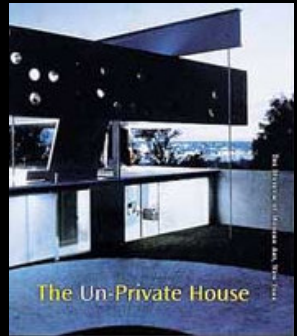
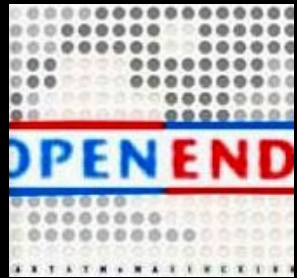
DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	Preview: The Nara Convention Hall International Design Competition	Terence Riley	In 1991 the Japanese city of Nara announced a two-stage International competition to design a multiuse convention hall, as the centerpiece of a new city development plan.	
1993	Thresholds: Santiago Calatrava: Structure and Expression	Matilde McQuaid	The exhibition is devoted to the works of Spanish architect and engineer Calatrava. The Exhibition illustrates his idea of transformation and movement in the nine selected projects.	
	Preview: The Tokyo International Forum by Rafael Viñoly Architects	Terence Riley & Anne Dixon	The exhibition is devoted to the works of Uruguayan- born New York architect Rafael Vinoly displaying one of the largest and most complex urban projects currently under construction, The Tokyo International Forum.	
	Preview: The New Austrian Cultural Institute by Raimund Abraham			


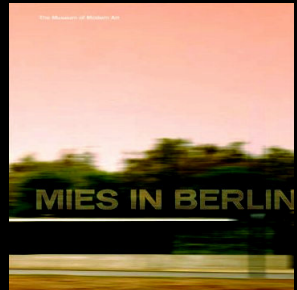
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	Miesian Perspectives: Selection of American Work From The Archive	Pierre Adler	This exhibition is about forty drawings and sketches of Mies's works in America.	
1994	Thresholds/Bernard Tschumi: Architecture and Event			
	Thresholds/O.M.A. at MoMA: Rem Koolhaas and the Place of Public Architecture	Terence Riley	This exhibition explores the relationship between architecture, urbanism and the idea of public space through the thematic presentation of models and graphic materials.	
	Frank Lloyd Wright: Architect	Terence Riley	This is the most comprehensive summary of Wright's achievement, including 500 Photographs of actual buildings and of models, plans, and sketches.	



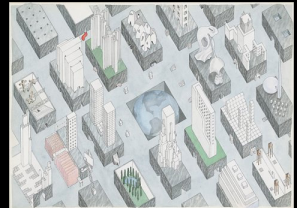
DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	The Manhattan Transcripts		The purpose of exhibition is to transcribe an architectural interpretation of the 20 th century city.	
1995	Light Construction	Terence Riley	This exhibition is mainly about thirty recent projects by thirty architects and artists from ten countries that reveal an emerging sensibility in contemporary architecture toward form, material and surface. The exhibition defines an architecture of transparency, the architecture of lightness.	
	Civic Architecture			
1996	Lilly Reich: Designer and Architect	Matilde Mcquaid	The first exhibition devoted to Lilly Reich (1885-1947), the modernist German designer of the 1920s and 1930s. The exhibition includes more than forty drawings and approximately thirty photographs representing Reich's works as a designer, an architect and industrial designer.	
	Recent Gifts Honoring Philip Johnson's Ninetieth Birthday		The exhibition is about more than two dozen models and drawings donated to the Museum's collection in honor of Philip Johnson.	


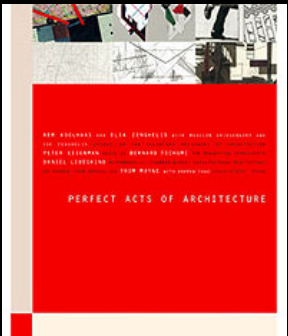
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1997	Projects: Rirkrit Tiravanija		This is an exhibition in the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Sculpture Garden including a child-sized model of an International Style glass pavilion.	
	Projects: Architecture as Metaphor		The exhibition is devoted to the works of contemporary artists which “range from direct treatments of architecture to highly personal reflections that transcend architecture”.	
1998	Fabrications	Terence Riley	The exhibition is about twelve architectural installations, constructed at MoMA, the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, and the Wexner Center for the Arts.	


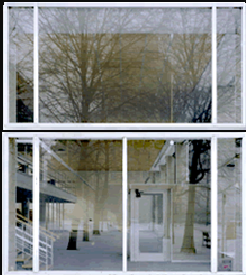
DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
	Alvar Aalto: Between Humanism and Materialism	Peter Reed	This exhibition is the first large-scale retrospective in the United States to present original drawings and models of Alvar Aalto's architecture.	
	Rethinking The Modern: Three Proposals For The Museum of Modern Art		The exhibition includes the models and drawings of Herzog & de Meuron and Bernard Tschumi for the Museum's expansion.	
	Tony Smith: Architect, Painter, Sculpture	Robert Storr	Tony Smith (1912-1980) is a unique American artist trained as an architect in the studios of Frank Lloyd Wright and the New Bauhaus in Chicago.	

DATE OF THE EXHIBITION	NAME OF THE EXHIBITION	CURATOR OF THE EXHIBITION	NOTES	EXHIBITION RELATED
1999	The Un-Private House	Terence Riley	The exhibition displays 26 contemporary houses of prominent international architects whose designs reflect the evolution of the private house in response to recent architectural innovations and changing cultural conditions.	
2000	Open Ends		It is the final cycle of the MoMA 2000 exhibitions presenting objects, images, and room-sized installations, allowing extra space for the larger scale of many contemporary works.	

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	The Long View		This is a series of five two-week exhibitions featuring current projects by young architectural firms.	
2001	Mies in Berlin	Terence Riley	The exhibition displays the early career of architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe; presenting his works from the time he arrived in Berlin until his emigration to the United States.	

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	Projects 74: Ricci Albenda	Laura Hoptman	This is an exhibition highlighting the reflection of artist's interests in architecture, graphic design, and physics.	
	Projects 73: Olafur Eliasson—Seeing yourself sensing	Roxana Marcoci, Janice	The exhibition is Conceive for the windows of MoMA's Garden Hall, demonstrating the relation between sensory perfection and architecture, the relation between inside and outside.	
2002	The Changing of the Avant-Garde: Visionary Architectural Drawings from the Howard Gilman Collection	Terence Riley	This exhibition is a selection of more than 100 famous utopian architectural drawings in the twentieth century.	

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	MoMA Builds	Matilda McQuaid	The exhibition presents the model of the new building of MoMA.	
	Perfect Acts of Architecture	The Wexner Center	The exhibition is the six series of innovative drawing of constructivists between 1972-1987, Rem Koolhaas and Elia Zenghelis, Peter Eisenman, Bernard Tschumi, Daniel Libeskind, and Thom Mayne.	

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	Envisioning Architecture	Terence Riley & Matilda McQuaid	This is an exhibition of 196 masterworks of 60 architects, presenting the chronicle in the history of architectural drawing.	
	The Russian Avant-Garde	Deborah Wye	This is a most comprehensive exhibition on Russian constructivists, devoted to the works of Kazimir Malevich, Olga Rozanova, Natalia Goncharova, El Lissitzky, Aleksandr Rodchenko, and many others.	
2003	Projects 78: Sabine Hornig	Sarah Hermanson Meister	The exhibition presents the project ramp at MoMA QNS with a temporary wall.	

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2004	Tall Buildings	Terence Riley, Guy Nordenson	This exhibition presents large-scale models, drawings, and photographs of twenty-five skyscrapers from around the world.	