



## **Pandora's Box: An Essay on Metropolitan Portraits**

Demetri Porphyrios

*Perspecta*, Vol. 32, Resurfacing Modernism. (2001), pp. 18-27.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0079-0958%282001%2932%3C18%3APBAEOM%3E2.0.CO%3B2-9>

*Perspecta* is currently published by Yale School of Architecture.

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/ysoa.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

---

The JSTOR Archive is a trusted digital repository providing for long-term preservation and access to leading academic journals and scholarly literature from around the world. The Archive is supported by libraries, scholarly societies, publishers, and foundations. It is an initiative of JSTOR, a not-for-profit organization with a mission to help the scholarly community take advantage of advances in technology. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

---

# Pandora's Box: An Essay on Metropolitan Portraits

DEMETRI PORPHYRIOS

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the theme of the ideal city—the prototypical *urbium*—has perhaps been the most stubbornly persistent saga animating deeply architectural thought. Not that such a theme did not enchant pre-nineteenth century thought—on the contrary—but never had history seen the profusion and frantic incubation of urban idealizations as from the nineteenth century onwards. Scanning the tradition of ideal urban schemes, from Ledoux's Salt Works to Fourier's Phalangstère, or from Jules Borie's **AÉRODOMES** to Le Corbusier's **PLAN VOISIN**, or even from Archigram's Instant City to Superstudio's **CONTINUOUS MONUMENT**, one clearly discerns the deep parenthood of **EXODUS**, the first representational statement of Koolhaas and Zenghelis which won them recognition in the *Casabella* competition in 1973.

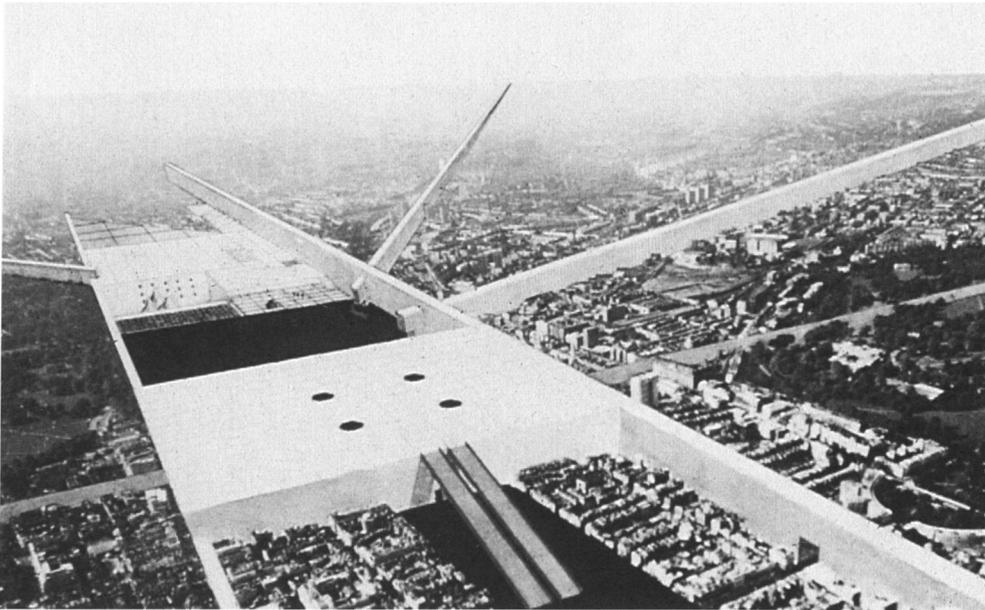
Intrinsically an ideal city, Exodus is a dropped-in *deus-ex-machina* which forces London into a gradual but sure extinction. The tips of this ideal urban strip are the points of ideological friction between the old and the new, while the nine squares of the city proper refer to its collective ideological rituals: the ideology of private property (the Square of the Private Allotments), of ceremonial festivities (the Ceremonial Square), of civic initiation (the Reception Hall), of historical consciousness (the preservation of Nash London), of sensuous pleasurability (the Baths), of the artificial alternative to nature (the Park of the Four Elements), of cure and immortalization (the Hospital), and of scientific knowledge (the University Square).

There is, of course, nothing new featuring in the permissive ideological coexistence of these squares of bourgeois reification. The old dream of Ledoux for erecting a city comprising Temples to Love, Memory, Knowledge, etc., or that of Fourier for founding an ideal brotherhood, or that of Jules Borie for allowing the traditional city to wither away while its inhabitants escape to the crystalline dropped-in aerodomes, or that of Le Corbusier for the perpetual warfare that the Plan Voisin would initiate, or that of Archigram for an overnight physical transformation of the world, or that of Superstudio for an uninterrupted crystalline monument meandering around the globe—all these dreams and still many others are present in Exodus, yielding with their superimposition a Freudian tableau of contemporary urban memory.

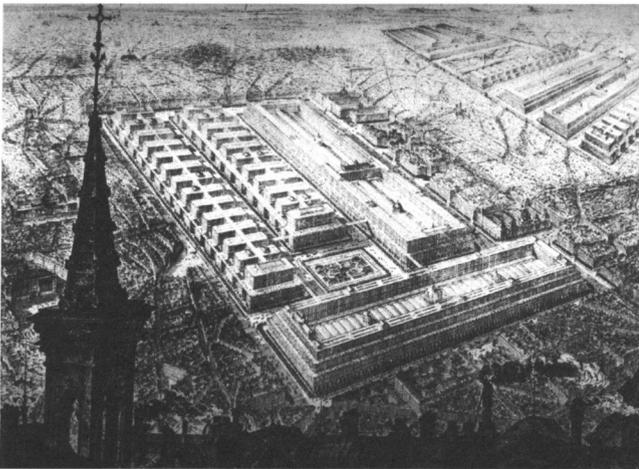
But the architectural gaze is now organized in a new way. It is no longer the gaze of the redeemer, as was the case with all urban idealizations from the nineteenth century onwards. The effort now is not to single out the ills of contemporary cities, nor to propose solutions for their cure. In that sense, there is no intention for unburying the debate about problems and solutions so popular in the tradition of the 1950s and 1960s. Interestingly enough, Zenghelis, though a student of Smithson at the AA, never returned to the positivist tradition of bubble-diagrams, nor to the "scientist" assumption that thorough analysis is the mandatory precedent for design. All the nuances of positivist consciousness—from Christopher Jones, Christopher Alexander, Lionel March, and Steadman, or the long list of behavioral scientists—are here denied any legitimacy with the implicit accusation of pseudo-scientism.

Instead, the task so obvious in Exodus is to plunge straight into pure ideology and comprise for the first time an inventory of today's urban episodes: a clinical description of the various unquestioned habits which have become mundane realities and without which it would be inconceivable to date our lifestyles. This portraiture, however, is not a mere depiction; on the contrary, by analyzing, patterning, and articulating the metropolitan imagery it has the power to link our knowledge of things across the dimension of history, while at the same time attempting a re-interpretation of that history and a possible materialization. In that sense it would be untrue, no doubt, to see in Koolhaas and Zenghelis's work a mere annihilation of design long burdened with the tradition of conceptual art. It is not even a question of a displacement of the traditional means and media of design, or of the denial to draw—as was the case, for example, with the advocacy planning movement in the late 1960s. Instead, in constituting anew the composite portrait of contemporary urban life, the Office for Metropolitan Architecture gives birth to a new representational tactic which gradually formalizes itself to the point of becoming a *modus vivendi*. It is this representational tactic and its effective insertion and functioning in contemporary architectural discourse that I would like to discuss in this short essay.

Originally published in *Architectural Design* magazine, volume 47, no. 5, 1977.

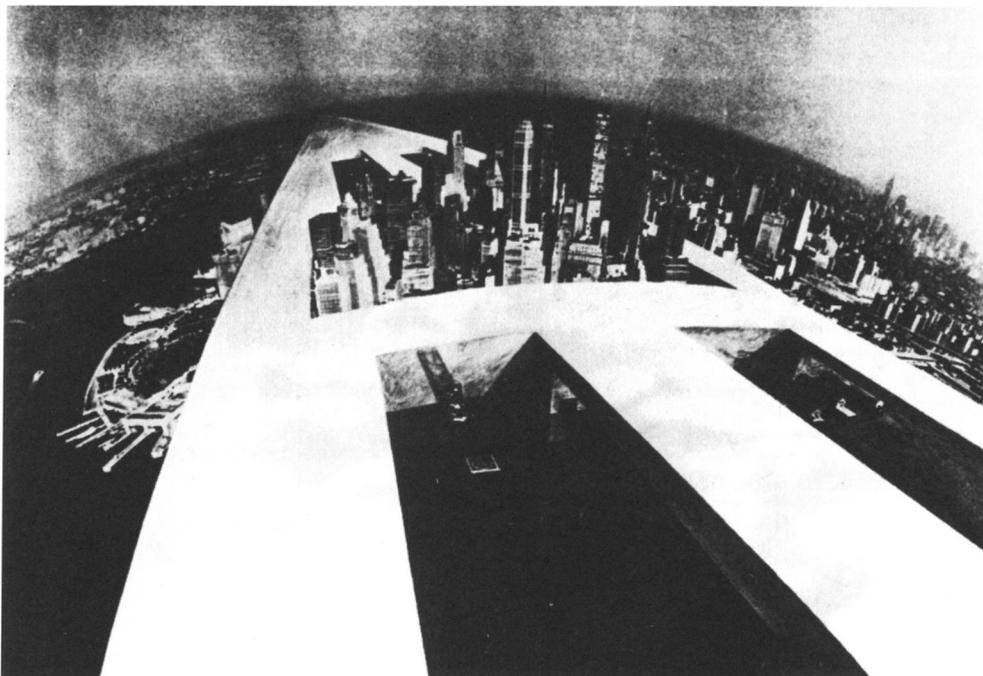


< Exodus  
London, project  
Rem Koolhaas, 1972. collage.



^ Aerodomes  
Paris, project  
Henry Jules Borie, 1865.

^ Plan Voisin  
Paris, project  
Le Corbusier, 1925. collage.



< Continuous Monument  
Project  
Superstudio, 1969. collage.



^ *Dreamland*  
Madeline Vreesendorf, 1974. painting.



^ *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*  
Robert Wiene, 1920. film still.

## The Sensuousness of Representation

The first consequence that the portraiture of the metropolis has had is the unreserved preoccupation with sensuous imagery. From the first sketches of Exodus, the Hotel Sphinx or the City of the Captive Globe, it became obvious that mere architectural delineation—no matter how intricate in detail or overburdened with axonometric projections—would be incapable of capturing an urban portrait. Color and above all secondary non-architectural information was needed. In Exodus one finds it impossible to grasp the pictorial implications of the childish drawing of the Square of the Private Allotments, or that of the Park of the Four Elements, were it not for the adjunct images borrowed from daily experience. In the City of the Captive Globe, one is not merely confronted with the towers of the Plan Voisin, or with the expressionist shells, or the constructivist tower of Lissitsky, but rather with the vast regions of theoretical debate and practical implementation that they stand for. This incessant reference to an associational density and to the whole profusion of adjunct and complementary images defines a representational tactic far removed from the Orthodox Modernist ethos, and very similar to that of the nineteenth-century Ecole des Beaux Arts. Against modernism's positivist dream of an architecture with no memory (at least not an explicitly discussed one), Koolhaas and Zenghelis will insist on a sensuously corporeal architecture that is capable of triggering an unlimited flow of associations. In their visible, tactile, and almost hedonistic status, the highway, the pigeon-hole window, the escalator, or the so many metropolitan fragments that animate their vision are by no means abstract and universal names (as, for example, the column, line, or plane were for modernism), but on the contrary they carry within them a spontaneous unfolding of representation (like, for example, the ionic column, the travertine pediment, or the Louis Quatorze window did for the Beaux Arts mind).

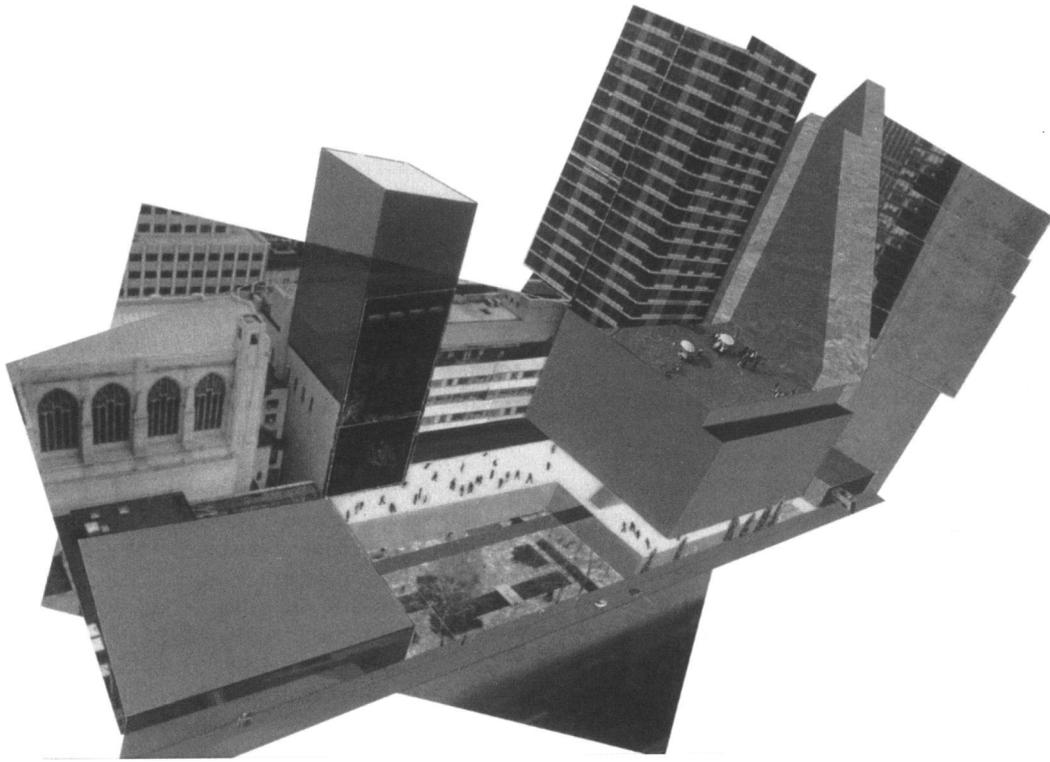
These sensuous clues which open up whole regions of references owe their power to the very sensuousness they possess. Bereft of their color, crispness, harshness, or delicacy, they become impotent three-dimensional gestures with no parenthood or horizon of descendancy. And it is not without significance that such preoccupation with the corporeality of architectural elements coincides with a general rebirth of a decorative architectural consciousness. Since the pioneering work of Venturi in the middle 1960s, and with the gross popularization of semi-logical tools among architectural circles—a job for which Jencks is to be held responsible in London, the Five and Agrest/Gandelsonas in New York, Charles Moore and Bob Stern in the tradition of the shingles—architecture thought it possible to return to the nineteenth-century sensibility of decoration as signficatory clothing. It is true that such thought must have crossed the architectural mind as early as the postwar years, for otherwise the excesses of Brutalism or the stylistics of Corporate design (i.e. Yamasaki or Portman) would have been unintelligible. Yet it was not until the early 1970s that such a proposition was clearly stated and theoretically formalized without the implicit fear of stepping onto morally risky ground.

## The Opening of Architectural Language

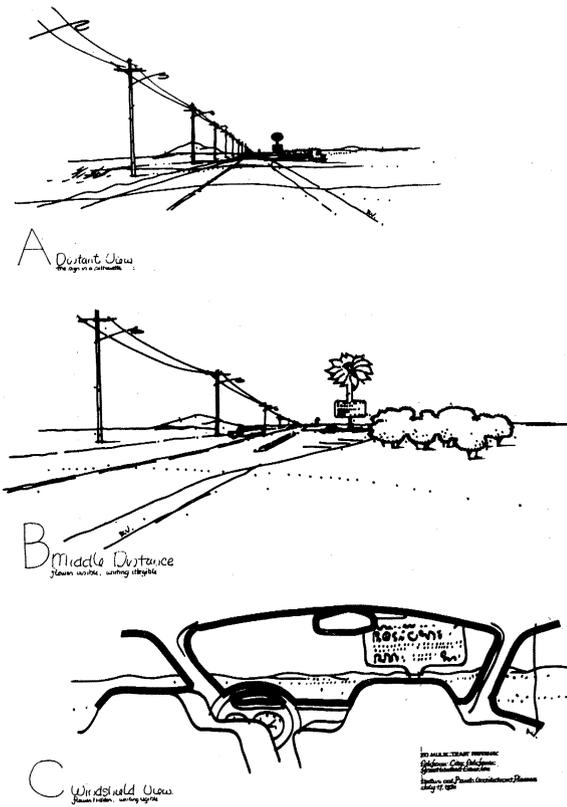
The preoccupation with sensuous imagery that was to be pictorial and realistic ran contrary to any syntactic interests, crossing out the possibility of an elementarist system of organization and, by extension, any effort to circumscribe the limits of the architectural language.<sup>1</sup> The task that Koolhaas and Zenghelis set for themselves is not to demarcate the elements and the organizational rules of architectural composition (as was the case, for example, with the Five), but on the contrary to burst open the confines of architecture until it embraces the full spectrum of everyday visibility. The profusion of sensuous objects scattered in the Egg of Columbus Center, the oases, athletic runways, or hanging garden dreamlands populating the roof terraces of the Hotel Sphinx, or the Hollywoodesque scenarios of the ground and top floors of the Welfare Palace Hotel, do point clearly to the wish to trespass the boundaries of institutionalized architectural language.

This issue of the specificity or non-specificity of architectural language, though not explicitly discussed as such, has been of great importance in the debates of contemporary architectural thinking.<sup>2</sup> The issue, whether we are conscious of it or not, is a constant dilemma that any architectural production has to face at one or another time since it addresses the priorities of formal exclusions or inclusions. In fact, there are two aspects to the question: first, the degree of specificity of architectural language (i.e. whether an inclusive or an exclusive tactic is to be followed), and second, the direction towards which architectural language opens (i.e. in case an inclusive system is followed, which area of life is to be embraced). Contemporary thought has shown a great propensity towards inclusivist representational systems, destroying in that sense all pictorial common grounds that modernism labored to formalize and institutionalize.<sup>3</sup> The multinational stylistic eclecticism of the 1950s, the science fiction of the Metabolist and Archigram era, the popular ethos of the consumerist Las Vegas Strip, or the gilded monuments of a putrefied western world erected in the Middle East, are all sure symptoms of a truly inclusivist representational ethos under the spell of which contemporary architectural thought is trying to patch up its void.

It is within this general arrangement of an inclusivist representational tactic that Koolhaas and Zenghelis work. Bathing in a purely inclusivist ethos, these two urban portraitists will plunge into the non-designed world of appearances, bringing back to their drawing boards the scattered memories and savored glimpses of the metropolis.<sup>4</sup> But if their inclusivist ethos binds them with contemporary thought, their denial to celebrate technology or consumption economy distinguishes them from parallel currents. It would, no doubt, be impossible to conceive of the Hotel Sphinx did there not exist the implicit trust in an advanced technology. Yet, technology itself does not feature as a spectacle; though heavily counted upon, it is not allowed to surface, nor is it allowed to define the lines, forms, or reliefs of this urban *phalangstère* (as, on the contrary, was the case with a whole tradition from Cesar Daly to Sant'Elia or Peter Cook). Similarly, none of the bricolaged images would have materialized were it not for the vast advertising and consumerist repertoire to choose from. Yet, the contextual displacement of the borrowed metropolitan features, their projection into new surroundings and the plethora of metaphorical readings induced by the subtle choices of scale or sensuousness (i.e. color, material, texture, etc.), give a sense of surrealist familiarity to the projects, at once close to and removed from the everyday world and thus not easily consumed (as, on the contrary, was the case with a whole tradition from Krafft or Dubut to Venturi).<sup>5</sup> In viewing the work of the Office for Metropolitan Architecture everything seems at first-hand familiar; but then abruptly the rape of commonsense occurs, usually in broad daylight. It is exactly here that the critical and non-consumable aspect of their work resides; in their ability to portray the metropolis while at the same time challenging our visual and social habits and triggering an awakening of consciousness.



▲ Proposal for Museum of Modern Art addition  
New York City, OMA, 1997. collage.



▲ California City Study  
Venturi Rauch Architects, 1970.



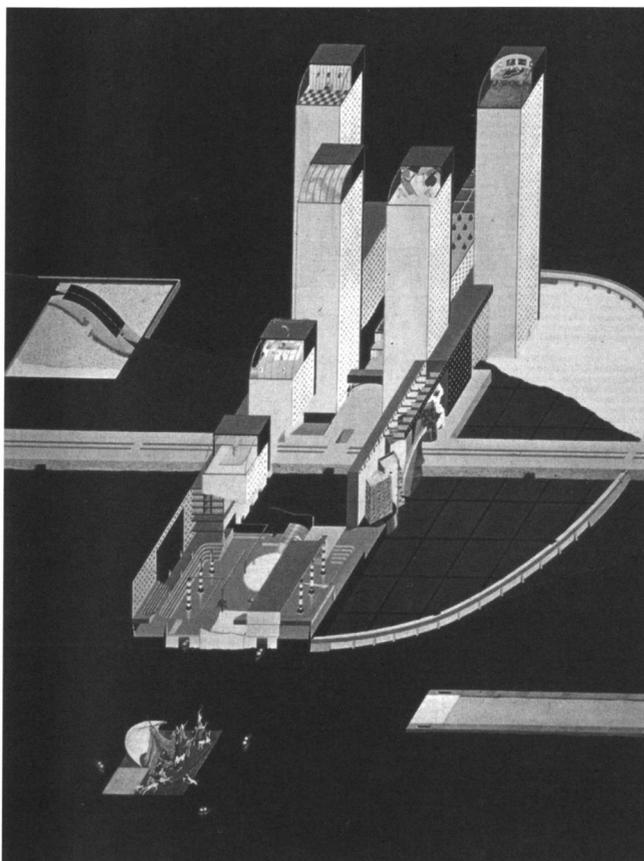
▲ Park Hill Housing  
Sheffield, England. Lynn and Smith, 1961.

## Architecture and Psychology

At the moment when it became possible to denounce the commemoration of scientism and consumerism, Koolhaas and Zenghelis were establishing an alliance at once tangled and extremely vague with a number of non-architectural disciplines: literature, painting, and psychology. The innumerable references to a *Brave New World*, the *en bloc* transpositions of pictorial thematics as with the romantic story of the Raft of the Medusa, the ingenious fabrication of the legend of the Pool, the direct allusions to the pictorial tradition of color post-cards of the 1920s and 1930s, the polemic and irritative tone of the language in their texts, the Dadaesque quality of their pictorial narratives, or even still, their almost medieval determination to produce by hand a second or third copy of the same colorful drawing for an exhibition or a museum purchase—all these are sure indices of minds that have accepted the notion of interdisciplinary quotation. In this way they outwitted in advance the positivist attempts of their contemporaries to insert architecture's chronology within that of science, technology, or consumerism, and sanctioned instead the inverse endeavor to align the experience that man has of things with the knowledge he has acquired of them through a psychological internalization.<sup>6</sup> This led to a significant temptation: to make psychology into a sort of general tactic of design. On the horizon of their architectural thinking there is the project of bringing consciousness back to its real conditions, of restoring it to the contents and forms that brought it into being. This is why the problem of the unconscious—its possibility, status, mode of existence, the means of knowing it and bringing it to light—is not simply an excuse for a formal exercise but it is a problem that is ultimately coextensive with the very ability to imagine, draw, and build. In setting themselves the task of restoring the domain of the psychological, Koolhaas and Zenghelis tactfully imply that the unveiling of the unconscious is posited in its greatest clarity—as with Madelon Vriesendorp's metropolitan tableaux—the better the work becomes, demarcating in an unambiguous way an architecture with the task of making the discourse of the unconscious speak through consciousness.

## An Iconographic Typology

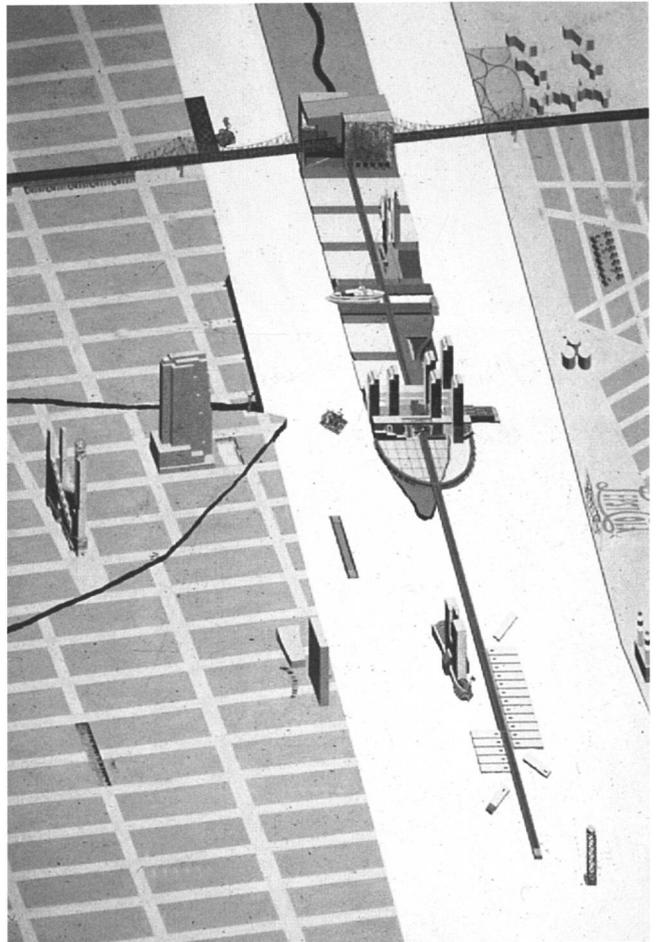
We have dealt with the preoccupation with sensuous imagery, with the opening of architectural language, and with the interdisciplinary quotation it inaugurated, leading eventually to a privileged alliance between architecture and psychology. The other consequence of the portraiture of the metropolis has been to initiate an analysis and classification of buildings according to their visible characters. All the treasure that the metropolis had accumulated—and which concerned the virtues of its skyscrapers, the sparkling honesty of its overpasses and highways, or the secret correspondences and sentimental sympathies of its canals, smokestacks, waterfronts, "travelators," or subway tunnels—all this, since *Delirious New York* was first conceived of, had become marginal knowledge for both Koolhaas and Zenghelis. What remained to be discovered, however, were the species and classes of objects that comprised the metropolis, that is, their forms, their spatial arrangements, their number, size, and physical characteristics. It is at this point that the Office for Metropolitan Architecture took upon itself the task of mapping them, of transcribing them in an alphabetically ordered Metropolitan inventory, of preserving, confronting, and combining them in order to make it possible, on the one hand to determine the vicinities and kinships of metropolitan objects (and therefore the unity of the metropolis), and on the other, to recognize rapidly their individuality (and therefore their unique place in the metropolis).



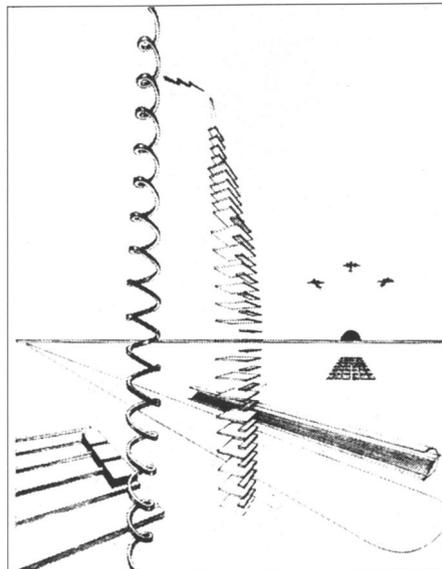
▲ Welfare Palace Hotel  
New York City, project. OMA, 1976-77. painting.



^ **Campo Marzo**  
project. G. B. Piranesi, 1762.



^ **New Welfare Island**  
New York City, project. OMA, 1976. painting.

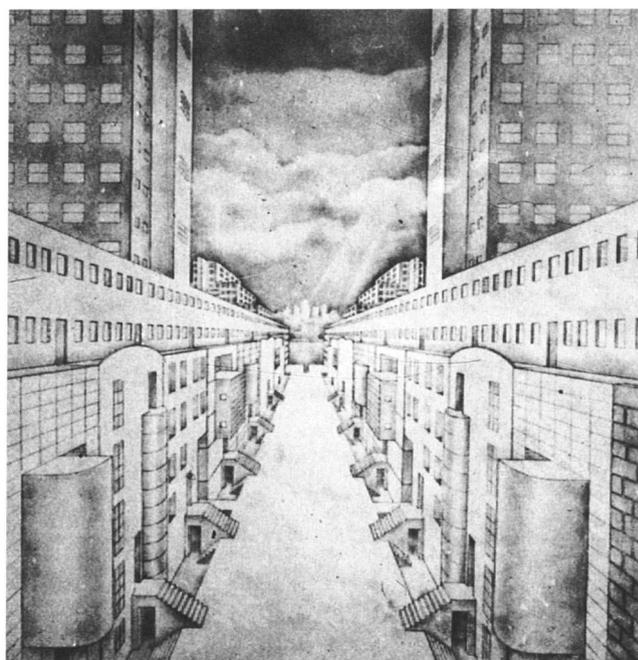


^ **Exodus: Park of Agression**  
London, project. OMA, 1972. drawing.

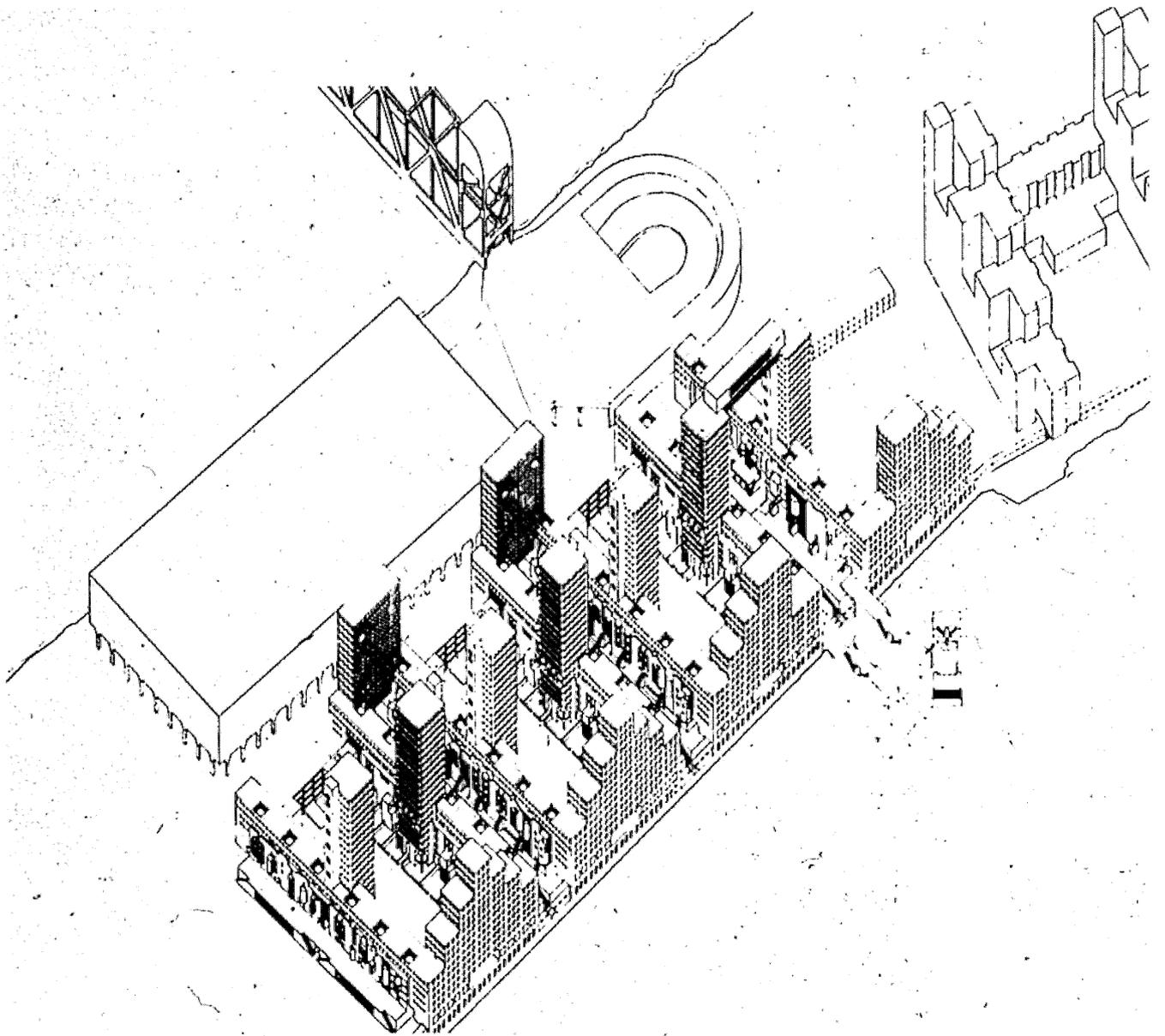
It is in that sense that we can say that Koolhaas and Zenghelis set as their task to record and classify the iconographic typologies of the metropolis. The theme of typological thinking, though alien to the theoretical formalizations of modernism, was of course not new in the post-war period. From the early codifications of building types by Aalto in the 1950s and 1960s, the theoretical formulations of Alan Colquhoun on "Typology and Design Method" in 1969, the innumerable typological studies of O. M. Ungers, or the laconic proclamations for a primeval built typology by the Krier brothers, the conception of a typological design has been constantly cultivated and experimented upon in various modes and directions. With Koolhaas and Zenghelis what becomes obvious is their preoccupation with the iconographic aspect of typological thinking, discarding from the beginning all syntactic typology, all historical valuations, arriving with no hesitation at an almost amoral encodement of metropolitan reality.

The towers, the brownstones, the streets, or the waterfront in the Roosevelt Island Competition are the mirror truth of Manhattan wholly given to the gaze; their links and status refer to a promising futureland by pointing to an experienced legend that is replayed and therefore recognized, yet not reproduced *in toto* and therefore not prone to non-reflective consumption. Iconographic typology, therefore, constitutes a primary stratum indissociably signifier and signified. In their material reality the iconographic types are identified with their referentials themselves; they are bathing in the ideology which produced them and with which they have fused; finally, they transpose the economy of the visible in the realm of the identifiable: the pyramidal skyscraper, the constructivist tower, the tubular silos, the industrial machinery, the glazed expanses, the transplanted palm trees, the peculiar almost cabalistic instruments of initiation scattered in the Park of Aggression, the kitschly veneered marble podia of the City of the Captive Globe, the three-dimensionality of the frozen legends of the Raft of the Medusa or that of the Pool, or the petrified immobility of the birth of the metropolitan Venus, they all point in their strange clarity to the totality of the real world and to the impossibility of avoiding confrontation with it.

This conception of analyzing the metropolis into its constituent iconographic types was decisive; it opened up to investigation a domain in which each object, observed, isolated, and compared, could take its place in a whole series of metropolitan portraits whose convergence or divergence was, in principle, measurable. It combined at the same time the techniques of hierarchization and those of normalization, since it was a gaze that classified, qualified, and institutionalized. It introduced the metropolitan visibility into the realm of the historical document founding once again the historiographical "dossier" similar to that of Durand or, better, Piranesi. In other words, the various iconographic types of the metropolis, their chronicles and their pictorial genealogy are there not in order to be savored as monuments to future memory, but fundamentally in order to insert them into the realm of the document. In that sense, the portraiture of the metropolis is not a procedure of heroization; it functions basically as a procedure of objectification with an implicit power of normalization. It objectifies the metropolis and renders its silent discourse legitimate.



^ Roosevelt Island Housing competition  
New York City, project. OMA, 1975. drawing.



^ Roosevelt Island Housing competition  
New York City, project. OMA, 1975. axonometric.

## The De-professionalization of Architecture

By the mid-1960s, the notion of the non-specificity of the architectural language (its inclusivist ethos) was already a non-embarrassing fact.<sup>7</sup> Architecture had opened its frontiers welcoming indiscriminately all extraneous languages, sacrificing in that way all compositional rigor and, by extension, all codified readability. The degree of sacrifice of the architectural language was of course not the same at all levels of architectural practice. The corporate firms remained faithful to the teachings of the second and third generation modernists with a gradual but steady regression to decorative touchups; in the booming 1960s and counting on the macroscale intervention of either the state or the corporate capital, architecture thought it possible to embark on a wholesale megastructural rehabilitation of the globe, a dream which very soon became a bitter remembrance. In the late 1960s, the second-hand-taught admirers of white modernism undertook the task of its enlightened reconstruction; while concurrently, and when the revived hope for the social mission of architecture had dissolved in the sentimentalities of the welfare state, a climate of utter irrelevancy spread, endangering at the same time the significance of the architectural academy, that of the architect, and more deeply the legitimacy of his professional status. If one added the economic regression in the 1970s, one would have a rather clear picture of the historical confluence within which to situate the work of Koolhaas and Zenghelis.

For an architecture that consciously interrogates the unconscious to appear, flourish, and sustain itself, it was necessary that its authors were first encouraged by art dealers, museums, research grants, and the Academy itself. In fact, by the mid-1970s, this form of architecture was gradually being institutionalized and was featuring strongly in the marginalia of the avant-garde. After all, the pictorial exercises of John Hejduk, Emilio Ambasz, Raimond Abraham or recently those of Cesar Pelli in the Venice Biennale, have been unequivocal efforts to legitimize a form of architectural reflection that involved man's being in that dimension where consciousness addresses the unconscious and articulates itself upon it. For Koolhaas and Zenghelis, what now constituted the legitimacy of their architecture was not the revolutionary or aphoristic vein (common sense was already saturated by such innuendoes, especially through the long and wearisome traditions of literary and artistic "anti" movements), but its seductive, almost sensuously entertaining density of the unconscious.

Architecture has thus achieved its own *raison d'être*: an architecture that comments, caresses, details, enumerates, and forecasts the secrets of the metropolis is that oneiric architecture which, from the height of its phantasmagoria, has condemned professionalism. In its turn, it would be inevitable that professionalism would have dismissed such an architecture since to a knowledge situated within positivist functionality anything lying on the outside was by definition invisible and therefore a fantasy. But when one traverses the spaces of this architecture, when one allows for a moment the date of its realization to be a real date soon to come, one sees welling up the very finitude upon the basis of which we are, we think, and we know: a finitude at once real and impossible is there before us to be conquered.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> By "syntactic interests," I refer to the exclusive preoccupation with the relational aspects of the elements of an architecture, as opposed to the signifiatory power of the elements themselves. In that sense, syntax has to do more with composition (topological, relational, etc. arrangement), whereas sensuous imagery focuses exclusively on the signifiatory dimension (I am aware, of course, that even syntax, in its power to trigger associations, has a signifiatory dimension as well).

<sup>2</sup> By "specificity or non-specificity" of architectural language, I refer to the limits of an architecture's representative features. Architecture, like all discursive practices, is characterized by a set of elements, rules, and norms which define its field of functioning, while delimiting its relative autonomy (its disciplinary autonomy). Whenever these boundaries (formal, conceptual, economic, ethical, etc.) become ill-defined, we can speak of an "opening" (non-specificity) of architectural language, while the more rigid and exclusivist they become, we can speak of a "closing" of architectural language (specificity). Pictorial revolutions always imply either an audacious opening of architectural language, or a de-hierarchization (a shift or inversion of emphasis) of its internal economy (compare for example, Renaissance to Mannerism or nineteenth century Eclecticism to the Orthodox Modernism of the 1920s). For a theoretical discussion of the notions of specificity and non-specificity of language, see Roland Barthes, "Le Troisième Sens," *Cahiers du Cinema* No. 222, 12-19. Also see the famous article by Christian Metz, "Spécificité des Codes et Spécificité du Langage."

<sup>3</sup> In relation to the pictorial language of nineteenth century Beaux Arts, Orthodox Modernism of the 1920s represents an audacious opening of architectural language towards the regions of technology, science, and political socialism. With the guidance of the positivist dream of an architecture of essentialism, modernism soon formalized an exclusive set of elements of composition (i.e. point, line, plane), and a number of transformational rules or norms (i.e. uninterrupted flow of space, correspondence between plan and façade, etc.), describing in that way the boundaries of an architectural language outside which one was to be morally and professionally doomed. This formalization of a modernist representational language could have not materialized were it not for the gradual but sure institutionalization that modernism as an ideology entertained. It is the degree and mode of institutionalization of an architectural language which, in the final analysis, sustains (or does not sustain) its apparent coherency, respectability, and legitimacy, giving it (or not giving it) value and practical application as a signifiatory discourse.

<sup>4</sup> In a description of intentions compiled by the Office for Metropolitan Architecture, one finds the following opening paragraph: "The Office for Metropolitan Architecture produces an architecture that embraces aspects of the maligned Metropolitan Condition with enthusiasm and which restores mythical, symbolic, literary, oneiric, critical, and popular functions to large urban centers; an architecture which accommodates and supports the particular forms of social intercourse which are characteristics of Metropolitan densities, an architecture that houses in the most positive way the 'culture of congestion'." (capitals and quotation marks are those of the Office for Metropolitan Architecture).

<sup>5</sup> The laconic, almost pictographic, simplicity of the drawing of the Pool, or the highly allegorical scene of the *Freud Unlimited*, are marked at once with an unequivocal realism and at the same time are haunted by dislocations of reality. The sense of "surrealist familiarity" refers to the parallel pictorial techniques that Magritte, De Chirico or Yves Tanguy had cultivated in the 1930s.

<sup>6</sup> By architecture's "chronology" I refer not so much to the calendar time as to that peculiar time within which every discursive practice (architecture among others) unfolds and which defines its own, so to speak, history. Any effort to try and align by force the "times" of the various discursive practices with calendar time itself is an exercise in futility for it gives no insight to the nexus of determination and dominance that relates the various discursive practices among themselves. For a theoretical elaboration of the concept of historical time see Louis Althusser, *Reading Capital*, trans. Ben Brewster (London: New Left Editions, 1972), chapter 4, "The Errors of Classical Economics: Outline of a Concept of Historical Time," 91-118. On the relations of determination between discursive practices see Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972), chapter 4, "The Comparative Facts," 157-165.

<sup>7</sup> By the middle 1960s, the opening of architectural language (vis-à-vis Orthodox Modernism) towards non-architectural regions (that is, regions which modernist common sense did not acknowledge as falling within the boundaries of "good" architecture) was not only a non-embarrassing fact, but even further, it could be argued that it was sanctioned by a number of normalizing institutions; Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, for example, was written under a grant from the Graham Foundation, was published by the Museum of Modern Art, and was further sanctioned by Vincent Scully who, by then, was an acknowledged architectural historian.