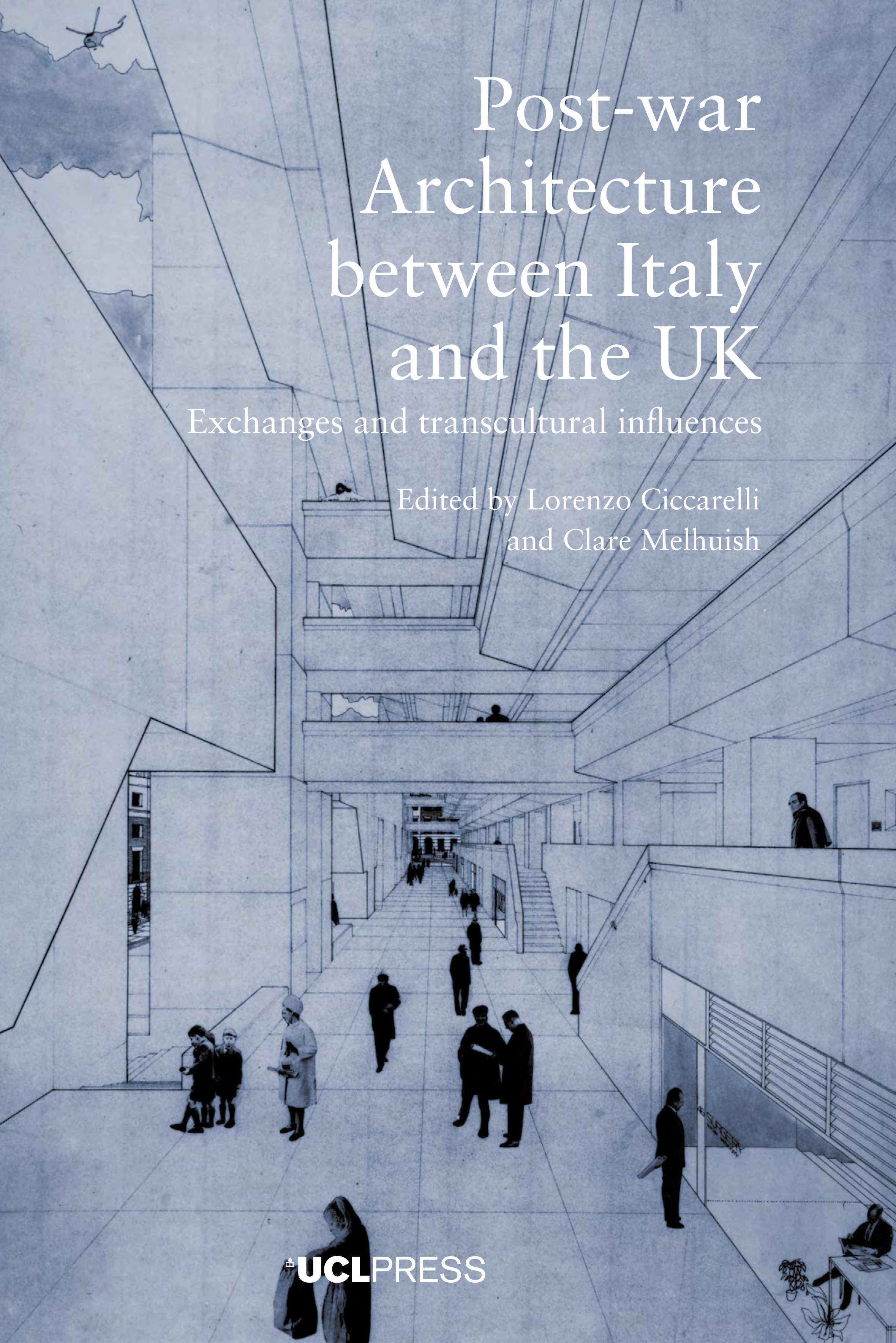
From neoliberty to postmodernism

Benjamin Chavardes



Post-war Architecture between Italy and the UK

Exchanges and transcultural influences

Edited by Lorenzo Ciccarelli
and Clare Melhuish

UCLPRESS

Post-war Architecture between Italy and the UK

Exchanges and transcultural influences

Edited by

Lorenzo Ciccarelli and Clare Melhuish

UCLPRESS

First published in 2021 by
UCL Press
University College London
Gower Street
London WC1E 6BT

Available to download free: www.uclpress.co.uk

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from The British Library.

ISBN: 978-1-80008-085-0 (Hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-80008-084-3 (Pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-80008-083-6 (PDF)
ISBN: 978-1-80008-086-7 (epub)
ISBN: 978-1-80008-087-4 (mobi)
DOI: https://doi.org/10.14324/111.9781800080836

5
From neoliberty to postmodernism

Benjamin Chavardès

With his editorial entitled 'Continuità o crisi?', Ernesto Rogers introduced issue 215 of *Casabella-Continuità*.[1] He opened a debate that would last two years and exceed the limits of newspaper columns to internationalize.[2] The magazine published a letter addressed to Vittorio Gregotti by Roberto Gabetti (1925–2000) and Aimaro Isola (1928) and intended to be communicated to the public.[3] The two Turin architects developed the characteristics that led to the design of one of their last buildings: the Bottega d'Erasmo (1953–6).[4] The building, built at the foot of the Mole Antonelliana, abandoned the techniques and methods of the so-called Modern Movement, in order to make reference to the architecture of the early twentieth century and Turin's bourgeois architecture of the beginning of the century through the reuse of bow windows. The architects, conscious of the possible controversy they might launch, drew on a recent tradition to reintegrate the present into history. They summarized their vision of architecture: 'we prefer to consider architecture as the conquest of harmony and imagination rather than admire the perfection of a new school'.[5]

The editor Vittorio Gregotti justified his choice to publish this debate because it was for him a meaningful illustration of a moment and a basis for a necessary discussion: 'we chose to publish this work not only for the respect with which we consider you as artists but also for whatever they found most questionable in that work, for defining the limits of a position'.[6]

Clearly, Gregotti uses this project as a typical example of the 'crisis of conscience' and an illustration of 'those moments of revision' that the architects then went through. However, he questions the nature of the use of history. The work of Gabetti and Isola is thus profoundly linked to a

Figure 5.1 Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola, Bottega d'Erasmo, Turin, 1953–7

place. The question refers to the choice of the reference to the late nineteenth-century architecture and the values it embodies:

> If we grant that architects create architecture not only for themselves but also for others, then we must concern ourselves with the

relationships which spring up between them: face to face with their responsibilities as intellectuals, architects must know how to grasp the civil meaning of our reacquired sense of history or close themselves off in an incommunicable perfection.[7]

Divergences

This publication provoked strong reactions, illustrated by a letter from Eugenio Gentili, and Rogers's reply, headlined 'Ortodossia dell'eterodossia'.[8] Gentili criticized the editorial board for no longer publishing a progressive journal of modern architecture.[9] He objected to the bias towards presenting some works by Mario Ridolfi, which he considered 'brutta'. He denounced work that emphasized a figurative aspect, and was not part of the continuity of the Modern Movement. For the first time, Gentili used the term 'neoliberty' to designate those architectures that referred to late nineteenth-century Italian architecture instead. In response, Rogers justified the continuity of an editorial policy that provided a platform for a diversity of architectural production. He pointed to the historical 'orthodoxy of heterodoxy' of the journal, or in other words, the commitment of *Casabella-Continuità* to presenting contemporary architecture in its full diversity, not from a single ideological viewpoint.[10]

But when Roberto Orefice included in this new research the Torre Velasca in Milan, authored by Rogers and his associates from the BBPR Agency,[11] Rogers reprimanded the young graduate for his impertinence.[12] These exchanges exemplified the questions confronted by a profession that was seeking new directions, conscious of the unsatisfactory answers given by rationalism.

Denunciation

In his article published the following year, Aldo Rossi demonstrated his opposition to the thesis that giving pre-eminence to formal values would be synonymous with abandoning the achievements of the Modern Movement. By contrast, he defended the idea that this formalism would show the way to renewing the link between architecture and society.[13] He justified the reference to nineteenth-century traditions as significant for the development of a new language. The integration in a place means the integration into the history of this place.

In issue 73, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* published the Stock Exchange project in Turin by Gabetti and Isola, stating that they:

> belong to a movement currently encouraged by the Italian journal *Casabella* and which tends towards the introduction into architecture of a kind of romanticism whose sources of inspiration are very diverse: Wright, neo-Gothic, School of Amsterdam, Gaudí … It is a violent reaction which questions practically all the assumptions of contemporary architecture … In the work that we publish, the assertion of a certain doctrinal extravagance is much less pronounced than in the buildings that the same team built in Turin.[14]

The two journals accuse each other of promoting formalism. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* attacks the new Italian architecture. *Casabella* firmly objects to the retrograde thinking of the French.[15] The latter declares in reaction to the article by *Casabella*: 'A certain gratuity is an acceptable and valid artistic gesture, even necessary. What is not, is the ugliness, the baroque swelling, the emphasis, the false originality, the strange and the unusual'.[16]

In the UK, the debate started with an article by Reyner Banham published in November 1958 in the *Architectural Review* and entitled 'Tornare ai Tempi Felici'.[17] Banham denounced the retrograde design of the architectures of Gae Aulenti, Vittorio Gregotti, Roberto Gabetti and Aimaro Isola. Firstly, he criticized the fact that architectural choices were being guided by consumer tastes without using any double coding. He saw this as an anti-rationalist 're-bourgeoisification' of architecture based on the aesthetic preferences of a pre-Modern Movement middle class. Secondly, he denounced it as a conscious, demagogic and superficial approach that did not respond aesthetically to society.

The following month, Paolo Portoghesi, in his article 'Dal neorealismo al neoliberty', responded to Banham by tracing the genealogy of these new experiences. Putting himself outside the controversy, he turned to history in order to shed light on the new research and place it within a historical continuity. He coined the term 'neoliberty' for these new Italian experiences,[18] drawing on his knowledge of neorealism and his studies on Liberty and more broadly on Art Nouveau. That is why, although Gentili and Rogers had used the term before him, Reyner Banham attributed it to Portoghesi, and it is probably the only thing that Banham retained from Portoghesi's article. Leonardo Benevolo also attributes the first use of the word to Portoghesi.[19]

Banham pursued its analysis in a new, and even more virulent, article published in April 1959. Banham's disappointment was not only roused by the buildings published in *Casabella* but, more importantly, by the fact that *Casabella* was supposed to be the most progressive architectural journal in Italy, having introduced and promoted the so-called Modern Movement in the peninsula since the 1930s. He recognized the quality of Ludovico Quaroni's work at the Martella, and Luigi Moretti's Girasole, in his article for the *Architectural Review*. Furthermore, he strongly denounced the work of the Milan architects.

Banham analyses neoliberty production from a stylistic, economic and social point of view. He makes an aesthetic and cultural criticism and expresses his expectation of a socially acceptable architecture running counter to a bourgeois aesthetic. Nevertheless, he ignores the debate on tradition, avoiding this term, and similarly ignores the question of realism, two themes that are very prevalent in the Italian debates. Banham blames the neoliberty for looking backwards instead of looking into the future. He ends his article with this formula that sounds like a punishment: 'Neoliberty is infantile regression'.[20]

In an article entitled 'Dal neoliberty al neopiacentinismo' (echoing that of Portoghesi, on which he relies in part), Carlo Melograni preferred to focus on the political aspect of the process rather than its recourse to the past.[21] He points out that the neorealist experience, in which he himself participated, had failed to produce a general renewal of the architectural language and remained reduced to the production of low-cost collective housing. According to him, the error of neorealism was to have followed reality rather than proposing any modification to it. In addition, neorealism had mainly focused on the outskirts of the city, not working on the overall coherence with the rest of the city. Melograni makes the same criticism of neoliberty, which he defines as a renunciation of general principles, a return to a bourgeois tradition and an exaggeration of ornamental invention. He thus denounces a 'neopiacentinismo' characterized by the refusal to make a significant contribution to the transformation of society and privileging formalism and irrationality.[22]

Melograni's response to the articles of Banham and Portoghesi was the first of a long series by authors including Ernesto Rogers in June 1959, Bruno Zevi in August 1959 or Gillo Dorfles 1959.[23] Then the debate spread across Europe to reach some of the most important architectural journals of the time: *Casabella*, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, the *Architectural Review*, but also *L'Architettura: Cronache e Storia* and *Domus*. Rogers, in his 'Risposta al custode dei frigidaires', accuses Banham of rejecting architectural evolution. He sees the Modern Movement as a continuous revolution and denounces the superficiality of Banham's analysis.[24] Zevi, although partly blamed by Banham, agrees with him by denouncing 'l'andropausa degli architetti moderni italiani'.

Comunità published in the same year a translation of Banham's article, which includes Portoghesi's commentary,[25] denouncing Banham's work as superficial. He disputes the idea that neoliberty is a movement characterized by unity, insisting on the concept of tradition and pointing to the inhibitions of the avant-garde, as well as the problem of communication between architectural culture and the general public.

Sentence

In September 1959, the debate became even more poisonous during the CIAM 11, held in Otterlo. After the controversies staged in the columns of specialist journals, architects exchanged views through the presentation and discussion of their projects. Ernesto Rogers, Ignazio Gardella (the Mensa Olivetti in Ivrea), Giancarlo De Carlo (the edificio per servizi e residenza nel Quartiere Spine Bianche in Matera) and Vico Magistretti (the villa di Arenzano) represented Italy. A divergence emerged between the Team X architects on the one hand, represented by Peter Smithson and Jacob Bakema, and Ernesto Rogers on the other. They all agreed on the necessity of formal revision, continuity with the so-called Modern Movement, attention to context, a humanist attitude and redefinition of the urban structure, but their views reflected different national contexts. Rogers's presentation of Torre Velasca embodied a disagreement in outlook, which, according to Josep Maria Montaner, explains the absence of Italian architects in Team X, except for De Carlo.[26]

To present his project, Rogers tried to demonstrate that the design of the tower followed a rational and functionalist methodology. He justified the architectural form by the need to have more space for the dwellings, which are located in the upper part of the tower to benefit from the air and the view, rather than for the offices located in the lower part. He argued that this distinction was illustrative of the adage 'form follows function', anticipating criticism of the medieval form of the tower, which he presented as 'a casual coincidence'.[27] He highlighted the question of tradition and the particular situation of the building, which required special consideration of its context in Milan's historic centre.[28] But his presentation was mostly devoted to an explanation of the technical and construction choices. His conclusion seems, thus, paradoxical. Indeed, while he seems to distance himself from the question of the relationship

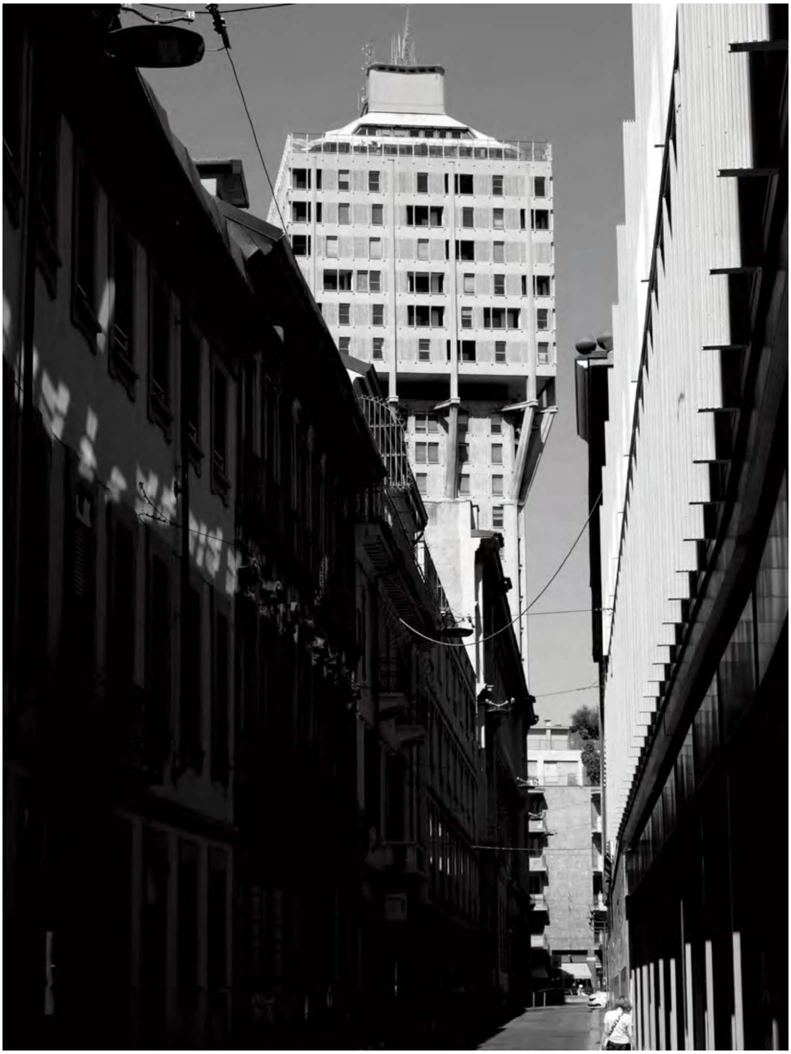


Figure 5.2 BBPR, Torre Velasca, Milan, 1956–8
© Benjamin Chavardès

with history, he also argues that the anti-historical attitude of the fathers of the Modern Movement, which was necessary to initiate an architectural revolution, was no longer necessary. He proposed that a new attitude towards history needed to be developed, and that architects had a responsibility not to perpetuate the aesthetics of the Modern Movement.

As a result, a virulent exchange was initiated by Peter Smithson, arguing that the anti-historical position of the moderns was both moral and aesthetic. He pointed to the BBPR project as a dangerous model that failed to respond to the nature of contemporary society. He assessed its aesthetic as purely formalistic and broken, and the building as incapable of responding to change or anticipating the evolutions of the society. He even condemned the work as irresponsible, and ethically and aesthetically wrong.[29]

Rogers responded with a commentary on the contrast between English and Italian modes of thinking, which would explain the difference of perception between the parties: 'There is one main difficulty that I see and that is that you think in English. Now that is not my way of thinking. But I will try to answer'. He refused the idea that his architecture represented a formal model, circumventing the ethical problematic of his thesis. By contrast, he suggested that the clarity and sincerity of the structure exemplified the morality of the approach.[30] The idea of rationality that Rogers defends is the same as Aldo Rossi's, expressed through the process and not in the form or aesthetics. The same view is expressed at the 1973 Milan Triennale. In this instance, the exhibition directed by Rossi would locate itself within the legacy of Rogers and the Modern Movement masters, to whom were dedicated the first two rooms.[31]

Bakema was more diplomatic in his conclusion to the Torre Velasca debate, emphasizing the need for specificity in an intervention in a historic centre while noting: 'I think that form is a communication about life, and I don't recognize in this building a communication about life in our time. You are resisting contemporary life'.[32] In his summing-up of the CIAM's different presentations, he identifies the positions of the different groups, criticizing the plastic expression of a project group, and qualifying the work as unacceptable:

> But I feel that one of these groups is attempting to find this language in too easy and quick a way. They would like to bring architectural expression to their buildings in a way they can be easily understood by the people.[33]

However, this famous debate on Torre Velasca often overshadows another exchange between Rogers and Peter Smithson, following the Smithsons' presentation during this CIAM meeting. Peter and Alison Smithson gave a lecture on 'Problems Regarded as Central to Architecture in the Present Situation', which focused on methodological and theoretical positions. It is no coincidence that the Smithsons shared Reyner Banham's views on Italian architecture, being part of the Independent Group since the 1950s. Rogers responded by criticizing the projects for their negative relationship with the history of the sites, specifically focusing on their impact on a neighbourhood like Soho, and on the gradual destruction of the historic city.

A decade later, Manfredo Tafuri would offer a synthetic reading of neoliberty.[34] For him, 'the real drama of Neoliberty, [is] the lack of courage'.[35] He considered that neoliberty architecture sought not to be part of the course of history but used it, motivated by emotions and personal nostalgia. Tafuri argued that opposition to the International Style was already outdated, but that neoliberty failed to propose a viable renewal or an alternative. Nevertheless, he recognized its merit in playing a role in exposing the architectural problems of the time, quoting two projects of the neoliberty period: the Bottega d'Erasmo and the casa Baldi, realized between 1959 and 1961 by Paolo Portoghesi.[36]

Recognition or posterity

The casa Baldi is the result of post-war Italian architectural research, extending from neorealism to neoliberty. Moreover, it is also one of the first gems of postmodern architecture. Indeed, in 1977, Charles Jencks begins his chapter 'Postmodern Architecture' with neoliberty, and defines historicism as the beginning of postmodernism[37]. In his geneaology, neoliberty appears as the historicist root of postmodernism, including architects like Luigi Moretti, Ignazio Gardella, Gae Aulenti, Carlo Scarpa, Franco Albini and Paolo Portoghesi. Of Casa Baldi, he writes:

> One of the most convincing historicist buildings of the fifties was Paolo Portoghesi's Casa Baldi, 1959–61, an essay in free-form curves definitely reminiscent of the Borromini he was studying, yet also unmistakably influenced by Le Corbusier. Here is the schizophrenic cross between two codes that is characteristic of Post-Modernism: the enveloping, sweeping curves of the Baroque, the overlap of space, the various foci of space interfering with each other and the Brutalist treatment, the expression of concrete block, rugged joinery and the guitar-shapes of modernism.[38]

It is perhaps ironic, in view of the contrast between Italian and English positions documented in this chapter, that an Italian, in the person of Bruno Zevi, would come out in defence of the Modern Movement, while an Englishman, Charles Jencks, student of Banham, would promote postmodernism. In 1970, Charles Jencks produced a thesis supervised by

Banham at University College London on *Modern Movements in Architecture* (1970), in which he studied the work of the Smithsons, Bakema and Rogers, among others, having attended the Team X meeting at Urbino in 1966, unlike the Smithsons who were exceptionally absent. In 1977 Jencks published *The Language of Postmodern Architecture*,[39] as a direct answer to Zevi's *Il linguaggio moderno dell'architettura* (1973),[40] which was itself conceived as a 'natural and indispensable complement' to Summerson's book, *The Classical Language of Architecture.* Summerson had explained that his 'aim is to speak of architecture as a language; the reader must be able to recognize the Latin of architecture',[41] tracking a history of a classical language from antiquity to the nineteenth century. Ten years later, Bruno Zevi positioned his book as pursuing the goal of structuring the language of modern architecture through the identification of seven invariants, or defined rules and norms. Of his own book, Charles Jencks explained: 'So the term Post-Modern has to be clarified and used more precisely to cover, in general, only those designers who are aware of architecture as a language'.[42] From Leonardo Benevolo's perspective, this was Jencks's primary contribution to the debate:

> The titles of the two works by Charles Jencks (*Modern Movements in Architecture*, 1971, and *The Language of Postmodern Architecture*, 1977) perfectly summarize these positions, where the explicit theses (the modern movement is multiple, non-unitary, and there is a postmodern movement) are less important than their implicit presupposition, that it is a question of promoting architecture as a language, an autonomous system of existing and significant visual values.[43]

Zevi's response to Jencks's publication was one of irony:

> This book shows that post-modernism, as opposed to modernism, returns to pre-modernism, that's academic classicism. Perhaps we should rename my work "the post-post-modern language of architecture".[44]

For Bruno Zevi, considering architecture as a language entailed understanding modern architecture as a system of defined rules and norms. For Charles Jencks, modern architecture was the architecture of the bourgeoisie, an architecture of the elite not the general public. He proposed that the postmodern building was characterized by a system of 'double coding', which allowed it to speak simultaneously on two levels:

‘to other architects and a concerned minority who care about specifically architectural meanings, and to the public at large, or the local inhabitants, who care about other issues concerned with comfort, traditional building and a way of life’.[45]

Postmodern architecture is therefore intended to be both savant and popular. However, this distinction created problems.[46] The desire to revalue popular culture was critiqued as an elitist point of view in itself, and the very notion of ‘popular culture’ a scholarly concept, open to definition. For Robert Venturi, it indicated the culture of mass consumption, with its commercial devices and advertising as it invades the strip of Las Vegas.[47] For the Italian neorealists, like Mario Ridolfi, the popular meant a reclamation of traditional knowledge. For Christopher Alexander, the ‘popular’ is equated with participatory urban planning, in which future users are involved in the design process.[48]

Conclusion

Finally then, we can identify two postmodern cultures, each of which seeks a popular anchorage and a link between architecture and society. In Italy, this link is sought in the integration with the site and respect for history and traditions. The English do not read much of the Italian context in their analysis, but develop programmes that recognize the realities of everyday life, and are designed to adapt to changes in society.

From both positions, there was a renewed attention to the question of function. In Italy, architects worked on the form, integrating it with a building’s evolving use over time, as explained by Rossi in 1966.[49] In the UK, following the position of the Smithsons, anticipating the needs of society was highlighted as a necessity. These exchanges would extend beyond the borders of these two countries, and some personalities like Louis Kahn managed to gain unanimity. However, we can argue that the postmodern debate originated in the exchanges between Italy and the UK, and it was there that the contours of the debate developed most openly.

Notes

1 Rogers 1957a.
2 For the first bibliography of these dialogues, see Cellini 1977a ; Cellini 1977b. See also D’Amato 1977.

3 Gabetti and Isola 1957.
4 Cellini and D'Amato 1993; Olmo 1993.
5 Gabetti and Isola 1957.
6 Gregotti 1957.
7 Gregotti 1957.
8 Gentili 1957; Rogers 1957b.
9 Gentili 1957; Rogers 1957b.
10 Rogers 1957b.
11 Orefice 1957, 99.
12 Rogers 1957c, 99.
13 Rossi 1958, 16.
14 *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 1957, 55.
15 *Casabella-Continuità* 1958, 53.
16 *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 1958, xxxiii.
17 Banham 1958.
18 Portoghesi, 1958; Portoghesi, 1963.
19 Benevolo 1960.
20 Banham 1959.
21 Melograni 1959.
22 Melograni 1959, 26.
23 Rogers 1959; Zevi 1959; Dorfles 1959.
24 Rogers 1959.
25 Portoghesi 1959.
26 Montaner 1993.
27 Newmann 1961, 92.
28 Newmann 1961, 93.
29 Newmann 1961, 94–6.
30 Newmann 1961, 95–6.
31 Chavardès 2015.
32 Newmann 1961, 97.
33 Newmann 1961, 218.
34 Tafuri 1968, 84–7.
35 Tafuri 1968, 85.
36 Tafuri 1968, 86.
37 Jencks 1977, 81–2.
38 Jencks 1977, 82.
39 Jencks 1977.
40 Zevi 1973.
41 Summerson 1963.
42 Jencks 1977, 6.
43 Benevolo 1960.
44 Zevi 1973.
45 Jencks 1977, 6.
46 Cohen 2004.
47 Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour 1972.
48 Alexander 1975.
49 Rossi 1966, 34.

References

Alexander, Christopher. *The Oregon Experiment*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.

L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui 73 (1957): 55.

L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui 77 (1958): xxxiii.

Banham, Reyner. 'Tornare ai Tempi Felici', *The Architectural Review* 742 (1958): 281.

Banham, Reyner. 'Neoliberty: The Italian retreat from modern architecture', *The Architectural Review* 747 (1959): 285.

Benevolo, Leonardo. *Storia dell'architettura moderna*. Bari: Laterza, 1960.
Cellini, Francesco. 'La polemica sul Neoliberty', *Controspazio* 4–5 (1977a): 52–3.
Cellini, Francesco. 'Elenco cronologico degli scritti relativi alla polemica sul Neoliberty', *Controspazio* 4–5 (1977b): 53.
Cellini, Francesco and Claudio D'Amato. *Gabetti e Isola: Progetti e architettura 1950–1985*. Milan: Electa, 1985.
Chavardès, Benjamin. *Quand le post-modernisme s'expose*. Montpellier: Espérou, 2015.
Cohen, Jean-Louis. 'Promesses et impasses du populisme', *Les Cahiers de la recherche architecturale et urbaine* 15–16 (2004): 167–84.
'Dai giornale e dalle riviste, a cura di Matilde Baffa'. *Casabella-Continuità* 220 (1958): 53.
D'Amato, Claudio. 'Memoria, storia e questioni di stile nell'esperienza del Neoliberty', *Controspazio* 4–5 (1977): 50–1.
Dorfles, Gillo. 'Neobarocco, ma non Neoliberty', *Domus* 358 (1959): 19.
Gabetti, Roberto and Aimaro Isola, 'L'impegno della tradizione, Caro Gregotti … ', *Casabella-Continuità* 215 (1957): 62–9.
Gentili, Eugenio. 'Ortodossia dell'eterodossia, Caro Ernesto … ', *Casabella-Continuità* 216 (1957): 2.
Gregotti, Vittorio. 'L'impegno della tradizione, Cari amici … ', *Casabella-Continuità* 215 (1957): 62–9.
Jencks, Charles. *The Language of Postmodern Architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 1977.
Melograni, Carlo. 'Dal neoliberty al neopiacentinismo?', *Il Contemporaneo* 13 (1959): 17–28.
Montaner, Josep Maria. *Después del Movimiento Moderno: Arquitectura de la segunda mitad del siglo XX*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1993.
Newmann, Oscar (ed.). *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*. Stuttgart: Krämer, 1961.
Olmo, Carlo. *Gabetti e Isola: Architetture*. Turin: Allemandi, 1993.
Orefice, Roberto. 'Riposte ai giovani, Egregio direttore … ', *Casabella-Continuità* 217 (1957): 99.
Portoghesi, Paolo. 'Dal neorealismo al neoliberty', *Comunità* 65 (1958): 69–79.
Portoghesi, Paolo. 'Il commento di P. Portoghesi', *Comunità* 72 (1959): 64–9.
Portoghesi, Paolo. 'L'impegno delle nuove generazioni'. In *Aspetti dell'arte contemporanea, Rassegna internazionale, architetture–pittura–scultura–grafica*, 257–63. Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1963.
Rogers, Ernesto. 'Continuità o crisi ?', *Casabella-Continuità* 215 (1957a): 3–6.
Rogers, Ernesto. 'Ortodossia dell'eterodossia. Caro Eugenio … ', *Casabella-Continuità* 216 (1957b): 2.
Rogers, Ernesto. 'Riposte ai giovani. Cari colleghi … ', *Casabella-Continuità* 217 (1957c): 99.
Rogers, Ernesto. 'L'evoluzione dell'architettura: Risposta al custode dei frigidaires', *Casabella-Continuità* 228 (1959): 2–4.
Rossi, Aldo. 'Il passato e il presente nella nuova architettura', *Casabella-Continuità* 219 (1958): 16.
Rossi, Aldo. *L'architettura della città*. Padua: Marsilio, 1966.
Summerson, John. *The Classical Language of Architecture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1963.
Tafuri, Manfredo. *Teoria e storia dell'architettura.* Bari: Laterza, 1968.
Venturi, Robert, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour. *Learning from Las Vegas*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972.
Zevi, Bruno. 'L'andropausa degli architetti moderni italiani', *L'Architettura: Cronache e storia* 46 (1959): 222–3.
Zevi, Bruno. *Il linguaggio moderno dell'architettura*. Turin: Einaudi, 1973.