

CIAM's Exhibitions as Method of Work.
An Analysis of the Third Congrès International d'Architecture
Moderne, Brussels, 1930

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Abstract

The exhibitions of the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) are a *terra incognita*. Even though it is known that most of CIAM's Congresses were accompanied by exhibitions, and were subsequently shown as travelling exhibitions, the literary canon around CIAM is devoted almost exclusively to the speeches of the Congresses, and selected leading players of CIAM. This perspective is comprehensively studied, and forms the historiography of CIAM. Their exhibitions, on the contrary, have hardly received any academic attention. They have neither been comprehensively reconstructed nor studied; whenever mentioned, they are mostly referred to as material appendices. However, as research for this dissertation has revealed, CIAM's exhibitions played an important role for both the Congresses and CIAM itself.

The objective of this dissertation is, first, tracing and examining, and, second, understanding, the multifaceted functions and the significance of CIAM's exhibitions, both for the Congresses as well as for CIAM itself. The main finding is that, since it was *through their exhibitions* that CIAM could realise their thematic and strategic aims, CIAM's exhibitions need to be considered as a *method of work*. Herewith, instead of underscoring and repeating the canonical histories, the dissertation introduces an alternative approach to, and corresponding historiography of, CIAM. In the first part of the dissertation, the planning and preparation process of the exhibitions of CIAM's Third Congress in Brussels in 1930 is traced, resulting in an understanding of the significance of CIAM's exhibitions. In the second part, this understanding is nuanced by the examination and description of the multifaceted functions and the significance of CIAM's exhibitions in eight analytic categories.

Beyond its bold rewriting of the history of CIAM, the relevance of this dissertation also lies in today's scholarly focus on how architectural modernism is historicised, as well as on the role of architecture exhibitions within architectural historiography. The dissertation contributes to the quest for a more complex view of the historiography of architectural modernism through a cautious, yet crucial, re-evaluation and rewriting of the canonical histories of CIAM based on their exhibitions.

Abbreviations

ASCORAL	Assemblée des Constructeurs pour une Rénovation Architecturale
CCA	Canadian Center for Architecture
CIAM	Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne
CIRPAC	Comité International pour la Résolution des Problèmes de l'Architecture Contemporaine
ETH	Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule
GATEPAC	Grupo de Artistas y Técnicos Españoles Para el Progreso de la Arquitectura Contemporánea
GATCPAC	Grup d'Arquitectes i Tècnics Catalans per al Progrés de l'Arquitectura Contemporània
GeSoLei	Exhibition "Gesundheitspflege, Soziale Fürsorge und Leibesübungen"
gta Archives	Archive Geschichte und Theory of Architecture (History and Theory of Architecture)
MARS	Modern Architecture Research
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
SIA	Schweizerische Ingenieur- und Architektenverein
WoBA	Schweizerische Wohnungsausstellung Basel

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A. Introduction

Preface: A Forgotten Chapter in the Historiography of CIAM

Right after the travelling exhibition of CIAM's second exhibition, "Rational Lot Development," first shown at CIAM's Third Congress (CIAM-03) in Brussels in 1930, had been closed at its sixth venue in Amsterdam in July 1932, Sigfried Giedion (1883–1968), the Secretary General of CIAM, wrote a letter to the Northern CIAM Groups [see fig. A.1]. In his letter, Giedion urgently asked the addressees, inter alia Alvar Aalto (1898–1976) Herman Munthe-Kaas (1890–1977), and Sven Markelius (1889–1972), to take over the travelling exhibition as well as to show more engagement with CIAM's work – a recurring issue within CIAM until the group's dissolution in 1959. He explained that the group and members' active engagement was needed to secure the "influence" and "viability" of CIAM, and continued to stress the function of CIAM's exhibitions for achieving this very "influence" and "viability":

Experience has shown that the Congress can only maintain and extend its influence and viability in the individual countries through the impact of our collective work. The basis for this is, first, our publication, and second, our exhibition. The primary purpose of our exhibitions is to exert an active influence on public opinion, guided by the exhibition material. Repeatedly, we have observed that it is exclusively through our exhibitions that we can convince authorities and clients. While publications are indispensable and consistently bear witness to our work, they are unsuitable for active promotion.¹

He continued to urge the addressees, who also had not taken over the travelling exhibition of CIAM's first exhibition, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," first shown at CIAM's Second Congress (CIAM-02) in Frankfurt in 1929, to take over the current travelling exhibition. According to reports on the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development," as argued by Giedion, it had performed significant "educational work." He attributed this success to the active and collective engagement of the Dutch CIAM Group. Giedion continued to stress that the exhibition would soon be shown in Italy, and implored the

¹ "Erfahrungsgemäss kann der Kongress seinen Einfluss und seine Lebensfähigkeit nur erhalten und erweitern durch die Wirkung unserer kollektiven Arbeit. Grundlage dafür bildet 1. unsere Publikation, 2. unsere Ausstellung. Unsere Ausstellungen haben vor allem den Zweck, die öffentliche Meinung durch aktive Führungen an Hand des Ausstellungsmaterials zu beeinflussen. Wir haben immer wieder erfahren, dass nur durch die Ausstellungen die Behörden und Auftraggeber überzeugt werden können. Die Bücher sind zwar nötig und werden dauernd von unserer Arbeit Zeugnis ablegen, aber zum aktiven Vorstoss sind sie ungeeignet." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to the Northern CIAM Groups, July 11, 1932, 42-K-1932-Giedion-Aalto, gta Archives.

addressees to exert their utmost effort to show the exhibition in northern European countries, making clear that he would not accept any refusals.²

The importance Giedion attributed to CIAM's exhibitions in this letter is unmistakable, especially in the light of his assessment that CIAM's publications were inadequate for reaching the aforementioned aims – not to mention that the speeches and report of the Congresses remain unmentioned in this letter.

However, despite the unequivocal significance of CIAM's exhibitions for the work of CIAM, their role in CIAM's history is something of a *terra incognita*. It is generally known that exhibitions were shown at the Congresses, that their material provided most content for the publications, as well as that the exhibitions, after having been shown at the Congresses, “travelled through Europe,” an oft-cited phrase that appears in almost all literature on CIAM. But the academic discourse either focusses on the individual Congresses, the discourse around them, the different National Groups, or the individual protagonists. CIAM's exhibitions, however, are, despite the same repetitive mentioning of mostly the material scope of the exhibitions, almost completely unexplored. In light of the significance attributed to the exhibitions – here by the Secretary General of CIAM himself – the questions to be asked in this introduction to this dissertation are, first, how could this important chapter of CIAM's history almost be lost? And second, how does the inscription of CIAM's work in the historiography change, if one starts to understand their work through their exhibitions?

The following introduction is structured in two parts. The first part presents “The Story of CIAM and the ‘other’ Story of CIAM's Exhibitions” (A.1.). The current state of research is presented (A.1.1.): a tabular list of CIAM's pre-war exhibitions provides an overview of the numerous and different exhibitions of CIAM between 1929 and 1937. This overview will also help the reader to navigate through the references given to CIAM's exhibitions throughout the dissertation. Second, based on the most relevant literature on CIAM, it is demonstrated what position has been attributed – or, more precisely, *not* attributed – to CIAM's exhibitions in the canonical discourse. Third, three possible explanations are given for how CIAM's exhibitions almost got lost (A.1.2.). Finally, the relevance of the research is outlined, based on the one hand on the current relevance of architectural exhibitions in academic discourse,

² “Die nordischen Gruppen haben noch keine unserer Ausstellungen gezeigt, und wir möchten Sie bitten unserem Vorschlag nicht zu verübeln, wenn wir Sie ersuchen, sich umgehend mit dem Präsidenten unseres Kongresses, Herrn C. van Eesteren, Amsterdam, Haringvlietstr. 60, ins Einvernehmen zu setzen, denn die Ausstellung befindet sich im Augenblick in Amsterdam und wurde dieser Tage geschlossen. Wie aus den uns zugegangenen Berichten zu ersehen ist, hat die Ausstellung auch dort infolge der aktiven Darbietung durch unsere kollektiv arbeitende holländische Gruppe befruchtenden Aufklärungsdienst geleistet. Die Ausstellung ist im Augenblick frei, und wir bitten Sie, Ihr möglichstes zu tun, um die Ausstellung zu zeigen und uns keine Absage zukommen zu lassen. Im Herbst muss die Ausstellung in Italien sein.” Giedion, Letter to the Northern CIAM Groups, July 11, 1932.

and on the other on its call for a re-evaluation of the historiography of modernism (A.1.3.). The second part of the introduction describes the research approach (A.2), including the justification and explanation of the research topic, questions, and objectives (A.2.1.), the outline of the thesis (A.2.2.), as well as the material corpus and methodological approach used (A.2.3.).

A.1. The Story of CIAM and the “other” Story of CIAM’s Exhibitions

A.1.1. Current State of Research

The narrative of CIAM’s exhibitions as a sequence of Congresses, and CIAM as a group formed by the leading voices of architectural modernism, can only be maintained if one continues to disregard the significance of CIAM’s exhibitions. This dissertation aims to prove the contrary: CIAM’s exhibitions must not be isolated from this canonical historiography to more coherently understand how CIAM worked.

A.1.1.1. Overview of CIAM's Pre-war Exhibitions, 1929–1937

Generally speaking, CIAM’s exhibitions can be categorised in four different groups. The first group, which in this dissertation will serve as the exemplary group for the analysis of CIAM’s exhibitions as a *method of work*, are those exhibitions which were shown at the different CIAM Congresses and which were in accordance with the overall theme of the Congresses. Between 1929 and 1939, what is generally known as the first CIAM Period, a formulation coined by Martin Steinmann, CIAM hosted five of their eleven Congresses.³ Four of these five Congresses were “accompanied” by CIAM exhibitions, a formulation that is also embedded in the literary canon of CIAM. Only the founding Congress of CIAM (CIAM-01), in La Sarraz in 1928, had no exhibition material on display. CIAM’s Second (CIAM-02), Third (CIAM-03), Fourth (CIAM-04), and Fifth Congress (CIAM-05) were all coupled with at least one CIAM exhibition, of which two were afterwards shown as travelling exhibitions across Europe. Besides these four “major” CIAM exhibitions, which in the following dissertation will always be referred to as CIAM exhibitions, there are three more different exhibition groups, which, though they were neither shown at the different CIAM Congresses nor labelled as “collective”⁴ work by CIAM, nevertheless stood in one connection or another to CIAM. The second category are exhibitions organised by CIRPAC (*Comité International pour la*

³ The dissertation will, with some exceptions, focus on the pre-war period of CIAM as well as on the pre-war exhibitions.

⁴ See chapter 8.2. in “Part II. Analysis”.

Réalisation des Problèmes de l'Architecture Contemporaine).⁵ Third, there were exhibitions organised by the different CIAM National Groups. In particular, the English CIAM Group, MARS (Modern Architectural Research), was highly engaged in exhibition making.⁶ For example, in 1934 MARS organised the “New Homes for Old” exhibition in London, and the “New Architecture” exhibition” at the New Burlington Gallery in London 1938. The exhibition shown at the Pavilion des Temps Nouveaux on the occasion of CIAM’s Fifth Congress on the theme of “Dwelling and Recreation” (“Logirs et Loisirs”) in Paris in 1937 was something in between a CIAM exhibition and an exhibition prepared by a National Group of CIAM, if you will. The exhibition panels, depicting urban problems and based on the schemes from CIAM-04, were prepared by the French CIAM Group and organised by Charlotte Perriand (1903–1999), under the direction of Le Corbusier (1887–1965) and in cooperation with multiple artists.⁷ Mumford describes the Pavilion as “low-budget shrine to CIAM,” presenting CIAM’s idea of the Radiant City.⁸ And fourth, there were exhibitions organised by CIAM members, either as joint or individual projects. For example, in 1932, aligning with the modernist obsession with hygiene, light, and air, as well as with the increasing convergence between pedagogy and architecture, members of the Swiss CIAM Group organised “The New School Building” (“Der neue Schulbau”) exhibition.⁹ This exhibition was also shown at further venues. For example, in 1932 it was shown in Madrid, and in 1933 in Barcelona with the great assistance of GATEPAC (Grupo de Artistas y Técnicos Españoles Para el Progreso de la Arquitectura Contemporánea), the Spanish CIAM Group.¹⁰ All of these different exhibitions by CIAM, CIRPAC, the individual National CIAM Groups, and different

⁵ The Comité International pour la Réalisation des Problèmes de l'Architecture Contemporaine (English: International Commission for the Implementation of Contemporary Architecture) was responsible for the planning of the Congresses and CIAM’s administration in general from 1928 to 1947. CIRPAC was composed of, first, Karl Moser (at that time president of CIAM), and, second, Sigfried Giedion, the Secretary General of CIAM, as well as a first and a second delegate from every CIAM National Group. See: Eric Paul Mumford, “1: CIAM, 1928–1930,” in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 23.

⁶ For a brief description of exhibitions by the MARS Group, see Mumford, “Transplanting CIAM, 1: England, 1937–1942,” in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 119, 121.

In August 2022, I conducted research at the CCA (Canadian Center for Architecture) in Montréal as part of the Doctoral Research Residency Programme of the CCA. My archival research focused on the estate of Wells Coates, who was highly engaged in the MARS exhibitions. The research stay was highly successful, and substantial new material on Coates’ exhibition work was collected. Since, however, after the research stay, it was decided to only focus on the pre-war period of CIAM as well as on CIAM’s “main” exhibitions, the material collected will be used in future research.

⁷ See Enrico Chapel, “France. From Paris to Athens,” in *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis*, ed. Evelien van Es, Gregor Harbusch, and Bruno Maurer et al. (Bussum: Thoth Uitgeverij, 2014), 152ff; and see Mumford, “CIAM 5, Paris, 1937: Dwelling and Recreation,” in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 109ff.

⁸ See Mumford, “CIAM 5, Paris, 1937: Dwelling and Recreation,” in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 116.

⁹ Juliet Kinchin, “The New School,” in *Century of the Child. Growing by Design*, ed. Juliet Kinchin and Aidan O’Connor (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2012), 99–104. Furthermore, the same members, among others, also organised an exhibition on modern bathing culture, the “Das Bad von heute und gestern” exhibition, first shown in Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich in 1935. See Bruno Maurer, “Bestandsbeschreibung Werner M. Moser,” *Website des gta Archivs / ETH Zürich*, January 2018, <https://archiv.gta.arch.ethz.ch/nachlaesse-vorlaesse/werner-max-moser.gta.arch.ethz.ch>.

¹⁰ See José Carlos Gómez, “La exposición internacional de escuelas modernas. El edificio escolar moderno. Cronología de una intención,” *DC PAPERS, revista de crítica y teoría de la arquitectura* 25, no. 13–14 (2005): 80–91, Dialnet-LaExposicionInternacionalDeEscuelasModernasEIEdifi-2593771.pdf.

CIAM members need further and deeper research. However, with this dissertation a first small, yet important, step is made in the field of CIAM's exhibitions.

The “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” Exhibition, CIAM-02, Frankfurt, 1929

CIAM's first exhibition, “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” was shown on the occasion of CIAM-02 in Frankfurt in 1929. The exhibition was shown in the Werkbundhaus on the exhibition grounds of Frankfurt, about one kilometre away from the Palmengarten, where the meetings of CIAM-02 took place. All in all, 109 exhibition panels in black and white were on display, each showing one floor plan of a minimal unit with numerical information and some additional graphic elements.¹¹ The exhibition material was primarily prepared by the Hochbauamt Frankfurt under the leadership of Ernst May (1886–1970) and Mart Stam (1899-1986). The panels, each measuring 1 x 2 metres, were suspended from the ceiling with thin wires and installed in a banner-like arrangement [see fig. II.1.9 and fig. II.1.10]. After the exhibition closed in Frankfurt, it was shown as at seven different venues in Basel and Zurich (Switzerland), Warsaw (Poland) [see fig. II.8.2], Munich and Magdeburg (Germany) [see fig. II.8.3], Brussels (Belgium), and Milan (Italy) between December 1929 and March 1930.¹² In Brussels, it was shown for the second time at CIAM-03 in November 1930 [see fig. I.3.2, fig. I.3.4, fig. I.3.5].

The Exhibitions of CIAM-03: “Rational Lot Development,” “Horizontal Sliding Windows,” and the Exhibitions of the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum,” CIAM-03, Brussels, 1930

CIAM's second exhibition, “Rational Lot Development,” was shown at CIAM-03 in Brussels in 1930. The exhibition comprised about sixty exhibition panels, each showing a settlement scheme, again all in black and white and at the same scale. The panels were prepared mainly by the exhibition committee in Brussels, under the leadership of Victor Bourgeois, a member of the Belgium CIAM Group. After the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, which in this dissertation will be referred to as CIAM's second exhibition, closed in Brussels, it was

¹¹ This exhibition was reconstructed and analysed in detail in my master's thesis in 2019, under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Andres Lepik at the TU Munich. The research for my master's thesis also revealed the significant gap in research about CIAM's exhibitions, and ultimately led to the writing of this thesis. See Clara Teresa Pollak, “Die Ausstellungskonzeption der CIAM. Eine Analyse anhand der Ausstellung ‘Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum’” (master's thesis, TU München, 2019).

¹² At the opening speech from Sigfried Giedion of the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” on 24 November, 1930, he also listed Berlin as another venue of the travelling exhibition: “wo sie [‘The Dwelling for Minimal Existence’ exhibition] (Frankfurt am Main, Basel, Zurich, Berlin, Warschau) das größte Interesse hervorgerufen hat.” Sigfried Giedion, “Die Funktion der Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauen,” November 24, 1930, 42-3-9-2-1, gta Archives. The assumption that the “Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition had probably also been shown in Berlin in 1930, as well as that the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition had been shown in Berlin in 1931, gave reason for several archival and library visits in Berlin in July and December 2021. For research related to the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, the Landesarchiv Berlin as well as the Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin were visited. For research related to the “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition, the Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin as well as the Kunstbibliothek Berlin, Archäologisches Zentrum were visited. However, no archival source in the city was found which verified Berlin as a further venue of the travelling exhibition.

shown at eight further venues in Switzerland, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, and Italy. However, "Rational Lot Development" was not the only exhibition organised by CIAM for CIAM-03. The "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibition fulfilled CIAM's aim at every subsequent Congress to exhibit one technical detail and thus influence the building industry. The "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibition showed twenty-eight window models from northern to southern European. Parts of this exhibition were shown again in Zurich in 1931 together with the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development." Furthermore, the Belgium CIAM Group, in conjunction with CIAM-03, organised the public side-event, "Journées de l'Habitation Minimum," comprising six different exhibition sections, inter alia CIAM's first exhibition, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" [see fig I.3.1–I.3.5].

The "Housing, Working, Traffic, Recreation in the Contemporary City" Exhibition, Amsterdam, 1935

CIAM's famous and most iconic Fourth Congress (CIAM-04), on the theme of the Functional City, took place on the Steamship *Patris II* in the summer of 1933, while the attending members traversed from Marseilles to Athens and back. On the basis of approximately ninety analytic maps depicting a total of thirty-four European, American, and Asian cities, the attending CIAM members on the deck of the *Patris II* discussed CIAM's idea of a Functional City.¹³ The maps, legends, and colour schemes were created by the Dutch CIAM Group under the leadership of Cornelis van Eesteren. They also formed the main material body of the "Functional City" exhibition, which was shown at the University of Athens on the occasion of CIAM-04 in Athens in 1933.¹⁴ Two years later, what is generally considered the "main" exhibition of CIAM-04, the "Housing, Working, Traffic, Recreation in the Contemporary City" exhibition, was shown in 1935 at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, described in the literature as "the apex of the CIAM's activities to date."¹⁵ Today, the analytic maps of CIAM-04 are still considered a remarkable example of comparative urban

¹³ A significant research endeavour was initiated in 2009 by the EFL (Van Eesteren-Fluck & Van Lohuizen Foundation) in collaboration with the gta Archives under the stewardship of former EFL president Dirk Frieling (1937–2011). This research initiative delved into the historical context and underlying significance CIAM-04 and especially the analytic maps on display, which in 1935 formed a major part of CIAM's "Housing, Working, Traffic, Recreation in the Contemporary City" exhibition in Amsterdam. The research project was conducted inter alia by Evelien van Es, Kees Somer, Bruno Maurer, the former director of the gta Archives, and research assistants of the gta Archives (Daniel Weiss, Gregor Harbusch, and Muriel Pérez). The result of this extensive research project is encapsulated and disseminated through the publication *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis*. Presently, this publication stands as the preeminent and most comprehensive reference source for CIAM-04. See Evelien van Es, Gregor Harbusch, Bruno Maurer, et al., eds., *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis* (Brussels: Thoth Uitgeverij, 2014).

¹⁴ A report and photos of the "Functional City" exhibition in Athens can be found in *Technika Chronika* 44/45/46 (October/November 1933): 1168. See Enrico Chapel, "Thematic Mapping as an Analytic Tool," in *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis*, ed. van Es et al., 31.

¹⁵ One chapter within the publication is specifically allocated to the reconstruction of this exhibition. See Evelien van Es, "The Exhibition 'Housing, Working, Traffic, Recreation in the Contemporary City.' A Reconstruction," in *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis*, ed. van Es, Gregor Harbusch, Bruno Maurer, et al. (Brussels: Thoth Uitgeverij, 2014), 441–44.

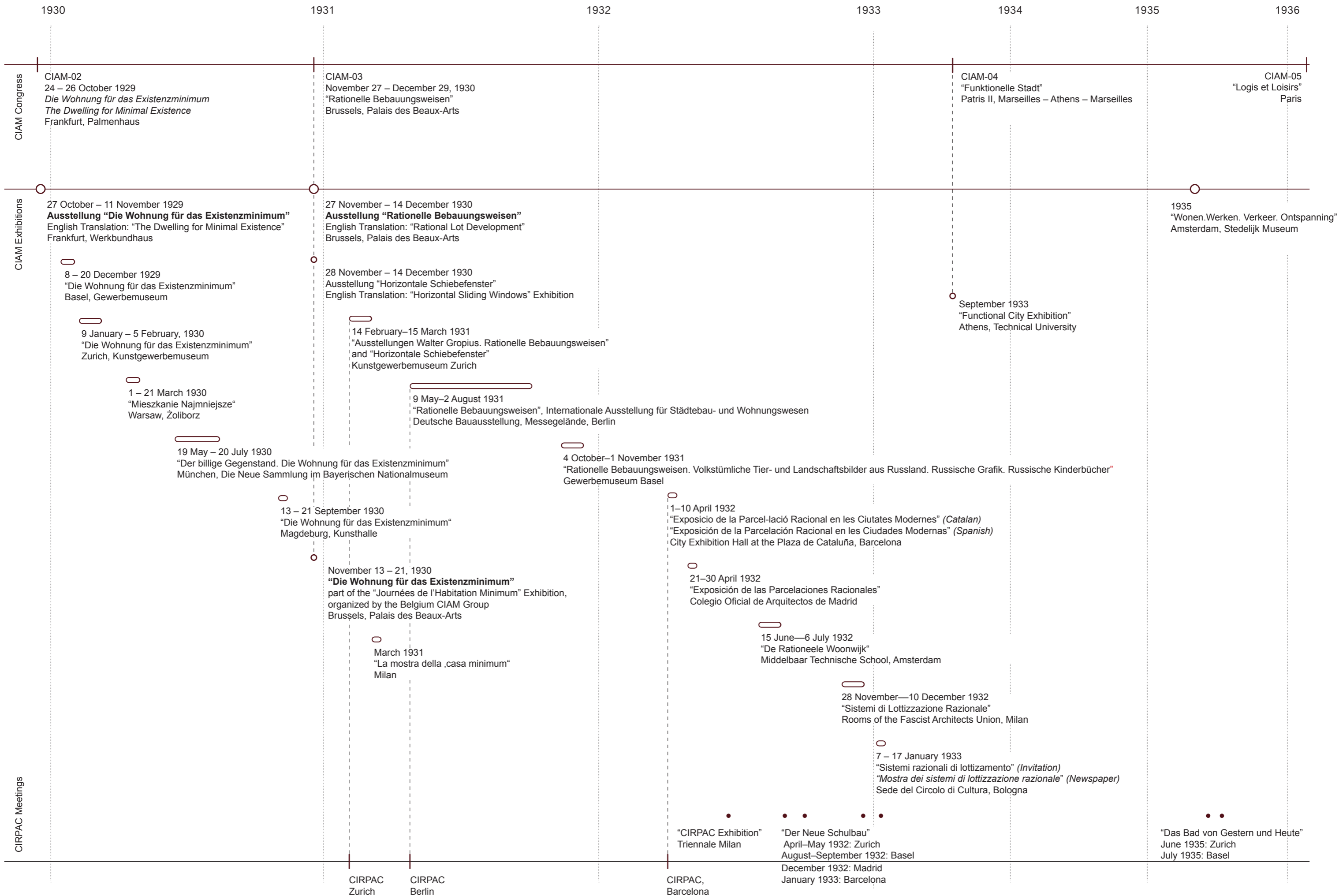
analysis.¹⁶ The exhibition was on display in the Hall of Honour and three adjoining rooms on the first floor of the museum. The material consisted of the analytical maps from CIAM-04, numerous collage-style visual panels, the so-called “illustrated conclusions” designed to communicate the findings of CIAM-04 to a broader audience, as well as the 5-metre-long “Historische Tabelle des Städtebaus,” prepared by Rudolf Steiger, Wilhelm Hess, and Georg Schmidt. The aim of this “Tabelle” was to depict the city’s historical development as result of economic, technical, and social forces.¹⁷ The “illustrated conclusions” were arranged in the four functional categories of living, working, recreation, and traffic. Because of the use of various visual techniques such as comparisons, contrasts, analogies, metaphors, and images, these “illustrative conclusions” were considered more compelling than the rather objective data from the analytical maps by the press and the audience. As was the case for “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” and “Rational Lot Development,” the “Housing, Working, Traffic, Recreation in the Contemporary City” exhibition was intended to be displayed as a travelling exhibition at further venues. Requests from inter alia Rotterdam, Brussels, and Warsaw were made. However, in the end, the exhibition did not travel after Amsterdam, for unspecified reasons. The analytical maps and the illustrated conclusions remained in the Netherlands until the CIAM Archive at ETH Zurich was founded in 1969, where they are stored today. The exhibition achieved considerable success, attracting an unexpectedly high number of visitors and subsequently extending its duration by one week. Initially, CIAM-04 was planned to be held in Moscow. The invitation to CIAM-04 in Russia lists a total of six different exhibitions, which should all have been on display in Moscow. First, “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” and “Rational Lot Development” were to have been on display for the third and second time, respectively, at a CIAM Congress. Furthermore, a second exhibition focussing on a technical detail was to have been shown, again focusing on horizontal sliding windows, but this time on the exterior wall.¹⁸ Fourth, an exhibition with photographs of buildings by CIAM members, fifth, an exhibition about the Neues Baues, as well as, sixth, the exhibition on “The New School Building,” were to have been on display.¹⁹

¹⁶ Maurits de Hoog, Preface to *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis*, ed. van Es, Gregor Harbusch, Bruno Maurer, et al. (Brussels: Thoth Uitgeverij, 2014), 8.

¹⁷ See Daniel Weiss, “Die Historische Tabelle des Städtebaus,” in *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis*, ed. van Es et al., 459–63.

¹⁸ On the last day of 1930, Sigfried Giedion wrote a letter to Ernst May, who at this point was already in Moscow, and informed him about the latest plans for the exhibitions of CIAM-04: “als dessen Thema ‘Die funktionelle Stadt’ gewählt worden ist. Ob nun dieser Titel sich endgültig durchsetzen oder anders gewählt werden wird, jedenfalls bleibt das Grundthema ‘der Stadtbau.’ Mit dem Kongress sollen wieder zwei Ausstellungen verbunden werden, eine städtebauliche und eine technisch-konstruktive, wobei wiederum ein Detail bearbeitet, rationalisiert und gefördert werden soll.” See Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Ernst May, December 31, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-May, gta Archives.

¹⁹ Martin Steinmann, “4. Kongress, Patris II/Athen 1933: Die Funktionelle Stadt,” in *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939* (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1979), 127.



A.1.1.2. CIAM's Exhibitions in Literature: Conspicuous by their Absence

The body of literature on CIAM is vast and almost unmanageable. Generally, it can be organised into four distinct and systematic categories. First, there are works dedicated to the *individual Congresses*. Second, there are works that delve into the *discourse* of these Congresses and that provoked by CIAM. Third, there are works focusing on the various *National Groups of CIAM*. Finally, there are biographies on the *key protagonists* and *notable figures* within CIAM. The extensive body of CIAM literature in all of these categories necessitates a selective approach for contextualising the new findings of and within the confines of this thesis. Therefore, in this dissertation, the new findings are, with some exceptions, put into the context of the main reference works on CIAM.²⁰ The first systematic reference work of CIAM's pre-war Congresses, as well as the first – and to date – only systematic listing of the archival documents from 1928–1938 in the gta Archives at the ETH Zurich, is Martin Steinmann's book, *CIAM Dokumente. 1928–1939*.²¹ It stands as the sole comprehensive source edition, providing insights into CIAM's pre-war Congresses (CIAM-01 – CIAM-05) as well as a systematic listing of the most relevant archival documents from this period stored.²² Another reference work is Eric Paul Mumford's *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism. 1928–1960*.²³ In this work, he offers a comprehensive examination of CIAM's Congresses throughout CIAM's existence as he traces CIAM's discourse on urbanism. These two works to date are regarded as the most seminal works on the history of CIAM, and form the foundation for its canon. The comparison and contextualisation within this dissertation to mainly these two seminal works can be explained with Beatriz Colomina's understanding of an "intra-canonical" approach in the history of architecture, which underlies the methodological conducting of research for this dissertation:

²⁰ However, it is also crucial on this occasion and at this moment to acknowledge and reference those seminal works, often considered foundational to CIAM research. In his dissertation, in which he examines and traces the mechanisms by which CIAM exercised its influence, Andreas Kalpakci provides an almost exhaustive overview of all available standard works within these four categories up to 2017. For a comprehensive listing of these works within these four categories, see Andreas Kalpakci, "Making CIAM. The Organizational Techniques of the Moderns, 1928–1959" (PhD diss., ETH Zurich, 2017), 24ff.

²¹ Martin Steinmann, ed., *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939* (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1979).

²² The recognition of CIAM's post-war exhibitions in the academic literature surpasses that of the pre-war exhibitions. For instance, for CIAM's Seventh Congress (CIAM-07) in Bergamo in 1949, Le Corbusier in collaboration with ASCORAL (Assemblée de constructeurs pour une rénovation architecturale), a new French CIAM Group founded in 1944, introduced a novel display technique known as the CIAM Grid. The primary objective of this modular system was to standardise how to present – and more importantly, how to exhibit – projects on display at CIAM's Congresses. This display technique in the literature is extensively studied, and so pronounced that CIAM-07 is frequently referred to as the "Grid-Congress," as noted by Annie Pedret. See: Annie Pedret, "Old Methods, New Reality, 1947-51," in *Team 10: An Archival History* (London: Routledge, 2013), 54.

²³ Eric Paul Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).

I am interested in the idea of the 'Intra-Canonical' outlook. I think that's exactly what defines me – going to what is the most canonical and undermine it so that another view can emerge.²⁴

In providing a comprehensive source edition, Steinmann in his work acknowledges each of CIAM's four pre-war exhibitions. However, his descriptions are rather superficial, offering primarily brief summaries of the material content and introductions to some of the key figures involved in their preparations. He barely touches on the planning process of the exhibitions, and his remarks on the travelling exhibitions are vague.²⁵ Moreover, he does not mention additional CIAM exhibitions independent of those shown at the Congresses. For instance, he does not mention the exhibition "Horizontal Sliding Windows," also shown at CIAM-03, nor the "Functional City" shown in Athens during CIAM's famous Fourth Congress (CIAM-04) in 1933, two years before the exhibition in Amsterdam in 1935, nor exhibitions from CIAM's National Groups. Nevertheless, his list of archival materials in the catalogue appendix of his work does provide a substantial, if incomplete, overview of most of the significant archival sources available within the gta Archives.²⁶ Mumford also makes reference to all pre-war CIAM exhibitions. In comparison to Steinmann, he delves more – but nevertheless also not extensively – into this subject.²⁷ He provides more detailed descriptions of the exhibited materials, and occasionally includes – even if incomplete – listings of the different venues of CIAM's travelling exhibitions. Furthermore, he touches on various facets of the exhibitions, but without being aware of the underlying function and significance of the issues raised. For instance, in his description of CIAM's exhibition, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," he touches on the delegates' visit to the exhibition before its official opening.²⁸ Hereby, he – most likely unintentionally – touches on two functions of CIAM's exhibitions, which will be examined in depth in the analysis part of this dissertation, resulting in categorising CIAM's exhibition as *space* and *programme* of the Congress. However, Mumford does not depart from the descriptive level. His remarks regarding CIAM's exhibition at CIAM-05, held in the

²⁴ Evangelos Kotsioris, "The Queering of Architecture History Has Yet to Happen": The Intra-Canonical Outlook of Beatriz Colomina," *Architectural Histories* 8, no. 1 (2020): 7, <http://doi.org/10.5334/ah.547>.

²⁵ For CIAM's first exhibition, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," see Steinmann, "2. Kongress, Frankfurt, 1929: Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum," in *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 66–69. For the second exhibition, see Steinmann, "3. Kongress, Brüssel, November 1930: Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum," in *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 102–05. For "The Functional City" exhibition of CIAM-04, see Steinmann, "4. Kongress, Patris II/Athen 1933: Die Funktionelle Stadt," in *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 168ff. For the exhibition of CIAM-05 in the Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux, see Steinmann, "5. Kongress, Paris Wohnung und Erholung," in *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 203.

²⁶ See Steinmann, "CIAM-Archiv Katalog der Dokumente 1928-1939," in *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 215–31. For his listing of the main archival material for the exhibitions of CIAM-02–CIAM-05, see in particular 216, 221, 223, and 229.

²⁷ For his mentioning of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," see Mumford, "CIAM 2, Frankfurt, 1929: The *Existenzminimum*," in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 39–42. For the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition, see Mumford, "CIAM 3, Brussels, 1930: Rational Lot Development," in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 53–56. For the exhibitions of CIAM-04 in Athens and Amsterdam, see Mumford, "CIAM 4, 1933: The Functional City," in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 83ff, and in the same book, "CIAM 4, 1933–1936," 97–99. For CIAM-05, see Mumford, "CIAM 5, Paris, 1937: Dwelling and Recreation," in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 115ff.

²⁸ See Mumford, "CIAM 2, Frankfurt, 1929: The *Existenzminimum*," 39–42.

Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux by Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret (1896–1967), and associates, in 1937 are worthy of note, as he not only presents the exhibition as it was ultimately shown, but also mentions CIRPAC's initial plan to once again exhibit the exhibition panels of CIAM-04, a plan ultimately unrealised.²⁹ In doing so – again, most likely unintentionally – he sheds light on another function of CIAM's exhibitions, which in the analysis part of this dissertation will be examined and understood as a *sequence*.³⁰

These two examples show that even when CIAM's exhibitions are mentioned in the literature, discussions never go beyond the descriptive level and a mere incomplete listing of facts. Neither Steinmann nor Mumford recognise the functional significance of CIAM's exhibitions. Another more recent work on CIAM's debates which needs to be mentioned here is by Konstanze Sylva Domhardt: *The Heart of the City. Die Stadt in den transatlantischen Debates der CIAM. 1933–1951*.³¹ It is essential to highlight her research not because, like Steinmann and Mumford, Domhardt also only mentions the aforementioned exhibitions only in passing.³² Instead, it stands out as an exemplary source for another phenomenon that furthermore underscores the lack of attention given to CIAM exhibitions. More precisely, it underscores the disparity in attention given to the exhibitions of CIAM in comparison to, on the one hand, the exhibitions of the different National CIAM Groups, and on the other hand, to the exhibitions of the individual CIAM members. Both are much more frequently mentioned and, notably, much more studied. For instance, Domhardt explores two exhibitions by the MARS Group, the British CIAM Group founded in 1933.³³ Furthermore, she explores the exhibition activities of Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, herself a CIAM

²⁹ "The minutes [of the CIRPAC meeting in La Sarraz in 1936] note that for the 1937 Paris Exhibition, another version of the Functional City exhibition was planned, to include both the same-scale plans from the Amsterdam show and sixteen new projects [...] Despite the decisions of this meeting and the two previous CIRPAC meetings held since 1934 to consider the theme of CIAM 5, in January 1937 Le Corbusier met with Jeanneret, Perriand, Sert and Weissmann in Paris and decided to abandon the decisions of the 1936 La Sarraz meeting." See Mumford, "CIAM 5, Paris, 1937: Dwelling and Recreation," 107–10.
³⁰ See Chapter 7 In "Part II. Analysis".

³¹ In her book, Domhardt explores CIAM's debates about the city and in particular CIAM's shift from the rigid functional categories in urban planning ("Functional City") to the city as platform for human life ("Habitat"). See Konstanze Sylva Domhardt, *The Heart of the City. Die Stadt in den transatlantischen Debatten der CIAM, 1933–1951* (Zürich: gta-Verlag, 2012).

³² Domhardt briefly touches on the exhibitions of CIAM-04 in Athens and Amsterdam. Concerning the Athens exhibition, she observes that the true impact of the large-format panels, previously exhibited on the deck of the SS *Patris II*, which functioned as an improvised meeting space for CIAM-04, was only realised in the improvised exhibition spaces within the lecture halls of Athens University. See Domhardt, "Die Stadt als Organisationsstruktur," in *The Heart of the City*, 24–26. Regarding the exhibition in Amsterdam, she touches on the material aspects of the exhibition: "Für die Ausstellung Die funktionelle Stadt, die im Juni 1935 in Amsterdam gezeigt wurde, fertigten die Schweizer und die niederländische Gruppe zusätzlich zu den nun farbig angelegten Karten grossformatige Tafeln an, um die 'Feststellungen' zu veranschaulichen. Ergänzt wurden sie durch Arbeiten von Kongressmitgliedern. Dabei handelte es sich um ein Potpourri aus Entwürfen." Domhardt, "Die Stadt als Organisationsstruktur," 26. The "Rational Lot Development" exhibition remains unmentioned, however, a fact that may be attributed to the period this study covers, commencing after the occurrence of the exhibition. Nevertheless, one photograph from the traveling exhibition of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" in Zurich is included in her book, albeit without accompanying commentary. See Domhardt, "Zentralisierung und Dezentralisierung," in *The Heart of the City*, 109.

³³ For MARS' exhibitions for the "Building Trades Exhibition" in 1934, see Domhardt, "Die Moderne jenseits der kontinentalen Avantgarde," in *The Heart of the City*, 49–51. For their exhibition, "New Architecture Exhibition," from 1938 in the New Burlington Galleries, see Domhardt, "England: Die Stadtentwürfe der MARS Group," in *The Heart of the City*, 250ff.

member.³⁴ Interestingly, she examines the influence of the exhibitions by the MARS Group on Tyrwhitt's exhibition work; a comparison which has not yet been made for CIAM's exhibitions.³⁵ As an example of how, in works on the individual CIAM groups, their involvement in CIAM's exhibitions also tends to receive insufficient attention, the relatively recent book by Martin Kohlrausch, *Brokers of Modernity: East Central Europe and the Rise of Modernist Architects, 1910–1950*,³⁶ can be given. In this work, Kohlrausch delves into the narrative of modernist architects in East Central Europe and traces the work carried out mainly by the Polish CIAM Group, and more importantly their influence on the modernist aspirations of East Central Europe. Among others, he studies the work carried out by Szymon (1893–1964) and Helena Szyrkus (1900–1982), who were also engaged in the preparations for CIAM's first and second exhibitions, and in particular responsible for bringing "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" exhibition to Warsaw. Despite the fact that he includes a previously unpublished photograph showing the panels of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" in the background, Kohlrausch does not mention the responsibility as well as the great engagement of Szymon and Helena Szyrkus for this exhibition.³⁷ This serves as a stark example of this overlooked aspect of the different members' engagement for, and role within, the organisation of CIAM's exhibitions and travelling exhibitions.³⁸ An example of another relatively recent and comprehensive work devoted entirely to a single CIAM Congress is *Atlas of the Functional City*,³⁹ edited, among others, by Evelien van Es,

³⁴ For their contribution for the "Live Architecture Exhibition" in London in 1951, see Domhardt, "England: Die Stadtentwürfe der MARS Group," 286. For their influence on Jaqueline Tyrwhitt's work as well as her contribution to the "Live Architecture Exhibition," see Domhardt, "England: Die Stadtentwürfe der MARS Group," 289–93 and 338ff. As reference for her work as well as her engagement for CIAM, see Ellen Shoshkes, *Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: A Transnational Life in Urban Planning and Design* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Shoshkes, "Visualizing the Core of an Ideal Democratic Community: Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and Post-war Planning Exhibitions," in *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*, ed. Robert Freestone and Marco Amati (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 193–208.

³⁵ Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen's work, *Exhibit A: Exhibitions that Transformed Architecture, 1948–2000*, also serves as stark example for a discrepancy in studies on CIAM's exhibitions. In this work, Pelkonen makes one reference, if not to a CIAM exhibition, then at least to the aforementioned display technique of the CIAM Grid. This reference is in particular noteworthy. First, she mentions this display technique, and in particular the influence this technique had on the younger generation of CIAM and Team X members. Alison and Peter Smithson, for instance, learned how to "craft architectural arguments through visual means" via the CIAM Grid. Second, other Team X members such as Aldo van Eyck, Oskar Hansen, and Shadrach Woods "followed their [Alison and Peter Smithson's] lead in curating numerous exhibitions in the 1950s and 1960s." Then, she mentions Oskar Hansen's exhibition, "Choke Chain," in Warsaw, Poland, in 1957 as an example of a "multilayered" spatial setting, which is of interest in the context of exhibition design, and which – although this is not explicitly stated by her – might very well be adapted from the multilayered experience the CIAM Grid enabled. See Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen, "Toward the Post-World War II Exhibition Moment," in *Exhibit A: Exhibitions That Transformed Architecture, 1948–2000* (London: Phaidon, 2018), 13 and 54.

³⁶ Martin Kohlrausch, *Brokers of Modernity: East Central Europe and the Rise of Modernist Architects, 1910–1950* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2019).

³⁷ See Kohlrausch, "Organizing New Architectural Goals," in *Brokers of Modernity*, 123. This venue of the travelling exhibition, as well as the work by the Polish Praesens Group, is discussed in depth in my master's thesis. See Pollak, "Die Rekonstruktion der Ausstellung in Warschau," in "Die Ausstellungskonzeption der CIAM," 88–94.

³⁸ Another example is an essay by Monika Platzer on CIAM's connection to interwar Central Europe. Even though she briefly refers to the exhibitions of CIAM-02 and CIAM-03, she omits the engagement of inter alia Karel Teige, Farkas Molnár, and Szymon and Helena Szyrkus. See Monika Platzer, "Von CIAM Zu CIAM-Ost. Die CIAM Und ihre Verbindungen nach Zentraleuropa," in *Mythos Großstadt: Architektur und Stadtbaukunst in Zentraleuropa, 1890–1937*, ed. Eve Blau and Monika Platzer (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1999), 227–31.

³⁹ Evelien van Es, Gregor Harbusch, Bruno Maurer, et al., eds., *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis* (Brussels: Thoth Uitgeverij, 2014).

Gregor Harbusch, and Bruno Maurer. In contrast to other literature on CIAM's Congresses, it stands out due to the relatively extensive attention it dedicates to the official CIAM-04 exhibition, "Housing, Working, Traffic, Recreation in the Contemporary City" in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam in 1935.⁴⁰ Herewith, notably, Evelien van Es goes beyond the existing CIAM literature. She reconstructs the CIAM exhibition in as much detail as possible and encompasses not only the material objects but also delves into the preparatory aspects – a so far unique and novel contribution compared to the aforementioned sources.⁴¹ In addition to the exemplary reference works on CIAM, which highlight how, in the seminal literature on CIAM, their exhibitions and in particular their function and significance are understudied, a similar observation was made in literature focussing on single CIAM members, particularly their individual involvement in and contributions to CIAM's exhibitions.⁴²

Hence, a shared significant deficiency in all four systematic categories of literature on CIAM can be noted: when exhibitions are mentioned, they are only mentioned in side notes, and mainly regarding their material nature. Their planning, function, and significance, however, is almost never addressed. In sum, the research on CIAM to date is deficient in one crucial aspect: its prevailing view that CIAM exhibitions were a mere material appendix to the Congresses. This canonical assessment is contradicted in the present dissertation. In addition to a complete historical reconstruction of CIAM's exhibitions, there is a notable research gap regarding the function and significance of the exhibitions. Hence, the aim of this dissertation is to address and resolve this research gap.

⁴⁰ See Evelien van Es, "The Exhibition 'Housing, Working, Traffic, Recreation in the Contemporary City.' A Reconstruction," in *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis*, 441–44.

⁴¹ For one important reference work that centres on CIAM-02, see Helen Barr, ed., *Neues Wohnen 1929/2009. Frankfurt und der 2. Congrès International D'Architecture Moderne. Beiträge des internationalen Symposiums in Frankfurt am Main, 22.–24.10.2010* (Berlin: Jovis Verlag, 2011). Helen Barr reconstructs the Congress, but focusses on the planning, reports, and the reception. She touches on the exhibition, but remains vague in her descriptions. See Helen Barr, "Frankfurt 1929: Der Kongress tagt – Eine Rekonstruktion des CIAM II," in *Neues Wohnen 1929/2009*, 32. Of particular significance is Sokratis Georgiadis' essay, which delves into the visual language employed for the exhibition panels, demonstrating a comprehensive understanding of their minimalist graphic approach, using the exhibition of CIAM-02 as an exemplary basis for his explanation. See Sokratis Georgiadis, "Chiffren von Wissenschaftlichkeit – CIAM-Bilddiskurs," in *Neues Wohnen 1929/2009*, ed. Barr, 80–88. The recent publication, *Moholy's Edit*, authored by Chris Blencowe and Judith Levine, provides alternative insights into CIAM-04, notably focusing on the four-day cruise to the Aegean islands. However, it is notable that the CIAM's exhibition in Athens is omitted from the discussion. See Chris Blencowe and Judith Levine, *Moholy's Edit: The Avant-Garde at Sea, August 1933* (Zurich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2019).

⁴² Arguably, Cornelis van Eesteren is the member whose involvement in CIAM's pre-war exhibitions has been most extensively studied, particularly his work for the CIAM-04 exhibition. See Kees Somer, *The Functional City: The CIAM and Cornelis Van Eesteren, 1928–1960* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2007); Enrico Chapel, "Otto Neurath and the CIAM – The International Pictorial Language as a Notational System for Town Planning," in *Encyclopedia and Utopia: The Life and Work of Otto Neurath (1882–1945)*, ed. Elisabeth Nemeth and Friedrich Stadler (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1996), 167ff. However, his contributions and involvement in organising the exhibition for CIAM-03 have received little to no attention in the existing literature. For example, his involvement in the CIAM-03 exhibition is not mentioned in the reference work about him: see Franziska Bollerey, "C.I.A.M.: 'Rien de Nouveau?,'" in *Cornelis van Eesteren. Urbanismus zwischen 'de Stijl' und C.I.A.M.* (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1999), 162–67.

A.1.2. How CIAM's Exhibitions *Almost* Got Lost

In the light of the significance of CIAM's exhibitions, it must be asked how the exhibitions could have been lost in the historiography of CIAM. The exploration of this question led to three possible answers.

A.1.2.1. A Missed Chance: The Unrealized Archive of CIAM's Exhibitions

At the end of December 1930, two weeks after the exhibitions of CIAM-03 had been closed at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, Sigfried Giedion reached out to Victor Bourgeois (1897–1962) and asked him for the photographs of the exhibitions “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows.”⁴³ However, to Giedion's great surprise, though Bourgeois had taken photographs of the exhibited windows, he had not taken any of the “Rational Lot Development” panels.⁴⁴

After CIAM's first exhibition, “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” had been on display in Frankfurt from 27 October to 11 November 1929, it was shown in seven different venues from December 1929 – March 1931, including its repeated display at CIAM-03 in Brussels. In March 1930, after “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” had been on display in Warsaw from 1 to 31 March 1930, Giedion reached out to Szymon Syrkus, who had been responsible for organising this travelling exhibition, and asked for documentation about how the exhibition had been presented in, and adjusted for, Warsaw:

Since we unfortunately don't speak your language, we would be grateful if you could give us a short communiqué about the way you organised the exhibition. We intend to create an archive summarising the way the exhibition was shown in different places.⁴⁵

It is remarkable that – at least according to this letter, and in the light of the previously rigorous and uniform preparation of the material – it was not required to communicate any changes to the exhibition material or a different presentation of such at the different venues of the travelling exhibitions beforehand. Most germane to our present line of discussion is that Giedion's apparently unrealised plan to establish an internal archive of CIAM's

⁴³ “Je voudrais bien vous prier de me faire envoyer les épreuves des photos des fenêtres et de l'exposition à Zuerich.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, December 14, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives. Another letter to Cornelius van Eesteren reveals that Giedion had expected to receive photographs of both the windows and the exhibition panels: “Bourgeois hat Aufnahmen machen lassen, doch habe ich diese Aufnahmen (von Fenstern und Pläne) noch nicht erhalten.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, December 19, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van Eesteren, gta Archives.

⁴⁴ “J'ai reçu vos deux photos de l'exposition des fenêtres. Est-ce-qu'on a fait d'autres?” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, December 30 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

⁴⁵ “Da wir leider Ihre Sprache nicht verstehen, wären wir dankbar, wenn Sie uns ein kurzes Communiqué über die Art, wie Sie die Ausstellung veranstaltet haben geben könnten. Wir haben die Absicht, ein Archiv anzulegen, das die Art, wie die Ausstellung an verschiedenen Orten gemacht wurde, zusammenfassen soll.” It can be assumed that by “we,” Giedion here refers to CIRPAC. Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Szymon Syrkus, March 15, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Syrkus, gta Archives.

exhibitions and travelling exhibitions provides one possible explanation for the loss of CIAM's exhibitions in CIAM's historiography.

A.1.2.2. The Ambiguity of the Word "Congress"

Another possible explanation for why the exhibitions were lost in the historiography of CIAM might be found in the ambiguity of the word "congress," and its inflationary and imprecise use, including by CIAM itself. The archival material used in this dissertation reveals that the word "congress" was used with three different shades of meaning – but without explicitly differentiating between them. This undifferentiated use during the planning of the exhibitions was accompanied by a growing confusion, and almost resulted in the loss of CIAM's exhibitions.

The first of meaning of "congress" was that of *place of debate*.⁴⁶ Here "congress" was used for meeting at the same time in the same place. The second meaning was that of *form of debate*, in the sense of a discussion about a specific topic often in academic or specialist circles.⁴⁷ In this case, "congress" refers to the form of addressing a theme *verbally*: either through lectures, speeches, or in discussions. The third meaning of "congress" was that of CIAM as a *group*.

Despite these three different shades of meaning, "congress"⁴⁸ was used for CIAM's Congresses (the *place* of debate), the lectures and speeches (the *form* of debate), as well as for the *group* itself. This imprecise use calls for a careful re-evaluation of CIAM's historiography based on the written archival material.

This ambiguity becomes apparent in the following quote. During the first CIRPAC meeting in preparation for CIAM-03 at Le Corbusier's studio in Paris on 3 February 1930, Le Corbusier proposed the following:

The Congress will deal with minimum housing and its consequences for the parcelling of the land. In order to arrive at satisfactory results, the discussion will focus on two things.⁴⁹

In this context, "[t]he Congress" could have either stood, first, for CIAM-03, the happening in Brussels so to speak; second, for the form of addressing the theme through the reports as

⁴⁶ The German word "*Ort der Auseinandersetzung*" is more appropriate here.

⁴⁷ The German word "*Form der Auseinandersetzung*" is more appropriate here.

⁴⁸ In French documents, it was either "le congrès" (singular) or "les congrès" (plural), and in German documents it was either "der Kongresse" (singular) or "die Kongress" (plural).

⁴⁹ "M. LE CORBUSIER. – Je dirais ceci:

Le Congrès s'occupera de l'habitation minimum et de ses réactions sur le parcellement du terrain. Pour arriver à des résultats satisfaisants, la discussion portera sur deux ordres de choses [...]." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," February 10, 1930, 35ff., 42-3-1-11F, gta Archives.

well as the exhibitions; third, for the members of CIAM as a group. In the context of “congress” as way of referring to the event, Le Corbusier would have emphasised the necessity of planning the Third Congress. In the context of “congress” as a form of addressing the subject of minimum housing, Le Corbusier would have emphasised the necessity of topics to be addressed in the speeches and reports held in Brussels. Third, in the context of “Congress” as way of referring to CIAM as a group, Le Corbusier would have emphasised the responsibility of the members and delegates of CIAM to discuss this very subject.

This ambiguity of the word “congress,” as well as its imprecise use by CIAM itself, frequently resulted in misunderstandings among the members about the exact subject under discussion. During the first CIRPAC meeting, the attending members – or at least Victor Bourgeois – were very well aware of the possible misunderstanding about what was currently under discussion. In the beginning of the meeting, when Bourgeois had finished reading aloud a letter from Raphaël Verwilghen (1885–1963), a member of the Belgium CIAM Group and part of the exhibition committee in Brussels, on the planning of CIAM-03,⁵⁰ he emphasised how certain paragraphs of the letter solely addressed the planning of the “urban planning exhibition – and not the Congress.”⁵¹

However, this differentiation was only seldom stressed, and misunderstandings were common. At the end of the first CIRPAC meeting, Giedion and Bourgeois exchanged their thoughts on the date for CIAM-03.

MR GIEDION. – What would be the date of the Congress?

LE PRESIDENT [Karl Moser]. – The exhibition could last two weeks, starting on Saturday, 27 September, and closing on Saturday, 12 October.⁵²

“Congress” was also used in connection with CIAM's publications. During their preparations, as well as in announcements and advertisements, the word “congress” was apparently inseparably linked to their publications. In most cases, the publications were always referred to as a “congress publication”. The same applies for the literature on CIAM. In the light of the omnipresent usage of “congress,” this might be hardly surprising. However, looking at the layout, contents, and audience of the publication, it is all the more surprising, since, as will

⁵⁰ See chapter 1.2.1 in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

⁵¹ “Il s'agit ici, Messieurs, de l'exposition d'urbanisation et non pas du congrès.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 24.

⁵² “M. GIEDION. – Quelle serait la date du congrès? LE PRESIDENT. – L'exposition pourrait durer deux semaines, du samedi 27 septembre au samedi 12 octobre.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 43ff.

be demonstrated in this dissertation, CIAM's publications can above all be considered as testimony of CIAM's exhibitions, and less of the lectures and reports given.⁵³

So even though a differentiation between “congress” either as a *form* of debate, *place* of debate, or the group, would have been helpful to circumvent misunderstandings and confusion, it obviously did not exist.⁵⁴ This lack of precision as to the exact subject under discussion serves as another possible explanation of how CIAM's exhibitions, let alone their significance, almost got lost. Hence, a clear differentiation of the different shades of meaning in this dissertation is crucial to no longer undermining the significance of CIAM's exhibitions through the use of “congress” as a general periphrase for the work of CIAM. Hence, in the following, whenever “congress” refers to CIAM's Congresses as the *place* of debate event, either “Congress” with the corresponding numbering (CIAM's First, Second, or Third Congress, and so forth) or the corresponding abbreviation (CIAM-01, CIAM-02, CIAM-03) are used. Second, whenever “congress” refers to CIAM as a group, CIAM is used. And third, whenever the different *forms* of addressing the different themes of the Congresses – through speeches, reports, or, more importantly, exhibitions – are addressed, they are no longer ambiguously referred to as the “congress,” but directly addressed as speeches, reports, and exhibitions.

A.1.2.3. The Missing, Misleading, or False Attributions of CIAM's Exhibitions

Photographs of CIAM's exhibitions are a rare commodity; see Victor Bourgeois failing to take photographs from *both* exhibitions at CIAM-03. However, it is not only the missing photographs of CIAM's exhibitions that led to their loss, but also often the missing, misleading, or false attribution of the exhibitions and photographs of them.

For instance, both the photographs of the traveling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in Berlin as well as its catalogue entry raise questions as well as serving as an example of a false – or at least misleading – attribution of CIAM's exhibitions. From May to August 1931, the exhibition was on show at the Berliner Bauausstellung.⁵⁵ First, the exhibition entry in the official catalogue of the Berliner Bauausstellung alone serves as an example for a possibly false – or at least unclear – attribution of the exhibition. A portrait of Walter Gropius (1883–1969), who was responsible for organising this venue of the travelling exhibition, stretches

⁵³ See chapter 6 in “Part II. Analysis”.

⁵⁴ A rare differentiation between the exhibition and CIAM's Congresses in the use of language of CIAM's members can be found in the following letter from Karl Moser to Sigfried Giedion: “Die pessimistischen Stimmen, die sich gegen die Tagung in Frankfurt erhoben haben, werden wohl bald verstummen, angesichts der vielseitigen Interessen und der Anregung welche die Wanderausstellung der Wohnung für das Existenzminimum überall da verbreitet hat wo sie gezeigt wurde.” Karl Moser, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, March 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Moser-Karl, gta Archives.

⁵⁵ See chapter 4.2 in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

over one-third of the page-long entry [see fig. I.4.9].⁵⁶ His name is printed in bigger letters than the name of CIAM itself, and the words “Ausgestellt durch: ‘Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen’” are written in the smallest letters on the page. The latter words perish – on the page, as well as most likely also in the reception of the exhibition – next to letters at least twice the size reading: “Von: Prof. Walter GROPIUS, Berlin.” The header “Rational Lot Development” is also placed next to Gropius’ headshot, almost naturally indicating to whom the exhibition can be assigned. Second, two unpublished photographs of this travelling exhibition, found – and, luckily, correctly assigned – in the course of this research, serve as an example of how this presumably false assignment – or at least overlooked connection to CIAM – resulted in the disregarding of CIAM’s exhibitions. The archive title and description only refer to the exhibition in the foreground of the photograph, passing over CIAM’s exhibition in the background.

We see the same in a photograph of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” shown in Amsterdam [see fig. I.4.16]. The caption of this photograph not only fails to mention CIAM, but falsely claims that the panels were part of a world exhibition:

‘World Exhibition; In Amsterdam at the MTS on Dongestraat an exhibition is held devoted to the rational residential district. The different plates of uniform size indicate the different states in the various cities. All countries are represented and each country has its own plate. Corner of the interesting architectural exhibition’: The new architecture is illustrated using construction drawings, floorplans, publications, books, and photography (including aerial photographs).⁵⁷

Consequently, literature using this photograph or articles referring to this photograph don’t give CIAM as the exhibitor or use the correct title of the exhibition. So, even though the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in Amsterdam is mentioned in a couple of scientific works,⁵⁸ as well as in a reference work for the technological development in the

⁵⁶ See chapter 8.3 in “Part II. Analysis”.

⁵⁷ The photograph is accessible on the Dutch digital photoplatform “Spaarnestad Photo” as part of the National Archive in Den Haag: “Het oorspronkelijke bijschrift luidt: ‘Wereldtentoonstelling; Te Amsterdam in de MTS aan de Dongestraat wordt een tentoonstelling gehouden gewijd aan de rationele woonwijk. De verschillende platen van een uniforme grootte geven de verschillende toestanden aan van diverse steden. Alle landen worden bezocht en ieder land maakt er zijn eigen platen bij. Hoek van de interessante architectonische tentoonstelling.’ De nieuw zakelijke architectuur wordt geïllustreerd met behulp van bouwtekeningen, plattegronden, publicaties, boeken en fotografie (oa. luchtfoto’s).” See Nationaal Archief/Collectie Spaarnestad, *City Design. In an Amsterdam Technical School an exhibition is being held about modern city design*, unknown photographer, image number SFA001012278, code location 2601-3, <https://beeldbank.spaarnestadphoto.com/search.pp?showpicture=14487&page=1&pos=1#>.

⁵⁸ For example, see Bart van Berkel’s master’s thesis on the “Jeruzalem” estate in Amsterdam. Here van Berkel refers to the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition in Amsterdam without mentioning CIAM at all. Besides, he incorrectly names the Stedelijk Museum as the venue: “Daarnaast wordt er gepubliceerd waaronder in veelvuldig het blad *de8/Opbouw* vernoemd naar de gelijknamige architectenverenigingen. In 1932 vindt de tentoonstelling ‘De rationele woonwijk’ plaats in het Stedelijk Museum te Amsterdam. Op 25 juni 1932, de dag dat de tentoonstelling opent, presenteren de leden van ‘de 8’ en ‘de Opbouw’

Netherlands in the twentieth century,⁵⁹ CIAM is never mentioned in connection with it. For example, in a paper published by Dean J. Almy,⁶⁰ he explains the switch in urban planning from the closed block system to the open structure of the city in the late twenties and early thirties in the Netherlands. As the main influence for this development, he lists the increasing acceptance of the principles of the Nieuwe Bouwen (Neues Bauen). As one of two key events which appeased local criticism against this new planning principle, he names the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in the Middelbaar Technische School on the occasion of the group meeting of the Nederlandsch Instituut voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedebouw: “The first [event] was the preparation of a report entitled ‘Organic Living in the Open City,’ that was presented to the Netherlands Institute of Housing and Town Planning in Amsterdam in 1932, the day on which the exhibition on ‘De Rational Woonwijk’ [Dutch translation of ‘Rational Lot Development’] was opened, an exhibition that included works by Mart Stam in Frankfurt.”⁶¹ But, even though he refers to CIAM only two lines earlier as well as touching on CIAM’s contribution to the switch in urban planning doctrines, he does not connect the dots between CIAM’s contribution to this development and the occasion of the

onder leiding van Ben Merkelbach en W. van Tijen aan het Nederlandse Instituut voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedenbouw het preadvies ‘De organische woonwijk in open bebouwing,’ de term organisch refereert hier naar de juiste plaatsing van alle voorzieningen en elementen binnen de wijk. Het is Ben Merkelbach die pleit voor een meer gevarieerd beeld binnen de woonwijk.” Bart van Berkel, “Woonwijk ‘Jeruzalem’ Watergraafsmeer, Amsterdam” (master’s thesis, Eindhoven University of Technology, 2007), <https://research.tue.nl/nl/studentTheses/woonwijk-jeruzalem-watergraafsmeer-amsterdam>. In a publication by the office of Historic Preservation of the city of Amsterdam (Bureau Monumentenzorg Amsterdam, since 2022 Bureau Monumenten & Archeologie), the exhibition is mentioned without crediting CIAM: “Enkele maanden later, 24 juni 1932, werd de problematiek van de woonwijk weer eens uitvoerig besproken in het tijdschrift, de aanleiding daartoe was tweërlei. Op 25 juni zou te Amsterdam een tentoonstelling geopend worden over de rationele woonwijk, deze tentoonstelling, aldus Van Eesteren in zijn commentaar, was geen ‘kijkstuk.’ Het was een educatieve tentoonstelling, die deoogde duidelijk te maken dat het gesloten bouwblok voor de volkswoningbouw alleen maar nadelen oplevert, veel woningen hebben immers bij een dergelijke bebouwingwijze een verkeerde ligging ten opzichte van de zontoetreding, en bovendien beschouwde men ook de binnenzijde der bouwblokken en de straten als minderwaardige stedelijke ruimten. Het alternatief dat de tentoonstelling liet zien was de ‘open bebouwing’, een groepering van woonblokken in open rijen, ook wel aangeduid met de term ‘strokenbouw,’ een vertaling van het Duitse woord ‘Zeilenbau.’ De voorbeelden die men toen kon tonen waren in feite niet veel meer dan een beperkt aantal experimenten.” Bureau Monumentenzorg Amsterdam, ed., *Tuindorp Frankendael. Een cultuurhistorische Effectrapportage Concepttekst deel 1: Verkenning* (Amsterdam: Bureau Monumentenzorg en Archeologie Amsterdam, 2001), 3.

⁵⁹ Johan W. Schot, Harry Lintsen, Arie Rip and Adrie A. Albert de la Bruhèze, eds., *Techneek in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw. Deel 6. Stad, bouw, industriële productie* (Eindhoven: Walburg Pers, 2003), https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/lint011tech06_01/index.php.

⁶⁰ “The philosophical position, adopted by Cornelis Van Eesteren about the construction of the city was clearly subjected to aesthetic criteria developed by the De Stijl group. In this regard, Van Eesteren’s urban work can be seen to be an attempt at reconciling the diverse enthusiasms of urban beauty and the problems of the modern city. This was not the case with the architects of De 8 en Opbouw at least initially. The Manifesto published by the group in 1927 in the journal; *i 10*, attacked aestheticism as the basis for architecture. The manifesto described the views of the group in five propositions. These were basically a plea for the replacement of the closed block system with the open structure of the city. This was a conclusive declaration of the principles of the Nieuwe Bouwen. The experiments in the rational production of housing executed in Germany and the Soviet Union, the dissemination of ideas through CIAM, and in particular the work by the Dutch architect Mart Stam at the Hellerhof housing estate in Frankfurt of 1929–1931, were the basis for the growing interest in the ideals of the Nieuwe Bouwen within the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the ideals of open block planning were resisted by the established architectural community until two events finally solidified the position of the Nieuwe Bouwen within Dutch housing. The first was the preparation of a report entitled ‘Organic Living in the Open City,’ that was presented to the Netherlands Institute of Housing and Town Planning in Amsterdam in 1932, the day on which the exhibition on ‘De Rational Woonwijk’ was opened, an exhibition that included the work by Mart Stam at Frankfurt.” See Dean J. Almy, “Aesthetics and Ideology in the Construction of the City: The Transformation towards an Open Structure in Modernist Dutch Housing,” in *Legacy & Aspirations: Considering the Future of Architectural Education*, ed. Geraldine Forbes and Marvin Malecha, 87th ACSA Annual Meeting Proceedings (Washington, DC: ACSA Press, 1999), 217–21, <https://www.acsa-arch.org/chapter/aesthetics-and-ideology-in-the-construction-of-the-city-the-transformation-toward-an-open-structure-in-modernist-dutch-housing/>.

⁶¹ Almy, “Aesthetics and Ideology in the Construction of the City,” 217–21.

“De Rationeele Woonwijk” exhibition in the Middelbaar Technische School.⁶² We observe something similar in the reference work for the development of technology in the Netherlands in the twentieth century, *Techniek in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw*.⁶³ The chapter entitled “Betwiste deskundigheid: de volkswoning 1870–1930 Woningen-schaarste en besmettingsgevaar” (“Contested Expertise: the People's Housing 1870–1930 Housing Shortage and Contagion”) deals with the housing shortage, new hygienic standards, and the industrialisation of building in the Netherlands in the twentieth century. The subchapter “Mass Construction as an Architectural Task”⁶⁴ touches on scarce resources in housing construction as a consequence of World War I, and how the rising prices for construction materials resulted in a search for cost-effective solutions. Here, the photograph from the travelling exhibition in Amsterdam is published. The caption refers to the content of the subchapter on mass construction insofar as the rationalisation of building is described as an international trend: “[a]n exhibition on rational housing development at the Middelbaar Technische School in Dongestraat in Amsterdam gave an overview of the development in several European countries.”⁶⁵ Again, CIAM, as well as the exhibition itself, remains unmentioned – both in the caption and the entire publication.

A.1.3. Relevance of Research

The relevance of the research topic is evident both in the absence of CIAM exhibitions in CIAM literature, its overlooked function, as well as in the current attention given to architectural exhibitions in research. Furthermore, the relevance lies in the current call for a re-evaluation of architectural modernism.

A.1.3.1 Architectural Exhibitions in the Focus of Research

This research gap concerning CIAM exhibitions is not only evident in CIAM literature, but also in literature on architectural exhibitions.⁶⁶ In recent years, the subject of architecture

⁶² “The experiments in the rational production of housing executed in Germany and the Soviet Union, the dissemination of ideas through CIAM, and in particular the work by the Dutch architect Mart Stam at the Hellerhof housing estate in Frankfurt of 1929–1931, were the basis for the growing interest in the ideals of the Nieuwe Bouwen within the Netherlands.” Almy, “Aesthetics and Ideology in the Construction of the City,” 217–21.

⁶³ Schot et al, eds., *Techniek in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw. Deel 6. Stad, bouw, industriële productie*.

⁶⁴ “Betwiste deskundigheid: de volkswoning 1870–1930 Woningen-schaarste en besmettingsgevaar,” in *Techniek in Nederland in de twintigste eeuw. Deel 6. Stad, bouw, industriële productie*, ed. Schot et al, 119–42.

⁶⁵ “De rationalisering van het bouwen was een internationale trend. De rationalisering van het bouwen was een internationale trend. Een tentoonstelling over de rationele woonwijk, gehouden in de Middelbare Technische School aan de Amsterdamse Dongestraat, gaf een overzicht van de ontwikkelingen in verschillende Europese landen.” See “Betwiste deskundigheid: de volkswoning 1870-1930 Woningen-schaarste en besmettingsgevaar,” 131.

⁶⁶ One example of the prominence of architecture exhibitions in the realm of history and theory of architecture is volume 88 of the architecture journal *OASE*, in which the role of architecture exhibitions as a site of production is examined. The volume comprises contributions by Anne Holtrop, Bruno Notteboom, Christoph Grafe, Christophe Van Gerrewey, David de Bruijn, Gus Tielens, Hans Teerds, Job Floris, Klaske Havik, Tom Avermaete, Tom Vandeputte, and Véronique Patteeuw, in which exhibitions on architecture are considered as a medium for experimentation, a vehicle in the formation and differentiation of the culture of architecture, as well as occasions for the elaboration of experimental design practices. See Christophe van Gerrewey, Tom Vandeputte, and Véronique Patteeuw, eds., “Exhibitions. Showing and Producing Architecture,” special issue, *OASE*. 88 (2012), accessed July 18, 2023. <https://www.oasejournal.nl/en/Issues/88>. Another important publication is *Exhibiting*

exhibitions has gained substantial prominence within the purview of research institutions and academic affiliations. This heightened scholarly attention is further exemplified by a growing number of scholarly courses and conferences on this subject, and by the rapid expansion of literature on the topic. The almost rhetorical question of how to display an object that, by virtue of its size and its intrinsic connection to its environment, within a museum, seems to be overcome. Instead, contemporary research places greater emphasis on framing architecture exhibitions as an opportunity to comprehend them as significant events in shaping potential architectural histories, as tools for both advancing and circulating building practices and research, as well as the means and field of action of communicating architecture. However, CIAM's exhibitions are also hardly mentioned here. Given the current academic focus on architectural exhibitions, the missing awareness of CIAM exhibitions reveals another profound deficiency in research on CIAM. Considering the narrative presented in CIAM literature and the under-explored and little-discussed exhibitions within the literature, however, it is scarcely astonishing that CIAM exhibitions are to date absent from the discourses on architectural exhibitions.

A.1.3.2 A Call for Reframing the History of Modernism

The research topic of this thesis is also highly pertinent in response to a strong call for a re-evaluation of architectural modernism. For instance, in their essay, "Architectural Contact Zones: Another Way to Write Global Histories of the Post-War Period?,"⁶⁷ Tom Avermaete and Cathelijne Nuijsink examine the historical framing of architectural modernism in the context of post-war global movements, and propose a new theoretical framework based on "architectural contact zones."⁶⁸ These contact zones, such as competitions, exhibitions, and congresses, provide a perspective that goes beyond the singular genius-architect, emphasising global and multidirectional knowledge exchange. This alternative approach aims to revise the history of architectural modernism as a cross-cultural, collaborative, and multifaceted phenomenon.⁶⁹

Architecture, in which the historical and contemporary practices of displaying architecture are investigated. See Arrhenius Thordis, Mari Lending, Wallis Miller, et al., eds., *Exhibiting Architecture. Place and Displacement* (Zurich: Lars Müller Publisher, 2014). See also Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen, Carson Chan, and David Andrew Tasman, eds., *Exhibiting Architecture, A Paradox?* (New Haven: Yale School of Architecture, 2015).

⁶⁷ Tom Avermaete, and Cathelijne Nuijsink, "Architectural Contact Zones: Another Way to Write Global Histories of the Post-War Period?," *Architectural Theory Review* 25, no. 3 (2021): 350–61, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13264826.2021.1939745>.

⁶⁸ A concept, as explained by Avermaete and Nuijsink, first introduced by Mary Louise Pratt within the context of colonial studies, and adapted by them to exhibitions, congresses, biennales, and summer schools as a possibility for rethinking what innovation in architecture entailed. With the aim to "contribute to the ongoing quest for a more dynamic and inclusive global history of architecture, [their] paper advocates a reorganisation of the architectural history of the second half the twentieth century around the concept of cross-cultural 'contact zones.'" They also give the aforementioned dissertation by Andreas Kalpakci as an example for a study on CIAM, which by "unravell[ing] the complex character of knowledge exchange within the modern movement" serves as a recent example for introducing a new reading of CIAM. See Avermaete and Nuijsink, "Architectural Contact Zones: Another Way to Write Global Histories of the Post-War Period?," 353ff.

⁶⁹ "As cultural spaces, social spaces and spaces of ideas, 'contact zones' play a key role in architectural culture. Moreover, the notion of 'contact zone' provides the opportunity to think in a different way about the agency of architecture and architects on a

A.2. Approach of Research & Outline of the Dissertation

A.2.1. Justification of the Topic, Research Questions, and Objectives

Both the previously explained and substantiated research gaps in the field of CIAM research and in the realm of architectural exhibitions, as well as the growing awareness of the significance of architectural exhibitions as a means of examining, understanding, and shaping the architecture as well as its perception, along with the necessity of re-evaluating architectural modernism from a more intercultural, interactive and intricate perspective, explain the research topic, questions, and objectives of this dissertation.

This dissertation pursues the aim of adding another, different approach to the historiography of CIAM, namely that of studying the work through their exhibitions. CIAM's work, removed from the context of their exhibitions, and depicted as a series of Congresses, is embedded in the canonical historiography of CIAM. This thesis aims to turn away from the focus on both the verbal examination of the themes of the Congresses as well as from the canonical account of CIAM's Congress as the representative format of CIAM's work. The reconstruction of the planning and preparation process of CIAM's exhibitions reveals the extensive amount of work that was associated with the exhibitions. The question at hand is, what strategic significance for its own work CIAM attributed to its exhibitions, that explained the extremely large amount of work involved in their organisation? If CIAM's exhibitions were not a sheer material appendix to the speeches and reports given at the Congress, but a "method of work," as posed in this dissertation, what was then the different multifaceted – according to Avermaete and Nuijsink's claim – function of their exhibitions?

So even though CIAM served – and still serves – as a constant reference point for historians on modern architecture, there is not adequate knowledge about their exhibitions, and accordingly no adequate assessment. This is why the dissertation aims to reconsider the work and discourse of CIAM not primarily through their Congresses – their verbal examination – but also through their exhibitions. Moreover, the aim is to conduct a cautious but nevertheless crucial re-evaluation of how CIAM is depicted in the canonical literature. This is achieved both by addressing the research questions on the historical-descriptive level (Part I), as well as on a canonical-analytical level based on clearly defined categories (Part II).

global scale. It offers a conception of architectural development that is based on a more global and multidirectional exchange of knowledge and reframes the history of architectural modern-ism as a cross-cultural, multi-authored and poly-conceptual matter." Avermaete and Nuijsink, "Architectural Contact Zones: Another Way to Write Global Histories of the Post-War Period?," 357ff.

A.2.2. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided in two main parts. First, CIAM's exhibitions of CIAM-03 are reconstructed. This reconstruction depicts the exhibitions themselves, as well as their planning, organisation, and execution on site in Brussels. The second part is devoted to the analysis of CIAM's exhibitions as a "method of work." The analysis mainly centres around the exhibitions of CIAM-03, but wherever needed, CIAM's exhibitions "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" (CIAM-02) and "The Functional City" (CIAM-04) are also used to contextualise and sharpen the analysis. The aim of the analysis is to trace and understand the verifiable strategic significance⁷⁰ of CIAM's exhibitions as a "method of work" of CIAM. For this investigation, eight analytical categories are first traced and then used, through which, in the analysis of Avermaete and Nuijsink, CIAM exhibitions are to be understood as a "multifaceted phenomenon."

A.2.2.1. Reconstruction

In Part I of this thesis, the exhibitions that were on show at CIAM's Third Congress (CIAM-03) in Brussels will be reconstructed and delineated: the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition (1.), the "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibition (2.), and third, the "Une Exposition de l'Habitation" exhibition (3.) organised by the Belgium CIAM Group. Each exhibition is reconstructed in as detailed as possible; that is, in terms of its material content, layout and graphic language, its spatial arrangement, the people involved, as well as the opening and reception. Furthermore, first, the planning process, and second, the acquisition and preparation process of the material are described. These processes are, with few exceptions, organised chronologically. This enables an understanding for the evolution of the vision and aims of the exhibitions and the evolving perspectives of those engaged in their planning and preparation. Lastly, the different venues of the traveling exhibition of CIAM-03 are reconstructed (4.), which provide an overview of additional material adjustments, altered presentations, as well as changing responsibilities of the people in charge. The reconstruction of CIAM's exhibitions of CIAM-03 herewith fills the aforementioned gaps in foundational research on CIAM's exhibitions, as well as their planning, preparation, and realisation.

A.2.2.2. Analysis: Eight Analytic Categories

The results of the reconstruction, besides closing the research gap as to the material content, planning, and preparation process of the exhibitions of CIAM-03, will be to

⁷⁰ In the German meaning of "tatsächliche Bedeutung."

understand the significance of CIAM's exhibitions as a "method of work" of CIAM. In Part II of the thesis, along eight analytic categories, the different functions of CIAM's exhibitions are investigated. The outcome of this analysis will, in turn, call for a re-evaluation – if not revision – of the existing literature on CIAM. The eight analytical categories emerged, first, from the in-depth study and examination of the archival material used for the reconstruction (space, programme, material), as well as, second, from categories used in reference works on architectural exhibitions (format, theme, testimony, sequence, and strategic instrument).

1. Space

The first analytic category is that of *space*. Finding a suitable location for the meetings of CIAM's Congresses was a challenging and recurrent issue during the planning stage. The question was not just where to hold the meetings, but where to show the exhibitions was of equal importance. The research shows that the *exhibition space* can be regarded as the *working space* of the Congresses. This applies both to Congresses during which the exhibition was shown in a different space than where the meetings were held, as well as to Congresses during which the exhibition was shown either in the same location or even in the same room as the meetings. The spatial dependency – regardless of whether the two locations were separate or shared – results in the re-evaluation of CIAM's *exhibition space* as a *space of CIAM's Congresses*. Here, *space* as the first analytic category is understood and used both in material terms – aka the exhibition space as an environment in itself – as well as in more *symbolic* terms in the sense of the exhibition as a space of thought and discourse.

2. Programme

The second analytic category is that of *programme*. In the process of planning and preparing the exhibitions, the discussions not only encompassed the space of CIAM's exhibitions in relation to the meeting space, but also the timing of their inauguration as well as their embedding in the agenda of the Congresses. Analogous to the gradual spatial convergence of exhibition and meeting space from one Congress to the next, culminating in their eventual spatial alignment, the opening of the Congresses and the timing of the inauguration of the exhibitions gradually merged within one unified agenda item. Here, the increasing significance of CIAM's exhibitions as a "method of work" for the Congresses is not assessed based on their spatial arrangement, but rather, it is examined through their temporal order. Here, *programme* as the second analytic category is used again both in literal and metaphorical terms. In literal terms, *programme* describes the order of events, whereas

programme in *metaphorical* terms describes the equal importance of the exhibition opening and the Congress opening.

3. Format

At the outset of the preparations for CIAM-03 and the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, the agenda item “Congress Preparation” encompassed the lectures and organisational matters, as well as the exhibition itself. The latter was not addressed in a separate category of its own. However, as the preparations unfolded, not only were the preparations for the exhibition then discussed under the separate category of “exhibition,” but also within the category of “Congress Preparation.” This transition is explored within the analytical category of *format*, denoting the exhibition’s role as the *formal framework* of CIAM's Congresses. Consequently, the exhibitions are perceived as a primary format for engaging with and addressing the subject matter of the Congress. It is essential to underscore that when referring to “CIAM’s exhibitions as the *format* of the Congress,” the Congresses are not portrayed as exhibitions in a typological sense. When describing the exhibitions as the *format* of the Congresses, the reference is not to their typology, but rather to their constituting significance. In their publication, *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*,⁷¹ Robert Freestone and Marco Amati enumerate nine distinct typologies of planning exhibitions, encompassing civic exhibitions, city planning exhibitions, and planning-conference exhibitions, among others.⁷² However, it is worth noting that none of these typologies adequately encapsulates the role that CIAM's exhibitions played for CIAM’s Congresses. By categorising CIAM's exhibitions as the constitutional format of the Congresses, it is made explicit that CIAM’s exhibitions were not merely a typology, but played a pivotal role in establishing the functional framework for these Congresses.

4. Theme

In her introduction to the reference work on architecture exhibitions, *Displayed Spaces: New Means of Architecture Presentation Through Exhibitions*,⁷³ edited by Robert Gigliotti, Giovanna Borasi introduces the concept of “exhibitions as means of thematic explorations.”⁷⁴ She thus above all describes the possibility of “the transformation of exhibitions into the

⁷¹ Robert Freestone and Marco Amati, eds., *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

⁷² They list nine categories within the typology of “planning exhibitions”: Civic exhibitions (1) world expositions (2), national, international, and imperial exhibitions (3), city planning exhibitions (4), planning-conference exhibitions (5), thematic exhibitions (6), travelling exhibitions (7), design, architecture, housing, and welfare exhibitions (8), and city exhibitions and museums (9). See Freestone and Amati, “Town Planning Exhibitions,” in *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*, ed. Freestone and Amati, 3–5.

⁷³ Roberto Gigliotti, ed., *Displayed Spaces: New Means of Architecture Presentation through Exhibitions* (Leipzig: Spector Books, 2015).

⁷⁴ Giovanna Borasi, “For Architecture,” in *Displayed Spaces: New Means of Architecture Presentation through Exhibitions*, ed. Gigliotti, 31.

exploration of themes and emerging problems in an attempt to suggest a different role for architecture and planning today.”⁷⁵ This perspective, namely viewing exhibitions as a means of identifying and refining a thematic focus, aligns with the fourth analytical category of *theme*. During the planning of CIAM-03, the thematic focus of CIAM-03 was established through discussions about the thematic content and material scope of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition. It was the *theme of the exhibition* which defined the *thematic scope* of the lectures and debates.

5. Material

Throughout the planning and preparation process of CIAM-03, the delegates recognised the limitations of relying solely on a verbal discourse to explore the theme of “Rational Lot Development.” The fifth analytic category, *material*, delves into how the exhibition panels served a dual role. On one hand, they functioned as visual, and thus *material*, surrogates for the content of lectures and discussions, acting as tangible and visual representations of the intellectual discourse. On the other hand, the materiality of these panels played a crucial role in realising the claims CIAM associated with their Congress. Consequently, under the category *material*, both the material objects of the exhibitions, serving as tangible realisations of CIAM's claims, and their (surrogate) role as material compensation for the inadequacies in addressing CIAM's themes solely through verbal discourse, are encompassed.

6. CIAM's Publications as Testimony of CIAM's Exhibitions

The temporality of exhibitions is a specific (and essential) element that is quite often the reason for the lack of documentation. Véronique Patteeuw and Léa-Catherine Szacka address the difficulty of studying exhibitions as “transient and fleeing objects.”⁷⁶ This issue is compounded by the fact that, in most cases, the only available remnants of exhibitions are their catalogues. However, it is worth noting that these catalogues are often produced before the exhibition is opened or even finalised and, as a result, as Patteeuw and Szacka state, “rarely constitute an accurate testimony of the event.”⁷⁷ In the sixth chapter of the analysis on “CIAM's Publications as Testimony of CIAM's Exhibitions,” it is demonstrated that in the case of CIAM's publication of “Rational Lot Development,” the reverse holds true: it can indeed be regarded as *testimony* of the respective exhibition, since both media share the

⁷⁵ Borasi, “For Architecture,” 31.

⁷⁶ Véronique Patteeuw and Léa-Catherine Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” in *Mediated Messages: Periodicals, Exhibitions and the Shaping of Postmodern Architecture*, ed. Patteeuw and Szacka (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 9.

⁷⁷ Patteeuw and Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” 9.

same logic of presentation, intended perception, usage, as well as the mutual effective target group.

7. Sequence

A number of exhibitions travelled to other venues, sometimes as part of the initial concept, or owing to their resonance with the professional audience at these other venues. The relevant question attached to traveling exhibitions is whether and how their content and form are changed. In *Mediated Messages*,⁷⁸ Patteeuw and Szacka also emphasise the concept of a “sequence” as a key feature shared by exhibitions and periodicals. They highlight how exhibitions, just like periodicals, allow for the repeated application of a chosen approach, either in subsequent exhibitions or subsequent issues of the periodical. They emphasise, in particular, the format of travelling exhibitions as a distinctive characteristic of *exhibitions as a sequence*: showcasing the exhibition material slightly adapted across various locations provides an opportunity to adjust and refine the curatorial approach, the material selection, or the display practices from time to time. This intrinsic characteristic in particular gives exhibitions the ability to be more adaptable and iterative compared to other forms of media – and that without changing the media form. Here, the fourth analytic category of *sequence* examines exactly that: namely how CIAM's exhibitions can also be regarded as a sequence.

8. Strategic Instrument for Policy Making

In her introduction to *Displayed Spaces*, Giovanna Borasi poses a fundamental question: is the architecture exhibition “an objective *per se*, or a strategic tool among others to foster ideas, challenge positions, introduce new themes, question current topics in the attempt to ultimately advance new theories and change current practices?”⁷⁹ In this context, Borasi draws upon her assessment of how curators and researchers at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA), as well as the institution itself, “operate” through their exhibitions – not primarily *of*, *about*, and *on* – but first and foremost “for architecture.”⁸⁰ This perspective, of viewing exhibitions as a mode of operation, is adapted in the analysis of CIAM's exhibitions as a method of work under the term *strategic instrument for policy making*. But, in contrast to Borasi's understanding, the exhibitions are examined not only as a strategic tool and operation for affecting either the recipients of the exhibition or the architecture, but primarily as a strategic instrument for policy making within CIAM itself, as well as beyond its immediate sphere.

⁷⁸ Patteeuw and Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” 1–22.

⁷⁹ Borasi, “For Architecture,” 29.

⁸⁰ Borasi, “For Architecture,” 32.

A.2.3. Material Corpus and Methodological Approach

Both the reconstruction and the analysis will be carried out through a content analysis of textual and visual materials. This approach can be situated within the spectrum of qualitative research methods. The primary material corpus for this research was collected at the gta Archives at the ETH Zurich. In the reconstruction part of this dissertation, the approach to the material corpus is primarily descriptive, as it traces the exhibition materials historically, as well as the planning and preparation of the exhibition. By contrast, in the analysis part of this dissertation, the aforementioned eight analytic categories are used to examine the core thesis of this dissertation, that is to comprehend the exhibitions as a “working method” of CIAM.

According to the methodology of content analysis, the documents were systematically examined, analysed, and interpreted in regard to their content, context, and implications. The first selection criterion at the gta Archives was a simple one: all documents from the period 1930–1938⁸¹ which contained the keyword “exhibition” were copied and collected. Second, the vast collection was thoroughly read multiple times, reviewed, and condensed to the most essential documents. Third, the collection underwent a coding of key themes and systematic categorisation, whether the documents were needed either for the reconstruction, the analysis, or both. Finally, through a thorough examination of the content and putting it in comparison, the subtext and conclusions could be drawn.⁸²

The planning of CIAM's exhibitions to a significant degree took place on paper: CIRPAC members exchanged a vast number of letters devoted to their planning, which are now stored in the gta Archives. For this research, this poses significant challenges. Not only today, but also back then, the paper-planning of the exhibitions was considered at least difficult, if not problematic. Sigfried Giedion was already aware of the challenges resulting from planning an exhibition – “the translation in spatial sequences,”⁸³ to use Roberto Gigliotti's expression – mostly on a thin white surface – and thereby flattening again the just envisioned spatial arrangement of the exhibition. In a letter to Cornelis van Eesteren, shortly before the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was opened on the first day of CIAM-03, 27

⁸¹ Even though the entire archival material in the gta Archives from 1930 to 1938 was investigated, in consultation with the first supervisor of this dissertation, Prof. Dr. Andres Lepik, in the course of this research and in the light of the chosen approach of a content analysis, it appeared more adequate to conduct an in-depth analysis of just the material from 1930.

⁸² For tracing the history of the emergence of Team X from CIAM, Annie Pedret describes her approach to the “archival history” of this group as follows: “The approach of this investigation is Foucauldian insofar as it focuses on the discourse as a useful way for examining complex historical situations. As an investigation of intellectual linguistic production – of the development, dispersion, and persistence of ideas and their material evidence – it is aligned with the cultural approach to intellectual histories of *mentalités* of the Annals School. Following in the tradition of *mentalités*, I consider the task of the historian to be to rediscover the originality of each system of thought directly, in all its complexity and totality.” Annie Pedret, Introduction to *Team 10: An Archival History* (London: Routledge, 2013), 8. The approach used here aligns with the approach described by Pedret, but is not theoretically grounded in Foucauldian discourse analysis.

⁸³ Roberto Gigliotti, “Forward,” in *Displayed Spaces*, ed. Gigliotti, 12.

November 1930, he shared his concerns about the current arrangement of the exhibition panels in the Palais des Beaux-Arts:

You can imagine that this [the spatial arrangement] will lead to 'bad blood' among the members of the Congress if the city of Frankfurt is offered the largest hall – especially with May's absence and given that the Congress was offered the least desirable and most insufficient halls in terms of space [...] Of course, one cannot derive ultimate intensions from a floorplan, but we ask you, as a neutral representative of the Congress in Brussels, to search for a solution we can all accept.⁸⁴

Despite the challenges which come along with such a vast collection of material, the constantly changing and continuously growing significance can be traced *through* and *on* the material corpus of this thesis.⁸⁵ But not only the *paper traces* on their own are of significance for understanding and rediscovering the initial meaning of CIAM's exhibitions, but also the *marginalia* on the paper are of great significance when it comes to their meaning. Following the claim of the art historian Elena Filipovic, the "marginal activities"⁸⁶ on the documents serve as a second layer, literally, to understand or at least to interpret the function and significance being attributed to CIAM's exhibitions.⁸⁷ Besides the paper traces, the marginal notes also offer the possibility of a different interpretation, and so are methodologically taken into account in the analysis part of this thesis.

⁸⁴ "Sie können sich denken was für böses Blut es unter den Kongressteilnehmern erregen wird wenn man der Stadt Frankfurt noch dazu ohne die Anwesenheit May's den grössten Saal anbietet und dem Kongress die ungünstigsten und dem Platz nach auch nicht ausreichenden Säle überlasst [...] Wir bitten Sie als neutraler Vertreter des Kongresses in Brüssel einen Ausweg zu suchen, den wir alle verantworten können." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, November 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van-Eesteren, gta Archives.

⁸⁵ Here I follow the claim of Ben Kafka to not only look at history *through* documents, but also by looking *at* them: "The new social history that dominated Anglo-American historical studies in the 1960s and 1970s discovered all sorts of interesting and important things by looking *through* paperwork, but seldom paused to look *at* it." Ben Kafka, "The State of the Discipline," *Book History* 12 (2009): 341, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40930549>.

⁸⁶ Elena Filipovic, in her work on Marcel Duchamp, introduces a new understanding of the artist's work by looking at his "non-art," e.g., his writings, notes, and archiving. See Elena Filipovic, *The Apparently Marginal Activities of Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2016).

⁸⁷ See chapter 3 in "Part II. Analysis".

Part I. The Reconstruction of the Exhibitions of CIAM-03, 1930

CIAM's Third Congress (CIAM-03) took place in Brussels from 27–29 November 1930 in the Palais des Beaux-Arts designed by Victor Horta. As was the case for the Second Congress (CIAM-02), “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” in Frankfurt in 1929, an exhibition organised by CIAM was also shown at CIAM-03.

The “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was the second planned and organised by CIAM, following “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” mentioned above. Like its predecessor, “Rational Lot Development” aligned with the theme of the Congress. The exhibition was opened on the first day of CIAM-03 and was on display until 14 December 1930. “Rational Lot Development” consisted of approximately sixty exhibition panels and one synoptic table. Each exhibition panel showed one settlement scheme with illustrative numbers and additional graphic material. Every panel followed a standardised layout with a uniform graphic in black-and-white. The synoptic table comprised all numbers given on the different exhibition panels. The opening of the exhibition had significant prominence at CIAM-03: it took place on the first day of the Congress, 27 November 1930, and was the first item on the agenda. After the opening, guided tours by Cornelis van Eesteren (1897–1965) and Victor Bourgeois followed.

“Rational Lot Development” was not the only exhibition prepared by CIAM for CIAM-03. The Congress also hosted a second, smaller exhibition, “Horizontal Sliding Windows.” After CIAM-02, it was agreed to exhibit and discuss one technical detail at every following CIAM Congress. CIAM in this way aimed to enhance technical progress in the building industry.⁸⁸ This exhibition was dedicated to sliding windows with a horizontal opening mechanism. All in all, twenty-eight models of horizontal sliding windows were exhibited in real size. Technical drawings and photographs of the windows built in illustrated the use of the models. The opening of the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition took place on the second day of CIAM-03, 28 November, and was also followed by guided tours by Rudolf Steiger (1900–1982) and Pierre Barbe (1900–2004) as well as explanations from the windows’ manufacturers. Both “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” were

⁸⁸ “Nous avons l'intention de faire à chaque Congrès l'Exposition Internationale d'une seul détail technique; pour cette fois nous voudrions exposer les fenêtres en longueur, s'il y a dans toute Europe dix modèles, c'est beaucoup.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, April 3, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

shown in three adjoining exhibition spaces on the ground floor of the Palais des Beaux-Arts.⁸⁹

Besides these two CIAM exhibitions at CIAM-03, another exhibition was on display at the Palais des Beaux-Arts. The exhibition, "Une Exposition de l'Habitation," was part of "Journées de l'Habitation Minimum," the public side event which preceded CIAM-03 organised by the Belgian CIAM Group. It was held to secure funding from the city of Brussels for CIAM-03. "Journées de l'Habitation Minimum" was held right before CIAM-03, from 22–26 November. The "Une Exposition de l'Habitation" exhibition was displayed in the same room as "Horizontal Sliding Windows," and comprised six different exhibition sections, including CIAM's first exhibition, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence." In addition, an exhibition section on the most recent building activities in the field of minimal housing in Brussels, a show kitchen, drawings on the rationalisation of the building process, a memorial exhibition, and an exhibition on *Das Neue Frankfurt* were shown. In addition to "Une Exposition de l'Habitation," public lectures and guided tours through Brussels were also given on the occasion of the "Journées de l'Habitation Minimum." The "Une Exposition de l'Habitation" exhibition opened on 22 November, and remained on display until CIAM's exhibitions closed on 14 December 1930.

A further exhibition was shown at the Palais des Beaux-Arts on the occasion of CIAM-03, but not on conjunction with CIAM-03: "La Ville Radieuse" by Le Corbusier.⁹⁰ Le Corbusier had planned this exhibition without consent during the preparations for CIAM-03.⁹¹ Even though the delegates opposed Le Corbusier's plan to exhibit this solo show at the same time as the other CIAM-03 exhibitions, in the end Le Corbusier presented sixteen large-scale and colourful exhibition boards which displayed his new urban planning doctrines. As was the case for the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition, it also showed characteristic figures

⁸⁹ For a detailed description of the Palais des Beaux-Arts (1919–1928) by Victor Horta, see Michèle Goslar, "Un Palais qui doit se rendre invisible, 1919–1928," in *Victor Horta: 1861–1947. l'Homme, l'Architecte, l'Art Nouveau* (Brussels: Fondation Pierre Lahaut, 2012), 515–33.

⁹⁰ Steinmann and Mumford also discuss this exhibition. Mumford described it as "[...] the major part of Le Corbusier's contribution to CIAM-3, along with his explanatory lecture, 'The Subdivision of the Land in Cities,' where he defended his notion of demolishing existing cities and rebuilding them with buildings or '15, 20 or more stories.' See Eric Paul Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 49. See also Martin Steinmann, "Die Ausstellung von Le Corbusier 'La ville Radieuse,'" in *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939* (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1979), 98ff. Three articles in the gta Archives provide further information about Le Corbusier's exhibition. For the first article, see Hans Bernoulli, "Vom III. Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen," *Baseler Nachrichten* (November [date unreadable] 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives. For the second, see "Das Wohnhaus der Zukunft. Der Brüsseler Architektenkongress," *Vossische Zeitung* (1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives. For the third article, see "Großhaus in Grünflächen-Stadt. Die Empfehlung des internationalen Kongresses," *Tempo* (December 4, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives. All of these articles describe "La Ville Radieuse" in detail and in an exceedingly positive manner. The article in *Vossische Zeitung* states: "Das Zukunftsideal, das noch stark utopistisch anmutet, führt Le Corbusier, der ja stets mit Leidenschaft die unwahrscheinlichsten Dinge glaubhaft zu machen versucht, bis zur letzten Konsequenz durch. Die Stadtpläne, die er zeigte, streben eine Synthese auf allen Gebieten an." And according to the article in *Tempo*, the exhibition material must have been so persuasive that suddenly the impossible seemed possible: "Der Franzose Le Corbusier vertrat mit Leidenschaft einen Stadtplan, der heute noch utopistisch anmutet, übermorgen aber vielleicht schon in den Bereich der Möglichkeit gerückt sein wird."

⁹¹ The reason for this opposition is explained in "Part II. Analysis." See Chapter 5.1.4. in this thesis.

which allowed a numerical comparison.⁹² Le Corbusier's exhibition was displayed independently from the others in a separate space, and filled one entire exhibition hall.⁹³

After the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition closed in Brussels on 14 December 1930, it went on tour as a travelling exhibition. In 1931, the exhibition was again shown together with "Horizontal Sliding Windows" in Zurich. Afterwards, "Rational Lot Development" travelled to Berlin, Basel, Barcelona, Madrid, Amsterdam, Milan, and Bologna between 1931 and 1933. Despite high demand during the acquisition process, "Horizontal Sliding Windows," however, was not exhibited again after Zurich.

⁹² "Die Stadtpläne, die er [Le Corbusier] zeigte, streben eine Synthese auf allen Gebieten an. Großstädte, aber unterbrochen von Rasenflächen; typisierte Wohnungen in Hochhäusern, aber trotzdem Wahrung der Individualität; Fenster, die auf Bäume hinausgehen, vom ersten bis zum zwölften Stock; Autostraßen, die in zehn Metern Höhe laufen zur Beschleunigung des Verkehrs; Menschen die den Zusammenhang mit der Erde behalten, weil sie sich ungestört von tutenden Beförderungsmitteln fortbewegen. Inwieweit diese Möglichkeiten bereits praktisch ins Auge gefaßt worden sind, wurde an zahlreichen Tafeln und Wohnplänen demonstriert. Am deutlichsten zwei ganz extreme Beispiele für das, was die moderne Architektur aufstrebt; ein Großhochhaus in Paris als Musterbeispiel mangelhafter Bauweise, enthält 967 Wohnungen und kann 3861 Menschen beherbergen. Die bebaute Fläche beträgt bei diesem Wohnungskomplex 63,5 Prozent. Der fehlende Platz für die Anlage von Grünflächen ist ohne weiteres erkennbar. In Le Corbusiers Idealstadt soll bei einer Einwohnerzahl von 1000 Menschen die bebaute Fläche pro Hektar nur 12 Prozent betragen. Dadurch wäre tatsächlich die Möglichkeit gegeben, so viel Luft, Licht und Sonne und Grün zu schaffen, wie es der heutige Großstädter benötigt." See "Das Wohnhaus der Zukunft."

⁹³ "Besonders eindrucksvoll die Darstellung der Cité-Werte von Le Corbusier (Paris), einen ganzen Saal füllend." Bernoulli, "Vom III. Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen."

1. The “Rational Lot Development” Exhibition

1.1. The Exhibition

The available archival material for the reconstruction of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition at CIAM-03 in Brussels leaves room for interpretation. First and foremost, there are no photographs of the exhibition showing the exhibition material, its spatial arrangement, mounting mechanism, or the order of the panels. Frustratingly, a copy of seven photographs from CIAM-03 taken by Victor Bourgeois are stored in the gta Archives, which document the exhibitions “Horizontal Sliding Windows” and “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” as well as the exhibitions of the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” – but not “Rational Lot Development” [see fig. I.2.1, fig. I.2.2, fig. I.3.1 – I.3.5]. Thus, the only visual material providing information about the exhibition panels from “Rational Lot Development” are photographs from the travelling version of the exhibition in Berlin, Barcelona, and Amsterdam [see fig. I.4.7, fig. I.4.8, fig. I.4.11, fig. I.4.12, fig. I.4.16]. Second, there is no official exhibition brochure listing the material on display and which could serve as a source for reconstructing the exhibited settlement schemes in their entirety.

However, using the available archival material from the CIAM Archive and the Collection of Sigfried Giedion at the gta Archives at ETH Zurich, the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, and its planning and preparation process, can be roughly reconstructed. A labelled floorplan from the Palais des Beaux-Arts provides a lead for where the exhibition was most likely shown in the building [see fig. I.1.1]. Three CIRPAC meetings were held in preparation for CIAM-03 between February and September 1930 in Paris and Frankfurt. Their protocols provide a lead for reconstructing the planning process of the exhibition, as well as the development of its vision and aims.⁹⁴ When it comes to the reconstruction of the acquisition and preparation process of the exhibition material, three documents – each with different versions – from the gta Archives provide the lead. First, the “Guideline for the ‘Rational Lot Systems’ Exhibition” [see fig. I.1.4, fig. I.1.5, fig. I.1.6., fig. I.1.7, fig. I.1.8];⁹⁵ second, the “Questionnaire for the ‘Rational Lot Systems’ Exhibition” [see fig. I.1.9, fig.

⁹⁴ For the protocol of the first CIRPAC meeting, see CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” February 10, 1930, 42-3-1-11F, gta Archives. For the protocol of the first session of the second CIRPAC meeting on 17 May 1930, see CIRPAC, “COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI,” 1930, 42-3-1-21F, gta Archives. For the protocol of the second session of the second CIRPAC meeting on 20 May, 1930, see CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 1930, 42-3-1-22F, gta Archives. And for the protocol of the delegates meeting on 25 September, during which the decisions taken during the CIRPAC meeting were announced, see CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 1930, 9ff., 42-3-1-3, gta Archives.

⁹⁵ There is a total of three versions of this document: a German version, a French version, and a handwritten draft in French. For the German version, see CIAM, “WEGLEITUNG FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG: ‘RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME,’” March 1930, 42-3-2-11, gta Archives. For the French version, see CIAM, “COMMUNIQUE CONCERNANT L’EXPOSITION: ‘SYSTEMES DE LOTISSEMENTS RATIONNELS,’” 42-3-2-21F, gta Archives. For the French draft, see CIAM, “Communiqué concernant l’exposition: Systèmes de lotissements rationnels,” 42-3-2-21FV, gta Archives.

I.1.10];⁹⁶ third, a circular letter to the delegates with final announcements regarding the exhibition [see fig. I.1.11].⁹⁷ Regarding the arrangement and sorting of the exhibition material, as well as the aims associated with the exhibitions, the introduction to the guided tours of “Rational Lot Systems” provides the most important lead [see fig. I.1.12, fig. I.1.13].⁹⁸ In addition, correspondence between the CIAM members, as well as articles and reports on CIAM-03 mentioning the exhibitions, have been used to render the exhibition from its planning until its closing in Brussels as completely as possible. The most detailed article on the exhibition is a report by Karel Teige (1900–1951) in the Czech journal, *Stavba* [see fig. I.1.14].⁹⁹ The “Rational Lot Development” publication also provides an important lead for reconstructing the exhibition material, since the panels serve as its main material body.¹⁰⁰ However, since the exhibition material was corrected and amended before it was published, not all exhibition panels are printed in the publication, and not all graphic material printed on the exhibition panels was used in the book.

1.1.1. The Exhibition Material

The exact number of the exhibition panels of “Rational Lot Development” exhibited at CIAM-03 in Brussels must lie between fifty-six and sixty. No exact number can be given for three reasons. First, no official exhibition brochure with a complete listing of the exhibited material was published. Second, not one of all consulted archival sources for the exhibition in Brussels states the exact number of the panels. And third, the available secondary literature also varies as to the exact number. A poster, which can be considered an official brochure for the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum,” announced that the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition consists of “100 site plans with technical details” [see fig. I.3.6, fig. I.3.7].¹⁰¹ However, this number seems unlikely in comparison to the other sources. According to Eric

⁹⁶ The questionnaire is available in both German and French in the gta Archives. German Version: CIAM, “FRAGEBOGEN FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG ‘RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME,’” n.d., 42-3-2-31D, gta Archives. French Version: CIAM, “QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNANT L’EXPOSITION ‘SYSTEMES DE LOTISSEMENTS RATIONNELS,’” n.d., 42-3-2-31F, gta Archives. Since both undated questionnaires were sent to the delegates together with the guidelines for the “Rational Lot Systems” exhibition, they are most likely also from March 1930.

⁹⁷ See CIAM, “RUNDSCHREIBEN AN DIE HERREN DELEGIERTEN,” October 3, 1930, 42-3-2-41D, gta Archives.

⁹⁸ For the German introduction to the guided tour by Cornelius van Eesteren, see CIAM, “FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN durch die Herren Architekt V. BOURGEOIS (Brüssel) u. C. van EESTEREN (Architekt für Städtebau der Stadt Amsterdam),” November 27, 1930, 42-3-4-27D, gta Archives. For the French introduction to the tour by Victor Bourgeois, see CIAM, “EXPLICATIONS DONNEES LORS DE LA VISITE GUIDEE DE L’EXPOSITION DU LOTISSEMENT RATIONNEL par les Architectes V. BOURGEOIS (Bruxelles) et C. van EESTEREN (Architecte-Urbaniste du Service des Travaux Publics de la Ville d’Amsterdam),” November 27, 1930, 42-3-4-27F, gta Archives.

⁹⁹ See Karel Teige, “3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu,” *Stavba* IX (1930–31): 105–16, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

¹⁰⁰ Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bauweisen. Ergebnisse des 3. Internationalen Kongresses für Neues Bauen* (Frankfurt am Main: Englert und Schlosser, 1931). *Rationelle Bauweisen* is touched on in depth in “Part II. Analysis” in this thesis. For a quantitative approach towards the publication, see Chapter 5.2, and for an analysis of the publication as testimony of the exhibition, see Chapter 6.

¹⁰¹ “VII. – 100 plans de lotissement à l’échelle de 2 mm. par mètres avec détails techniques.” See “AU PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS, UNE EXPOSITION DE L’HABITATION DONT VOICI LE PANORAMA,” LA COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE, 1930, 42-3-9-11, gta Archives.

Mumford and Martin Steinmann, fifty-six panels were on display in the exhibition.¹⁰²

However, since both are referring to the number of panels printed in the publication and not to primary sources, their claim must be considered with caution. The photographs of the travelling exhibition in Berlin and Amsterdam alone show three panels which are not printed in the publication.¹⁰³ A letter from Victor Bourgeois to Sigfried Giedion shows that two weeks before the opening of the exhibition, the number of ordered aluminium panels, on which the drawings of the settlement schemes were applied, was increased from fifty to sixty.¹⁰⁴ Thus, it is best to assume that a maximum of sixty panels were on display in Brussels.

According to the publication, eleven projects from the Netherlands,¹⁰⁵ nine from Germany,¹⁰⁶ eight from Belgium, six from Switzerland, five from France, three each from Poland and Finland, two each from Italy, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Sweden, and one each from Denmark, England,¹⁰⁷ and the United States, were exhibited.¹⁰⁸ The following projects could be identified and assigned:¹⁰⁹

(#1) Letchworth Garden City, Pixmore Hill Estate Plan by Raymond Unwin, Barry Parker, and Raphaël Verwilghen, 1903, realised.

(#3 and #4) the garden cities of Le Logis-Floreal, Brussels, by Louis van der Swaelmen and Jean-Jules Eggericx, 1922–1930, realised. (#5) the garden city Kapelleveld by Louis van der Swaelmen, 1923, realised.

(#7) the workers' housing Kiefhoek by Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud in Rotterdam, 1925–1929, realised.

(#8) the housing estate Vogelsang in Basel by Hans Bernoulli, 1926, realised.

¹⁰² "Like specimens under a microscope, the fifty-six panels in the exhibition were intended to be seen as samples of urban organisms". See Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 53, and "Die Ausstellung umfasste 56 auf Aluminium aufgezogene Pläne," 153.

¹⁰³ For the reconstruction of the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" in Berlin, see "Part I. Reconstruction" Chapter 4.2; for Amsterdam, see 4.6.

¹⁰⁴ "Cher Monsieur Giedion, Par le même courrier je vous fais parvenir 2 plans du Palais des Beaux Arts. J'ai télégraphié hier à Steiger d'envoyer 60 feuilles 'aluminium au lieu de 50. Voulez vous faire le nécessaire pour que ces feuilles arrivent d'urgence à Bruxelles." Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 11, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

¹⁰⁵ This number could be confirmed with the following letter from Sigfried Giedion to Hugo Häring: "Holland alleine bringt 11 Projekte, die Schweiz und Frankreich ungefähr ebenso viel. Vielleicht können Sie doch noch erreichen, dass wir die Haeslerschen Blätter in Brüssel erhalten." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hugo Häring, November 18, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Häring, gta Archives.

¹⁰⁶ During the Delegates' Meeting on 25 September, Moser announced that the Commission expected at least twelve to fifteen plans from Germany, at least twelve from Belgium, four to five from Finland, four from Switzerland, at least eight from the Netherlands, hopefully three to five from Poland, three from Czechoslovakia, six from Sweden, and two from England. At this moment in time, no plans were expected from France or Norway. See CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M."

¹⁰⁷ The following letter from Patrick Cutbush to Sigfried Giedion confirms that no contemporary examples of a garden city from England, despite the historic example of Letchworth Garden City, were exhibited in Brussels: "I have discussed with Mr. Robertson and several other English Architects the possibility of sending to you examples of Garden Cities in England, but as we have not any machinery working to collect this information, I am afraid it is not possible to do anything for the coming Congress." See Patrick Cutbush, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 28, 1930, 42-K-1930-Cutbush-Patrick, gta Archives.

¹⁰⁸ See a table of all projects in Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, 204.

¹⁰⁹ The numbering (#) refers to the numbering of the projects in the publication. Reports in articles on the exhibitions as well as letters in the gta Archives were used for identifying the projects in the publications. In addition, Mumford identifies nine of the fifty-six projects (#1, #7, #9, #19, #26, #27, #31, #39, #40). See Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 54–56.

- (#9) a cul-de-sac in Radburn from Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, 1929, realised.
- (#11) the housing estate Hardturmstrasse in Zurich by Hans Bernoulli, 1927, realised.
- (#17) the housing estate "In den Schorenmaten" in Basel, by inter alia Hans Bernoulli and August Künzel, 1929, realised.
- (#19) Zürich Neubühl by Paul Artaria, Max Ernst Haefeli, Carl Hubacher, Werner Max Moser, Emil Roth, Hans Schmidt, Rudolf Steiger, and Friedrich T. Gubler, 1930, realised.
- (#24) the social housing project Transvaalbuurt in Amsterdam by the architect Jan Gratama, 1928–1939, realised.
- (#26) the garden city Le Plessis-Robinson by Maurice Payret-Dortail, Jean Demay, and Jean Festoc, 1930, realised.
- (#27) Mart Stam's Hellerhof in Frankfurt, 1929–1931, realised.
- (#31) the housing development "Am Lindenbaum" in Frankfurt by Walter Gropius, 1929–1939, realised.
- (#36) the settlement "Alte Heide" in Munich by Theodor Fischer, 1913, realised.
- (#38) the housing estate "Erismannhof" by Karl Kündig and Heinrich Oetiker, 1927, realised.
- (#39) one fragment of Le Corbusier's Ville Contemporaine, 1922, unrealised.
- (#40) another fragment of Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse, 1934, unrealised.
- (#41) the apartment project "Koldom" in Prague by Josef Havlíček and Karel Honzík, 1928–1930, unrealised.
- (#42) competition entry for a collective housing project in Prague by Jan Gillar and Josef Špaček,¹¹⁰ 1930–1931, unrealised.
- (#45) the garden city "City Moderne" by Victor Bourgeois, 1922–1942, realised.
- (#49) Dammerstock in Karlsruhe by inter alia Walter Gropius and Otto Haesler¹¹¹, 1928–1929, realised.
- (#50) the estate "Westhausen" in Frankfurt planned by Ernst May, Herbert Boehm, and Wolfgang Bangert, 1930, realised.
- (#54) Spandau-Haselhorst by Walter Gropius,¹¹² 1929, realised.

¹¹⁰ "Bei einer Eröffnung der Ausstellung rationeller Bebauungspläne der Wohnviertel (an der die Tschechoslowakei nur durch zwei Arbeiten vertreten wurde: Havlíček & Honzík, ein Wohnviertel mit den Häusern des Typs "Koldom", und Gillar & Špaček, ein Wohnbezirk mit kollektiven Häusern, Entwürfe aus dem heurigen Wettbewerb der Prager Gemeinde um die kleinen Wohnungen)." Teige, "3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu," 5ff. Translated from the Czech article. "Wir haben vor Eingien Tagen an die Adresse von Herrn Mart Stam geschickt 1.) Antwort auf die Rückfrage Le Corbusier (aux architectes) 2.) Bebauungsplan eines Wohnbezirks in Prag Entwurf von HAVLIČEKZ HONZIK aus dem Prager Wettbewerf für Kleinswohnungen, Juni 1930. 3.) Bebauungsplan eines Wohnbezirks in prag. Entwurf von GILLAR & ŠPALEK, aus demselben Wettbewerb. In beiden Entwürfen handelt es sich um große Komplexe der kollektiv-Wohnhäuser": Karel Teige, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, September 29, 1930, 42-K-1930-Teige-Karl, gta Archives.

¹¹¹ "Le Corbusier bleibt der Bebauung durch offene Blöcke - Häuser treu, die in die Form eines Mäanders gereiht werden; anders dringt, wie es scheint, siegreich das Reihensystem durch (Einzelreihenbebauung): Gropius Regulationen in Dammerstock bei Karlsruhe, Spandau-Haselhorst desselben Autors, einige Frankfurter Siedlungen und andere." Dolezal, "Teige in Stavba 1930-31, Heft IX," 5ff., 42-3-6-2, gta Archives. Translated from Teige, "3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu," 112ff.

¹¹² "Le Corbusier bleibt der Bebauung durch offene Blöcke - Häuser treu, die in die Form eines Mäanders gereiht werden; anders dringt, wie es scheint, siegreich das Reihensystem durch (Einzelreihenbebauung): Gropius Regulationen in

(#55) one of thirteen Flemish *béguinages* in the Flanders region of Belgium, 1200–1700, realised.

(#56) the mining site Bois-du-Luc in Belgium, 1838, realised.

Projects which could not be identified:

(#2) a workers' settlement in Haarlem, Netherlands, 1919, realised.

(#6) a projected settlement in Jumet, Belgium, unrealised.

(#10) a part of the "Buikssloot" neighborhood in Amsterdam, 1930, realised.

(#12, #35) two unrealised projects in Abo, Finland.

(#13) one built project in Abo, Finland in 1930.

(#14, #15, #16, #18) each an unrealised project from Rotterdam, Paris, Stockholm, and Utrecht.

(#20) a workers' settlements from Denmark, 1923, realised.

(#21) a non-planned neighbourhood in Basel, Switzerland, 1890, realised.

(#22, #23) two workers' settlements from Amsterdam, the Netherlands, unrealised.

(#25, #29) two workers' settlements in Milano, Italy, both realised in 1929.

(#28, #34) two unrealised workers' settlements in Wiesbaden and Cologne, Germany.

(#30, #33) two realised settlements of minimum dwellings in Warsaw, Russia, 1928 and 1930.

(#32) one settlement of minimum dwellings in Stockholm, Sweden, 1930, realised.

(#37) a design for a Parisian building block based on existing building regulations.

(#43) a collective' settlement in Budapest, Hungary, unrealised.

(#44) a middle-class settlement in Brussels, Belgium, unrealised.

(#46) an unrealised workers' settlements in Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

(#47) an unrealised workers' settlement in Sosnowiec, Poland.

(#48) project for single-family apartments in Berlin, Germany, unrealised.

(#51) project for single-family apartments in Berlin and in Rokasfalva, Budapest, Hungary, unrealised.

(#52, #53) two settlement schemes for minimum dwellings in the Netherlands, unrealised.

Arrangement & Hanging

According to the introduction to the guided tours by Cornelis van Eesteren and Victor Bourgeois on the first day of CIAM-03, the exhibition panels in Brussels were grouped in four categories, within which they were arranged according to their location:

Dammerstock bei Karlsruhe, Spandau-Haselhorst desselben Autors, einige Frankfurter Siedlungen und andere." Dolezal, "Teige in Stavba 1930-31, Heft IX," 5ff.

The exhibition is divided into 4 categories:

- a) low buildings,
- b) medium height buildings,
- c) high buildings,
- d) mixed buildings.

These main groups are arranged according to the places of origin.¹¹³

Since these four categories are also given in the "Rational Lot Development" publication, one can assume that the arrangement of the panels in the exhibition was at least similar to the grouping and order of the projects given in the publication. Nevertheless, in contrast to the exhibition in Brussels, the projects in the publication are listed chronologically and according to their exposure – not according to "the places of origin." Furthermore, in the publication, the categories "low buildings," "medium height buildings," and "mixed buildings" are divided into sub-groups. The "low buildings" category is subdivided into "free grouping" (#1–10), "low buildings N–S exposure" (#11–17), and "low buildings E–W exposure" (#18–20). The "medium height buildings" category is also subdivided into "miscellaneous" (#21–26) and "classified" (#27–36). Likewise, the "mixed buildings" category is subdivided into "low and medium height buildings" (#45–50), "high and low buildings combined" (#51–53), and "high and medium combined" (#54). The "historic examples" category is also given as a fifth category in the publication with two examples (#55–56).

Mounting Mechanism

The plans of the settlement schemes were applied to thin aluminium panels.¹¹⁴ These panels were sponsored by the Swiss firm Aluminium-Industrie A.G. Neuhausen.¹¹⁵ During the second CIRPAC meeting in preparation for CIAM-03 on 25 September in Frankfurt, under the agenda item "Conditions for Execution," the backing material of the panels was

¹¹³ "Die Ausstellung zerfällt in 4 Kategorie [sic]: a) Flachbau, b) Mittelbau, c) Hochbau, d) Gemischte Bauweise. Diese Hauptgruppen sind nach den Entstehungsorten angeordnet." CIAM, "FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN." An article by Sigfried Giedion also confirms this grouping: "Die Anordnung erfolgte nach den vier Kategorien: Flach-, Mittel-, Hochbau und gemischte Bauweise." See Giedion, "III. Internationaler Kongress für neues Bauen," *Frankfurter Zeitung* (December 16, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

¹¹⁴ This was also done for CIAM's first exhibition, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," in Frankfurt in 1929.

¹¹⁵ "Ebenso gelang es uns, trotz der Absage der Hedderheimer Kupferwerke, die Aluminiumplatten von der Schweiz aus zur Verfügung zu stellen." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, November 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives. Furthermore, "soeben erhalte ich die Absage der Hedderheimer Kupferwerke. Wir werden uns nun doch an die Aluminium-Industrie A.G., Neuhausen wenden müssen, eventuell mit der Anregung, dass nicht sie allein, sondern der gesamte Aluminium Konzern für die Kosten aufkäme. Ich möchte nicht mit der Tür ins Haus fallen und bitte Sie, ob Sie das nicht durch persönliche Zugänge erhalten könnten. [...] Die Angelegenheit Aluminiumplatten eilt natürlich sehr. Vielleicht könnten Sie schon vorher irgendwie Fühlung nehmen." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Karl Moser, October 24, 1930, 42-K-1930-Moser-Karl, gta Archives. However, similar to the acquisition of the panels for Frankfurt, the organisation of the aluminium panels for Brussels was also unclear until shortly before the exhibition opened. Even in mid-October, just one month before the opening of the exhibition, it was still unclear which company – if any – would provide the panels for the exhibition: "Nous avons encore une fois réclamé chez les Hedderheimer Kupferwerke pour obtenir les plaques d'aluminium." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, October 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives. Before agreeing on again using aluminium panels, "Cellotex boards" were also briefly considered as an alternative, but ultimately considered unsuitable for transportation.

discussed and organised.¹¹⁶ Ernst May (1886–1970, German CIAM Group) was responsible for organising the aluminium panels. As a gesture of goodwill, the firm could stamp its name in one corner of each panel. The panels should measure 2 x 1 metres, plus a margin of 5 cm. At a distance of 2 cm from the edge, a hole of 5 mm diameter was punched in every corner so that each panel could be hung.¹¹⁷ However, it is unclear how the exhibition panels from “Rational Lot Development” were ultimately mounted. Whether they were suspended from the ceiling, as was the case with the panels of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” cannot be stated with certainty. The wording in an article on CIAM-03 in the Swiss newspaper *Baseler Nachrichten* by Hans Bernoulli (1876–1959), however gives rise to the assumption that such was the case: “There hung the neatly schemes drawn in black and with their laconic captions mounted on thin aluminium panels.”¹¹⁸ However, photographs of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in Berlin, Barcelona, and Amsterdam show that the panels, at least after Brussels, were mounted side by side on the walls.

Synoptic Table

The detailed article on CIAM-03 by Karel Teige in the Czech journal *Stavba* reveals that, in addition to the exhibition panels, one synoptic table was also on display in Brussels. The synoptic table comprised all numbers given on the exhibition panels. According to Teige, the synoptic table allowed a “good overview and didactic comparison” of all exhibited projects.¹¹⁹ According to a letter from Sigfried Giedion to Walter Gropius, the latter had also proposed to present the exhibition guidelines as well as reading instructions for the exhibited panels in the exhibition.¹²⁰ Whether this proposal in the end was realised or not remains unclear.

¹¹⁶ “Professor Moser betrachtet damit diesen Punkt als erledigt. Es käme nun der Punkt Ausführungsbedingungen für die Ausstellung.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 7.

¹¹⁷ “Die Grösse der Platten müsse 2 x 1 Meter betragen, also die Grösse der bereits versandten Exemplare haben, zuzüglich eines Randes vom 5 cm, so dass die Grösse also 2,05 x 1,05 Meter betrage. In einem Abstand von 2 cm vom Rande müsste dann an jeder Ecke ein Loch von 5 mm Durchmesser gestanzt werden, um die Platten aufhängen zu können.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 8.

¹¹⁸ “An leichten Aluminium hingen da in gleicher Ausführung und in gleicher Beschriftung die sauberen schwarzweißen Darstellungen mit den lakonischen Überschriften.” Bernoulli, “Vom III. Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen.” Although there are several photographs of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition in Amsterdam, Berlin, and Barcelona, as mentioned above there are no photographs of “Rational Lot Development” in Brussels to prove Bernoulli’s description. Thus, whether the panels were suspended from the ceiling, as in Frankfurt, or mounted on the walls, as can be seen in the photographs of the exhibitions in Berlin, Barcelona, and Amsterdam, cannot be completely determined at this time.

¹¹⁹ A table is also printed in the article. We can assume that this table resembled the table which was on show in the exhibition [see fig. I.1.3]. See Teige, “3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu,” 112ff.; for the German translation, see Dolezal, “Teige in Stavba 1930-31, Heft IX,” 3–5.

¹²⁰ “Ihr Vorschlag im Ausstellungsraum, die Voraussetzungen und Richtlinien der Ausstellung anzuschlagen – wir werden sie auch im Klischee bringen bei der Veröffentlichung - ist sehr wichtig. Ich würde vorschlagen, dass man nicht nur eine Gebrauchsanweisung formuliert, sondern auch falls dies möglich ist, die Vorschläge für Richtlinien festlegt. Ich werde gern versuchen Ihnen eine Skizze für die Formulierung der Gebrauchsanweisung einzusenden.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, October 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

1.1.2. The Layout and Graphics

As we can see from the photographs from the travelling exhibitions of “Rational Lot Development,” every exhibition panel followed a standardised layout and a uniform graphic language [see fig. I.4.7, fig. I.4.8, fig. I.4.11, I.4.12, fig. I.4.16]. The city, or the “place of origin,” as it was written in the introduction to the guided tour, and the year of construction were given as the header at the top left edge of the panel. If the settlement was not yet built, only the location was given. The layout of the panel was roughly divided into two parts. The upper half of the panel showed the settlement scheme. Every scheme was drawn in the same scale of 1:200 and in the same orientation, indicated through a north arrow.¹²¹ On the lower half of the panel, seven key figures were given, which allowed a numerical comparison between the projects:

- (1) total road surface in m²
- (2) total building plot in m²
- (3) the number of apartments per hectare
- (4) the number of inhabitants per hectare
- (5) net surface area per m²
- (6) cost of unprepared land per m², calculated in the wage hours of qualified craftsmen
- (7) cost of prepared land per m², calculated in the wage hours of qualified craftsmen.¹²²

Sigfried Giedion summarised the aim of the given figures as follows:

A few, but valid, figures provide information. For example, by comparing the ratio of the population density with the built-up area and the number of apartments per hectare, one quickly gets an idea of today's conditions (one senses that today it is really no longer the form that matters, but the inner coherence of a solution). The exhibition shows that instead of chaotic, sentimental or aesthetically exaggerated methods of development, there is an effort to create a city plan only as a skeleton – not as a rigidly marked out street layout, but to use an increased regularity of the terrain on a large

¹²¹ “Die Lagepläne sollen mit einem Nordpfeil versehen sein und sich zur Umzeichnung im Masstab 1:200 eignen.” CIAM, “COMMUNIQUE CONCERNANT L'EXPOSITION: 'SYSTEMES DE LOTISSEMENTS RATIONELLES,’” 2.

¹²² For example, see project “32. Stockholm 1930” in Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen. Ergebnisse des 3. Internationalen Kongresses für Neues Bauen* (Frankfurt am Main: Englert und Schlosser, 1931), #32.

scale. Obviously, especially in the field of projects, the tendency of collective forms of housing was noticeable.¹²³

Besides these key figures on the left side of the lower half, most of the panels showed additional graphic or visual material on the right side. As the photographs from the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" in Berlin show [see fig. I.4.7, fig. I.4.8], the additional graphic or visual material varied from panel to panel. Either photographs of the project, floorplans of selected apartments from the settlement, schematic sections, or street profiles – either on their own or in combination – were given. Depending on how much space the settlement scheme on the upper half occupied, some panels also had additional graphics printed on the upper half, underneath or next to the settlement scheme. Some panels did not show any additional graphic material.

All settlement schemes, as well as all the additional graphic material, were printed in black and white.¹²⁴ However, the settlement schemes were initially intended to be exhibited in colour. In a letter to Sigfried Giedion from July 1930, Victor Bourgeois details a meeting with Mart Stam, in which the exhibition guidelines and drawing requirements were once again discussed. During this meeting, Bourgeois and Stam had defined a colour scheme for the settlement schemes. The outline of the settlement schemes was supposed to be drawn in regular ink, and afterwards coloured in with crayons of the Polycolor Hartmuth brand. The entire scheme should be drawn in continuous lines, and the buildings' contours needed to be emphasised with a bold stroke. Public buildings were supposed to be shaded with a red 45-degree hatch ("Polycolor Hartmuth Nr. 38") and with lines 2 mm apart; private housing blocks with lines 3 mm apart; streets to be shaded with a yellow 45-degree hatch ("Polycolor Hartmuth Nr. 6") and with lines 3 mm apart; green spaces with a green 45-degree hatch ("Polycolor Hartmuth Nr. 11") and lines 2 mm apart; private gardens were to be left blank. This work was supposed to be done by the delegates before they sent the plans to Brussels.¹²⁵ That the plans were ultimately not coloured in and exhibited in black-and-white

¹²³ "Aufschluss geben wenige, aber stichhaltige Zahlen. Vergleicht man z.B. das Verhältnis von Wohndichte, überbauter Fläche und der Zahl an Wohnungen pro Hektar, so erhält man rasch Aufschluß über die heutigen Zustände; (man spürt, daß es heute wirklich nicht mehr auf die Form ankommt, sondern auf die innere Stichhaltigkeit einer Lösung). An Hand der Ausstellung ließ sich feststellen, daß anstelle der chaotischen, sentimental oder ästhetisch überzuckerten Aufschließungsmethoden das Bestreben bemerkbar wird, den Stadtplan nur als Gerippe – nicht als starr woher eingezeichnete Straßenzügen – anzulegen, dafür aber eine erhöhte Planmäßigkeit der Geländebestimmungen im großen einzusetzen. Offensichtlich war – besonders auf dem Gebiet der Projekte – die Tendenz kollektiver Wohnformen bemerkbar." Sigfried Giedion, "III. Internationaler Kongress für neues Bauen," *Frankfurter Zeitung* (December 16, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

¹²⁴ "An leichten Aluminum hingen da in gleicher Ausführung und in gleicher Beschriftung die sauberen schwarzweißen Darstellungen mit den lakonischen Überschriften." Bernoulli, "Vom III. Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen."

¹²⁵ "Lors de la visite de Stam nous avons discuté la question de présentation des dessins et il avait été convenu que chaque membre dessinerait à l'encre et teinterait lui même ses projets. Evidemment des directives seraient données pour uniformiser les dessins. Voici les directives en français veuillez les faire traduire d'urgence en allemand et m'envoyer la traduction, celle ci sera jointe aux circulaires. Contrairement à la note ci jointe les plans de situation et les renseignements demandés au num. 4 doivent être dessinés à l'encre de Chine. Les plans de situation seront teintés au moyen de crayons 'Polycolor Hartmuth' rouge num. 38, vert num. 11, jaune num.6. Pour les habitations hachures à 45°, traits rouges espacés de 2 m.m. Pour les batiments

must have been a last-minute decision. A handwritten note on a letter from Bourgeois to Giedion one month before the opening of the exhibition suggests that at this point it was still planned to colour and label all schemes once all the plans had been sent to Brussels.¹²⁶

1.1.3. The Exhibition Space

The “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was on display in the Foyers in the ground floor of the Palais des Beaux-Arts. The header of labelled floorplan of the Palais des Beaux-Arts prominently declares that the floorplan was used for distributing the exhibitions of CIAM-03 within the Palais: “Bruxelles, Palais des Beaux Arts. Exposition Internationale d’Architecture. Du 22 November au 5 Dezembre [sic] 1930” [see fig. I.1]. In comparison with a floorplan of the Palais des Beaux-Arts, it becomes clear that the three adjoining rooms on the plan show the ground floor of the Palais [see fig. I.1.2]. The room on the left shows the right half of the so-called “Exhibition Hall,” and the two adjoining rooms on the right half show the “Foyers.” The Foyers consisted of a long, stretched space and one orthogonal room. According to the labelled floorplan from the gta Archives, “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” “Horizontal Sliding Windows,” and the “Plans des Habitations Minimal” exhibitions¹²⁷ were supposed to be shown in the Exhibition Hall. By contrast, “Rational Lot Development” was supposed to be shown in the adjoining Foyers. The labelling of the floorplan corresponds to the distribution of the different exhibitions as depicted on Bourgeois’ photographs [see fig. I.2.1, fig. I.2.2, fig. I.3.1 – I.3.5].

1.1.4. The Exhibition Committee

The “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was considered a collective work.¹²⁸ In contrast to the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition, of which Rudolf Steiger is named as curator,¹²⁹ no curator is named for “Rational Lot Development.” Instead, depending on the task, different delegates were in charge. One key instance in the preparation process was the so-called exhibition committee, formed by Victor Bourgeois, Émile Henvaux, Mart Stam, and

d'intérêt collectif quadrillé à 45°, traits rouges espacé de 3 m.m. Pour la superficie totale des rues hachures à 45°, traits jaunes espacé de 3.m.m. Pour les espaces verts (pelouses, peres publics) hachures à 45°, traits verts espacés de 2 m.m. Pour les jardins particuliers laisser en blanc. Pour la mise à l'encre de Chine trait normal pour l'ensemble, trait renforcé de 1 mm 1/2 pour cerner le blocs.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, July 11, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

¹²⁶ “Au moment de fermer cette lettre je reçois par express 2 plans de la Hongrie. Tous les plans sont mis à l'encre dès leur arrivé; les couleurs et les inscriptions seront mises à la fin en une seule fois.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, October 19, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

¹²⁷ This name must have referred to the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” exhibitions.

¹²⁸ The preparation of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition as a collective work is described and analysed in “Part II. Analysis,” Chapter 8.2.

¹²⁹ “Die Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweise’ wird zusammen mit der von Rudolf Steiger organisierten zweiten Kongreß-Ausstellung ‘Horizontale Schiebefenster’ im Februar im Zürcher Kunstgewerbemuseum gezeigt werden.” Joseph Gantner, “Brüsseler Architektur-Tage. I.,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (December 17, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives. Émile Henvaux and Raphaël Verwilghen were both members of the Belgium CIAM Group.

Raphaël Verwilghen.¹³⁰ The exhibition committee was responsible for going through the acquired material and redrawing it uniformly. Furthermore, there was also a clear division of work between the Belgian CIAM Group and the secretariat in Zurich.¹³¹ The secretariat was mainly responsible for communication with the different National CIAM Groups and the text, while the Belgian CIAM Group as well as the exhibition committee was mostly responsible for the drawings and graphic works.¹³² But not only was there a strict division depending on the task to be accomplished, but also depending on the moment in time in the planning and preparation process. The unplanned departure of Ernst May, Hans Schmidt, and Mart Stam to the USSR in October 1939 led to a redistribution of responsibilities.¹³³ For example, at the beginning of the preparations, Stam was responsible for designing the pre-printed plans for “Rational Lot Development.”¹³⁴ After his departure, Cornelis van Eesteren was assigned all of Stam’s responsibilities. Besides the responsibilities of the exhibition committee, as well as of the work done by the delegates, all CIAM members were expected to engage in the preparation of the exhibition.¹³⁵

1.1.5. The Opening of the Exhibition

The “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was opened on the first day of CIAM-03 on 27 November 1930, and was the first item on the agenda of the official and final programme.¹³⁶ CIAM’s then president, Karl Moser (1860–1936), opened the exhibition with a brief speech. He began with a quick reference to the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” as a prelude to CIAM-03 and the possibility of gaining a bigger audience for CIAM’s work. He then summarised the general aim of CIAM’s work as to establish a unity between architecture and the ever-changing circumstances regarding all aspects of life.¹³⁷ He continued by saying

¹³⁰ “Das Material für beide Teile wird durch eine Kommission, bestehend aus Bourgeois, Henvaux, Stam und Verwilghen gesichert und durch sie für die Ausstellung einheitlich dargestellt.” CIAM, “WEGLEITUNG FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG: ‘RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME’”, March 1930, 42-3-2-11, gta Archives.

¹³¹ “M. LE PROFESSEUR MOSER: Pour l’organisation de cette exposition, c’est Bruxelles qui est le centre. Nous vous donnons tous les documents, les adresses des autres pays. C’est le bureau de Zurich qui fera cela. Nous donnerons les documents au centre de l’exposition.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI.”

¹³² “J’attends donc la visite de Stam à Bruxelles, nous sommes d’accord pour imprimer à Bruxelles les schemas pour les plans de lotissement, envoyez moi les adresses et surtout que Stam n’oublie pas de nous communiquer les renseignements.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, July 12, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

¹³³ For a historical contextualisation of May’s departure to the USSR together with “his architects brigade,” see Mumford, “CIAM 3, Brussels, 1930: Rational Lot Development,” in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 49.

¹³⁴ “Nous avons reçu les exemplaires allemands de l’exposition, nous avons traduit le texte en français et fait tirer des exemplaires français. Le plan schéma est terminé, nous avons envoyé une épreuve à Stam, nous ferons demain l’expédition.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, August 6, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

¹³⁵ On this expected engagement from CIAM members for CIAM’s exhibitions, as well as how CIAM’s exhibitions served as means for engaging the members, see chapter 8.1. in “Part II. Analysis.”

¹³⁶ Deciding on the programme of CIAM-03 was a difficult task, and was not solved until shortly before the opening of CIAM-03. The discussions about the programme mirror the growing significance of CIAM’s exhibitions in the planning process. For an in-depth analysis, see “Part II. Analysis,” chapter 2: “CIAM’s Exhibitions as Programme.”

¹³⁷ “Die ‘JOURNEES DE L’HABITATION MINIMUM’ die von unserer belgischen Gruppe als Auftakt zum 3. Kongress eröffnet wurden, sind eine Veranstaltung, die dazu dient, unsere Anregungen weiteren Kreisen zugänglich und verständlich zu machen. Unsere Kongresse arbeiten daraufhin, die Einheit zwischen der Architektur und den auf allen Gebieten des Lebens auftretenden, veränderten, neuen Bedingungen herzustellen. Auf dieser Grundlage befasste sich der letzte Kongress Frankfurt

that CIAM-02, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," had been the beginning of this study, which was now being continued at CIAM-03 on the basis of the exhibited material of "Rational Lot Development":

Today we go one step further, to the study of rational lot developments on the basis of extensive exhibition material from all countries. Here we try to determine which form of housing (flat, medium, or high-rise buildings) meets best today's economic, technical, and psychological requirements.¹³⁸

After Moser's speech, guided tours of the exhibition were given. Victor Bourgeois gave a tour in French, and Cornelis van Eesteren gave another in German.¹³⁹ The introduction was structured in four subject areas. First, collecting "comparable material"¹⁴⁰ on the subject of "Rational Lot Development" was named as the purpose of the exhibition. In order to obtain – as well as to understand – this "objective and comparable material," the different schemes on display had to be viewed from six different angles, or objective criteria: "regarding their economic, social, hygienic, and psychological demands, as well as in regards to their traffic routing and floorplans."¹⁴¹ Second, it was explained that the exhibition panels were grouped in four categories and arranged according to their location.¹⁴² Third, the "economic part" of the exhibition as one of the six comparison criteria was explained in greater detail, since it was regarded as "very important" for an objective comparison. By "economic part," CIAM understood the total road area, the built-over area, the land price, and the number of inhabitants per hectare. These figures were regarded as very important, since only by comparing them could the feasibility of either a yet to be built project, or of an already built project, be checked or verified.¹⁴³ Fourth, the observations and claims CIAM had derived

1929 – zuerst mit der Frage der Wohnung für das Existenzminimum." Karl Moser, "Einleitungsrede von Prof. Karl Moser (Zürich)," November 27, 1930, 42-3-4-21DV, gta Archives.

¹³⁸ "Heute gehen wir einen Schritt weiter, zum Studium der rationellen Bauweisen auf Grund von reichlichem Ausstellungsmaterial aus allen Ländern. Bei dieser Gelegenheit versuchen wir festzustellen, welche Wohnform (Flach-, Mittel- oder Hochbau) den heutigen wirtschaftlichen, technischen und psychologischen Forderungen am besten entspricht." Moser, "Einleitungsrede von Prof. Karl Moser (Zürich)." How CIAM's exhibitions served as the material basis of CIAM's Congresses in analysed in "Part II. Analysis": see chapter 5, "CIAM's Exhibitions as MATERIAL."

¹³⁹ For the German introduction, see CIAM, "FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN." For the French introduction, see CIAM, "EXPLICATIONS DONNEES LORS DE LA VISITE GUIDEE DE L'EXPOSITION DU LOTISSEMENT RATIONNEL."

¹⁴⁰ "Die Ausstellung 'Rationelle Bebauungsweisen' hat den Zweck, über diese Thema vergleichbares Material zusammenzubringen." CIAM, "FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN."

¹⁴¹ "Um einen möglichst objektiven Vergleichsmaßstab zu haben, müssen die Pläne hinsichtlich der wirtschaftlichen, soziale, hygienischen, psychologischen Forderungen, als in Bezug auf Verkehr und Wohnungsgrundriss berücksichtigt werden." CIAM, "FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN." For how CIAM's exhibitions served as a means for the material redemption of CIAM's claims, see chapter 5.1 in "Part II. Analysis."

¹⁴² "Die Ausstellung zerfällt in 4 Kategorie [sic]: a) Flachbau, b) Mittelbau, c) Hochbau, d) Gemischte Bauweise. Diese Hauptgruppen sind nach den Entstehungsorten angeordnet." CIAM, "FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN."

¹⁴³ "Der ökonomische Teil befasst sich mit den Fragen der Strassenfläche, überbauten Fläche, Grundstückspreise, Zahl der Einwohner pro Hektar, usw. und gibt auf diese Weise vergleichbare Zahlen. Die wirtschaftliche Seite ist sehr wichtig, weil sie angesichts der bestehenden Wohnungsnot einerseits die Realisierbarkeit eines Projektes angibt und, andererseits, um die realisierten Pläne zu prüfen." CIAM, "FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN."

from this exhibition were explained. CIAM drew two main observations and two claims from the exhibition. The first observation CIAM made was the general tendency of all exhibited projects to reduce both the road area and the development costs, as well as to aim for a maximal residential density in accordance with certain hygienic requirements.¹⁴⁴ Second, CIAM observed that instead of an “anarchic development, very often sprinkled with aesthetics and sentimentality,”¹⁴⁵ the exhibited projects strived for a functional development based on a regulated master plan, including inter alia the transport network, as well as residential, industrial, and resting places. Based on both observations, CIAM made the following two claims. On the one hand, CIAM appealed for formulating new building laws for each of the four building categories (“low buildings,” “medium height buildings,” “high buildings,” and “mixed buildings”), which would confirm and support the observed tendencies.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, CIAM called for masterplans which were not designed according to rigid axes, but according to a “flexible and adaptable urban skeleton.”¹⁴⁷ Only such urban skeletons as well as a “systemic land policy”¹⁴⁸ would provide sufficiently large areas for rational lot developments. After the guided tours, speeches were delivered by Le Corbusier, Eugen Kaufmann (1892–1984) and Herbert Böhm (1894–1954), Richard Neutra (1892–1970), and Walter Gropius.¹⁴⁹

1.1.6. The Reception of the Exhibition

“Rational Lot Development” was, according to the available archival material, well-received. The German newspaper *Münchener Neue Nachrichten*, for example, reports that the exhibition in Brussels was “well-visited by an attentive audience.”¹⁵⁰ However, the majority of the reports on CIAM-03 only mention the exhibition as an aside.¹⁵¹ Benjamin Merkelbach

¹⁴⁴ “Als durchgehende Tendenz, kann man beobachten dass eine Verminderung der Strassenfläche und der Aufschliessungskosten erstrebt wird, sowie ein Suchen nach dem Maximum der Wohndichte in Verbindung mit den hygienischen Forderungen.” CIAM, “FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN.”

¹⁴⁵ “An Stelle der anarchische Bebauung, die allzuoft mit Esthetik und Sentimentalität überzuckert wird, strebt man nach funktionellen Aufschliessungsmethoden auf Grund eines geregelten Gesamtplans. Diese Planung umfasst: das Verkehrsnetz, die Wohn-, Industrie- und Ruhestätten, usw.” CIAM, “FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN.”

¹⁴⁶ “Es handelt sich nun darum die Gesetze für die genannten Kategorien zu bestimmen.” CIAM, “FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN.”

¹⁴⁷ “Da das Problem der rationelle Bauweisen sich rasch entwickelt, entsteht die Notwendigkeit von Stadtplänen die nicht starr und nach Axen entworfen sind, sondern flexible und anpassungsfähigen Stadtgerippen, die eine rationelle Bauweise überhaupt erst ermöglichen.” CIAM, “FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN.”

¹⁴⁸ “Ohne eine systematische Bodenpolitik und Umliegungsverfahren wird man nicht über genügend grosse Flächen, wie sie die zukünftigen Aufschliessungsmethoden erfordern, verfügen können.” CIAM, “FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN.”

¹⁴⁹ For a summary of the speeches given, see Mumford, “CIAM 3, Brussels, 1930: Rational Lot Development,” in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 49f.

¹⁵⁰ “Das öffentliche Interesse für die Sache geweckt, so daß sowohl die Vorträge wie die Ausstellungen des Kongresses, die alle in den Räumen des neuen Palais des Beaux-Arts stattfanden, durchweg von einem zahlreichen, aufmerksamen Publikum besucht wurden.” Joseph Gantner, “Internationaler Kongress für neues Bauen,” *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* (December 13, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

¹⁵¹ To give just one example, in a detailed two-part report by Joseph Gantner, the “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibitions are only mentioned in one short paragraph. Gantner, “Brüsseler Architektur-Tage. I.,” *Neue*

(1901 - 1961) in his report on CIAM-03 in the Dutch journal *Tijdschrift voor Volkshuisvesting* emphasised the uniqueness of the exhibition in comparison to other urban planning exhibitions.¹⁵² It was the reduced and easy-to-read language of the exhibition panels that distinguished it from others in the same field: "With its simple and clear design, this exhibition clearly stood out from other exhibitions in the field of urban planning and clarified the spirit of the conferences."¹⁵³ Merkelbach furthermore praised that the exhibited schemes could be compared "without much effort."¹⁵⁴ He attributes this easy comparability to the standardised layout on the one hand, and the uniform scale of settlement schemes on the other.¹⁵⁵ A report in the French magazine *Art et Decoration* described the arrangement of the plans "in a proper order without simplifying the difficult problem"¹⁵⁶ as the distinguishing quality of the exhibition. Hans Bernoulli, who himself had at least three projects on display at the exhibition, noted in a detailed report in the Swiss newspaper *Basler Nachrichten* that CIAM's challenge was now to release the settlement schemes "from their precision [...] in order to breathe life into them."¹⁵⁷ Despite this underlying criticism of an isolated study, Bernoulli nevertheless praised the positive mood that emanated from the exhibition, which was the contrary to the "gloomy American images of the future of narrow canyons of houses,"¹⁵⁸ and called it "a step into the future."¹⁵⁹ According to another report in *Die Baugilde*, the synoptic table with all the figures from the exhibition material stood symbolically for "the cross-fertilisation of all national groups beyond the national borders."¹⁶⁰

Zürcher Zeitung (December 17, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives; "Brüsseler Architektur-Tage. II. (Schluß)," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (December 18, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

¹⁵² Benjamin Merkelbach, "DERDE INTERNATIONALE CONGRES VOOR 'NEUES BAUEN' TE BRUSSEL," *Tijdschrift voor Volkshuisvesting* 1 (1931): 18ff., 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

¹⁵³ "Door haar eenvoudigen en duidelijken opzet onderscheidde zich deze tentoonstelling gunstig van andere tentoonstellingen op stedeboouwkundig gebied en demonstreerde zij duidelijk den geest van de congressen." Merkelbach, "DERDE INTERNATIONALE CONGRES VOOR 'NEUES BAUEN' TE BRUSSEL."

¹⁵⁴ "Deze tentoonstelling had ten doel over dit onderwerp vergelijkbaar materiaal tezamen te brengen. De afzonderlijke bladen, die alle gestandariseerd waren, waren alle op dezelfde wijze en op dezelfde schaal getekend, waardoor het mogelijk gemaakt werd den planen zonder veel moeite te vergelijken." Merkelbach, "DERDE INTERNATIONALE CONGRES VOOR 'NEUES BAUEN' TE BRUSSEL."

¹⁵⁵ The importance of a uniform layout and homogenous graphic language is explained in chapter 5.1.2 in "Part II. Analysis."

¹⁵⁶ "L'intérêt de l'exposition fut de permettre le rapprochement et la comparaison des diverses solutions proposées, les plans soumis à l'examen des congressistes étant tracés uniformément sur des feuilles standardisées et à la même échelle et donnant, sous forme de tableau, tous les renseignements désirables sur la surface couverte, la surface utile, le temps de construction, le prix de revient, etc. Manière commode d'ordonner sans le simplifier à l'excès, un problème ardu où e mêlent les points de vue économique, social, hygiénique, psychologique, celui de la circulation, celui du plan 'minimum.'" "LE CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL D'ARCHITECTURE A BRUXELLES," *Art et Decoration* (February 1931), 4, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

¹⁵⁷ "Die Bewegung, die Ausführung selbst, wird diese Schemata aus ihrer präzisen Form lösen müssen, sie umdeuten müssen zu generellen Grundlagen, über denen sich ein reich abgestuftes Leben entwickelt. Oder soll das Leben selbst erstarren, im allzu harten Panzer festgeformter, unbedingter, abgeschlossener statistischempfundener Gehäufte?" Bernoulli, "Vom III. Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen."

¹⁵⁸ "Der Eindruck der ganzen Ausstellung ist der einer Entwicklung von freien Bildungen, unabhängig von der Straße. Jene unheimlichen, amerikanischen Zukunftsbilder mit den engen Straßenschluchten, in drei Ebenen von Straßen und Brücken und fliegenden Trottoirs durchzogen, haben einem freien, hellen, durchsichtigen Bild Platz gemacht." Bernoulli, "Vom III. Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen."

¹⁵⁹ "Ein Schritt in die Zukunft." Bernoulli, "Vom III. Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen."

¹⁶⁰ "Die Vermittlung einer weiteren Uebersicht der Zusammenhänge über Landesgrenzen hinaus und die gegenseitige Befruchtung macht erst die Arbeit der einzelnen Landesgruppen, der naturgemäß nur beschränkte Möglichkeiten zur Verfügung stehen, zu Bausteinen einer positiven Entwicklung. Dies ist das Wertvolle an diesen Kongressen, deren Fortsetzung wir um so mehr für wünschenswert halten." See "FLACH-, MITTEL-, UND HOCHBAU. DER III. INTERNATIONALE

What did draw criticism, however, were the chosen settlements. Ernst Kaufmann, for example, criticised the many missing German settlements omitted by the exhibition.¹⁶¹

1.2. The Planning

Three CIRPAC meetings were held in preparation for CIAM-03 between February and September 1930. The first two were held in Le Corbusier's Paris studio, 35 rue de Sèvres. The first meeting took place on 3 February. The second was split into two sessions due to the absence of Victor Bourgeois on the first day. The first session took place on 17 May, the second session three days later on 20 May. The departure of Ernst May, Hans Schmidt, and Mart Stam to the USSR led to a third CIRPAC meeting, preceding the long-planned delegates' meeting in Frankfurt on 25 September. The protocols of the CIRPAC meetings reveal that the planning of the "Rational Lot Development" and "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibitions comprised a major part of the meetings, and that they were the focus of the planning.¹⁶² Thus, on the one hand, the protocols serve as an important archival source for reconstructing the planning history of the exhibitions. They bear testimony of which aims were associated with the exhibitions, which CIRPAC members played a leading role in their planning, and how the vision of the exhibitions grew more and more concrete from meeting to meeting.¹⁶³

1.2.1. First CIRPAC Meeting, Paris, 3 February 1930

The first CIRPAC meeting in preparation for CIAM-03 was held on 3 February 1930 at Le Corbusier's studio in Paris. Victor Bourgeois, Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion, Louis-Georges Pineau (1898–1987), Mart Stam, Hans Schmidt (1893–1972), and Pierre Barbe were in attendance. Victor Bourgeois chaired the meeting.¹⁶⁴ The main preoccupations of the

KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN IN BRÜSSEL." *Wohnungswirtschaft* (1930), 491ff., 42-3-6-2, gta Archives. Since the wording in this article is almost identical to an article by Fred Forbat in the journal *Die Baugilde*, it can be assumed that this article is also by Forbat. See Fred Forbat, "FLACH-, MITTEL-, UND HOCHBAU. Der III. Internationale Kongress für neues Bauen in Brüssel," *Die Baugilde* 1 (1930): 54–56, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

¹⁶¹ "Thema des diesjährigen Kongresses waren im wesentlichen die Bebauungsweisen, die für die Stadterweiterung in den einzelnen Ländern empfohlen werden können. Eine Ausstellung von Bebauungsplänen aus einer großen Zahl von Städten, in gleichem Maßstab aufgezeichnet und nach einheitlichen Gesichtspunkten ausgewertet, brachte ein äußerst interessantes Studienmaterial, dessen Veröffentlichung eine offenbare Lücke in der einschlägigen Literatur auszufüllen geeignet ist. Man erkennt das Bestreben, aus allen Ländern die charakteristischen und am meisten in die Zukunft weisenden Siedlungen in dieser Zusammenstellung zu vereinigen, vermißt dabei allerdings aus Deutschland eine Reihe wichtiger Siedlungen (z.B. die von Haesler), die u. E. bei der beabsichtigten Drucklegung noch hinzugefügt werden müßten. Die Bebauungspläne sind gegliedert nach Flach-, Mittel- und Hochbau und nach Siedlungen mit gemischter Bebauung." Ernst Kaufmann, "III. INTERNATIONALER KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN," *Zentralblatt* 1 (1931), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

¹⁶² The protocol of the third CIRPAC meeting is missing in the gta Archives. The protocol of the subsequent delegates' meeting, during which the decisions taken during the CIRPAC meeting were announced, however provides information about the debates held and decisions taken during the preceding CIRPAC meeting. See CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 1.

¹⁶³ Since these protocols also bear witness to the growing function of CIAM's exhibitions as a *method of work* of CIAM's Congresses, key passages and quotes given in the following reconstruction will be used again and throughout "Part II. Analysis."

¹⁶⁴ "La séance est ouverte à 14 h 1/2, sous la présidence de M. BOURGEOIS. MM. Bourgeois, Le Corbusier, Giedion, Pineau, Schmidt, Stam, Barbe, assistent à cette réunion." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 1.

attending CIRPAC members were the planning of the exhibitions in conjunction with CIAM-03, the thematic focus of CIAM-03, as well as the method of work of the Congress. The discussion about the exhibition at CIAM-03 dominated the meeting's agenda.¹⁶⁵ The debates mainly centred on a letter from Raphaël Verwilghen, containing the first outline for the exhibition of CIAM-03, which Bourgeois read to the attending CIRPAC members. One week after the first CIRPAC meeting, a press release was published, among others in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and the magazine *Stein Holz Eisen*.¹⁶⁶ The press release announced that CIAM-03 would "continue and expand" the subject of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," and that it would take place from 2–4 October 1930.¹⁶⁷ The press release reads as follows:

It was decided that the Third Congress will be held in Brussels at the Palais des Beaux-Arts from 2 to 4 October 1930. It [CIAM-03] will continue and extend the theme of the Frankfurt Congress, 'The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,' from 1929. Above all, it will consider the consequences that a fruitful solution to this problem will have on the parcelling of land. As in Frankfurt, in Brussels an exhibition will also explain the theme of the Congress. In addition to the exhibition on floorplans of 'Dwellings for Minimal Existence,' already shown in Frankfurt, there will be an exhibition on 'Rational land development methods.' Besides, there will also be proposals for solving the question of minimal housing beyond existing building regulations. An overview of the building activity of Frankfurt, as well as executed apartments, will complete the exhibition.¹⁶⁸

Ernst May and Walter Gropius were prevented from attending the First Preparatory Meeting. Both Steinmann (*CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 47) and Mumford (*The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 44) only list Le Corbusier, Bourgeois, Giedion, Stam, and Schmidt as present at the meeting, and leave out Pierre Barbe and Louis-Georges Pineau as attendees. This inaccuracy might be due to the incomplete listing of attendees in the press release. See CIAM, "Pressecommuniqué," undated, 42-3-1-13D, gta Archives. All in all, the official composition of the commission raises questions. In a letter to Szymon Syrkus, in which Giedion informed him about the postponement of the first meeting, Giedion only lists Hans Schmidt, Walter Gropius, Victor Bourgeois, Le Corbusier, and himself as members of the Commission. Neither Mart Stam, Pierre Barbe, Ernst May, nor Louis-Georges Pieneau are listed: "Bezüglich der Vorarbeiten für den nächsten Kongress möchte ich Ihnen mitteilen, dass nach mehrmaliger Aufforderung von unserer Seite die Kommission, bestehend aus Schmidt, Gropius, Bourgeois, Corbusier, am 27. Januar in Paris sich hätte treffen sollen, um die Einzelheiten des Themas für den nächsten Kongress festzulegen. Leider telegraphierte uns Gropius ab, sodass wir gezwungen waren, die Réunion nochmals um eine Woche zu verschieben. Es ist aber nicht anders möglich, zu Resultaten zu gelangen, als in diesem Fall Geduld zu haben, denn alle Beteiligten sind mit Arbeit und Verpflichtungen so überlastet, dass es für sie tatsächlich ein Opfer bedeutet, die Zeit zu finden, um sich an einen gemeinsamen Tisch zu setzen." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Szymon Syrkus, January 25, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Syrkus, gta Archives.

¹⁶⁵ The planning of the CIAM-03 exhibitions is in particular addressed on pp. 22–27 and pp. 34–45 in the protocol. See CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1." However, throughout the entire meeting the attending members kept referring to the exhibition. This continuous reference to the exhibition, and especially the first outline for the exhibition written by Raphaël Verwilghen, is analysed in chapter "4. CIAM's Exhibitions as THEME," in "Part II. Analysis."

¹⁶⁶ "Dritter Internationaler Kongreß für Neues Bauen," *Stein Holz Eisen* 4 (1930), 42-3-4-14, gta Archives. The same text can be found in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, February 12, 1930, 42-3-6-21, gta Archives.

¹⁶⁷ Only later, after the third CIRPAC meeting, CIAM-03 was postponed for seven weeks to 27–29 November due to the departure of Ernst May, Mart Stam, and Hans Schmidt. See: Steinmann, ed., *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 74.

¹⁶⁸ "Am 3. Februar tagte bei Le Corbusier in Paris die Kommission, die mit der Ausarbeitung des Programmes für den dritten internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen betraut war. [...] Es wurde beschlossen, daß der dritte Kongreß in Brüssel im Palais des Beaux Arts vom 2. bis 4. Oktober 1930 stattfinden solle. Er wird das Thema des Frankfurter Kongresses 1929 'Die

By their very nature, press releases seldom bear witness to the difficulties that needed to be overcome before their release. However, the protocol of the first CIRPAC meeting does evidence how difficult the discussions, and how different the opinions of the attending members, were when it came to the planning of “Rational Lot Development.” Despite controversial views and internal disputes about the protocol in particular shows, the vision for “Rational Lot Development” developed during this meeting.

Raphaël Verwilghen's First Vision of the “Rational Lot Development” Exhibition – Representing “the Logic of the System”

Hans Schmidt first raised the possibility of showing another exhibition in conjunction with CIAM-03 during this meeting. After the question arose between him and Le Corbusier as to the exact subject of CIAM-03, Schmidt turned the conversation to the topic of CIAM's next exhibition.¹⁶⁹ He suggested organising an exhibition “as in Frankfurt,” but with proposals and studies “on the rational development of urban districts.”¹⁷⁰ Bourgeois took this thematic turn in the discussion as an opportunity to announce that the Belgian CIAM Group planned to once again show CIAM's first exhibition, “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” at CIAM-03. He added that the group planned to “complete this study, focus on the lot, with an analogous work on settlements.”¹⁷¹ Based on “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition, the exhibition of CIAM-03 would focus on settlements of minimal housing. Bourgeois then read out Verwilghen's letter with the first outline of the exhibition for the exhibition of CIAM-03. In

Wohnung für das Existenzminimum' fortführen und erweitern. Vor allem wird er die Folgen berücksichtigen, die eine fruchtbare Lösung dieses Problems in Bezug auf die Bodenparzellierung nach sich zieht. Wie in Frankfurt, so wird auch in Brüssel eine Ausstellung das Thema des Kongresses erläutern. Außer der in Frankfurt bereits gezeigten Grundrißausstellung der 'Wohnung für das Existenzminimum' wird entsprechend dem erweiterten Thema eine Darstellung zu 'Rationelle Geländeerschließungsmethoden' gegeben werden. Daran schließen sich Vorschläge für eine Lösung der Wohnung für das Existenzminimum ohne Rücksicht auf die bestehenden Baugesetze an. Eine Übersicht über die Bautätigkeit Frankfurts, sowie ausgeführte Wohnungen werden die Ausstellung ergänzen.” See “Dritter Internationaler Kongreß für Neues Bauen.” The same text can be found in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (February 12, 1930). See also CIAM, “Pressecommuniqué: “Er wird das Thema des Frankfurter Kongresses 1929 'Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum' fortführen and erweitern. Vor allem wird er die Folgerungen berücksichtigen, die eine fruchtbare Lösung dieses Problems auf die Bodenparzellierung nach sich zieht.” The French version differs in its wording: “Le Congrès continuera l'examen de la question de l'habitation minimum qui faisait déjà l'objet du Congrès de Francfort. Le Congrès s'occupera des réactions de la solution de l'habitation minimum sur le parcellement du sol et de l'évolution apportés par les techniques (rapport des spécialistes).” CIAM, “Pressecommuniqué.” According to Mumford, this thematic focus reflects “the importance May and Stam gave to the need to ‘rationalize’ site planning along *Zeilenbau* lines, to reduce costs and facilitate (or at least represent) mass production.” Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 44.

¹⁶⁹ “M. SCHMIDT. – En ce qui concerne le thème spécial, s'agit-il d'habitation minimum seulement, ou bien d'habitation collective? M. LE CORBUSIER. – Ce serait peut-être l'habitation mimum [sic] minimum et ses répercussions dans l'urbanisation.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 21ff.

¹⁷⁰ “M. Schmidt. – Nous avons proposé, d'autre part, d'organiser une exposition, comme à Frankfort, pour faire connaître les propositions des architectes, avec des études sur l'aménagement rationnel des quartiers urbains.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 22. How the CIRAPC members during the planning of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition kept referring to the “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” is analysed in chapter 7.2. in “Part II. Analysis.”

¹⁷¹ “LE PRESIDENT. – [...] A Frankfort, il y a eu une expositions [sic] de plans [sic] relatifs à l'habitation minimum; ils seront exposés à Bruxelles, de nouveau, au mois de septembre. On avait pensé que l'on pourrait compléter ce travail, fait rapport à la cellule, par un travail analogue, relatif aux lotissements.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 22. It can be assumed that “on” (French) refers to those Belgian delegates who were in charge of organising CIAM-03. In 1930, Bourgeois was the first, and Verwilghen the second, delegate of the Belgian group. This idea of CIAM's exhibitions as the continuous completion of CIAM's work is analysed in chapter 7.1. in “Part II. Analysis.”

this letter, Verwilghen described the exhibition's different sections, material scope, and venue.¹⁷² During the following debates, this letter then served as a continuous starting point for a discussion between the attending CIRPAC members about – and beyond – the exhibition of CIAM-03.¹⁷³ In Verwilghen's opinion, the focus of CIAM-03, namely settlements of minimal housing, was very well suited for another "graphic presentation,"¹⁷⁴ since the focus of CIAM-03 "does not lend itself well to being addressed verbally, but may give rise to a conference-promenade in the exhibition."¹⁷⁵ This "graphic presentation" should have three different sections.¹⁷⁶ The first section of the exhibition of CIAM-03 should show "historic examples" upon which the evolution of minimal housing development from its beginning to its current state could be observed. As an early example, Raphaël Verwilghen named the Pixmore Hill Estate Plan from Letchworth Garden City, with its characteristic structure and internal layout. As more recent examples, he named the Dammerstock Siedlung in Karlsruhe and the Freidorf Siedlung in Muttenz by Hannes Meyer. For Verwilghen, the latter served as "an example of a work ahead of its time"¹⁷⁷ and was one of the most recent examples in the evolution of minimal housing. But German, Dutch, and Swiss examples, *inter alia*, from both the Romantic and subsequent periods, should also be put on display. The second section of the exhibition of CIAM-03 should show the "best modern examples" of minimal housing developments and should complete the study of historic examples.¹⁷⁸ Verwilghen already had a clear vision of the material that should be submitted in order to understand the different developments: (1) the orientation of the development, (2) large-scale cross-sections of the roads, (3) cross-sections of the housing blocks to see the height of the buildings, and (4) the total area of the development and the area of both residential and main streets, the area of open space and playgrounds, and the number of residential buildings, housing units, and housing units per hectare, not including main streets and open spaces. The topic of the canalisation of the housing developments, on the other hand, should be addressed in a future congress. According to Verwilghen, the entire layout of the

¹⁷² "Ce serait peut-être le moment de donner conaissanceces [sic] passages essentiels de la lettre de M. Verwilghen." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 22.

¹⁷³ See chapter "4. CIAM's Exhibitions as THEME," in "Part II. Analysis."

¹⁷⁴ "LE PRESIDENT. – [citing Verwilghen] ... En ce qui concerne la partie du Congrès consacrée à l'urbanisme, l'on pourrait fort bien, comme vous l'avez proposé, s'occuper du groupement des logements minima. Cette question donnerait lieu à une exposé graphique." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 22.

¹⁷⁵ "Cette première question d'urbanisme se prête peu à un exposé verbal (rapport) mais pourrait donner lieu à une conférence-promenade dans l'exposition." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 23. This proposition, as well as the term, is analysed in chapter 1.2 in "Part II. Analysis."

¹⁷⁶ "LE PRESIDENT. – [citing Verwilghen] 1° Un exposé historique [...] 2° Cet exposé historique pourrait être complété [sic] par les meilleurs exemples modernes [...] 3^{em} question: rapport entre la hauteur et l'écartement des habitations." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 22ff.

¹⁷⁷ "Faisant ressortir l'évolution des idées, depuis l'origine du mouvement (Letchworth), jusqu'à son stade actuel (Frankfort, Dammerstock, etc.) [...] Un fragment de la cité Muttenz près de bâle (architecte Hannes Meyer) fournirait un exemple d'une œuvre en avance sur son époque." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 23.

¹⁷⁸ "Cet exposé historique pourrait être complété par les meilleurs exemples modernes." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 23.

settlements should not be exhibited, but only one fragment of the repeating pattern. This fragment should not exceed a plot size of 10 acres. By showing just “one single fragment of the development”¹⁷⁹ and not the entire settlement, Verwilghen wanted to “represent the logic of the system”¹⁸⁰ instead of the general layout with its inner circulation. This rule should be valid for both the historical section as well as for the section with the best modern examples. In order to easily understand the chronological development of the ideas behind the settlements, the year of construction should be printed “in capital letters”¹⁸¹ on the plans. As determined as Verwilghen was about the material which needed to be sent in, as well as about the limitation of the settlement to just one fragment, he was equally open to additional graphic material being shown on the exhibition panels as well as additional exhibition material.¹⁸² Verwilghen thought it would be of no “disadvantage” to exhibit further plans and additional graphic material of the settlements or even models of them. Even though this material might not be addressed in the speeches given at CIAM-03, it could be exhibited “as long as there is enough space.”¹⁸³ The third section of the CIAM-03 exhibition should focus on the relationship between the height and spacing of housing developments, based on a questionnaire.¹⁸⁴ According to Verwilghen, such a survey was an important addition to CIAM's first-time thematisation of a planning issue at this scale.¹⁸⁵ The questionnaire should collect material touching on three topics: (1) graphics illustrating the existing building regulations of capital cities, (2) graphics illustrating new building regulations proposed by the country's delegates in consideration of the orientation of the buildings,¹⁸⁶ and (3) graphics illustrating the delegate's opinions on whether high-rise buildings should be allowed within housing developments or not; if they were to be allowed, which rules then were to be followed regarding the maximum height and the spacing between the high-rise and low-rise

¹⁷⁹ “Un pareil fragment suffirait, car il ne peut être question de caractériser le système de tracé de la grande voirie, mais seulement le lotissement et le groupement des logements.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 22.

¹⁸⁰ “Bien noter qu'il s'agit de fragments destinés à figurer le système de lotissements et non de vastes ensembles.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 23.

¹⁸¹ “L'année de la réalisation serait indiquée en gros caractères, pour fixer date.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 22.

¹⁸² How this “additional” material was included in the layout of the exhibition panels, as well as how it was rearranged in the publication, is analysed in chapter 6.1. in “Part II. Analysis.”

¹⁸³ “Il n'y aurait pas d'inconvénient, à mon avis, que celle ci soit complétée, s'il y a de la place, par des plans d'ensemble, maquettes etc. ne se rattachant pas directement à l'ordre du jour du Congrès, soit par exemples par des plans et des maquettes des cités de Francfort, de nos réalisations belges, etc.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 23.

¹⁸⁴ Andreas Kalpakci, “Making CIAM. The Organizational Techniques of the Moderns, 1928–1959” (PhD diss., ETH Zurich, 2017), 309.

¹⁸⁵ “Personnellement, je souhaite vivement que cette question soit mise à l'ordre du jour du Congrès Ce serait d'ailleurs un complément de l'exposé qui précède (première question).” By “première question,” Verwilghen refers to a passage above: “Cette première question d'urbanisme se prête peu à un exposé verbal.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 23.

¹⁸⁶ “Résumé graphiques des règles proposées par les rapporteurs de chaque pays. Le rapporteur devrait préciser dans quelle mesure il y [sic] a lieu de tenir compte de l'orientation.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 23.

buildings must be specified.¹⁸⁷ If the present CIRPAC members would decide on collecting this information through a questionnaire, photographs as well as plans of housing developments with high-rise buildings should be collected and put on display.

Discussing Verwilghen's Letter: Taking "The Utopian Way" or "The Path of Immediate Results"

Raphaël Verwilghen's outline for the exhibition of CIAM-03 led to an extensive debate between the attending CIRPAC members. First and foremost, the second (2) and third (3) point of the questionnaire was at the centre of the subsequent debate and divided the attending members in two main camps.

Bourgeois understood Verwilghen's vision for this section to be of a purely "technical nature,"¹⁸⁸ and agreed to his idea to dedicate one part of the exhibition to the illustration of the questionnaire: "If it was considered necessary to complete some of the reports with graphics, there will be a compartment of the exhibition dedicated to this special category of graphics, intended to illustrate the reports."¹⁸⁹ Although Le Corbusier agreed to have one section of the exhibition dedicated to graphics retrieved through a questionnaire, he was in opposition to Verwilghen's desire to focus less on the spacing between the buildings and more on technical progress. He proposed to show "innovation graphics"¹⁹⁰: "The progress of technology is gradually influencing the practice of architecture; it is of various natures, chemical, physical, mechanical, social. It would be interesting to obtain reports treating these various points of view and likely to provide new views on the organisation of the minimum house."¹⁹¹ Le Corbusier's aim was to show new solutions for the minimal housing, regardless of regulations and "however daring they may be."¹⁹² Le Corbusier thus proposed to show the

¹⁸⁷ "Estimez-vous qu'il faut autoriser dans les groupements de logements des immeubles-tours. Préciser les règles à suivre à votre avis, en ce qui concerne la limite de hauteur ces immeubles, l'écartement à maintenir entre eux et entre [sic] ces immeubles et les habitations de faible hauteur." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 23.

¹⁸⁸ "LE PRESIDENT: [...] Cette troisième partie serait une exposition d'ordre technique." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 25.

¹⁸⁹ "LE PRESIDENT: [...] Si l'on estimait nécessaire de compléter certains rapports par un tableau graphique, il y aurait un compartiment de l'exposition consacré à cette catégorie spéciale de graphiques, destinés à illustrer les rapports." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 25.

¹⁹⁰ "LE CORBUSIER: Je serais très heureux si l'on pouvait, en dehors de ces documents, compléter cette exposition par des graphiques d'innovations, présentés par les auteurs des rapports." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 25.

¹⁹¹ "M. LE CORBUSIER: [...] D'autre part, les progrès de la technique pénètrent petit à petit dans les usages de l'architecture; ils sont de natures diverses, chimique, physique, mécanique, sociale. Il serait intéressant d'obtenir des rapports traitant ces divers points de vue et susceptibles de fournir des vues nouvelles sur l'organisation de la maison minimum." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 36. Shortly before the end of the meeting, he once again emphasised this differentiation between the last two compartments, even though it then was decided that these two would be combined in one section: "LE CORBUSIER. – Avec le matériel de Frankfort, il y aurait celui du lotissement qui sera nouveau, quelques schémas [sic] d'ordre technique et quelques solutions appropriées à ces nouvelles solutions techniques." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 40.

¹⁹² "M. LE CORBUSIER: [...] Demander également aux membres du congrès de faire connaître leur conception touchant l'habitation minimum, en dehors de toute réglementation; il faudrait avoir des exemples montrant les possibilités, si téméraires soient-ils." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 26.

following four exhibitions in Brussels: (1) CIAM's first exhibition, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," from Frankfurt; (2) the new exhibition about housing developments (Le Corbusier herewith agreed to Verwilghen's proposal of showing both historical and modern examples); (3) an exhibition with so-called "innovation graphics"; (4) an exhibition showing proposals for housing developments beyond the existing building regulations.¹⁹³ In particular, Le Corbusier's proposal for an exhibition with graphics on technical details (3), as well as with proposals for housing developments beyond the existing building regulations (4), showed to what extent the opinions of the attending CIRPAC members differed concerning what to exhibit at CIAM-03. Sigfried Giedion was fascinated by Le Corbusier's idea of exhibiting projects of settlements beyond existing regulations. He thus also followed a proposition by the Dutch CIAM Group, which believed that only by looking both at the "practical path" as well as at the "unrestricted path" could progress in minimal housing be achieved.¹⁹⁴ In contrast to Le Corbusier and Giedion, Mart Stam did not share enthusiasm for exhibiting either technical details or projects of housing developments outside the building regulations. He strongly disapproved of what Giedion and the Dutch CIAM Group understood by the "unrestricted path." For Stam, this proposition of an "unrestricted path" equalled a "utopian way." And since this "utopian way" was one of many reasons for the criticism of the work of CIAM after CIAM-02, he was distinctly against it: "In Frankfurt one has tried to follow the utopian path, but hasn't experienced anything but resistance." Instead, Stam claimed now to be following the "path of immediate results."¹⁹⁵ By this, he meant to display only built housing developments which followed the building regulations of the different countries. He insisted on this position until the end of the meeting, and refused to alter his outlook. Shortly before the end of the meeting, when Bourgeois summarised what everyone but Stam had agreed to exhibit at CIAM-03 in Brussels – (1) the "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" exhibition from Frankfurt, (2) the exhibition on "The rational use of space, according to hygienic, social, and financial requirements (parcellement du sol)," and (3) the "exhibition of graphics, showing the application of new techniques in the solution of the minimum housing" – Stam continued to defend his opinion. Le Corbusier's attempt to soothe his concerns by explaining that "we

¹⁹³ "LE CORBUSIER: En résumé, je proposerai 1° exposition de la maison minimum de Francfort; 2° exposition nouvelle des lotissements; 3° exposition de graphiques d'innovations; 4° propositions d'habitations minima, tout à fait schématiques, hors de toute réglementation à demander aux membres du congrès qui auraient des idées à soumettre à cet égard." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 25.

¹⁹⁴ "M. GIEDION: Nous avons reçu du groupe danois un rapport intéressant, dans lequel on envisage comme dans nos discussions deux voies possibles, un chemin tout à fait pratique, puis un chemin tout à fait libre? C'est ainsi que la proposition danoise dit: l'habitation minimum qu'il est possible de réaliser en ce moment; l'habitation minimum dont on doit chercher la réalisation; les formes diverses 'de vivre,' soit seul, soit en famille, collectivement, etc. Peut-être pourrait-on faire ainsi une distinction entre les deux méthodes envisagées; mais on pourrait peut-être suivre consciencieusement et simultanément ces deux chemins différents, avec l'espoir de trouver entre eux une liaison." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 26.

¹⁹⁵ "M. STAM. – dit qu'à Francfort, on a essayé de suivre le chemin utopiste, mais que l'on a éprouvé des résistances; il propose en conséquence de s'engager aujourd'hui sur le seul chemin des réalisations immédiates." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 27.

are not fools at all, and no nonsense will be exhibited, since everything will happen under the control of those who are here,”¹⁹⁶ Stam remained opposed to the proposition, since “these things were already treated in greater detail than necessary.”¹⁹⁷ He also denied Hans Schmidt’s request to have an extra compartment within the exhibition solely devoted to projects beyond existing building regulations, on the grounds that the new exhibition on housing developments already gave enough room for examples beyond building regulations.¹⁹⁸ According to Stam, the exhibition was solely intended to show “real plans of built projects, but no diagrams of unbuilt ones.”¹⁹⁹ Despite Stam’s effort to convince in particular Bourgeois and Giedion to only exhibit built settlement schemes – and thus projects in accordance with the existing building regulations – the press release shows that in the end, the opinion of Bourgeois, Le Corbusier, and Giedion prevailed.

Administrative Affairs in Brussels: The Palais des Beaux-Arts and “La Semaine d’Architecture Moderne”

Having read Raphaël Verwilghen’s letter aloud, and before the discussion about the CIAM-03 exhibition heated up, Victor Bourgeois informed the attending CIRPAC members about the state of the preparations for CIAM-03 in Brussels. First, he informed the members that the Belgian CIAM Group had chosen the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels as the preferred location for CIAM-03.²⁰⁰ With its variety of spaces, the venue seemed the ideal location for CIAM-03:

I will, if you may allow, firstly make clear how we proceeded in Brussels concerning the administrative organisation. We have just built a palace with large and small meeting rooms, [and] with exhibition rooms. I am only waiting for your approval to sign the prepared contract. This project is advantageous for us in the sense that our equipment will be provided by the Palais des Beaux-Arts. We will have a large meeting room, a secretariat,

¹⁹⁶ “L’Exposition comportera: 1° les documents exposés Frankfort; 2° les documents concernant les lotissements; [...] M. LE CORBUSIER. – On pourrait dire: L’utilisation rationnelle de l’espace, en fonction des exigences hygiéniques, sociales et financières (parcelllement du sol).’ [...] LE PRESIDENT. – [...] 3° Exposition des graphiques. M. LE CORBUSIER. – Des graphiques ‘montrant l’application de nouvelles techniques dans la solution de l’habitation minimum.’” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 37ff.

¹⁹⁷ “M. STAM estime que l’ on fait déjà ces choses plus qu’il n’est nécessaire.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 39.

¹⁹⁸ “M. SCHMIDT. – Pratiquement, il s’agit de la question de savoir si l’on doit faire une section d’exposition de plus. M. STAM. dit que le point n° 2 ‘parcelllement du sol,’ fait place, déjà, aux projets visés par M. Le Corbusier.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 39ff..

¹⁹⁹ “M. STAM propose, comme directives, que l’exposition ne devra comprendre que des projets réalisés, mais pas de projets nouveaux -pas de schémas, mais de vrais plans.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 39ff.

²⁰⁰ The discussion about the location of CIAM-03 and the underlying changing significance of CIAM’s exhibitions as a space of CIAM’s Congresses is described in chapter 1.2 and 1.3 in “Part II. Analysis.”

and a restaurant. So, everything will be centralised, which is very important from a practical point of view.²⁰¹

Second, Bourgeois informed the present CIRPAC members that to secure funding from the city of Brussels for the Congress, a public side event hosted by the Belgian CIAM Group in conjunction with CIAM-03 needed to be organised. Thus, the Belgian CIAM Group had decided to organise what was at that time called “La Semaine de l'Architecture Moderne” (later “Les Journées de l'Habitation Minimum”). The aim of this public side event was to give “greater importance to the meetings from the public’s point of view.”²⁰² Bourgeois explained that the delegates would be involved in the agenda of “Semaine de l'Architecture Moderne” through lectures and public tours.²⁰³

Decisions Taken: Anonymised Plans, One Fragment Only, Historic Examples, Material to be Handed in

Even though the debate as to the exact thematic scope of the exhibition was far from being resolved, the search for its name was already ongoing. At the end of the meeting, Giedion informed the CIRPAC members attending about a preceding meeting of the Swiss CIAM Group with, among others, himself and Hans Schmidt. During this meeting, possible names for the CIAM-03 exhibition were discussed, and the name, “The rational use of space, according to hygienic, social, and financial requirements,”²⁰⁴ was chosen as the working title of the exhibition. When, at the first CIRPAC meeting, Giedion proposed the name for the CIAM-03 exhibition – which until this moment had always been referred to as “the exhibition showing documents on housing developments,” or similar – it was Schmidt who requested

²⁰¹ “LE PRESIDENT. – [...] Si vous me le permettez, afin de mieux préciser les idées, voici comment nous avons conçu à Bruxelles, l'organisation administrative. On vient d'édifier un palais contenant de grandes et de petites salles de réunion, avec des salles d'exposition. Je n'attends plus que votre approbation pour signer le projet de contrat préparé à cet égard. Ce projet est avantageux pour nous en ce sens que notre équipement sera repris par le palais des Beaux Arts. Nous disposerons d'une grande salle de réunions, de locaux pour le secrétariat et d'un restaurant. Tout sera donc centralisé, ce qui est très important, au point de vue pratique.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 24.

Two letters from Bourgeois to Sigfried Giedion and Karl Moser make it clear that the idea of choosing the Palais des Beaux-Arts as the location for CIAM-03 started in early January 1930. “Nous avons déjà travaillé pour le congrès, il aura lieu au Palais des Beaux Arts de Bruxelles de même que l' exposition, ce sont, des locaux très confortables avec restaurant et grande salle de fêtes.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, January 5, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives. “Ici à Bruxelles le Congrès se présente très bien, nous avons obtenu de très beaux locaux au Nouveau Palais des Beaux Arts (grandes et petites salles de séance, expositions, restaurants, secrétariat tout y sera centralisé). L'exposition aurait lieu du 29 Septembre au 13 octobre et le Congrès du 1er au 4 Octobre: à l'exposition nous sommes d'accord avec Francfort pour obtenir les plans de l'exposition de l'habitation minimum.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Karl Moser, January 15, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

²⁰² “LE PRESIDENT. – [...] Afin de donner à ces réunions une plus grande importance, aux yeux du public, nous avons songé à les compléter par un sorte de semaine de l'Architecture moderne. Nous demanderions à chacun des congressistes susceptibles de le faire d'une façon intéressante, de donner une conférence destinée au grand public ou aux élèves des écoles, de l'Académie des Beaux Arts, des sociétés d'habitations à bon marché, des fonctionnaires, etc.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 24.

²⁰³ This side event is used as a prime example of how the preparation of CIAM's exhibitions served as an instrument for personnel decisions within the association. See chapter 8.4. in “Part II. Analysis.”

²⁰⁴ “M. GIEDION. – Permettez-moi de dire que nous avons eu à Bâle une entrevue avec Schmidt et d'autres personnes, de laquelle il résulte qu'il serait bon de désigner ce compartiment comme suit: 'L'utilisation rationnelle de l'espace, en fonction des exigences hygiéniques, sociales et financières.’” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 37.

that it also include the keyword “lot development” and proposed to add following specification: “The rational use of space, according to hygienic, social, and financial requirements (lot development).”²⁰⁵ The attending CIRPAC members at point agreed upon this name as a temporary moniker for the exhibition. Before the first CIRPAC meeting was closed, further decisions concerning the exhibition material to be handed in, as well as concerning the information given on the exhibition panels, were taken. First, following a complaint about misleading information about the architects involved in the designs of the projects on display at “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition, it was decided to no longer give the names of architects from the exhibited projects on the exhibition panels.²⁰⁶ The reports and questionnaires should also now be submitted anonymously. From now on, the panels should only indicate whether the project had already been built. If the project had already been built, the year of construction should be given. All of these points were decided unanimously.²⁰⁷ Second, Raphaël Verwilghen’s proposal about only showing a fragment of the development was once more taken up at the end of the meeting. Bourgeois shared Verwilghen’s point of view, and considered a fragment of the settlement scheme as sufficient, as long as the entire settlement scheme was also shown – yet smaller and regardless of a uniformly chosen scale – on the plan.²⁰⁸ He once again emphasised that CIAM-03 was not looking at neighbourhoods, but rather housing developments. Therefore, a fragment of the development was all that was needed in order to understand its logic: “We will not go so far as the neighbourhood, because it is an exhibition of housing development. It is the mechanism of the development that interests us, rather than the mechanism of the whole neighbourhood in relation to the city.”²⁰⁹ Third, Verwilghen’s proposal to devote one section of the exhibition solely to historical examples was once more addressed. Giedion expressed concerns about this section, since he was uncertain whether this material was better suited to a book than an exhibition: “I have been working on this material for two months, but I don’t know if one should work with it during a conference; I can see it in a

²⁰⁵ “M. SCHMIDT. – Il faudrait apparenter cela avec les lotissements. M. LE CORBUSIER, exhibitions – On pourrait dire: ‘L’utilisation rationnelle de l’espace, en fonction des exigences hygiéniques, sociales et financières (parcellement du sol).’ (adhésion).” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 37ff.

²⁰⁶ For an analysis of this decision, see especially chapter 8.2.3 in “Part II. Analysis.”

²⁰⁷ “M. LE CORBUSIER EXPOSE que le secrétariat général a reçu d’un architecte des plaintes sur le nom de l’auteur de certains plans de l’habitation minimum à Frankfort.

Comme le secrétariat ne peut pas statuer sur le bien fondé de cette demande, et qu’il a la volonté de supprimer toute querelle entre les membres de l’organisation internationale, il propose de décider:

1° que chaque plan indiquera si le projet a reçu exécution, ou non, et, le cas échéant, si possible, la date de l’exécution; 2° il est d’accord pour que, même en ce qui concerne le prochain congrès, les rapports soient anonymes. (Il en est ainsi décidé, à l’unanimité).” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 41.

²⁰⁸ “LE PRESIDENT. – [...] En ce ci concerne l’exposition [...] je rappelle que, dans sa lettre, M. Verwilghen, expose qu’en ce qui concerne les lotissements, comme les meilleurs groupements de de logements minima un fragment suffirait, avec un plan du lotissement proprement dit, à quel échelle serait ce plan, peu importe.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 42.

²⁰⁹ “LE PRESIDENT. – [...] Nous n’irions pas jusqu’au quartier, car il s’agit d’une exposition de lotissements. C’est le mécanisme du lotissement qui nous intéresse, plutôt que le mécanisme de tout le quartier par rapport à la ville.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 42.

book, but [not] in an exhibition.”²¹⁰ Bourgeois was nevertheless able to reassure him of the importance of this section by saying that it was “the development of the idea”²¹¹ that was the main objective of this section, and thus the evolution needed to be exhibited. And fourth, Bourgeois repeated Verwilghen’s list of exhibition material and figures to be handed in. Although Giedion had not voiced any concerns about that many numbers until now, he took the final chance to make a remark. He observed that whenever there were too many numbers shown in exhibitions – “as we have noticed in numerous exhibitions” – the visitor stops reading. And this was something he wanted to avoid at all costs. Making reference to CIAM’S first exhibition, “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” he stated that the amount of numbers on the panels had been wisely chosen: “there weren’t any more than three numbers [on each panel], and this was very good.”²¹² Bourgeois remained untouched by this criticism, and emphasised that the most important number was that of density; in order to get this number, it would be better to have too much information than too little, and one could always drop information or simply present it in a graphical manner.²¹³ Before the session was ultimately closed, following more than three hours of heated discussions, it was decided that the CIAM-03 exhibitions would be on display from 27 September until 12 October at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, while CIAM-03 would be held from 2–4 October.²¹⁴ The Congress’ writings were to be published in three languages in the magazine, *Le Cité*.

1.2.2. Second CIRPAC Meeting, Paris, 17 and 20 May 1930

The second CIRPAC meeting was planned to be held entirely on 17 May. But since Victor Bourgeois, who was meant to chair the meeting, failed to show up, another session was scheduled for 20 May. Like the first CIRPAC meeting on 3 February, the second CIRPAC meeting also took place at Le Corbusier’s studio in Paris. Even though the attending members had expected to discuss the programme and the exhibition of CIAM-03, the CIAM-03 programme was discussed on neither 17 nor 20 May.²¹⁵ Instead, both sessions mainly

²¹⁰ “M. GIEDION. [...] Depuis deux mois, je travaille sur ce matériel, mais je ne sais pas si l'on doit faire cela dans un congrès; je le vois bien dans un livre, mais dans une exposition.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 42. This differentiation between material for an exhibition and material for the adjoining publication is analysed in chapter 6.4. in “Part II. Analysis.”

²¹¹ “LE PRESIDENT. – Cela montre le développement d’une idée.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 42.

²¹² “M. GIEDION. – Nous avons pu constater, dans diverses expositions, que si le public voit trop de chiffres, il ne lit rien du tout. A Frankfort, il n’y avait que trois chiffres, et c’était fort bien.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 43. This remark is analysed in chapter 6.1. in “Part II. Analysis.”

²¹³ “LE PRESIDENT. – Le chiffre le plus important, c’est celui de la densité; il est même indispensable.

[...] il vaut mieux que nous ayons trop de renseignements que trop peu. Nous pourrions peut-être même présenter tout cela sous forme de graphiques.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 43.

²¹⁴ For an analysis of the continuous rescheduling of the opening of the exhibition, see chapter “2. CIAM’s Exhibitions as PROGRAMME” in “Part II. Analysis.”

²¹⁵ Giedion informed both Szymon Syrkus as well as Arnold Hoechel about this twofold aim of the second CIRPAC meeting. “Sehr geehrter Herr Syrkus, Für den 17. Mai nachmittags 2 Uhr berufen wir bei Le Corbusier [...] gemeinsam mit der für die Vorbereitung des Brüsseler Kongresses beauftragten Kommission eine fakultative Zusammenkunft des Cirpac ein, um die Fragen der Kongressvorbereitung und der damit verbundenen Ausstellung näher zu behandeln.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to

centred, first, on the questionnaires for CIAM-03, and second, the general method of work of CIAM. Already during the first CIRPAC meeting, the topic of the questionnaire for CIAM-03 had been a recurrent issue, and likewise during the second CIRPAC meeting there were various and contrasting opinions as to how many different questionnaires were needed for the Congress.²¹⁶

Le Corbusier, Giedion, Karl Moser, Marcel Breuer (1902–1981), Walter Gropius, and Rudolf Steiger attended the meeting on 17 May 1930.²¹⁷ In Victor Bourgeois' absence, Moser chaired the meeting. The attending members first and foremost expected Bourgeois' report on the preparations for CIAM-03 in Brussels and how to precede with the preparations.²¹⁸ But Moser cut the agenda down to two topics: "What we need to discuss: A – Completion of the exhibition's questionnaire as planned during the meeting on February 2. B – the question about the architectural problems of the Congress."²¹⁹ What is misleading in Moser's formulation is that one could assume that the questionnaire to be discussed was that for the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition, discussed during first CIRPAC meeting and currently being worked out by Mart Stam. But Moser was actually referring to two other questionnaires: an additional questionnaire by Hans Schmidt, which had not yet been touched on during the first CIRPAC meeting, and a second questionnaire by Le Corbusier on his "innovation graphics,"²²⁰ which the delegates had already touched on during the first CIRPAC meeting.

Hans Schmidt's Questionnaire

Since Hans Schmidt was also missing at the meeting, it was Rudolf Steiger who presented his propositions for an additional questionnaire. Contrary to what was agreed on 3 February, Schmidt's questionnaire did not focus on settlement schemes of minimal housing, but rather on the layout of the city. Besides collecting information for the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition, Schmidt also aimed to collect numerical and graphical information about cities. Le Corbusier summarised Schmidt's objective as to introduce a common schematic method for

Szymon Syrkus, May 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Syrkus, gta Archives. "Wir haben die Absicht am 17. Mai eine fakultative Zusammenkunft des Cirpap in Paris zu veranstalten, an der über die Ausführung der Ausstellung und des Kongressprogramms verhandelt werden soll." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Arnold Hoechel, April 24, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Hoechel, gta Archives.

²¹⁶ How the focus of the exhibitions of CIAM-03 ultimately limited the scope of the questionnaires is analysed in chapter 4.2. in "Part II. Analysis."

²¹⁷ The minutes of the meeting are written in French, and available at the CIAM Archive at the gta Archives. See CIRPAC, "COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI."

²¹⁸ "M. Le Professeur Moser – [...] En raison de son absence, nous allons laisser le compte tenu du President du Commission. C'est M. Bourgeois également qui devait nous informer de la question des travaux accomplis par le Comité local à Bruxelles. Je ne essay pourquoi M. Bourgeois n'est pas venu." CIRPAC, "COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI," 1.

²¹⁹ "M. Le Professeur Moser – [...] Nous avons à discuter A – Complément du communiqué du questionnaire de l'exposition prévue dans la séance du 2 février. B – la question des problèmes architecturaux du congrès." CIRPAC, "COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI," 1.

²²⁰ "LE CORBUSIER: Je serais très heureux si l'on pouvait, en dehors de ces documents, compléter cette exposition par des graphiques 'innovations, présentés par les auteurs des rapports.'" CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 25.

a comparable interpretation of different cities' development principles in order to visually examine whether urban planning had a measurable value on the city.²²¹ Schmidt's questionnaire ran entirely contrary to Bourgeois' reminder at the end of the first CIRPAC meeting on 3 February, that the exhibition of CIAM-03 "will not go as far as to the neighbourhood, because it is an exhibition of housing development," and "[i]t is the mechanism of the development that interests us, rather than the mechanism of the whole neighbourhood in relation to the city."²²² Schmidt's proposal for the questionnaire consisted of three groups of questions:²²³ the first group would collect statistical information, the second group address how the different cities were dealing with traffic and transportation zones, and the third deal with the arrangement of dwelling units according to their functions. These groups mirrored Schmidt's idea about a threefold division of the exhibition's content: (1) a presentation of statistics; (2) a presentation about traffic and transport zones; and (3) the arrangement of housing units.

Le Corbusier's Questionnaire

Le Corbusier also presented his current work on his questionnaire. In addition to Mart Stam's questionnaire for the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition and Hans Schmidt's questionnaire, Le Corbusier's was – at this moment in time – the third currently being worked out for CIAM-03. Instead of focussing on the "disease of a city"²²⁴ like Schmidt's questionnaire, as Le Corbusier put it, he himself presented his questionnaire on what was going wrong in the field of "scientific technologies":²²⁵ at this time, his introduction could still be linked to the agreement from first CIRPAC meeting regarding Le Corbusier's preoccupation with "innovation graphics."²²⁶ But during Le Corbusier's following explanation,

²²¹ "M. LE CORBUSIER: [...] Monsieur Schmidt désirerait qu'on fasse connaitre au Congrès de Bruxelles, qu'on fasse remettre à ce congrès des analyses semblables, avec une méthode aussi schématique, concernant les villes des autres pays, de façon à permettre d'avoir une lecture générale des principes de développement des villes des autres pays. Cette méthode permettrait de se rendre compte si les projets que l'on fait pour une ville ont vraiment une valeur générale effective?" CIRPAC, "COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI," 2. Even though this plan was ultimately postponed to CIAM-04, the claim of preparing "comparable" exhibition material is analysed in chapter 5.1.2 in "Part II. Analysis."

²²² "LE PRESIDENT. – [...] Nous n'irions pas jusqu'au quartier, car il s'agit d'une exposition de lotissements. C'est le mécanisme du lotissement qui nous intéresse, plutôt que le mécanisme de tout le quartier par rapport à la ville." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 42.

²²³ "M. STEIGER – Les propositions de M. SCHMID se résument en trois groupes de propositions à obtenir. 1° – le groupe des statistiques, 2° – le groupe des réglementations municipal es dans la zone des transports et de la circulation. 3° – le troisième groupe concerne les méthodes d'organisation des constructions, ou mieux l'établissement rationnel des constructions conformes aux diverses fonctions. Il fait de tout cela un questionnaire complémentaire." CIRPAC, "COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI," 2ff.

²²⁴ Le Corbusier hereby refers to the topics of, e.g., traffic and congestion as proposed in Schmidt's questionnaire: "M. LE CORBUSIER – [...] Si on dit, comment sont faits les transports, les grandes lignes des transports, où sont les lieux de congestion dans la circulation, c'est facile de les dessiner. On aura les lieux de congestion, les endroits où la circulation est plus facile. On peut ainsi fixer immédiatement le caractère de maladie d'une ville." CIRPAC, "COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI," 7.

²²⁵ "M. LE CORBUSIER – [...] un questionnaire [...] qui aurait trait à ce qui existe dans les techniques scientifiques." CIRPAC, "COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI," 10.

²²⁶ "LE CORBUSIER: Je serais très heureux si l'on pouvait, en dehors de ces documents, compléter cette exposition par des graphiques 'innovations, présentés par les auteurs des rapports." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 25.

the other CIRPAC members realised that he was no longer working on “innovation graphics”²²⁷ in the proper meaning of the word, but on a study to collect data on the consumption of oxygen, sound insulation, and light in a city. Giedion expressed a lack of understanding of to what extent this proposition was still congruent to his former proposal of a questionnaire concerning the projects straying from building laws: “Didn’t you say on 3 February that you would work on the questionnaire devoted to topic of [projects] outside building regulations and to show some projects?”²²⁸ But Le Corbusier, unimpressed by this criticism, had little sympathy for Giedion’s irritation. In Le Corbusier’s understanding, a study of the current conditions of light and air also provided the possibility of explaining the limitations imposed by the current building laws: “We need to explain to people that they can come up with projects that current regulations don’t allow them to carry out, but which would constitute progress. This is exactly the same.”²²⁹ He explained that only when people understood to what extent existing building regulations prevented progress could they present new and progressive projects.

On 20 May Victor Bourgeois made his appearance and informed the attending members – Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion, Karl Moser, Walter Gropius and Rudolf Steiger attended this meeting, while Marcel Breuer was absent – about the current planning status in Brussels.²³⁰ Besides the preparations carried out by the Belgian CIAM group, the focus of the meeting was on the exhibition on “Horizontal Sliding Windows,”²³¹ and once again the questionnaires. Furthermore, the publication of CIAM-03 as well as the first planning issues regarding CIAM-04 were addressed.

Organisational Issues of the CIAM-03 Exhibitions

The first part of the meeting was devoted to merely organisational questions, all regarding the preparation process of the exhibitions in conjunction with CIAM-03 in Brussels. The attending CIRPAC members then once more discussed the Palais des Beaux-Arts as a venue for CIAM-03. This time, the focus was not on the variety of spaces within the Palais des Beaux-Arts, but more specifically on the advantages resulting from this multi-functional

²²⁷ “LE CORBUSIER: Je serais très heureux si l'on pouvait, en dehors de ces documents, compléter cette exposition par des graphiques 'innovations, présentés par les auteurs des rapports.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 25.

²²⁸ “GIEDION – Le 2 [sic] février vous avez dit que vous feriez quelque chose sur de questionnaire on dehors de la réglementations et montrer quelques points des vue.” CIRPAC, “COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI,” 11.

²²⁹ “M. LE CORBUSIER – Il faut expliquer aux gens qu'ils peuvent apporter des projets que la réglementation actuelle ne leur permet pas de réaliser mais qui constitueraient des progrès. Ce n'est rien d'autre.” CIRPAC, “COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI,” 12.

²³⁰ Like the minutes of the meeting from 17 May, this protocol is also written in French and available at the CIAM Archive at the gta Archives. See CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI.”

²³¹ For the reconstruction of the planning of this exhibition, see chapter “2. The ‘Horizontal Sliding Windows’ Exhibition” in “Part I. Reconstruction.”

venue.²³² Furthermore, they discussed the amount of material of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition in comparison to the material of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” and how much space was needed to put both exhibitions on display in Brussels. An absurd conversation followed, since Bourgeois had forgotten to bring the plan with him, and the subsequent conversations were based on conjectures, not facts: “From the point of view of the Congress, things are going well. Things have been arranged at the Palais des Beaux Arts. I forgot to bring the plan with me. [...] We will have a hall for the sessions of the Congress, and another more important one for the opening session. All of this is centralised at the Palais des Beaux-Arts. We will have a hall for the exhibitions, for meetings, and a secretariat. There will also be a restaurant, a café; all of this to avoid wasting time.”²³³

Furthermore, it was discussed how to first prepare, and then to finalise, the exhibition material in Brussels. A drawing office should be set up at the Palais des Beaux-Arts and a drawing template for the settlement schemes should be sent to the delegates in time to ease the acquisition of the exhibition material.²³⁴ The order of all agenda items in connection with the exhibitions was also addressed. The question of when to best inaugurate the “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibitions – both for internal and public use²³⁵ – was discussed at length. This debate was based on the experiences of CIAM-02 in Frankfurt in 1929. Back then, the opening of the “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition took place on the last day of CIAM-02 as very last item on the agenda. The members decided to again hold the official and public opening of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition on the last day, but to open CIAM-03 within the exhibition space.²³⁶

The “Rational Lot Development” Exhibition: A Question of Scale and Uniformity

When Victor Bourgeois and Sigfried Giedion discussed the available exhibition halls at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, and the latter declared that the new exhibition “will be bigger than [the one] in Frankfurt,”²³⁷ Karl Moser, however, cast doubt regarding the feasibility of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition. He proposed limiting the material scope of the

²³² See chapter 1.1. as well as chapter 1.3. in “Part II. Analysis” for an analysis of this discussion and the underlying significance of CIAM's exhibition as space, and working space, of CIAM-03.

²³³ “M. BOURGEOIS – Du point de vue du Congrès, les choses marchent convenablement. Les choses ont été arrangées au Palais des Beaux-Arts. J'ai oublié de prendre le plan avec moi. [...] Nous aurons une salle pour les séances du congrès, une autre plus importante pour la séance d'ouverture. Tout cela est centralisé au Palais des Beaux Arts. Nous aurons une salle d'expositions, de réunions, un secrétariat. Il y aura également un restaurant, un café, tout cela pour éviter de perdre du temps. CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 1.

²³⁴ See chapter 7.1. in “Part II. Analysis” for analysis of this procedure.

²³⁵ See CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 1–5.

²³⁶ See chapter 2.2. in “Part II. Analysis” for an analysis of what will be called “temporal immediacy,” as well as chapter 1.3. for an analysis of what will be called “spatial immediacy.”

²³⁷ “M. le Docteur GIEDION – Quelle est la grandeur des salles? Est-il possible de faire deux expositions? L'ancienne et la nouvelle? BOURGEOIS- Expliquez moi où vous en étiez concernant les expositions. M. le Docteur GIEDION – J'aimerais savoir s'il y a assez de places pour deux expositions? M. BOURGEOIS – Ce sera plus grand qu'à Francfort. M. le Professeur MOSER – La deuxième exposition qui comprendra encore des questions d'urbanisme, sera plus grande que celle de Francfort.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 1.

exhibition solely to schemes derived from the questionnaires, which should be handed in with a uniform graphic. According to Moser, it was impossible to exhibit bespoke plans of settlement schemes, regardless of whether they showed one fragment only or the entire development. His concerns were not based on the laborious work involved or on the remaining time, but because of the different scale of the projects they planned to exhibit. According to Moser, it was impossible to redraw all the different projects – as was agreed during the first CIRPAC meeting – at one and the same scale. In Moser's opinion, "every city has its very own scale."²³⁸ For him, a uniform graphic was needed, but not a uniform scale. The other CIRPAC members did not agree, and dismissed his concerns.

A Recurrent Question: Discussing the Questionnaire for the "Rational Lot Development" Exhibition

At the end of the meeting, the CIRPAC members once again picked up the topic of the questionnaires. Ultimately, it was agreed to have three: first, Hans Schmidt's questionnaire should focus on the development of and transportation within cities. The questionnaire should collect information regarding where the business and working-class districts were located within the different cities. Furthermore, the transport hubs should be pictured, and those areas most likely to experience traffic jams should be highlighted.²³⁹ All information retrieved through this questionnaire should also be exhibited at CIAM-03 and within an additional exhibition section.²⁴⁰ Second, Le Corbusier had successfully defended his questionnaire on the virtues of light and air during the session of 17 May, and no further criticism was raised.²⁴¹ Finally, the elaboration of the questionnaire for the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition, discussed during the first CIRPAC meeting and which should focus on the inner organisation of settlements, was now assigned to Walter Gropius.²⁴²

²³⁸ M. Le Professeur MOSER – Nous en parlerons après, parce que c'est absolument impossible pour vous de mettre ces documents sur une échelle, parce que chaque ville ses échelles. Il faut se borner à des schémas pour les questions d'urbanism. Il faudrait une représentation standard." CIRPAC, "SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI," 1.

²³⁹ "M. LE CORBUSIER – [...] le questionnaire de SCHMIDT. On aura des plans de villes. On verra où est la cité d'affaires, où sont les quartiers d'habitation d'ouvriers. Si c'est possible, on montrera où sont les points de congestion, les endroits où ça ne marche pas, où est la perte de temps dans la circulation entre des distances trop grandes." CIRPAC, "SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI," 14.

²⁴⁰ This exhibition material was not ultimately exhibited before CIAM-04. However, the long in advance planning of this exhibition is touched upon in chapter 1.4. as well as in chapter 5.2.2., in "Part II. Analysis."

²⁴¹ "M. LE CORBUSIER – [...] moi j'essaierai d'obtenir des réponses sur les vertus de la lumière, de l'air, des réponses précises de gens de science." CIRPAC, "SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI," 14.

²⁴² "M. LE CORBUSIER – M. GROPIUS ferait un questionnaire qui donnerait la forme des lotissements, la manière d'aménager ces lotissements, ensuite la manière d'amener dans ces lotissements des entrées diverses entre tous ces gens dans un nombre à déterminer de logement, et puis ensuite le cube montrant les cubes que ces gens occupent et comment les rues qui sont en l'air viennent desservir tout cela." CIRPAC, "SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI," 14.

1.2.3. Third CIRPAC Meeting, Frankfurt, 25 September 1930

The departure of Ernst May, Hans Schmidt, and Mart Stam to the USSR in October 1930 led to the scheduling of both an additional third CIRPAC meeting and a delegates' meeting.²⁴³ It also led to the postponement of CIAM-03 to 27–29 November. The CIRPAC members were greatly concerned about the outcome of CIAM-03, and in particular of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, since Schmidt and Stam were closely involved in the preparations.²⁴⁴ The CIRPAC meeting took place in the morning and the delegates' meeting in the afternoon, at the Palmengarten in Frankfurt, the location of the meetings for CIAM-02. During the delegates' meeting, Giedion informed the delegates about the decisions taken by the CIRPAC members.²⁴⁵ The delegates then had the chance to communicate their concerns and criticisms regarding the decisions taken by CIRPAC. In particular, criticisms of the CIAM-03 exhibitions were made.²⁴⁶ As was the case during the first two CIRPAC meetings, during the meetings on 25 September the planning of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition took up large parts of the debates. The acquisition of the exhibition material, its preparation, as well as its mounting and arrangement, were raised three times during the meeting. Two interruptions were centred on pending questions regarding the other CIAM-03 exhibition. The first addressed Le Corbusier's plan to exhibit his solo exhibition on “La Ville Radieuse.” Karl Moser informed the attending delegates that Le Corbusier planned to hand in further exhibition material on his urban planning principles. This encountered fierce opposition.²⁴⁷ The planning of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” was also addressed.²⁴⁸ The second interruption addressed the planning of the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition.²⁴⁹ Other personnel-related matters were also raised: the question of how to engage the CIAM members in the preparation of the exhibitions, the final agenda of CIAM-02, as well as planning issues regarding CIAM-04 were discussed.

²⁴³ The Delegates' meeting was attended by Karl Moser, Sigfried Giedion, Alvar Aalto, Victor Bourgeois, Fred Forbat, Roger Ginsburger, Walter Gropius, Hugo Häring, Ernst May, Richard Neutra, Gerrit Rietveld, Hans Schmidt, Mart Stam, Rudolf Steiger, Gunnar Sundbärg, and Szymon Syrkus. The preceding CIRPAC Meeting was attended by Moser, Bourgeois, Le Corbusier, Giedion, May, Schmidt, Stam, and Steiger. See CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 1.

²⁴⁴ “Giedion: Wir sind auch etwas besorgt um den Ausgang des Kongresses in Brüssel, denn die Arbeit auf die Vorbereitung des Kongresses hat nicht gleichmäßig auf alle Mitglieder verteilt, sondern einzelne Kommissionsmitglieder haben mehr als gewöhnlichem Masse uns ihre Kraft und ihre Arbeitszeit zur Verfügung gestellt. Gerade eben die drei genannten Herren [May, Stam, Schmidt] sind es gewesen und unter ihnen besonders Stam und Schmidt.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 1.

²⁴⁵ Since the protocol of the CIRPAC Meeting is missing in the gta Archives, the debates held during the meeting can only be traced back through the protocol of the Delegates' Meeting. See CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M.”

²⁴⁶ In particular, the decisions taken for the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition led to an extensive debate among the delegates.

²⁴⁷ See CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 9. See chapter 5.1.4 in “Part II. Analysis” for a study of this opposition.

²⁴⁸ See chapter “4. The Travelling Exhibition of ‘Rational Lot Development’” in “Part I. Reconstruction.”

²⁴⁹ See Chapter 2.2. regarding the planning process of this exhibition in “Part I. Reconstruction.”

Change of People and Programme

During the CIRPAC meeting, it was decided that Cornelis van Eesteren would take over Mart Stam's role, that Rudolf Steiger would take over Hans Schmidt's role, and that the successor of Ernst May would be chosen in Brussels during the delegates' meetings preceding CIAM-03. But not only were responsibilities redistributed, but the agenda of CIAM-03 was once again adapted. On 26 November, the day before the opening of CIAM-03, a delegates' meeting would take place "for a first mutual and personal contact"²⁵⁰ between the delegates. The official opening of CIAM-03 should happen the following day, 27 November, coinciding with the inauguration of the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition. Immediately afterwards, guided tours by van Eesteren and Steiger would follow. Then, the speeches on "Low-, middle-, [and] high rise" would be given. 28 November, the second day of CIAM-03, would start off with a discussion about the speeches from the previous day. Afterwards, in the afternoon, the "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibition would be opened, followed by guided tours and explanations given by the windows' manufacturers. Reports on the status quo of the subject of minimal houses by the different National CIAM Groups would then be given. Finally, at the end of the last day of CIAM-03, the planning of CIAM-04 would be kicked off.²⁵¹

Final Decisions for the "Rational Lot Development" Exhibition

Under the agenda item "Conditions for Execution of the 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition," the final preparations for the CIAM-03 exhibition were discussed. Karl Moser asked Sigfried Giedion to inform those who had not attended the preceding CIRPAC meeting about the resolved "Conditions for Execution." Giedion thus informed the attending delegates that even if the programme and the main features were fixed, there remained a whole series of "uncertainties."²⁵² Above all, the uncertainty of how much exhibition material

²⁵⁰ "Giedion: Am Mittwoch, den 26. November soll nachmittags der Kongress mit der Delegiertenversammlung eröffnet werden, das bedeutet eine erste gegenseitige Fühlungnahme." CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 2–4.

²⁵¹ "Giedion: [...] Am Donnerstag, den 27. November erfolgt dann die Eröffnung der Ausstellung 'Rationelle Bebauungsweisen'. Daran schliessen sich die Referate an. [...] Am Nachmittag folgen dann die Referate über 'Der Flach-, Mittel- und Hochbau.' Hier wurde die Ansicht vertreten, dass von jedem Referenten das gesamte Thema behandelt wird, da wir der Meinung sind, dass diese drei Dinge nicht voneinander zu trennen sind. [...] Am Freitag, den 28. November findet vormittags dann die Diskussion über die am Donnerstag nachmittag gehaltenen Referate statt. [...] Mit dem Kongress ist auch noch eine zweite Ausstellung verbunden, die Ausstellung über 'horizontale Schiebefenster', die am Freitag nachmittag durch Rudolf Steiger eröffnet wird. Wir haben uns zu dieser Ausstellung entschlossen ausgehend von dem Gesichtspunkt, dass wir auf jedem Kongress ein technisches Detail einer näheren Betrachtung und Diskussion unterziehen sollten. [...] Schliesslich hatten wir noch angeregt, und das wollen wir auch in Zukunft auf allen Kongressen wiederholen, dass von den einzelnen Ländern Berichte gegeben werden, damit wir wissen, was in den einzelnen ändern vor sich gegangen ist und vor sich geht. [...] Dann würde es sich noch darum handeln, wenigstens ganz programmatisch auch die Grundzüge für den Kongress 1931 festzulegen." CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 2–4.

²⁵² "Ausführungsbedingungen für die Ausstellung 'Rationelle Bebauungsweisen' [...] Giedion: [...] Wenn auch das Programm und die Grundzüge der Ausstellung im wesentlichen festlägen, so wäre doch noch eine ganze Reihe von Unklarheiten vorhanden, vor allem die, dass man gar nicht wisse, was von jedem Land nun eigentlich zu erwarten sei." CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 8.

could be expected from every country complicated the planning. This uncertainty resulted from the varying commitment of the delegates and CIAM members. During the meeting, it was stressed that the present delegates would have to commit themselves to deliver the exact number of plans announced during the current meeting.²⁵³ Moser urgently asked for the delegates' commitment to the acquisition of the settlement schemes for the exhibition panels. He asked "the delegates to commit themselves to keeping today's promise regarding the plans to be sent. It is a question of the being or not being of the exhibition."²⁵⁴ Next, discussion centred on the preparation and drawing of the plans. The decision was announced that all plans needed to be sent to Brussels before 15 October at the latest. Every plan had to be handed in "drawn in lead" so that the exhibition committee only needed to "revise and finalise" the drawings.²⁵⁵ This was the maximum amount of work the exhibition committee in Brussels was able to accomplish in the light of the change of personnel. Still, despite this considerable amount of work, this procedure was chosen on purpose in order to ensure the uniformity of the drawings. Walter Gropius, friendly but determined, reminded Moser that in order to do so, a drawing scheme finally needed to be sent to the delegates. In addition, he proposed adding further drawings in the lower right corner of the panels, such as street maps or photographs.²⁵⁶ Before the planning of the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition was once again interrupted with the planning of "Horizontal Sliding Windows," Hans Schmidt made sure that everyone present understood the main aim of "Rational Lot Development." He emphasised again that the focus of the exhibition was to show "the system" of the settlement as well as its "numerical impact":

The main value of the 'Rational Lot Development' exhibition was put on the numbers, so that one has the possibility of a comparison of the different building methods. If you want to present the ideal of a construction method, you can't do without reliable comparative figures. The exhibition is not

²⁵³ "Deutsch: Präsident Professor Moser erklärt, dass sich die Delegierten verpflichten müssten, die hier angegebene Anzahl der Tafeln auch bestimmt abzuliefern." CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 8.

²⁵⁴ "Präsident Professor Moser bittet, zusammenfassend, die Delegierten noch einmal dringend und herzlich, sich für Einhaltung der heutigen Zusage hinsichtlich der zu entsendenden Pläne einzusetzen. Es handle sich um Sein oder Nichtsein der Ausstellung." CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 13. See chapter 8.1. in "Part II. Analysis" for a discussion of how CIAM's exhibitions created the possibility for claiming commitment.

²⁵⁵ "dass alle Pläne bis spätestens 15. Oktober sauber in Blei aufgezeichnet in Brüssel sein müssen. In Brüssel werden die Pläne dann noch einmal genauestens durchgegangen und darauf ausgezeichnet. Man habe dies Verfahren gewählt, um die Einheitlichkeit der Ausführungen zu garantieren. Grundbedingung sei, um es nochmal zu wiederholen, dass die Pläne mit Bleistift aufgezeichnet würden. Mer als das Ausziehen der Pläne könne Brüssel auf keinen Fall übernehmen." CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 13.

²⁵⁶ "Professor Gropius bittet in Ergänzung hierzu dringend darum, von Brüssel aus noch einmal an die Delegierten die Schemata für diese Pläne zu versende [...] Im übrigen regt er an, dass man vielleicht in der rechten unteren Ecke der Pläne noch das eine oder andere Interessante an Strassenplänen oder Photographien unterbringen könne." CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 14.

intended to represent this or that settlement, but the system; not only the system of perhaps row construction or low-rise construction, but the system of the best construction method in general. Already, when drawing the plans, one might notice that one cannot take a whole settlement, but only a section of it. The task of the people who then receive the plans and have them drawn out in Brussels, he said, is to find out what is right.

Coincidences of individual settlements are therefore not relevant for the real purpose of the exhibition, but only the system as such and its numerical impact; that is the most important thing.²⁵⁷

In addition, Walter Gropius suggested that a list with all expected projects expected should be sent to Brussels. Only if the commission in Brussels knew which projects were to be expected could one avoid “coincidental results.”²⁵⁸ Considering that the aim of the exhibition was “understanding the system of the different settlements,” this needed to be avoided at all costs.

At the end of the meeting, when the planning of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was discussed for the third and final time, the subject of “counter examples” was brought up. Gropius, in any case, included counter examples in the exhibition. He named “The Tempelhofer Feld” as a good example of a modern settlement, but nevertheless as a counter example in terms of lot development. Ernst May also wanted to have counter examples exhibited in Brussels, and named the “Leipziger Rundsidlung” as another German example. In contrast to Gropius and May, Hans Schmidt expressed his concerns about exhibiting recently built projects as counter examples. Instead, he proposed instead to use old city districts, such as the Parisian suburbs, or badly designed garden cities. As explanation for this preference, he stated that “[b]y doing so, one could show forms of developments that were based on bad economic reasons. So instead of showing bad

²⁵⁷ “Herr Hans Schmidt legt nun in kurzen Zügen noch einmal den Plan der ganzen Ausstellung dar. Er sagt dabei in etwa: der Hauptwert wurde bei der Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweisen’ auf die Zahlen gelegt, damit man dadurch die Möglichkeit eines Vergleichs der verschiedenen Bebauungsweisen habe. Wenn man das Ideal einer Bebauungsweise hinstellen wolle, dann könne man keinesfalls auf allerdings unbedingt zuverlässige Vergleichszahlen verzichten. Man wolle mit der Ausstellung auch nicht repräsentativ diese oder jene Siedlung darstellen, sondern das System, aber nicht etwa nur das System vielleicht des Zeilenbaus oder des Flachbaus, sondern das System der besten Bauweise im allgemeinen. Schon beim Aufzeichnen der Pläne werde man vielleicht merken, dass man nicht eine ganze Siedlung nehmen könne, sondern nur einen Ausschnitt davon. Aufgabe der Leute, die die Pläne dann entgegennehmen und die in Brüssel ausziehen lassen, sei es, das Richtige herauszufinden. Zufälligkeiten der einzelnen Siedlungen interessieren also für die Zwecke der Ausstellung nicht, sondern nur das System als solches und seine zahlenmässige Auswirkung, das sei das Wichtigste.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 14ff. See chapter 5.1.3. in “Part I. Analysis” to understand how CIAM’s exhibitions served as a means for putting CIAM’s claim to understand the different typologies into practice.

²⁵⁸ “Professor Gropius schlägt ergänzend vor, dass von der Stelle, die die ganzen Pläne nachher systematisch zusammen stelle, vielleicht schon vorher eine Liste der Pläne verschickt werden könne, die sie für erforderlich halte, sonst könne es sehr leicht zu Zufallsergebnissen kommen.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 15.

examples based on good reason, one better shows solely bad or obsolete systems.”²⁵⁹ May disagreed with Stam, and explained that “with these ‘counter-examples’ one wants to show that settlements are not built for formal reasons. Unfortunately, it is still a widespread opinion today that settlements have to be built everywhere purely according to formal aspects. In most cases, this is due to outdated organisms. It is just as wrong if one piles up masses of people in settlements for purely representative reasons without any [other] reason.”²⁶⁰ This argument convinced all delegates present, and it was decided eventually to include counter-examples in the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition.

Eliminating Final Confusions about Hans Schmidt’s Questionnaire

Even though during a meeting of the Swiss CIAM group in June 1930 it had been decided to postpone Hans Schmidt’s questionnaire on city schemes to CIAM-04, this information obviously had not reached Walter Gropius.²⁶¹ At the end of the meeting, Gropius asked about the current planning status of Schmidt’s questionnaire and the adjoining exhibition. He assumed that preparations for the exhibition had fallen by the wayside. Sigfried Giedion remarked that this decision had by no means fallen by the wayside, but that it had been agreed that the “Rational Lot Development” topic was already so comprehensive, that any subsections would “splinter” the main exhibition²⁶² of CIAM-03. Such an eventuality needed to be avoided at all costs.²⁶³

²⁵⁹ “Hans Schmidt [...] Damit könne man Formen der Aufschliessung und Bebauung zeigen, die zwar auch ihre wirtschaftlichen Gründe hätten, aber doch schlechte. An Stelle von schlechten Beispielen mit gutem Grunde also nur schlechte oder veraltete Systeme.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 18.

²⁶⁰ “Stadtrat May ist der Ansicht, dass man mit diesen ‘Gegenbeispielen’ doch gerade zeigen wolle, dass Siedlungen nicht aus formalen Gründen gebaut werden. Es sei ja heute leider eine immer noch weitverbreitete Ansicht, dass man Siedlungen überall noch rein nach formalen Gesichtspunkten bauen müsse. Meist liege das an veralteten Organismen. Ebenso verfehlt sei es, wenn man aus rein repräsentativen Gründen Menschenmassen ohne jeden Grund in Siedlungen aufhäufe.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 18.

²⁶¹ “Ich übersende ihnen in der beilage das protokoll der schweizer gruppensitzung v. 28.VI.30. wir sind alle zur einsicht gekommen, dass nur die konzentration auf das einfachste und nächstliegendste noch einige möglichkeit bietet, für den kongress noch ein präsentables material zu erhalten, wir haben deshalb meinen vorschlag fallen gelassen. die verwirrung kommt daher, dass stam, der sein schema schon lange bereit hat, in paris nicht anwesend war, stam wird nun mit bourgeois selbst sprechen. er steht ebenso wie ich zu ihrer verfügung, auf jeden fall muss jetzt alles eingesetzt werden.” Hans Schmidt, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, June 31, 1930, 42-K-1930-Schmidt-Hans, gta Archives. How the focus of the exhibitions of CIAM-03 ultimately limited the scope of the questionnaires is analysed in chapter 4.2. in “Part II. Analysis.”

²⁶² “Professor Gropius bemerkt, dass in Paris auch noch beschlossen worden sei, einfache Schemata der heutigen Städte in Bezug auf Verkehrsdichte und die Verkehrslinien zu liefern, wenn auch nur ganz skizzenhaft. Dieser Beschluss schein unter den Tisch gefallen zu sein. Generalsekretär Dr. Giedion bemerkt demgegenüber, dass dieser Entschluss keineswegs unter den Tisch gefallen sei, dass man aber gesehen habe, dass das Thema ‘Rationelle Bauweisen’ schon derart umfassend sei, dass man sich keinesfalls zersplittern dürfe und auch keinesfalls noch irgendwelche Unterabteilungen hinzunehmen dürfe.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 9ff.

²⁶³ This fear of fragmentation is analysed in chapter 5.1.4. in “Part II. Analysis.”

1.3. The Acquisition and Preparation

Only one month after the first CIRPAC meeting was held, the acquisition of material for the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition started.

In March 1930, a letter with first instructions concerning the deliverables for CIAM-03 was sent to delegates. This letter included the “Guidelines for the ‘Rational Lot Systems’ Exhibition” [see fig. I.1.4 – fig. I.1.8]²⁶⁴ as well as the “Questionnaire for the ‘Rational Lot Systems’ Exhibition” [see fig. I.1.9, fig. I.1.10].²⁶⁵ It also contained the “Guidelines for the Submission of National Reports on ‘The Dwelling for Minimal Existence.’”²⁶⁶ Since the “Guidelines” and the “Questionnaire” were sent to delegates before the second CIRPAC meeting was held in May 1930, we can attribute both documents to Raphaël Verwilghen, who was also responsible for the first outline of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition.

In October 1930, a drawing office was set up in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, where the exhibition committee worked on the uniformly drawn settlement schemes for the exhibition.²⁶⁷ Nonetheless, the acquisition and preparation process of the exhibition material was exceptionally time-consuming and laborious.

1.3.1. The “Guidelines for the ‘Rational Lot Systems’ Exhibition”

The “Guidelines”²⁶⁸ for “Rational Lot Development” – which at this stage of planning was called “Rational Lot Systems” – informed the delegates first about the twofold aim of the exhibition, and second, about the material that needed to be sent to the exhibition committee. As agreed during the first CIRPAC meeting, the first aim of the exhibition was to present, in a comparative manner, the building possibilities that could be realised under the existing building regulations of different countries. The second aim was to underpin the chosen projects with concordant figures.²⁶⁹ In order to achieve this twofold aim, the national

²⁶⁴ See footnote 95.

²⁶⁵ The questionnaire is available in both German and in French in the gta Archives. German Version: CIAM, “FRAGEBOGEN FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG ‘RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME.’” French Version: CIAM, “QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNANT L’EXPOSITION ‘SYSTEMES DE LOTISSEMENTS RATIONNELS.’” Both questionnaires are undated. Since they were sent to the delegates together with the guidelines for the “Rational Lot Systems” exhibition, they are most likely also from March 1930.

²⁶⁶ See CIAM, “WEGLEITUNG FÜR DIE EINSENDUNG VON LANDESBERICHTEN (...) über die Wohnungsfrage des Existenzminimums,” March 1930, 1, 42-3-2-11, gta Archives. For a brief explanation of these reports, see Mumford, “CIAM 3, Brussels 1930: Rational Lot Development,” in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, 49–58.

²⁶⁷ “Auch in Frankreich ist die Angelegenheit Rationelle Bebauungsweisen gleichfalls geregelt und falls das Zeichenbüro in Brüssel uns nicht im Stich lässt, so wird die Ausstellung voraussichtlich funktionieren.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, October 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

²⁶⁸ See CIAM, “WEGLEITUNG FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG: ‘RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME.’”

²⁶⁹ The German version reads as follows: “Die Ausstellung beabsichtigt: 1. Die Bebauungsmöglichkeiten innerhalb des Rahmens der vorhandenen Gesetzgebung der verschiedenen Länder vergleichend darzustellen. 2. Die Versuche zu demonstrieren und mit übereinstimmenden Zahlen zu belegen, welche zu einer Verbesserung in hygienischer und verkehrstechnischer Richtung führen.” CIAM, “WEGLEITUNG FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG: ‘RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME.’” 2. The French version reads as follows: “L’exposition a pour but: 1. de donner une analyse comparative de lotissements réalisables suivant les règlements existants dans les divers pays. 2. de démontrer et d’interpréter

groups were asked to hand in two kinds of exhibition material: first, a completed questionnaire (attached with the "Guidelines") on the legal provisions of the maximum possible utilisation rate of residential quarters of the subsistence level population should be answered and handed in; second, plans and information on residential projects of both large and small scale.²⁷⁰ The projects could either be already built, under construction, or in the planning stage. All plans should show a north arrow and be suitable for redrawing at a scale of 1:200. Sections should show the heights of the buildings, and if the terrain had large differences in topography, a contour line map should be added. Besides the instructions on the content of the plans, the following information was also requested:

- (1) the number of floors
- (2) the apartment size in m², including the number of beds intended for the apartment
- (3) the number of apartments per hectare
- (4) the number of inhabitants per hectare
- (5) the built area per hectare for apartments
- (6) the built area per hectare for stores and shared spaces per hectare
- (7) the enclosed space in m³ per hectare
- (8) gardens and green areas per hectare
- (9) the road surface per hectare
- (10) cost of land per m² in both the local currency and calculated in the wage hours of qualified craftsmen (mason, carpenter)
- (11) the year of construction or the date of the planned project.²⁷¹

If any of these numbers was not handed in, the exhibition committee would estimate the numbers based on available information. The plans and figures, together with the answered questionnaire, needed to be sent to Victor Bourgeois before 15 May. The exhibition committee would then go through all the submitted material and unify it for the exhibition.

[sic] par des calculs identiques tous les essais qui envisagent und amélioration soit de l'hygiène soit de la circulation dans les villes." CIAM, "COMMUNIQUE CONCERNANT L'EXPOSITION: 'SYSTEMES DE LOTISSEMENTS RATIONNELS,'" 2.

²⁷⁰ "2. Einsendung von Plänen & Projekten ausgeführter, in Ausführung begriffener oder projektierte Bebauungen für Wohnzwecke in grösserem oder kleinerem Umfang." CIAM, "WEGLEITUNG FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG: 'RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME,'" 2. In French: "2. des plans et projets représentants des aménagements de quartiers d'habitation plus ou moins étendus, soit exécutés, soit en état d'exécution soim seulement projetés." CIAM, "COMMUNIQUE CONCERNANT L'EXPOSITION: 'SYTEMES DE LOTISSEMENTS RATIONNELLES,'" 2.

²⁷¹ The original listing in German reads as follows: "Folgende Angaben sind möglichst mit einzureichen und werden andernfalls nach bestem Wissen von der Ausstellungsleitung festgestellt und errechnet: 1. Geschoszahl 2. Wohnungsgrösse in m2 und Bettenzahl. 3. Anzahl Wohnungen pro ha. 4. Anzahl Bewohner pro ha. 5. Bebaute Fläche pro ha. für Wohnungen 6. Bebaute Fläche pro ha. für Läden. Gemeinschaftl. Anlagen etc. 7. Umbauter Raum in m3 pro ha. 8. Gärten & Grünfläche pro ha. 9. Strassenfläche pro ha. 10. Bodenpreis pro m2 des baureifen Geländes, anzugeben in Landeswährung und in Lohnstunden des qualifizierten Bauhandwerkers (Maurer, Bauschreiner). 1. Angaben über Erstellungsjahr oder Datum der Projektierung." CIAM, "WEGLEITUNG FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG: 'RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME.'"

addressed the desired residential density of old city districts of one or two of the most important cities of the different countries.²⁷⁸

In order to collect numerical information about the highest utilisation rate of housing areas for the subsistence level population *legally permitted* in the different countries ("A"), a total of twelve questions aimed to collect directly comparable key figures and building parameters.

- (1) the minimum clear storey height legally permitted
- (2) the maximum number of stories legally permitted
- (3) the maximum building depths legally permitted
- (4) the minimum distance from buildings to roads legally permitted
- (5) the minimum ratio of the width of the street and the height of the house legally permitted
- (6) the minimum permitted courtyard distance
- (7) the minimum permitted ratio between the width of the courtyard and the height of the house, including information on – if any – further regulations regarding court-sided distances, e.g., the angle of light incidence, maximum permitted overbuilding of the property
- (9) the maximum permitted number of enclosed spaces per 100m² lot area
- (10) the maximum permitted number of built-over spaces per 100m² lot area
- (11) the average number of non-built-over spaces (road surface, courtyards, and green area) as a percentage of the total lot area
- (12) the maximum floor area ratio based on the given numbers for the enclosed space, the living space, and the inhabitants per hectare.²⁷⁹

The second set of questions addressed the *desired* residential density of old city districts of one or two of the most important cities of the different countries ("B"). The following numbers were requested for each city:

- (1) number of inhabitants, population density per hectare
- (2) building density of both the enclosed space
- (3) building density of the built-up area per hectare
- (4) death rate for infants under the age of one year

²⁷⁸ "Wünschbare Angaben über die Wohndichte alter Stadtviertel für eine oder zwei der wichtigsten Städte jedes Landes." CIAM, "FRAGEBOGEN FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG: 'RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME.'" By mistake, no copy of this second set of questions from the French version was taken during my research at the gta Archives.

²⁷⁹ The original listing in German reads as follows: "1. Welche lichte Geschosshöhe ist für das innere Wohnviertel als Mindestmass zugelassen? 2. Welche Geschoszahl ist im Maximum zugelassen? 3. Welche Haustiefe ist im Maximum zugelassen? 4. Welcher Strassenabstand ist im Minimum zugelassen? 5. Welches Verhältnis zwischen Strassenbreite & Haushöhe gilt als Mindestmass? 6. Welcher Hofabstand ist im Minimum zugelassen? 7. Welches Verhältnis zwischen Hofbreite und Haushöhe gilt als Mindestmass? 8. Welche anderslautende Bestimmung regelt allenfalls die hofseitigen Abstände (Lichteinfallswinkel, zulässige Ueberbauung des Grundstückes)? 9. Welcher umbaute Raum ist pro 100 m² Grundstücksfläche im Maximum zulässig? 10. Welche überbaute Fläche ist pro 100 m² Grundstücksfläche im Maximum zulässig? 11. Welcher mittlere Anteil entfällt auf Grund dieser Bestimmungen auf das nicht überbauten Terrain? 12. Welche theoretisch zulässige Ausnützungsmöglichkeit ergeben dieselben Bestimmungen." CIAM, "FRAGEBOGEN FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG 'RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME.'"

(5) death rate for tuberculosis per 1,000 inhabitants.²⁸⁰

1.3.3. The Acquisition of the Plans for the Exhibition

The acquisition process for the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was a test of patience for everyone involved. Besides the considerable amount of work that needed to be accomplished – by delegates as well as by the exhibition committee – the general circumstances alone proved onerous, alongside communication within the exhibition committee and the National CIAM Groups.

After CIAM-03 was ultimately postponed to 27–29 November, 15 October was chosen as the new final deadline for sending the plans to Brussels. The circular letter [see fig. I.1.11] sent to delegates on 3 October announced, in an unmistakably sharp tone, that it was “the responsibility of the delegates alone to ensure that all plans, which were previously announced, will be sent to Brussels by 15 October without further request.”²⁸¹ Nonetheless, at the end of October, Giedion was still chasing most of the plans. For example, he urged both Sven Markelius²⁸² and Alvar Aalto,²⁸³ as well as Pierre Barbe,²⁸⁴ to send the Swedish, Finnish, and French plans immediately to Brussels. In addition to the numerous reminders sent by Sigfried Giedion, the communication within the different national groups left a lot to be desired, bearing witness to the tedious work with the different delegates. For example, two weeks before the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was inaugurated, Hugo Häring (1882–1958) complained to Giedion about internal difficulties and a lack of engagement within the German CIAM Group:

Mr. Forbat and I have tried to receive the promised drawings, but apart from Gropius' sheets that are already on their way to Brussels, until today we

²⁸⁰ The original listing in German reads as follows: “Bevölkerungsdichte des alten Stadtviertels pro ha. Bebauungsdichte in umb. Raum pro ha. Bebauungsdichte überb. Fläche pro ha. Sterbeziffer für Kinder unter 1 Jahre pro 1000 Einwohner. Sterbeziffer für Tuberkulose pro 1000 Einwohner.” CIAM, “FRAGEBOGEN FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG ‘RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME.’”

²⁸¹ “Bezüglich der Ausstellung Rationeller Bauweisen übernehmen die anwesenden Delegierten persönlich die Verantwortung, dass die Anzahl Pläne, die Sie zu Protokoll gaben, rechtzeitig und ohne weitere Aufforderung am 15. Oktober in Brüssel, 108 Avenue Seghers, eintreffen würden.” CIAM, “RUNDSCHREIBEN AN DIE HEEREN DELEGIERTEN,” 1.

²⁸² “Sehr geehrter Herr Markelius, Wir erhalten soeben einen Bericht von Bourgeois, worin er uns nochmals ans Herz legt, die Pläne für die Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bauweisen’ der nordischen Staaten einzufordern. Wir bitten Sie freundlichst dafür Sorge zu tragen, dass möglichst umgehend wenigstens von Seiten Schwedens die Pläne speditiert werden [...] Es besteht die grosse Gefahr, dass die wir Ausstellung nicht fertig bekommen, wenn die Pläne im letzten Augenblick eintreffen. Auch der schwedische Landesbericht steht noch aus.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Sven Markelius, October 21, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Markelius, gta Archives.

²⁸³ “Lieber Herr Aalto, [...] Ich frage Sie an, ob Ihre eigenen Pläne für Bourgeois unterwegs sind, denn er meldet mir, dass sie noch nicht eingegangen sein, so bitten wir Sie dringend um sofortige Absendung.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Alvar Aalto, October 22, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Aalto, gta Archives.

²⁸⁴ “Cher Monsieur Barbe, [...] Malheureusement le Corbusier n’as pù aller à Francfort. D’après la demande de Mart Stam, Monsieur le Prof. Moser a fait venir personnellement Monsieur R. Ginsburger à Francfort. Et je comprends un peu sa décision, parce que le groupe français s’est lû depuis quelques mois et nous avons vraiment peur que les plans français manqueront à l’exposition. Mr. Moser a chargé Mr. Ginsburger de s’entendre avec vous - ce qui nous coûte de 300 à 400 francs suisse - et je vous prie instamment d’avois [sic] l’obligeance de faire toute possible, pour que Bourgeois reçoit les plans immédiatement.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Pierre Barbe, October 24, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Barbe, gta Archives.

have only received documents from Fischer. Bruno Taut's documents are still missing, and Haesler just returned all five sheets that he had promised to deliver, since he won't be able to draw the plans due to too much work. Whether it will be possible for Mr. Forbat to do this work in his [Haesler's] place seems very doubtful. In any case, we will send the material we have to Brussels in the next few days.²⁸⁵

Given that this letter was written not even two weeks before the exhibition was opened, it is not surprising that, ultimately, only two-thirds of the anticipated German plans were on display in the exhibition.²⁸⁶

Another difficulty during the acquisition process was apparently caused by the wording of the exhibition guidelines sent to delegates in March 1930. Even though both the German and French versions of the guidelines for "Rational Lot Development" explicitly emphasised that the projects handed in "could either be already built, currently under construction, or still under planning,"²⁸⁷ Karel Teige informed Giedion that no plans from Prague would be handed in, since, "in the field of rational building, nothing has been built so far in Prague."²⁸⁸ Giedion must have cleared up this misunderstanding, since Teige eventually sent two unbuilt development plans from "Havlíčekz Honzik [...] and from Gillar & Špalek" to Brussels.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁵ "Ausstellung rationeller Bebauungsmethoden: Herr Forbat und ich hatten uns bemüht, die in Aussicht gestellten Aufstellungen zu erhalten, aber wir haben heute, ausser den Gropius'schen Blättern die bereits abgegangen sind, erst die Unterlagen von Fischer bekommen können, während die Unterlagen von Bruno Taut noch ausstehen und Kollege Haesler mir die gesamten 5 Blätter, die er versprochen hatte zu liefern, mir soeben wieder zustellt, da er wegen Arbeitsüberlastung nicht in der Lage sei, eine Ausarbeitung zu übernehmen. Ob es Herrn Forbat noch möglich sein wird an seiner Stelle diese Arbeit zu machen, scheint mir sehr zweifelhaft. Jedenfalls schicken wir in den nächsten Tagen das Material das wir haben nach Brüssel." Hugo Häring, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 14, 1930, 42-K-1930-Häring-Hugo, gta Archives.

²⁸⁶ During the Delegates' Meeting on 25 September, Moser announced that the Commission expected at least twelve to fifteen plans from Germany. See CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 10ff. But, ultimately, only nine German plans were displayed in Brussels. See table of all projects in Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bauweisen*, 204.

²⁸⁷ The German version reads as follows: "Einsendung von Plänen & Projekten ausgeführter, in Ausführung begriffen oder projektierter Bebauungen für Wohnzwecke in größerem oder kleinerem Umfang." CIAM, "WEGLEITUNG FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG: 'RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME,'" 2. In French: "Des plans et projets représentants des aménagements de quartiers d'habitation plus ou moins étendus, soit exécutés, soit en état d'exécution soit seulement projetés." CIAM, "COMMUNIQUE CONCERNANT L'EXPOSITION: 'SYSTEMES DE LOTISSEMENTS RATIONELLES,'" 2.

²⁸⁸ "Mit gleicher post sende ich ihnen den beantworteten fragebogen für die ausstellung 'rationelle bebauungssysteme'. diesen fragebogen hat bereits die ganze gruppe bearbeitet und beantwortet. pläne senden wir aber keine, da leider auf dem gebiete einer rationeller bebauung in prag bis heute so viel als nichts ausgearbeitet ist." Karel Teige, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, May 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Teige-Karl, gta Archives.

²⁸⁹ "Wir haben vor einigen Tagen an die Adresse von Herrn Mart Stam geschickt 1.) Antwort auf die Rückfrage Le Corbusier (aux architects) 2.) Bebauungsplan eines Wohnbezirks in Prag Entwurf von HAVLÍČEKZ HONZIK aus dem Prager Wettbewerb für Kleinswohnungen, Juni 1930. 3.) Bebauungsplan eines Wohnbezirks in prag. Entwurf von GILLAR & ŠPALEK, aus demselben Wettbewerb. In beiden Entwürfen handelt es sich um große Komplexe der kollektiv-Wohnhäuser." Karel Teige, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, September 29, 1930, 42-K-1930-Teige-Karl, gta Archives. "Gleichzeitig sind an H. Mart Stam express geschickt: 1.) Bebauungspläne der KOLDOM Siedlung (Entwurf von Havlicek und Honzik) 2.) Bebauungspläne mit Kollektiv-Wohnhäusern (Entwurf von Gillar & Špalek)." Karel Teige, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, September 23, 1930, 42-K-1930-Teige-Karl, gta Archives. For the "Koldom" apartment project in Prague by Josef Havlíček and Karel Honzik (1928–1930), see project #41 in Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bauweisen*. The bilingual character of CIAM's work, and thus the different versions of the documents, also serves as a starting point for the analysis of CIAM's exhibitions as *programme* in chapter 2.2 in "Part II. Analysis."

1.3.4. Unifying the Exhibition Material

As soon as it was decided *what* material should be on display in Brussels, the differences of opinion shifted to *how* this material should first be acquired and then unified. In early July 1930, the following process, proposed by Mart Stam, was decided upon. First, it was decided that “everything concerning the exhibition should be centralised in Brussels.”²⁹⁰ Second, it was decided that pre-printed plans in full size should be reproduced in Brussels. These pre-printed plans should then be sent to the national groups together with a perfectly worked out drawing scheme as reference. Five pre-printed plans were printed for every delegate, together with the drawing directives.²⁹¹ According to drawing directions,²⁹² the national groups should draw the chosen projects on the pre-printed plans, in such a manner that the drawings were “capable” and “matured” enough to be exhibited.²⁹³ Even though Stam had suggested that he personally collect the drawn plans afterwards, it was decided to also “centralise” this procedure.²⁹⁴ The drawings should be sent to Mart Stam’s office in Frankfurt before 25 September, where he would then check them, asking for adjustments or making final corrections – if necessary – before sending the final corrected drawings to Brussels.²⁹⁵ But the preparation did not take place without any surprises. In early August,

²⁹⁰ An in-depth letter from Giedion to Bourgeois reveals the different steps: “Nous avons pensé que tout ce qui concerne l’exposition doit être centralisé à Bruxelles. Stamm [sic] propose qu’on fasse imprimer à Bruxelles les schémas pour le lotissement rationnel (en grandeur naturelle des planches de l’exposition) et qu’on fasse envoyer tout de suite à tout le monde (je vous donnerai les adresses) ces schémas de manière que les groupes eux-mêmes font les dessins sur le plan.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, July 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives. The usage of cities instead of names is analysed in chapter 8.2.2. in “Part II. Analysis” as further examples of how CIAM’s exhibitions were seen as a collective work, whereas the travelling exhibitions were instead regarded as an individual effort.

²⁹¹ This idea stemmed from Giedion, who called this step a “preventive measure” to guarantee the exhibition’s success: “Je voudrais proposer qu’on fasse envoyer p.e. 5 feuilles à chaque Délégué et qu’on demande en même temps une réponse qu’ils n’auraient pas besoin d’autres exemplaires ainsi que l’indication des nombres de feuilles qu’ils nous enverraient. Je crois que seulement par ce moyen préventif on pourra assurer le succès de l’exposition.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, July 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

²⁹² This procedure also becomes evident from multiple letters from Giedion in July 1930. In a letter to the Danish architect Charles Schou, he wrote: “und zwar wird das so geschehen, dass wir von Brüssel aus die Formulare der Ausstellungsblätter den einzelnen Gruppen zusenden und dieselben bitten werden, die Blätter auszufüllen und alles Nötige einzuzeichnen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Charles Schou, July 9, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gantner, gta Archives.

²⁹³ In a letter to Walter Gropius, he wrote: “[Es] wurde beschlossen nur die rationellen Bebauungsmethoden in diesem Jahr zur Ausstellung zu bringen und zwar wird das so geschehen, dass wir von Brüssel aus die Formulare – die dort in der Grösse der Frankfurter Blätter gedruckt werden – den einzelnen Gruppen zusenden, um dieselben zu bitten die Blätter selbst auszufüllen und alles ausstellungsfähig einzuzeichnen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, July 10, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives. Four days later he wrote to Hannes Meyer: “Gerade in diesen Tagen werden die Formulare für rationelle Bebauungsmethoden in Brüssel gedruckt. Die Blätter werden von Brüssel aus an die einzelnen Gruppen zugesandt mit der Bitte, dieselben so auszufüllen, dass sie ausstellungsreif sind und nicht mehr umgezeichnet werden müssen. Ich nehme an, dass Sie und das Bauhaus die Arbeit interessieren dürfte und ich bitte Sie, sich direkt an Victor Bourgeois [...] zu wenden [...] und ihm zu schreiben, wieviele Blätter er Ihnen senden soll.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hannes Meyer, July 14, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Meyer, gta Archives.

²⁹⁴ “Stamm propose qu’on aille personnellement recueillir les résultats mais je crois qu’on puisse centraliser un peu. J’ai parlé à Stockholm avec les membres suédoises et de Finlande à Copenhague avec notre groupe danois à Berlin longuement avec Gropius et à Francfort avec May. Tous ces gens sont bien instruits sur les travaux du Congrès et je ne doute pas qu’ils feront leur travail subitement. Je suis en contact direct avec Sartoris (pour l’Italie), avec les Tchécoslovaques et avec les Anglais et je préviendrai aujourd’hui aussi les autres groupes. Au moment où je sais que vous avez consenti qu’on exécute les propositions de Stamm, je vous donnerai immédiatement les adresses nécessaires.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, July 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

²⁹⁵ “Ich freue mich sehr, dass Sie daran sind die Pläne für rationelle Bebauungsmethoden auszuarbeiten. Haben Sie genügend Exemplare von Brüssel aus erhalten? Wir wären Ihnen sehr dankbar falls Sie die Pläne vor dem 25. Sept. nach Frankfurt schicken könnten, damit Stam eventuell noch einige Ergänzungen erbitten kann. Am einfachsten ist es, Sie senden die Pläne umgehend an Stam Adresse.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Sven Markelius, August 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Markelius, gta Archives.

when it was announced that Ernst May, Mart Stam, and Hans Schmidt would leave for the USSR, the outcome of the exhibition hung by a thread. A letter from Sigfried Giedion to Victor Bourgeois shortly after the departure of the three men was announced shows how tense the atmosphere was:

We currently assess the situation as follows: not only are the exhibition panels still missing but, to our great surprise, two members (Stamm [sic] and May), who should have played an important part in the Congress, won't be able to supervise its preparations, nor to participate in the Congress itself, at least according to their letters. All of this costs time, and we cannot guarantee that we will be able to complete the preparations by the beginning of October.²⁹⁶

Thus, the initial plan regarding the protagonists for the preparation of the exhibition materials as well as its timetable needed to be adapted. Instead of having the drawn plans sent to Mart Stam in Frankfurt for final corrections, the national groups were asked to send the plans directly to Brussels. There, they were checked and corrected by Victor Bourgeois and Cornelis van Eesteren.²⁹⁷ But not only had the submitted plans to be checked and corrected in Brussels, some even needed to be re-drawn from sketches. Hence, in the middle of October, it was decided to set up a drawing office in the Palais des Beaux-Arts.²⁹⁸ One reason for this unexpected twist was that the national groups did not have enough time and manpower to re-draw the planning schemes according to the directives. Another was that the pre-printed plans were not sent on time to the national groups, or in sufficient numbers.²⁹⁹

According to the correspondence, all delegates were in the end asked to re-draw the settlement schemes. *Inter alia*, Pierre Barbe contacted Giedion two weeks before the opening of the exhibition to let him know that Le Corbusier, André Lurçat (1894–1970), Gabriel Guevrekian (1900–1970), and Pierre Barbe were still working on the French plans.

²⁹⁶ "Comme nous voyons le situation se ne sont pas seulement les plans de l'exposition qui manqueront, c'est aussi la surprise que deux membres qui aurait dû prendre une partie très grande dans le congrès (Stamm et May) sont d'après leurs lettres adressées à nous dans des derniers jours hors d'état de surveiller les travaux préparatoires du congrès ainsi que de prendre part au congrès même. Tous ça coûte au moins du temps et nous ne pouvons pas donner la garantie de pouvoir finir la préparation jusqu'au commencement du mois d'octobre." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, August 6, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

²⁹⁷ "Und bitte Sie, mir zu schreiben, ob wir bestimmt in Brüssel auf Sie rechnen können. Sie 86issen, dass sie in Ihren Funktionen an Stelle von Stam getreten sind und ich bitte sie, uns zu unterstützen, in dem Sie als möglich zu Bourgeois nach Brüssel fahren um mit ihm noch einmal an Händen des eingegangenen Materials die Vorbereitung für die Ausstellung rationeller Bebauungsmethoden zu besprechen." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, November 12, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van-Eesteren, gta Archives.

²⁹⁸ See Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, October 17, 1930.

²⁹⁹ For example, the Dutch CIAM Group ordered fifteen pre-printed plans and received only three. As Mart Stam wrote to Sigfried Giedion: "Lieber Giedion, Ich berichte Ihnen, dass die Holländische Gruppe nur 3 Ausstellungsblätter bekommen hat, während 15 Blätter erforderlich wären." Mart Stam, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, September 3, 1930, 42-K-1930-Stam-Mart, gta Archives.

But since they were “drawn well enough,” there was no need for Bourgeois to re-draw their plans.³⁰⁰

Despite all the ups and downs, and despite the fact that not all the plans which needed to be re-drawn had arrived by 1 November, as Bourgeois had hoped,³⁰¹ Giedion remained optimistic. Just three weeks before the opening of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, he let Bourgeois know that “the Swiss plans have been on their way for eight days. Additionally, you will receive another two Swiss plans shortly, and on Monday we will send two plans of Czechoslovakia from Zurich. From Frankfurt you will receive the plans of Stam’s Hellerhof by Wednesday. As for France and Berlin, please be so kind as to telegraph. I believe that the exhibition will work, if I remember that Stam and May started with the Frankfurt exhibition three weeks before the Congress [...]”³⁰² Giedion's optimism certainly stemmed in part from his determination to prove to Mart Stam that the exhibition could be accomplished without him.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ “Cher Monsieur GIEDION, LE CORBUSIER, LURCAT, GUEVREKIAN et BARBE travaillent actuellement à des plans de lotissements, ils se dépêchent pour les envoyer à Victor BOURGEOIS mais je n'ai pu obtenir qu'ils les fassent à temps; cependant ces plans seront suffisamment bien dessinés pour pouvoir être exposés tels quels et ne pas être dessinés par Victor BOURGEOIS. GINSBURGER aussi a fait un plan qui a été déjà envoyé.” André Lurcat (XXXX-XXXX) and Gabriel Guevrekian were both members of the French CIAM Group.

Pierre Barbe, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 10, 1930, 42-K-1930-Barbe-Pierre, gta Archives.

³⁰¹ “Cher Monsieur Giedion, [...] Il faudrait pour bien faire que tous les plans soient à Bruxelles pour le 1 Novembre de façon que je puisse faire du bon travail avec Van Eesteren.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, October 27, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

³⁰² “Les plans: les plans suisses sont en route depuis 8 jours. Vous recevrez encore deux plans suisses comme supplément, en outre on vous enverra lundi 2 plans de la tchécoslovaquie de Zurich. Vous recevrez de Francfort les plans du Hellerhof de Stam- on nous l'a promis pour mercredi. Quant à la France et à Berlin, avez la bonté de télégraphier. Je crois, que l'exposition fonctionnera si je me souviens, que Stam et May ont commencé avec l'exposition de Francfort 3 semaines avant le Congrès.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, November 8, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

³⁰³ “Ich habe das Gefühl, dass Stam meint, der Kongress könne ohne ihn nicht existieren. Wir werden ihm zeigen, dass dies durchaus möglich ist.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, August 11, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives. This quote is used again in chapter 8.2.2. in “Part II. Analysis” as a further example of how CIAM's exhibitions were seen as a collective work.

2. The “Horizontal Sliding Windows” Exhibition

2.1. The Exhibition

During the preparations for CIAM-03, it was decided that CIAM would display a small exhibition on one technical detail at every following Congress in addition to the main exhibitions. With these exhibitions on technical details, CIAM aimed to exercise influence on the building industry, which, according to CIAM, lacked new technical developments, inter alia in the field of insulating materials or building components such as doors and windows.³⁰⁴ CIAM's first exhibition on a technical detail focused on sliding windows with horizontal opening mechanisms. In a report on the exhibition in the German newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Giedion linked this focus to CIAM's ongoing preoccupation with the question of minimal housing. Since standard tilt and turn windows rendered up to one-fifth of the average floor area of a minimal apartment unusable for furnishing or other use, horizontal sliding windows could lead to considerable improvements in the field.³⁰⁵ The exhibition was opened on 28 November, the second day of CIAM-03. After the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition closed on 14 December, it was also supposed to go on tour. For example, the Ständige Bauwelt Musterschau Berlin considered displaying the windows after Brussels.³⁰⁶ In the end, however, the windows were only exhibited once more: in February 1931, they were shown together with the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in the Gewerbemuseum Zurich.³⁰⁷

Using the available archival material in the gta Archives, the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition can be reconstructed in large part. Two photographs by Victor Bourgeois depict the models in the Palais des Beaux-Arts [see fig. I.2.1 – fig.I.2.2]. Again, as was the case for the reconstruction of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, the protocols of the CIRPAC meetings provide the main leads for

³⁰⁴ “Da das Bauen hinter den übrigen Produktionsgebieten (Technik, Industrie, etc.) weit zurück ist, denn die Fragen von Türen, Fenstern, Isoliermöglichkeit sind durchaus nicht gelöst, so beschloß der Kongreß, womöglich jedes Mal ein bestimmtes konstruktives Detail herauszugreifen und es eingehen zur Darstellung zu bringen.” Giedion, “III. Internationaler Kongress für neues Bauen.”

³⁰⁵ “Durch die Reduktion der Raumgrößen ist die Verwendung einer raumsparenden Fensterkonstruktion brennender denn je geworden. Die üblichen seitlichen Klappfenster machen 15 bis 20 Prozent der Bodenfläche eines Minimalwohnraumes für Möblierung und Benutzung unbrauchbar. Es zeigt sich, dass billige und doch durchaus brauchbare Lösungen (30 Mark pro Quadratmeter) besonders von entfernter gelegenen Ländern: Ungarn, Tschechoslowakei, Schweiz kamen. Natürlich wurde durch die Anwesenheit durch die verschiedenen Konstrukteure und Fabrikanten ein allseitiger, fruchtbarer Austausch angeregt, der nicht ohne Einfluß auf die Entwicklung dieser frage sein wird.” Gideon, “III. Internationaler Kongress für neues Bauen.”

³⁰⁶ This is evident in the correspondence between Sigfried Giedion and Hugo Häring, among others. Some weeks before the exhibition was opened in Brussels, Giedion reported to Häring: “Da von verschiedenen Seiten bereits für die Ausstellung Interesse geäußert wurde, so werden wir dieselbe voraussichtlich auch noch an einigen anderen Orten zeigen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hugo Häring, November 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Häring, gta Archives. A week later he specified that “die Bauwelt Musterschau hat sich zwecks Uebernahme der Fenster Ausstellung an uns gewandt.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hugo Häring, November 18, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Häring, gta Archives.

³⁰⁷ See chapter 4.1. in “Part I. Reconstruction” for the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” in Zurich.

understanding how the planning evolved.³⁰⁸ Besides, the guidelines for the exhibition [see fig. I.2.8 – fig. I.2.12] and the text for the guided tours [see fig. I.2.4. and fig. I.2.5]³⁰⁹, all in German and French, mostly with different versions, give details about the collected material and the aims of the exhibition.³¹⁰ An explanatory sketch for the guided tours [fig. I.2.6], an information sheet of one exhibited model [see fig. I.2.3], as well as a note from Sigfried Giedion on the planned, but unpublished, publication [fig. I.2.7.], provide a further lead for reconstructing the exhibition as completely as possible.³¹¹

2.1.1. The Exhibition Material

All in all, twenty-eight models of horizontal sliding windows were exhibited at CIAM-03.³¹² They were on display in the Exhibition Hall on the ground floor of the Palais des Beaux-Arts, in the same meeting room as the exhibitions of the “Journées d’Habitation Minimum” [see fig. I.1.1, fig. I.2.1, fig. I.2.2]. Most of the models were shown in their original size.³¹³ The windows were either made of wood, metal, or aluminium.³¹⁴ Fact sheets and brochures with technical drawings and explanations detailed the opening mechanisms of the exhibited windows [see fig. I.2.3].³¹⁵ The main aim of the exhibition was to test the opening mechanism of the

³⁰⁸ See footnote 94 for the description of the protocols.

³⁰⁹ For the German text of the tour see CIAM, “FÜHRUNG DURCH DIE AUSSTELLUNG DER SCHIEBFENSTER durch die Herren Architekten R. STEIGER (Zurich) und P. BARBE (Paris),” n.d., 42-3-4-26D, gta Archives. For the French text see CIAM, “Rapport sur les Fenêtres Horizontales Coulissantes par le MM. les Architectes R. Steiger (Zürich) et P. Barbe (Paris),” n.d., 42-3-4-26F, gta Archives.

³¹⁰ The gta Archives hold all different versions of the guidelines. For the first German version (before the third CIRPAC meeting on 25 September) for CIAM members, see CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBFENSTER. RICHTLINIEN,” September 17, 1930, 42-3-22D, gta Archives. For the first French version (before the third CIRPAC meeting on 25 September) for non-CIAM members, see CIAM, “EXPOSITION INTERNATIONALE DE FENÊTRES A COULISSE,” n.d., 42-3-2-23F, gta Archives. For the second German version (after the third CIRPAC meeting on 25 September) for non-CIAM members, see CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBFENSTER,” n.d., 42-3-2-23D, gta Archives. For the second French version (after the third CIRPAC meeting on 25 September) for CIAM members, see CIAM, “Pour l’exposition de la fenêtre en longueur les 5 points suivants sont à envisager,” n.d., uncatalogued, 42-3-2-2, gta Archives.

³¹¹ For the sketch for the guided tour see “Vue d’ensemble...,” n.d., 42-3-4-26D, gta Archives; for the information sheet, see “Fabrikant. H. Hecker, Köln-Sulz, Berrenratherstr. 154–56,” n.d., 42-3-7-42, gta Archives, and for Giedion’s notes, see Sigfried Giedion, “Publikationen. Horizontale Schiebefenster,” n.d., 42-3-8-41, gta Archives.

³¹² Even though the number of the acquired windows varied until just before the opening of the exhibition, a letter from Giedion to one of the manufacturers after the exhibition reveals the final numbers of exhibited models: “Nous avons exposé 28 modèles de tous les pays.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Monsieur Barriaux, February 2, 1932, 42-1.Periode-K-1932-7, gta Archives. Correspondence between Sigfried Giedion and Victor Bourgeois reveals that Giedion must have had a list with all the windows acquired for the exhibition. Since this list could not be found in any of the archives visited for this research, only exchanged letters about the acquisition process provide directions for reconstructing the exhibited windows. Giedion mentions this list in two letters to Bourgeois: “Nous avons reçu déjà beaucoup d’affirmations de la part des fabricants. Je ne manquerai pas de vous envoyer la liste au moment, où j’aurai la liste complètes” (Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, October 22, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives); “Je vous envoie ci-inclus la liste des fenêtres coulissantes. Il y a jusqu’au moment 18 à 20 modèles annoncés” (Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, November 8, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives).

³¹³ “24 Modelle, zum größten Teil Modelle in natürlicher Größe, betrachten verschiedene Lösungen von Finnland bis Südfrankreich.” Giedion, “III. Internationaler Kongress für neues Bauen.”

³¹⁴ “Es waren modellen van den fabrikaten uit Frankrijk, Duitschland, Tschecho Slowakije, Hongarije enz. in staal, hout, aluminium enz.” Merkelbach, “DERDE INTERNATIONALE CONGRES VOOR ‘NEUES BAUEN’ TE BRUSSEL,” 19.

³¹⁵ “De tentoonstelling van het horizontale schuifraam bestond uit modellen en teekeningen van houten en metalen ramen” (Merkelbach, “DERDE INTERNATIONALE CONGRES VOOR ‘NEUES BAUEN’ TE BRUSSEL,” 19); “Accessoirement, le congrès s’est occupé des fenêtres coulissant horizontalement qu’illustrèrent les documents sur lesquels MM. Steiger et Pierre Barbe ont donné d’intéressantes explications” (“Le IIIe CONGRÈS D’INTERNATIONAL D’ARCHITECTURE MODERNE,” *Art et Decoration* (December 1930), 5, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives).

windows. According to correspondence between Sigfried Giedion and Max Cetto, Giedion was determined to only exhibit executed models and not just drawings, because only through models could the mechanism of the windows be understood.³¹⁶

The majority of the windows came from Germany: at least seven manufactured in that country were on display. The windows were submitted from Gebr. Ambrüster-Frankfurt (System Menges), Ph. Holzmann A. G.-Frankfurt (System Menges), and Vereinigte Baubeschläge-Fabriken Gretsch & Co., Feuerbach-Stuttgart,³¹⁷ as well as from the Nordische Eisen- und Draht Industrie Rostock, R. Biel, Hamburg, Eberspächer, Esslingen, and Johannes Schmidt, A.G. Blaubeuren.³¹⁸ The "Frankfurter Fensternorm" was also exhibited.³¹⁹ An information sheet in the gta Archives also implies that a window model by H. Hecker, Köln Sülz³²⁰ was on display, and perhaps one window model from the Deutsche Werkstätten Hellerau was also exhibited.³²¹ At least six Swiss models were displayed,³²² from Basel, Geneva, Zurich, and Glarus.³²³ It can be assumed that two models from Geneva were submitted by Wanner & Ciel and Nicot,³²⁴ and that one model from Basel was submitted by Suter und Koller.³²⁵ Furthermore, two windows from the Czechoslovakian window manufacturer A. Kraus in Bratislava were exhibited.³²⁶ Two French windows were on display;

³¹⁶ "Schade, dass Sie kein Modell Ihres Schiebefensters zeigen können, da man aus Zeichnungen nicht über das wirkliche Funktionieren Aufschluss erhalten kann, trotzdem bitte ich Sie die Zeichnungen zu senden." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Max Cetto, November 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Cetto, gta Archives. In chapter 5.1.3. in "Part II. Analysis," it is demonstrated how CIAM's exhibitions met CIAM's aim for "comprehensibility" and "visual evidence" through their exhibitions.

³¹⁷ See Joseph Gantner, "2. Der Kongreß für Neues Bauen," *Das Neue Frankfurt* 12 (1930): 261, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

³¹⁸ Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, September 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

³¹⁹ "Man findet hier Le Corbusiers Modell des Schiebefensters, Guévreians Modell, die Frankfurter Fensternorm usw." Teige, "3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu," 112ff. For the German translation, see Dolezal, "Teige in Stavba 1930-31, Heft IX," 3–5.

³²⁰ The information sheet is stored in a folder labelled "3. Kongress Ausstellung Schiebefenster." The sheet shows three technical drawings (one elevation, two sectional drawings) as well as technical information about inter alia the material used, the construction method, and the running mechanism. See "Fabrikant. H. Hecker, Köln-Sulz, Berrenratherstr. 154–56," n.d., 42-3-7-42, gta Archives.

³²¹ Since Giedion twice expressed his scepticism about this window to Gropius, this cannot be stated with certainty: "Deutsche Werkstätten Hellerau (letztere Lösung hat aber meines Erachtens mit einem Schiebefenster, wie wir es brauchen wenig zu tun." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, October 25, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives. Besides, in another letter four weeks earlier, Giedion referred to a house by Bruno Paul in Dresden with windows from Hellerau, which he did not consider suitable for the exhibition, since they could not be built side by side: "Von dem ganzen Material kenne ich in Ausführung nur das Heller Fenster. Ich sah es in Dresden 1926 in einem Hause von Bruno Paul, aber brauchbar erscheint es mir nicht, da man es ja nicht in mehreren Elementen aneinander reihen kann." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, September 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

³²² "Aus der Schweiz werden 6 Modelle gezeigt." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, October 25, 1930.

³²³ "Fenster aus Basel, Genf, Glarus und Zürich." See "Kleine Chronik. Zu den Brüsseler Brüsseler Architekturtagen," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (December 23, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

³²⁴ "Ausserdem aber, hätte ich gern mit Ihnen wegen der horizontalen Schiebefenster der Firma Wanner & Ciel, Geneve und Nicot, Rue Henri Mussard, Geneve gesprochen. Von der deutschen Schweiz aus werden zwei vielleicht sogar drei Modelle gezeigt werden." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Arnold Hoechel, September 8, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Hoechel, gta Archives.

³²⁵ "Nun hat unser Basler Spezialist und Mitarbeiter auf diesem Gebiete Herr Koller seit einem Monat i/fa. Suter u. Koller, Eisenkonstruktionswerkstätten, Holeestrasse 105/7 sein bis jetzt für unsere Bauten geliefertes Modell bedeutend verbessert und verbilligt. Er hat das Modell auch an der WoBA ausgestellt und wird in den nächsten Tagen die Prospekte versenden. Es handelt sich um eine sehr gute studierte und eigenartige Konstruktion. Ich möchte nun vorschlagen, dass die Firma Suter und Koller angefragt wird, ob sie eventuell ein Modell ihres Fensters in Brüssel ausstellen würde." Hans Schmidt, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, September 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Schmidt-Hans, gta Archives.

³²⁶ "Die tschechoslowakische Sektion vermittelte, dass die Pressburger Firma Kraus die Ausstellung mit zwei Modellen ihrer Schiebe- und Kippstahlfenster beschickte [...]." See Teige, "3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu," 112ff.; for the German translation, see Dolezal, "Teige in Stavba 1930-31, Heft IX," 3–5. "Firma A. Kraus, Stahlfenster Fabrik, Bratislava uns ein grosses Modell senden wird und dass dieses Modell, das von Kraus erfunden worden ist identisch ist mit den, seinerzeit von Eberspächer angeführte Modell. Kraus hat sein Modell an verschiedenen

one sent by a Parisian window manufacturer called Barriaux,³²⁷ the other from the South of France.³²⁸ One window from Finland³²⁹ must have been on display. Two windows designed by Le Corbusier, one designed by Gabriel Guévrekian, and possibly another designed by Jean Badovici were also exhibited.³³⁰ It had also been intended to exhibit windows from the UK and Southeast Europe. Shortly before “Horizontal Sliding Windows” opened, Sigfried Giedion and Patrick Cuttbusch were still exchanging letters on sending windows from the British window manufacturer Crittall Manufacturing Company to Brussels.³³¹ Likewise, Giedion was in contact with Hugo Häring about windows from “the Balkans.”³³²

The windows were arranged in two rows alongside the wall of the exhibition space and “one after another.”³³³ One row ran parallel to the elongated space, the other perpendicular to the space. The windows were mounted on either massive pedestals or trestles. Most of the windows were placed in broader frames, which allowed the visitors to test their opening mechanisms. The serial arrangement of the models right next to each other, as well as the possibility to test the models in the exhibition, enabled the necessary comparison to enhance the technical progress of the product.

2.1.2. Rudolf Steiger as “Organiser” of the Exhibition

Shortly after the CIAM-03 exhibitions were closed in Brussels, Joseph Gantner (1896–1988) published an article entitled “Brüsseler Architekturtage” in the Swiss newspaper *Neue*

Grossbauten in Anwendung und sich darüber mit Photos ausgedrückt.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, October 25, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

³²⁷ Half a dozen letters addressed to M. Barriaux are stored in the archive, in which Giedion asks him to finally pay his outstanding debts for the for the transport fees to Brussels. See, for example, Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Monsieur Barriaux, February 2, 1932, 42-1.Periode-K-1932, gta Archives.

³²⁸ Giedion, “III. Internationaler Kongress für neues Bauen.”

³²⁹ “J’ai reçu en même temps qu’une fenêtre en longueur de Finland.”

Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Jean Badovici, September 16, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Badovici, gta Archives.

³³⁰ “Pour les fenêtres coulissantes, il y aura deux modèles de LE CORBUSIER, un modèle de GUEVREKIAN et un modèle de BODOVICI; pour ce dernier je pense qu’il n’y aura que des plans et non les modèles réellement exécutés.” Pierre Barbe, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 10, 1930, 42-K-1930-Barbe-Pierre, gta Archives.

³³¹ On 14 November, Cuttbusch wrote to Giedion: “I send you herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from the Crittall Manufacturing Company. You will see that they are now unable to send the sample of the sliding window, but they are arranging for a set of well finished drawings to be sent to explain the windows.” Patrick Cuttbusch, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 14, 1930, 42-K-1930-Cuttbusch, gta Archives. The next day, Giedion thanked him for “the trouble you had to get for our exhibition at Brussels a sample of a horizontal sliding window. We are, of course, very satisfied to have also an English model.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Patrick Cuttbusch, November 15, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Cuttbusch, gta Archives. At the end of November, and thus after the opening of the exhibition, Cuttbusch was obviously still negotiating with Crittall Manufacturing Company: “I have also written to the Crittall Manufacturing Co., Limited with reference to the windows and hope to receive a reply in the course of a few days.” Patrick Cuttbusch, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 28, 1930, 42-K-1930-Cuttbusch, gta Archives.

³³² “Sie erwähnten in Frankfurt, an der Delegiertenversammlung die Schiebefenster, die im Balkan üblich seien. Würden Sie die Freundlichkeit haben, uns Adressen anzugeben, die wir um Photos bitten könnten oder könnten Sie vielleicht selbst uns in dieser Hinsicht Material verschaffen? Jedenfalls wären wir für Ihre Mithilfe sehr dankbar.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hugo Häring, November 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Häring, gta Archives.

³³³ This idea of having the models in close proximity to one another was expressed in a letter from Giedion to Bourgeois in early April 1931: “Nous avons l’intention de faire à chaque Congrès l’Exposition Internationale d’une seul détail technique; pour cette fois nous voudrions exposer les fenêtres en longueur [...]. Mais s’il serait extrêmement intéressant de traiter ces détails en mettant les divers modèles l’un près de l’autre. Une chambre suffirait. Avez-vous de la place?” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, April 3, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives. This emphasis on having the different exhibits on display “one after another” is analysed in chapter 6.2. in “Part II. Analysis” with reference to “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” and “Rational Lot Development” exhibitions.

Zürcher Zeitung, and announced that the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition would shortly be exhibited in Zurich alongside “Horizontal Sliding Windows.” In this article, Gantner names Rudolf Steiger as the “organiser” of the latter.³³⁴ Steiger was in charge of the graphic language of “Horizontal Sliding Windows” as well as its installation and arrangement in the Palais des Beaux-Arts. For example, shortly before the opening of the exhibition “Horizontal Sliding Windows” in Brussels, Giedion sent Steiger a labelling sample for the window models and asked for his approval.³³⁵ With the help of Pierre Barbe, Steiger was also responsible for arranging the exhibition material on site. He travelled to Brussels three days before the exhibition opened to ensure that the models of the windows were arranged according to his ideas.³³⁶

2.1.3. The Opening of the Exhibition

The “The Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition opened on the morning of the second day of CIAM-03 on 28 November. After Le Corbusier had presented his questionnaire on light and air, Rudolf Steiger and Pierre Barbe gave guided tours of the exhibition in German and French [see fig. I.2.4 and fig. I.2.5].³³⁷ Further explanations of the exhibited window models were given by the attending draughtsmen from Germany, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and France.³³⁸ The introductions to the guided tours touched on the initial impetus for having chosen the topic as well as the findings of the research behind the exhibition, the twofold aim, and its material range. CIAM's preoccupation with the theme of minimal housing at CIAM-02 was specified as the inspiration behind the exhibition's topic. The study of this topic during CIAM-02 led to two findings, which served as starting point for this exploration. One the one hand, due to the reduced room size of minimal houses, space-saving windows were one possible answer to address this problem [see fig. I.2.6]. On the other hand, vertical sliding windows, which were increasingly being used in private houses, were not suitable for

³³⁴ “Die Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweise’ wird zusammen mit der von Rudolf Steiger organisierten zweiten Kongreß-Ausstellung ‘Horizontale Schiebefenster’ im Februar im Zürcher Kunstgewerbemuseum gezeigt werden.” Gantner, “Brüsseler Architektur-Tage. I.”

³³⁵ “Wir senden Ihnen beiliegend ein Muster für die gummierten Etiketten, die für die fertigen Modelle und Muster für die Fensterausstellung bestimmt sind. Ich möchte Sie bitten, mir mitzuteilen, ob Sie eventuelle Abänderungsvorschläge oder Ergänzungen haben.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Rudolf Steiger, October 10, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Steiger, gta Archives.

³³⁶ “Exposition des fenêtres: Schulz et Holdefleiss me communique qu'ils ont envoyé leur fenêtre au Bruxelles. Steiger viendra le 25 novembre (matin) à Bruxelles pour arranger l'exposition des fenêtres et j'ai prié P. Barbe d'arriver au même moment.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, November 12, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

³³⁷ “Freitag, 28. november, 9.30 uhr, le corbusier erläutert seinen fragebogen und eröffnet die ausstellung ‘horizontale schiebefenster’. r. steiger (zürich) wird in deutscher und p. barbe (paris) in französischer sprache die führung übernehmen, außerdem erfolgt im einzelnen eine erläuterung durch die anwesenden konstruktoren.” CIAM, “Programm des 3. internat. kongresses für neues bauen brüssel, palais des beaux arts. 27.–29. novembre 1930,” n.d., 42-3-2-62D, gta Archives. The French version reads as follows: “Vendredi 28 novembre, à 9.30 heures rapport de LE CORBUSIER sur son questionnaire et visite de l'exposition des fenêtres horizontales coulissantes, sous la conduite de R. STEIGER (Zurich) en allemand et de P. BARBE (Paris) en français. Les constructeurs de châssis présents donneront également des explications.” CIAM, “PROGRAMME. 3e CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL D'ARCHITECTURE MODERNE BRUXELLES,” n.d., 42-3-2-62F, gta Archives.

³³⁸ “Verschiedene Konstrukteure und Fabrikanten aus Deutschland, der Schweiz, Tschechoslowakei und Frankreich werden persönlich an der Eröffnung der Ausstellung ihre Modell erklären.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, November 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

minimal housing due to their high cost. Horizontal sliding windows responded to both problems.³³⁹ CIAM associated two aims with this exhibition: to create an overview of the achievements to date in the field, and to encourage research and development in the fields of buildings components and technical details.³⁴⁰ The exhibition showed “all available common systems” currently available.³⁴¹

2.1.4. The Reception

The “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition was very well received. The interest shown by experts and window manufacturers, in particular, was exceptionally high.³⁴² CIAM’s aim, namely to demonstrate the necessity of space-saving solutions for windows of minimal dwellings, was generally well understood and praised. In his detailed article on CIAM-03, Karel Teige dedicated one paragraph to the importance of this exhibition. He praised the chosen topic, the international material, and the facilitated comparison of the different models.³⁴³ He spoke of the exhibition as an “impetus to further advance certain construction details.”³⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Teige was aware of the need to lower the costs of this window type in order to make it affordable for minimal housing. Besides this criticism, he also regretted the absence of a study on climatic factors.³⁴⁵

³³⁹ “Das Studium der Problem [sic] der Minimal-Wohnung zeigt, dass durch die Reduktion der Raumgrößen, die Frage der Verwendung einer vom sparender Fensterkonstruktion brennender geworden ist dann je [sic]. Die von einer normalen, gut ausgedachten seitliche Klappfenster für Möblierung und Benützung unbrauchbar gemachte Fläche beträgt 15 bis 20% der Bodenfläche eines Minimalwohnraumes [sic].

Da die in Privathäuser schon längst angewendeten vertikalen Schiebefenster letzten Endes infolge ihres Mechanismus der Gegenwichte und deren Einbau in der Herstellung teurer zu stellen kommen müssen, als horizontale Schiebefenster, scheinen letztere für die Kleinwohnung allein in Frage kommen zu können.” CIAM, “FÜHRUNG DURCH DIE AUSSTELLUNG DER SCHIEBFENSTER durch die Herren Architekten R. STEIGER (Zurich) und P. BARBE (Paris),” n.d., 42-3-4-26D, gta Archives.

³⁴⁰ “Einerseits soll dadurch eine Uebersicht über die bisherigen Leistungen gewonnen werden, andererseits soll durch eine vergleichende Gegenüberstellung der verschiedenen Systeme Anregung gegeben werden Detailkonstruktionen noch weiter zu verbessern.” CIAM, “FÜHRUNG DURCH DIE AUSSTELLUNG DER SCHIEBFENSTER durch die Herren Architekten R. STEIGER (Zurich) und P. BARBE (Paris).”

³⁴¹ “Die Ausstellung umfasst alle gebräuchlichen Systeme, zum grösste [sic] Teil in Modellen in natürlicher Grösse. Diese sind von den Konstrukteure [sic] unter beträchtlichen Zuwand [sic] an Kosten für diese Ausstellung hergestellt worden.” CIAM, “FÜHRUNG DURCH DIE AUSSTELLUNG DER SCHIEBFENSTER durch die Herren Architekten R. STEIGER (Zurich) und P. BARBE (Paris).” This claim for “completeness” is touched upon in chapter 5.1.1 in “Part II. Analysis.”

³⁴² “De belangstelling uit vakkringen en uit de kringen der ramenfabrikanten was zeer groot.” Merkelbach, “DERDE INTERNATIONALE CONGRES VOOR ‘NEUES BAUEN’ TE BRUSSEL,” 19.

³⁴³ “Das Studium des Problems einer Minimalwohnung zeigt, dass die Frage der Fensterkonstruktionen, die beim Aufmachen keinen grossen Platz erfordern würden, bei einer Reduktion der Raumdimensionen immer mehr aktuell wird, denn zur Eröffnung eines normalen, gut dimensionierten Fensters ist ein Platz nötig, der 15–20 % der Bodenfläche einer kleinen Wohnung einnimmt, wodurch fast ein Fünftel der Wohnung zur Bewegung der Einwohner oder zur Unterbringung des Möbels unnutzbar wird. Die in reichen Häusern gebrauchten vertikalen Schiebefenster sind für kleine Wohnungen kaum anwendbar, da sie wegen ihren Mechanismus, komplizierter Erzeugung und schwieriger Besetzung oft teurer als horizontale Schiebefenster sind, die in billigen Wohnungen einzig und allein gebraucht werden können. Aus diesen Gründen ist es zu begrüssen, dass eine internationale Ausstellung der zahlreichen Modelle dieser Fenster organisiert war; es wurde dadurch eine Uebersicht der bisherigen Leistungen und Fortschritte ermöglicht [...]” Teige, “3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu,” 112ff.; for the German translation, see Dolezal, “Teige in Stavba 1930–31, Heft IX,” 3–5.

³⁴⁴ “eine vergleichende Kritik der verschiedenen Systeme kann wichtige Anstösse hervorrufen, und zwar, wie die bestimmten Konstruktionsdetails noch weiter vervollkommen.” Teige, “3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu,” 112ff.; for the German translation, see Dolezal, “Teige in Stavba 1930–31, Heft IX,” 3–5.

³⁴⁵ “Angesichts der Tatsache, dass über die Wahl ausser den finanziellen vor allem die klimatischen Gesichtspunkte entscheiden, wäre es wünschbar, die ausgestellten Modelle mit Rücksicht auf ihre Luftdichtigkeit und Wärmetechnik zu untersuchen, Natürlich, es war sicher nicht möglich, diese Prüfungen schon für die Ausstellung durchzuführen, weil es bekannt ist, dass einzelne Forschungsinstitute sehr verschiedene Resultate der Prüfungen angeben, und besonders - solche Prüfungen würden bei so vielen ausgestellten Modellen eine Frist von vielen Monaten erfordern.” Teige, “3. mezinárodní kongres moderní

2.1.5. Plans for a Publication

The generally high interest in the topic of horizontal sliding windows is also apparent in the desire for a publication on the exhibited material, which was expressed from different sides.³⁴⁶ Even though a publication about the exhibition did not ultimately materialise, it was nevertheless planned and in preparation from the beginning. Sigfried Giedion, who from the beginning showed a great commitment to both the exhibition and a “Horizontal Sliding Windows” publication, had already started to conceive of the latter during the acquisition of the windows. A handwritten note by Giedion with his first ideas for this publication shows his vision for its content and layout.³⁴⁷ He envisioned a twofold structure [see fig. 1.2.7]. The first part would serve as an introduction to the topic with multiple essays, including essays by himself and Le Corbusier, as well as contributions on “the technical difficulties” and “the pricing problem.” Furthermore, he envisioned contributions on “experiences” with this window type, both from Hans Schmidt and the manufacturers and users.³⁴⁸ The second part of the publication would show the different windows. Giedion planned to show both windows from different regions and designs from CIAM members.³⁴⁹ A sketch on the right side of his note suggests a three-fold division of the page layout. The upper third of the layout would show a photograph of each window, with plans of it printed in the middle of the page.³⁵⁰

Giedion used the book *Zu – Offen. Türen und Fenster*³⁵¹ by Bodo and Heinz Rasche as a reference for the envisioned publication, which he had already consulted for his research on horizontal sliding windows.³⁵² Even during the acquisition process for the exhibition, Giedion tried to acquire additional material for the publication.³⁵³ Rudolf Steiger was also already

architektur v Bruselu,” 112ff.; for the German translation, see Dolezal, “Teige in Stavba 1930–31, Heft IX,” 3–5.

³⁴⁶ “Mit dem Kongreß verbunden war eine höchst interessante Schau über horizontale Schiebefenster, die aus allen Ländern gut beschickt war. Es ist zu hoffen, daß sowohl über die Planausstellung wie über die Fenster ein Druckbericht erscheint.” Joseph Gantner, “Kongress für Neues Bauen,” *Stein Holz Eisen* 1 (1931), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

³⁴⁷ Sigfried Giedion, “Publikationen. Horizontale Schiebefenster,” n.d., 42-3-8-41, gta Archives.

³⁴⁸ The note read as follows: “Einleitung: S. G. Fenster. Corbusier. Die technischen Schwierigkeiten. Das Problem des Preises. Erfahrungen. Schmidt Erfahrungen. Standpunkt der Fabrikanten /der Konsumenten.” Giedion, “Publikationen. Horizontale Schiebefenster.”

³⁴⁹ “Häring: Bauernhaus Modelle Balkan. Schweizer Modelle. Flämische Wand. Die Fenster: Corbusier, Steiger, Schmidt and Badovici. Kanadische Modelle.” Giedion, “Publikationen. Horizontale Schiebefenster.”

³⁵⁰ “Bild, Plan, –.” Giedion, “Publikationen. Horizontale Schiebefenster.”

³⁵¹ Heinz und Bodo Rasche, *Zu – Offen. Türen und Fenster* (Stuttgart: Wedekind, 1931).

³⁵² In a letter to Sigfried Giedion, Heinz Rasche told him that sliding windows were shown in the publication, but only those with a vertical opening mechanism: “Vielen Dank für Ihr Schreiben vom 21.10.30. Das Buch über Türen und Fenster ist erschienen. Ich schrieb dem Verlag, dass er Ihnen gleich eins zusenden möge. Horizontale Schiebefenster haben wir noch nicht ausgeführt. Mein Bruder hat eins entworfen, aber über den Entwurf hinaus ist es nicht gediehen. Von uns aus geführte vertikale Schiebefenster befinden sind in dem Buche auf Seite 124, S.131, S.138. Von diesem letzten Fenster sind die Versuche auch noch nicht abgeschlossen.” Heinz Rasch, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Rasch-Heinz, gta Archives.

³⁵³ In a letter to Gabriel Guevrekian, Sigfried Giedion urges him to send material on his windows, since a publication is also in the making: “Lieber Herr Gerevekian, Sie sprachen mir in Lavendouc von Ihrem Fenster, das Sie in Brüssel ausstellen wollen. Wie steht es damit? Ich möchte ihnen die endgültigen Richtlinien beilegen. Da wir eine Publikation zu machen beabsichtigen und bis jetzt ungefähr 24 Fenster angemeldet haben, so dürfte die Sache doch interessant werden. Kann man auf Sie rechnen?” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Gabriel Guévrekian, October 18, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Guevrekian, gta Archives.

preparing drawings of the windows for the publication, all in the same scale and manner.³⁵⁴ Why this publication never appeared is unknown at the time of research.

2.2. The Planning

On 20 May, during the second session of the second CIRPAC Meeting at Le Corbusier's Paris studio, the "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibition was addressed for the first time among the attending CIRPAC members. After they had discussed the need to present the exhibition material from "Rational Lot Development" in a uniform language, it was Victor Bourgeois who drew attention to a Gideon's proposal to organise an exhibition about windows at CIAM-03. Besides the recurrent topic of the questionnaires for CIAM-03 as well as organisational matters related to "Rational Lot Development," the "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibition was also a major topic during the meeting. In particular, Bourgeois, Giedion, Le Corbusier, and Karl Moser had strong and, above all, different opinions on the topic.

2.2.1. Second CIRPAC Meeting, Paris, 20 May 1930

Besides friction among the delegates regarding the focus of the exhibition, it was first and foremost misunderstandings between delegates which characterised its planning. Even though the idea of showing horizontal sliding windows in Brussels can be traced back to Sigfried Giedion, it was Le Corbusier who decided on the focus and material scope of the exhibition.

A Matter of Direction: Horizontal or Vertical

Victor Bourgeois raised first the topic of an exhibition on "ribbon windows"³⁵⁵ at CIAM-03. He credited Giedion with the idea, who then took the opportunity to specify what he had in mind for CIAM's first exhibition on a technical detail. Giedion explained that this exhibition was not about the ribbon window, but horizontal sliding windows specifically. Giedion stressed that the difference between his proposal and Bourgeois' mention of "ribbon windows" lay in the opening mechanism: "We want the horizontal sliding window."³⁵⁶ But both Bourgeois and Le Corbusier advocated a broader examination of the ribbon window. They preferred a holistic examination of this topic, and not to take a personal position on just horizontally running

³⁵⁴ "Cher Monsieur Badovici, [...] Notre ami R. Steiger, Zurich, Seefeldstr. 287, fera les dessins pour les autres modèles, et vous puissiez, comme nous avons eu l'intention, faire un ensemble des modèles françaises. Veuillez avoir la bonté de se mettre en communication avec R. Steiger, pour qu' on fasse les dessins à Zurich et à Paris dans la même manière et dans la même échelle." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Jean Badovici, December 30, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Badovici, gta Archives.

³⁵⁵ "M. BOURGEOIS – [...] Il y aussi une proposition de GIEDION sur l'exposition de la fenêtre de longueur." CIRPAC, "SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI," 5.

³⁵⁶ "M. GIEDION – Nous voulons la fenêtre coulissante." CIRPAC, "SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI," 5.

windows.³⁵⁷ In addition, Bourgeois expressed his astonishment about this specification,³⁵⁸ and denied that Giedion had mentioned it previously. Le Corbusier suggested an exhibition about “the ribbon window and its opening methods,”³⁵⁹ and proposed to show both windows with vertical and horizontal running opening mechanisms, without favouring either.³⁶⁰ Even though Giedion maintained the need for a more specialised topic, and tried to make it clear that looking at the horizontal sliding in detail did not mean favouring one mechanism over the other,³⁶¹ Le Corbusier remained unimpressed. Le Corbusier took over the leading role in the discussion of the subject as well the material scope of the exhibition. It was also Le Corbusier who ultimately decided that the exhibition would be on ribbon windows regardless of the opening mechanism: “This year's focus will be on the ribbon window [...] and just the ribbon window.”³⁶²

Bourgeois and Le Corbusier's confusion most likely stemmed from two letters they received from Giedion. In these letters, Giedion mentioned his ambition to show sliding windows at CIAM-03 but – in contrast to his specification during the CIRPAC meeting on 20 May – he did not emphasise his intention to exhibit only horizontal sliding windows. On 3 April he wrote to Bourgeois that “[w]e intend to hold an International Exhibition of one technical detail at each Congress; this time we would like to exhibit the windows at length; if there are ten models in all of Europe, that is a lot. But it would be extremely interesting to treat these details by putting the various models next to each other. One room would be enough. Do you have enough space?”³⁶³ A couple of days later, he repeated this ambition in a letter to Le Corbusier, again without specifying the opening mechanism:

I thought that at each Congress a construction detail should be exhibited.
This time I have proposed a small international exhibition of long windows
with the dates of the first execution. Certainly, we will have more than eight

³⁵⁷ “M. LE CORBUSIER – Il y a deux choses. La fenêtre qui va verticalement et la fenêtre à guillotine. Je ne sais pas si nous avons le droit ou tout, simplement intérêt à diviser la fenêtre en longueur. Cela est une question d'ordre personnel.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 5.

³⁵⁸ “M. LE BOURGEOIS – Mais vous n'avez mis nulle part qu'il s'agit de la fenêtre coulissante. [...] Il faut envisager la fenêtre ouvrante de façon générale.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 5.

³⁵⁹ “M. LE CORBUSIER – Dans les congrès, nous devons fuir les démonstrations pour localiser et nous en tenir sur tel point. On doit absorber une question. Cette année, on parlera de la fenêtre en longueur. [...] Je demande que nous disons: la fenêtre en longueur avec ses moyens d'ouverture. CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 5.

³⁶⁰ “M. LE CORBUSIER – Il y a deux choses. La fenêtre qui va verticalement et la fenêtre à guillotine. Je ne sais pas si nous avons le droit ou tout, simplement intérêt à diviser la fenêtre en longueur. Cela est une question d'ordre personnel.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 5.

³⁶¹ “M. GIEDION – Il y a des choses admises. [...] La moitié est coulissante, l'autre moitié a un axe. Il faut seulement évoquer ce problème.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 5.

³⁶² “LE CORBUSIER – L'objet de cette année est la fenêtre en longueur [...] la fenêtre en longueur exclusivement.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 7.

³⁶³ “Nous avons l'intention de faire à chaque Congrès und Exposition Internationale d'une seul détail technique; pour cette fois nous voudrions exposer les fenêtres en longueur, s'il y a dans toute Europe dix modèles, c'est beaucoup. Mais s'il serait extrêmement intéressant de traiter ces détails en mettant les divers modèles l'un près de l'autre. Une chambre suffirait. Avez-vous de la place?” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, April 3, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

to ten models from all over the world, and we could specify the problem in the publication by adding the photos. [...] if I come to Paris at the beginning of May, could we not have a small CIRPAC meeting in the afternoon, since Gropius, Breuer, etc. will be in Paris at that time. It's about the Brussels Congress.³⁶⁴

That Giedion at this time was perfectly aware of his intention to dedicate the exhibition to horizontal sliding windows however becomes explicit in his letter to Walter Gropius from early May: "We would like to combine with the Brussels Congress a small exhibition of window models, but on an international basis, and exclusively horizontal sliding windows."³⁶⁵ He repeats his intention in a letter to Gerrit Rietveld (1888–1964): "We intend to show an international collection of horizontal sliding windows in Brussels with real-size models. Are there any companies in Holland that manufacture these horizontal sliding windows (if possible, made of iron) at all? We would be grateful if you could give us the names of these firms or arrange for them to send us preliminary plans."³⁶⁶

Material

As was the case for the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition, Le Corbusier suggested also displaying historic examples in the exhibition on ribbon windows. He proposed to show the historical use of the ribbon window in gothic, Flemish, and Swiss architecture, in order to demonstrate that its use was "completely normal."³⁶⁷ He then declared what exhibition material he wanted to have put on display in Brussels. All in all, he envisioned five different categories of exhibition material:

- (1) a model of the window at the scale of 1:1
- (2) drawings of the window at the scale of 1:1
- (3) a collection of multiple photographs of the window:
 - (a) a photograph showing the whole window built in from the outside

³⁶⁴ "J'ai pensé qu' on devrait exposer à chaque Congrès un détail de construction. Et pour cette fois je vous ai proposé une petite exposition internationale de fenêtres en longueur avec les dates de la première exécution. Certainement on aura plus que huit à dix modèles dans tout le monde et on pourrait préciser le problème dans la publication en ajoutant les photos. Chaque fabricant doit transporter un modèle à Bruxelles. Je viendrais au commencement du mois de Mai à Paris est-ce qu'on ne pourrait faire un après-midi une petite assemblée da Cirpac parce que Gropius, Breuer etc. seront à cette époque à Paris. Il s'agit du Congrès de Bruxelles." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Le Corbusier, April 8, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Le Corbusier, gta Archives.

³⁶⁵ "Wir möchten mit dem Brüsseler Kongress eine kleine Ausstellung von Fenstermodellen, aber auf internationaler Basis, verbinden und zwar ausschliesslich horizontale Schiebefenster." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, March 26, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

³⁶⁶ "Wir haben die Absicht, in Brüssel in naturgrossen Modellen eine Internationale Sammlung von Horizontalschiebefenstern zu machen. Gibt es in Holland Firmen, die diese Horizontalschiebefenster (wenn möglich aus Eisen) überhaupt herstellen? Wir wären dankbar, wenn Sie uns die Namen dieser Firmen mitteilten oder sie veranlassen könnten, uns vorläufig Pläne zu senden." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Gerrit Rietveld, May 5, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Rietveld, gta Archives.

³⁶⁷ "M. LE CORBUSIER – Cela serait intéressant à montrer que souvent dans la construction gothique, à Lisieux, à Rouen, etc, dans les maisons des Flandres, dans les maisons des paysans des Suisse, on trouve des fenêtres en longueur, pour montrer que cette tendance est tout à fait normale." CIRPAC, "SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI," 5.

- (b) a photograph showing the same window from the inside, a photograph showing the same window built in both:
- (c) a small house
- (d) a big house
- (e) one photograph showing both the connection of the window to the ceiling and the floor
- (4) a copy of the patent listing the defining characteristics of the window
- (5) samples of new techniques used in the manufacturing of the exhibited window.³⁶⁸

Responsibilities

Karl Moser proposed a clear division of work between the CIAM secretariat in Zurich and the exhibition committee in Brussels. For him, Brussels was the “centre”³⁶⁹ of the organisation, whereas the secretariat was responsible for communication with the manufacturers. According to Le Corbusier, the secretariat in Zurich was the administrative centre, and Brussels the executive body, for the exhibition.³⁷⁰ Eventually, this is what the delegates agreed on. The secretariat would conduct the negotiation with the manufacturers, providing them with the necessary information and, for example, shipping labels. By doing so, all exhibition material could be directly shipped to Brussels, but managed from Zurich. A copy of the correspondence with the manufacturers then had to be sent to Bourgeois to keep him informed about the acquisition as well as which windows were being sent to Brussels.

Possible Collaborations

Also under discussion was whether this exhibition should be a collaborative project. Karl Moser suggested partnering with any kind of commission for industrial arts in Brussels. One

³⁶⁸ “M. LE CORBUSIER – Les 5 points à noter pour la fenêtre en longueur seraient les suivants: 1°– Exposition d'un modèle exécuté en grandeur naturelle, et avec tous les matériaux véritables à fournir par les inventeurs eux-mêmes ou les firmes qui exploitent une invention. 2°– Le dessin de la fenêtre, grandeur naturelle. 3°– sur un modèle précis à déterminer, un choix de photographies expriment l'emploi de la fenêtre: a – vue d'ensemble de la fenêtre de l' extérieur, b – vue d'ensemble de la fenêtre de l'intérieur, c – situation de la fenêtre dans l'ensemble d'une petite maison, d – situation de la fenêtre dans l'ensemble d'une grande maison, e – raccords de la fenêtre au plafond et au plancher. 4°– Copie du brevet fournissant les caractéristiques de la fenêtre. 5°– Échantillons de manières nouvelles ou existant pouvant entrer dans la fabrication de la fenêtre coulissante.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 7ff.

³⁶⁹ “M. le Professeur MOSER – Pour l' organisation de cette exposition, c'est Bruxelles qui est le centre. Nous vous donnons tous les documents, les adresses des autres pays. C'est le bureau de Zurich qui fera cela. Nous donnerons les documents au centre de l'exposition.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 6.

³⁷⁰ “M. LE CORBUSIER – C'est le secrétariat du congrès à Zurich qui doit faire l'appel des différents fabricants, en donnant l'adresses de Bruxelles. Vous devriez faire imprimer des étiquettes à coller sur les envois. C'est le secrétariat qui doit convoquer et inviter les industriels pour cette affaire. Il leur donnera des modèles expliquant les raisons de cette exposition. Il leur précise de quelle manière l'exposition sera faite et o qu'on attend d'eux: photographies indispensables à joindre avec le modèle de présentation des photos, brevets à joindre, et puis il joint, à sa demande un jeu de 5 ou 6 étiquettes imprimées, comportant l'adresse exacte du destinataire à Bruxelles pour que tout aille bien au même endroit. Il faut agir de la même façon que les Compagnies de navigation gut vous remettent des étiquettes lorsque vous prenez votre billet. [...] Vous conserverez un double de vos demandes aux industriels, double que vous envoyez à Bourgeois qui saura ainsi de qui a été demandé et ce qu'il doit recevoir.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 6.

reason he gave for organising the exhibition in collaboration with industry was the advantage of delegating work and responsibilities.³⁷¹ Giedion also suggested working closely with industry, and reported on existing communications with the Swiss aluminium factory of Neuhausen, which so far had only revolved around the possibility of exhibiting building materials, but not what one could do with them.³⁷² Furthermore, Le Corbusier proposed to have the results of the exhibitions redrawn, and to give them to the architectural section of the Brussels World Museum.³⁷³

Publication

The idea of a publication about this exhibition was also addressed, causing some disagreement. Le Corbusier was in favour of publishing one technical drawing of the construction, a copy of its patent, as well as a series of photographs for every window, similar to the photographs envisioned to show also in the exhibition.³⁷⁴ Le Corbusier argued for publishing the material within the main publication of CIAM-03,³⁷⁵ whereas Bourgeois preferred to publish a separate book in German, French, and English: “the frames are of interest to everyone. So we need an edition in three languages.”³⁷⁶

2.2.2. Third CIRPAC Meeting, Frankfurt, 25 September 1930

During the third CIRPAC meeting and the subsequent delegates' meeting, the preparation of the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition was again twice on the agenda.³⁷⁷ In the beginning of the meeting, Giedion summarised the administrative decisions taken for the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition, its current preparation status, as well as the

³⁷¹ “M. Le Professeur MOSER – Il y a peut être à Bruxelles un comité ou une commission des Arts industriels dont vous pourriez avoir la collaboration pour faire cette exposition. Y a-t-il des intérêts qui vont parallèlement aux nôtres sur lesquels vous pouvez vous décharger de ce grand travail?” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 7.

³⁷² “M. Le Docteur GIEDION – Nous avons reçu une lettre de la société de ‘L’ALUMINIUM’. Il faudrait éventuellement proposer qu’ils apportant eux-mêmes un rapport sur l’utilisation des métaux légers dans l’habitation et leur demander de prendre part à l’exposition.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 7.

³⁷³ “M. LE CORBUSIER – Nous pourrions comme résultat, du congrès faire une schématisation de certaines des conclusions du Congrès pour les remettre au Musée Mondial de Bruxelles qui fait l’histoire humaine, dont l’architecture est une section, et qui a des collections très intéressantes. On remettrait cela sous forme de graphiques éloquentes.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 7.

³⁷⁴ “M. LE CORBUSIER – Il faudra demander aux fabricants s’ils peuvent nous envoyer un châssis exécuté avec tous les détails caractérisés de leur construction, une copie de leur brevet qui donne les caractéristiques, puis publier dans un livre. [...] Ce qu’on pourrait faire, ce serait de faire joindre à un format standard des photos de réalisation et ces photos seraient de plusieurs natures. Par exemple, la fenêtre seule, un morceau de fenêtre, à une échelle de 1/10 ou de 1/5, et puis ensuite une habitation d’ensemble avec la fenêtre, une petite habitation et ensuite une grande habitation, puis ensuite une vue intérieurs montrant l’éclairage des pièces. Il faudrait demander les éléments de raccord de la fenêtre au mur, et puis le cloisonnement intérieur, et le raccordement de la cloison à la fenêtre.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 6.

³⁷⁵ “M. LE CORBUSIER – Ce qui serait intéressant, serait de publier cette exposition dans les travaux du congrès et qu’elle soit ratifiée par le congrès.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 5.

³⁷⁶ “BOURGEOIS – Il y a matière pour trois livres: 1° le congrès proprement dit –

2° les châssis, les dessins, tout le matériel, les photographies – 3° - la matière des conférences faites au public par les conférenciers. Cela [les la matière des conférences faites au public par les conférenciers] intéresse seulement la Belgique, mais les châssis cela intéresse tout le monde. Il faut donc une édition en 3 langues.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 9ff.

³⁷⁷ See: CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 4–8 and 15ff.

envisioned agenda of its opening at CIAM-03.³⁷⁸ Even though the acquisition of the windows was progressing slowly, Giedion was determined that even if only half of the promised material would ultimately be sent to Brussels, the exhibition would without doubt be “very interesting and instructive.”³⁷⁹

Final Decisions taken on the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” Exhibition

Giedion announced that the exhibition guidelines for “Horizontal Sliding Windows” had once again been reviewed and slightly adapted for the second round of the acquisition of further windows in order to avoid a possible “competitive friction”³⁸⁰ between the exhibiting manufacturers. Furthermore, it was decided that both the customs charges as well as the transportation costs would have to be paid by the exhibiting manufacturers. At the suggestion of multiple manufacturers, 100 brochures, including explanations or similar propagandistic material, for every window model on display needed to be available in addition to the model of the window. By doing so, “helpful literature was on hand.”³⁸¹ Both this material and the technical drawings and photographs were intended to be laid out next to the exhibited models, which would be grouped in the two categories of “known and unknown”³⁸² windows. 15 November was announced as the final deadline to send the models and brochures to Brussels. It was still to be decided how the windows should be presented in Brussels. They would either be presented in the middle of the exhibition hall and built in a wooden wall, or mounted in a banner-like arrangement to a wooden wall at the sides of the hall. However, regardless of which installation was ultimately chosen, the

³⁷⁸ “Giedion: Mit dem Kongress ist auch noch eine zweite Ausstellung verbunden, die Ausstellung über ‘horizontale Schiebefenster,’ die am Freitag nachmittag durch Rudolf Steiger eröffnet wird. Wir haben uns zu dieser Ausstellung entschlossen ausgehend von dem Gesichtspunkt, dass wir auf jedem Kongress ein technisches Detail einer näheren Betrachtung und Diskussion unterziehen sollten. So war der Vorschlag gemacht worden, in diesem Jahre eine Ausstellung horizontaler Schiebefenster zu veranstalten, auf der man international, vom Norden nach dem Süden gehend alle Formen dieser Fensterart durchgeht, Wir haben heute schon Beispiele der Anwendung von Schiebefenstern in Finnland und in Südfrankreich, aber in beiden Ländern ist das Problem von einer anderen Seite angefasst und unter anderen Gesichtspunkten einer Lösung nahegebracht worden. Wir sind uns darüber klar, dass das Schiebefensterproblem nur ein Teilproblem der ganzen Fensterfrage ist. Wir haben uns nun rechtzeitig an eine ganze Reihe von Firmen gewandt mit der Bitte, uns Modelle für die Ausstellung zu überlassen. Die Firmen haben uns zum grössten Teil bereits zugesagt, so dass wir damit rechnen können, dass dieser Teil unseres Kongresses gleichfalls sehr reich beschickt sein wird. Wie ich Ihnen bereits sagte, soll die Schiebefensterausstellung eröffnet werden durch eine Einführung von R.Steiger, der mit diesen Dingen besonders vertraut ist. Wenn Sie einen anderen Herrn in Vorschlag bringen können, so bitten wir dies zu tun. Im Anschluss an die Eröffnung sollen dann natürlich die Vertreter der einzelnen Fenster auch ihre Ansicht äussern können. Damit ist die Möglichkeit gegeben, das ganze Fensterproblem an Hand des vorhandenen Materials zu diskutieren.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 4.

³⁷⁹ “Wenn die Hälfte davon bestimmt hereinkäme, würde die Ausstellung sehr interessant und lehrreich.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 14.

³⁸⁰ “Was die in dem Rundschreiben an die Firmen geäusserte Bitte um Abschrift der Patente angehe, so habe man sich entschlossen diesen Punkt hier fallen zu lassen, da sich hieraus unter den ausstellenden Firmen unangenehme Konkurrenzreibeien ergeben könnten.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 15.

³⁸¹ “damit auch gleich die nötige Literatur vorhanden ist.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 15.

³⁸² “Generalsekretär Dr. Giedion erklärt, dass die gleichen Grundsätze, die für die Gesamtausstellung gelten, auch für die Sonderausstellung “Das horizontale Schiebefenster” gelten sollen. Auch hier müsse gewissermassen in zwei Gruppen geteilt werden; in Bekanntes und Unbekanntes.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 14.

presentation of the windows should in any case enable the visitors to study the models from both sides.³⁸³ In order to simplify the installation on-site, the manufacturers were asked to send in the models mounted on a base. The explanatory introduction was to be held by Rudolf Steiger, followed by a discussion by the delegates of the National Groups. This was the opportunity for all delegates to give their opinion on the models as well as to report on the models from their country. Should a firm not be able to provide a window, the secretariat in Zurich was in charge of commissioning the manufacturing of the model, ideally with the dimensions of 1 m in height and 1.8 m in width.³⁸⁴

Internal Criticism about the Focus of the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” Exhibition

As had been the case on 20 May, criticisms of the exhibition were also raised during the delegates meeting in Frankfurt and led to a heated debate among the delegates. The sole focus on horizontally running windows, as well as missing calculations and figures of the different windows, were criticised. Alvar Aalto proposed including figures about the thermal calculations of the different windows. Since the climatic conditions in the different countries were not comparable with each other, he considered calculations necessary to understand the different mechanisms.³⁸⁵ Even though Hugo Häring agreed with him in this regard, he stressed how unlikely it was to get these calculations in the fields of thermal engineering or airtightness in just two months before the opening.³⁸⁶ Mart Stam and Karl Moser proposed to make thermal calculations on-site in Brussels, and to reproduce them in the adjoining publication.³⁸⁷ Criticism also centred on the focus of the exhibition. Gerrit Rietveld expressed his lack of understanding of the focus on sliding windows.³⁸⁸ Mart Stam considered the focus

³⁸³ “Wie die Modelle in Brüssel aufgestellt werden, steht noch nicht fest. Nach den Vorschlägen von heute morgen werden die Fenster entweder in der Mitte der Ausstellungshalle in eine Holzwand eingebaut oder aber fahnenförmig seitlich an einer Holzwand befestigt, so dass man von beiden Seiten an die Fenster heran kann.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 15.

³⁸⁴ CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 15.

³⁸⁵ “Herr Aalto regt an, dass für die Fensterausstellung von den Fabriken auch wirtschaftliche Berechnungen mitgegeben werden sollten. Er weist auf die verschiedenen klimatischen Einflüsse in den einzelnen ändern hin und auf die Verschiedenheit der Prüfungsergebnisse der einzelnen Prüfungsanstalten. Er hält besonders eine Prüfung auf wärmetechnischem Gebiet für erwünscht.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 4.

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³⁸⁷ “Herr Stam meint, dass diese Prüfung erst erfolgen könne, nachdem die Fenster eingemauert seien. Er hält es für angebracht, wenn die Untersuchungen über diese Frage sofort nach dem Eintreffen in Brüssel von einer dortigen Prüfungsanstalt vorgenommen würden. Präsident Professor Moser fasst die geäußerten Ansichten dahin zusammen, dass die Prüfung über diese Frage in Brüssel vorgenommen werden sollte, auch wenn die Prüfung bis zum Kongressbeginn noch nicht beendet sein sollte. Die Ergebnisse werden dann aber sicherlich bis zur Publikation des Kongressberichtes vorliegen.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 4.

³⁸⁸ “Herr Rietveldt fragt an, warum man sich auf die Schiebefenster spezialisieren wolle.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 5.

a “value judgement,” and feared that CIAM was entering dangerous territory by focusing on something considered a mere luxury good.³⁸⁹ Even though Haring refuted Stam’s last argument by explaining that horizontal sliding windows were commonly used in the Balkans and were anything but a “luxury object,”³⁹⁰ he nevertheless considered the display of the windows as superfluous, instead preferring to exhibit only the test results of thermal calculations.³⁹¹ Both Karl Moser and Walter Gropius opposed the criticisms. Gropius explained that this exhibition would be regarded as a test, not a personal preference.³⁹² Moser meanwhile argued that the aim of the exhibition was to “get the ball rolling,” as well as to shed light on the topic of sliding windows, which thitherto had scarcely been investigated.³⁹³ He furthermore stated that by getting in touch with the different manufacturers, the industry’s interest in the problem had already been “busted.” Thus, the exhibition should be seen “as a point for departure for new development in this field of research” and, moreover, he warned that “it [couldn’t] be cancelled anyway” due to the already well-advanced progress.³⁹⁴

2.3. The Preparation

The acquisition process for the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition must have started at the beginning of September 1930, just a couple of weeks before the third CIRAC meeting. As we know from the delegates’ meeting on 25 September in Frankfurt, there were two different versions of the “Guidelines” for “Horizontal Sliding Windows.” The first version was sent to the delegates and firms before the meeting on 25 September [see fig. I.2.8 – I.2.10].³⁹⁵ The second version was revised during the meeting [see fig. I.2.11 and fig. I.2.12].

³⁸⁹ “Herr Stam st der Ansicht, dass der Kongress, indem er eine Ausstellung über horizontale Schiebefenster veranstaltet, gewissermassen ein Werturteil über diese Fensterart abgeben will. Wenn er das nicht wolle, so müsse er das ausdrücklich betonen. [...] Herr Stam glaubt, dass man sich mit dieser Ausstellung auf ein sehr gefährliches Gebiet begeben, ja, man könne dem Kongress sogar vorwerfen, dass er sich mit Luxussachen beschäftige, denn das Schiebefenster sei zurzeit unbedingt ein Luxusfenster, das nur für wenige, besonders gelagerte Fälle in Betracht komme.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 6.

³⁹⁰ “Herr Haring erwidert daraufhin, dass fast der ganze Balkan, besonders aber Serbien und Bulgarien Schiebefenster verwende und dass das Schiebefenster dort bestimmt kein Luxusgegenstand sei.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 6.

³⁹¹ “Herr Haring meint, dass man doch eigentlich nur Prüfungsergebnisse zeigen könne.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 6.

³⁹² “Herr Professor Gropius ist der Meinung, dass mit dieser Ausstellung über Schiebefenster durchaus nur ein Versuch gemacht werden solle und dass sich der Kongress in keiner Weise mit dem ausgestellten Material identifizieren wolle. Dem Kongress liege vielmehr nur daran, die noch wenig erprobte Frage der Schiebefenster einmal herauszustellen, um damit die Diskussion über dieses Problem überhaupt erst ins Rollen zu bringen.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 6.

³⁹³ The building industry as one target group of the exhibition is touched upon in chapter 8.5.3. in “Part II. Analysis.”

³⁹⁴ “Präsident Professor Moser fasst dahin zusammen, dass man jetzt im letzten Augenblick die Ausstellung nicht mehr gut abblasen könne, zumal schon eine ganze Reihe von Firmen die Uebersendung von Modellen zugesagt hätte.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 8.

³⁹⁵ For the different versions see footnote 310.

There were also two different versions of each: one set of guidelines for internal use, and another for the firms and manufacturers of horizontal sliding windows.

2.3.1. The “Guidelines for the ‘Horizontal Sliding Windows’ Exhibition”

When Sigfried Giedion announced that the exhibition guidelines for the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition had once again been reviewed and adapted at the delegates’ meeting on 25 September, he was first and foremost referring to the fourth paragraph of the guidelines. Giedion had decided to change this paragraph to prevent possible “competitive friction”³⁹⁶ between the exhibiting manufacturers. The fourth paragraph of the unrevised version sent to CIAM members and the firms before 25 September reads as follows:

4. copy of the patent, which contains the characteristic features of the window.³⁹⁷

By contrast, the fourth paragraph of the revised version sent out after September 25 reads as follows:

4. description of the window with its characteristic features, as well as the indication of the year of construction.³⁹⁸

Besides the revision of the fourth paragraph, the versions for CIAM members on the one hand, and the version for non-CIAM members on the other, can be easily distinguished by another difference. While the version for non-CIAM members starts off with a detailed introduction about the background and aim of the exhibition, the version for CIAM members immediately starts off with the list of material to be handed in. The recipients are also directly addressed in the version for non-CIAM members.³⁹⁹ Giedion’s summary of the decisions taken during the third CIRPAC meeting indicates that there was a different version for the firms and manufacturers on the one hand, and one for CIAM members on the other, “regarding the paragraph on the patents in the circular letter for the firms [...]”⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁶ “Was die in dem Rundschreiben an die Firmen geäußerte Bitte um Abschrift der Patente angehe, so habe man sich entschlossen diesen Punkt hier fallen zu lassen, da sich hieraus unter den ausstellenden Firmen unangenehme Konkurrenzreize ergeben könnten.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 15.

³⁹⁷ “4. Abschrift des Patent, die die charakteristischen Eigenschaften des Fensters enthält.” CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER. RICHTLINIEN.”

³⁹⁸ “4. Beschreibung des Fensters mit seinen charakteristischen Eigenschaften, sowie die Angabe des Konstruktionsjahres.” CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER.”

³⁹⁹ “Zwecks möglicher Vergleichbarkeit bitten wir die Aussteller freundlichst [...]. Zur Vermeidung jeglichen Irrtums envis die geschätzten Firmen ersucht [...]” CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER.”

⁴⁰⁰ “Was die in dem Rundschreiben an die Firmen geäußerte Bitte um Abschrift der Patente angehe, so habe man sich entschlossen diesen Punkt hier fallen zu lassen, da sich hieraus unter den ausstellenden Firmen unangenehme Konkurrenzreize ergeben könnten.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 15.

The introduction of the version for non-CIAM members starts by explaining the background and the aim of the planned exhibition series on technical details. It is declared that CIRPAC had decided to display and discuss problems of technical details as completely as possible, and with “the easiest comparability”⁴⁰¹ at every following Congress. The subject of the first technical exhibition, to be shown at CIAM-03, is announced as “Horizontal Sliding Windows.” The introduction then stresses that, despite the specific focus of the exhibition, CIAM does not intend to give a preferential treatment to horizontal sliding windows over other solutions. Besides a personal enlightenment, CIAM hope to encourage the industry to address this window problem in the future.⁴⁰² Last but not least, it is announced that the preparation for the exhibition is already well advanced, and models of horizontal sliding windows from the North (Finland) to the South (southern France) will be sent to Brussels.⁴⁰³

This detailed introduction is followed by the actual guidelines for the exhibition material. The list of material to be submitted specified by the second version of the German guidelines for the firms reads as follows:

- (1) a fully mounted / readily installed window, normally executed at a scale of 1:1 and not exceeding a maximum size of 2 m²
- (2) a technical drawing of the window at a scale of 1:1
- (3) a collection of photographs showing the built-in window as a whole from both inside and outside, and its possible use:
 - (a) one photograph showing the whole window from the outside, and
 - (b) the inside
 - (c) one photograph showing the window being connected to the wall, the ceiling, or the floor, and
 - (d) a photograph showing the whole situation of the built-in window
- (4) a written description of the window and its characteristic features, including the year of fabrication

⁴⁰¹ “Der internationale Ausschuss für neues Bauen hat beschlossen an den Kongressen jeweils bestimmte Detailprobleme in möglichster Vollständigkeit zu zeigen und zu Diskussion zu bringen.” CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER.” In French: “La Comité international pour l’architecture envisage de présenter à chaque congrès et de soumettre à la discussion certains envisag de construction.” CIAM, “EXPOSITION INTERNATIONALE DE FENÊTRES A COULISSE.”

⁴⁰² “Der Kongress will mit dieser Ausstellung durchaus nicht bekunden, dassdas [sic] horizontale Schiebefenster eine Betonung vor allen anderen Fensterlösungen verdient, aber er hofft neben einer persönlichen Aufklärung zu erreichen, dass die Industrie mehr als bisher sich dem Fensterproblem zuwendet. Die Vorbereitung für die Ausstellung ist weitgehend fortgeschritten und schon heute sind Modelle horizontaler Schiebefenster von nördlichen (Finnland) bis zu südlichen (Südfrankreich) Gegenden angemeldet.” CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER.” In French: “Par cette exposition, le Congrès ne veut nullement prétendre que la fenêtre à coulisse est préférable à d’autres systèmes de fenêtres, mais il espère qu’à part son côté instructif, und teile démonstration stimulera davantage l’intérêt à travailler au perfectionnement de la fenêtre.” CIAM, “EXPOSITION INTERNATIONALE DE FENÊTRES A COULISSE.”

⁴⁰³ “Die Vorbereitung für die Ausstellung ist weitgehend fortgeschritten und schon heute sind die Modelle horizontaler Schiebefenster von nördlichen (Finnland) bis zu südlichen (Südfrankreich) angemeldet.” CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER.”

(5) samples of new materials that can be considered for the fabrication of the window.⁴⁰⁴

Finally, a sufficient number of product brochures for congress members are requested.⁴⁰⁵ In order to avoid any confusion of the submitted models and materials, it is stated that gummed labels will be sent to the firms by mid-October, to be filled in and applied to the drawings and the model.⁴⁰⁶ The deadline for submission is specified as 15 November.

Beside the change from “patents” to a “description of the window with its characteristic features” in the fourth paragraph from the first to the second version, also the first and third paragraphs vary slightly in content. In the first version, the first paragraph includes the reason for the installation of the window on a base: “Whenever possible, it should be mounted on a base, so that it can be exhibited in the middle of the exhibition space and tested.”⁴⁰⁷ Whereas the second version reads: “Submission of a fully assembled model in normal execution. The size of 2m² should not be exceeded.”⁴⁰⁸ The list of photographs to be sent in was also changed. The first version still showed Le Corbusier’s suggestion from the second CIRPAC meeting of showing the whole situation of the window built in (c) a small house and (d) a big house.⁴⁰⁹ Whereas the second version does not differentiate between a small and big house anymore.⁴¹⁰

2.3.2 The Acquisition of the Windows

The acquisition of the windows for the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition was another cumbersome process and test of patience for Sigfried Giedion, if not quite as tedious as the collection of plans for “Rational Lot Development.” “Horizontal Sliding Windows” additionally

⁴⁰⁴ “1. Einsendung eine fertig montierten Modells in normaler Ausführung. 2m² sollen nicht überschritten werden. 2. Konstruktionszeichnung des Fensters, Massstab 1:1. 3. Zur näheren Erläuterung eine Anzahl Photographien über die Anwendungsmöglichkeiten des Fensters. A) Gesamtansicht des Fensters von außen. B) Gesamtansicht des Fensters von innen. C) Verbindung des Fensters mit Wand, Decke oder Fußboden. (d) Situation des Fensters im Ganzen.” CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER.”

⁴⁰⁵ “Die Aussteller werden ersucht eine genügende Anzahl von Prospekten, die für die Kongressteilnehmer bestimmt sind, miteinzusenden.” See: CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER.”

⁴⁰⁶ “Zur Vermeidung jeglichen Irrtums werden die geschätzten Firmen ersucht, die Ihnen im Laufe des Monats Oktober zugesandten gummierten Etiketten auszufüllen und sowohl Pläne, als auch Modelle damit zu versehen.” See: CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER.”

⁴⁰⁷ “Einsendung eines Modells in normaler Ausführung. Es ist womöglich auf einem Sockel zu befestigen, damit es in Raummitte ausgestellt und ausprobiert werden kann.” CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER. RICHTLINIEN.” Whereas the second version reads: The description given in the French draft is again different: “exposition d’un modele en grandeur naturelle, avec des matériaux véritables à fournir par les inventeurs eux-mêmes ou les firmes qui exploitent l’invention.” See “Pour l’exposition de la fenêtre en longueur les 5 points suivants sont à envisager.”

⁴⁰⁸ “Einsendung eines fertig montierten Modells in normaler Ausführung. 2m² sollten nicht überschritten werden.” See: CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER.”

⁴⁰⁹ “c) Situationen des Fensters im ganzen eines kleinen Hauses. d) Situationen eines Fenster im ganzen eines grossen Hauses.” CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER. RICHTLINIEN.”

⁴¹⁰ “ Zur näheren Erläuterung eine Anzahl Photographien über die Anwendungsmöglichkeiten des Fensters. a) Gesamtansicht des Fensters von aussen. b) Gesamtansicht des Fensters von innen. c) Verbindung des Fensters mit Wand, Decke oder Fussboden. e) Situation des Fensters im Ganzen.” See: CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER.”

necessitated the engagement of delegates. For example, at the beginning of November 1930, Giedion approached Uno Åhrén (1897–1977) and asked for horizontal sliding windows manufactured in Sweden: “You may be interested to hear that there are currently twenty window models registered for the exhibition on horizontal sliding windows. Are there no sliding windows in Sweden at all?”⁴¹¹ He was also in contact with Sven Markelius and Alvar Aalto, and persisted with his enquiries about windows manufactured in Sweden and Finland.⁴¹² Whenever he obtained the name of a local manufacturer of horizontally sliding windows, Giedion took over the negotiations with the firm, as can be seen from following letter from Hans Schmidt to Giedion, in which he handed over the responsibility to Giedion after having been in contact with the manufacturers:

Our specialist and collaborator in this field, Mr. Koller from Basel [...] has significantly improved and cheapened the window, which we have been using for our buildings. He also exhibited this model at the WoBA [Schweizerische Wohnungsausstellung Basel], and he will send a brochure in the coming days. It is a very well-studied and unique design. I suggest asking Suter and Koller if they would like to exhibit a model in Brussels. Since I am not aware of the conditions and details, I would like to hand over the matter to you, if I may be so bold.⁴¹³

Walter Gropius was also closely involved in the acquisition of German windows. In September, when the acquisition process of the windows was in full swing, Giedion urged him not to relinquish the communication with the window manufacturers, since, according to Giedion, models could best be assessed “within the country.”⁴¹⁴ Victor Bourgeois, too, must

⁴¹¹ “Vielleicht interessiert es Sie zu hören, dass für die Ausstellung Horizontale Schiebefenster vorläufig 20 Modelle in Naturgrößen angemeldet sind. Gibt es in Schweden gar keine Schiebefenster?” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Uno Åhrén, November 6, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Åhrén, gta Archives.

⁴¹² To Markelius he wrote: “Aalto hat mir die Pläne seines Schiebefensters gesandt. Wie steht es mit Schiebefenstern in Schweden? Kennen Sie das Modell Bensons. Hat dieser Architekt sonst noch was gebaut?” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Sven Markelius, August 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Markelius, gta Archives. And to Alvar Aalto he wrote: “Was machen die horizontalen Schiebefenster? Kann man denn wirklich auf Ihre Modelle rechnen? Bitte geben Sie uns darüber Nachricht.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Alvar Aalto, October 22, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Aalto, gta Archives.

⁴¹³ “Nun hat unser Basler Spezialist und Mitarbeiter auf diesem Gebiete Herr Koller seit einem Monat i/fa. Suter u. Koller, Eisenkonstruktionswerkstätten, Holeestrasse 105/7 sein bis jetzt für unsere Bauten geliefertes Modell bedeutend verbessert und verbilligt. Er hat das Modell auch an der WoBA ausgestellt und wird in den nächsten Tagen die Prospekte versenden. Es handelt sich um eine sehr gute studierte und eigenartige Konstruktion. Ich möchte nun vorschlagen, dass die Firma Suter und Koller angefragt wird, ob sie eventuell ein Modell ihres Fensters in Brüssel ausstellen würde. Da ich die näheren Absichten und Bedingungen nicht kenne, erlaube ich mir, Ihnen die Sache zu übergeben.” Hans Schmidt, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, September 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Schmidt-Hans, gta Archives. For an overview of the programme and the aims of the WOBA (Schweizerische Wohnungsausstellung Basel), see Frank Bürgi, “‘Schweizerische Wohnungsausstellung Basel’ (WOBA) 1930,” in *Frühmoderne Architektur aus der Fabrik* (Basel: Schwabe, 2015), 93–97.

⁴¹⁴ “Lieber Herr Gropius, ich habe Ihre Sendung erhalten und danke Ihnen für die grosse Mühe und Sorgfalt, die Sie sich in Hinsicht auf die Schiebefenster gegeben. [...] Jedenfalls bitte ich Sie die Angelegenheit für Deutschland nicht aus der Hand zu geben, sonst werden wir nichts von dort erhalten. Es ist ja auch gar nicht möglich ausserhalb des Landes die Modelle beurteilen zu können, deshalb bitte ich Sie womöglich noch vor Frankfurt an die Firmen, die wirklich Modelle liefern, die man international vertreten kann, beiliegende Richtlinien zu versenden.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, September 12, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

have been involved in the acquisition process, since Giedion asked him for the list with the windows "which have been acquired and received"⁴¹⁵ by him at the end of October.

After the process of acquiring the windows came to an end, the amount of work left was not intensive. The manufacturers were in charge of shipping the windows to Brussels, where they needed only to be labelled with prefabricated labels from Zurich.⁴¹⁶ Then they were then arranged in the Exhibition Hall by Rudolf Steiger.

⁴¹⁵ "Je vous envoie ci-inclus la liste des fenêtres coulissantes. Il y a jusqu'au moment 18 à 20 modèles annoncés. La Bauwelt de Berlin s'intéresse déjà pour l'exposition des fenêtres à coulisse et veut la montrer à Berlin. Veuillez avoir la bonté de me faire communiquer tous les modèles qui ne sont pas dans la liste ci-incluse et qui vous sont annoncées et parvenues." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, November 8, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives. This list, which Giedion also mentions in another letter to Bourgeois ("Nous avons reçu déjà beaucoup d'affirmations de la part des fabricants. Je ne manquerai pas de vous envoyer la liste au moment, où j'aurai la liste complètes," Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, October 22, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives), could not be found in the gta Archives.

⁴¹⁶ "Je vous envoie les premières étiquettes pour l'exposition. Est-ce que la Belgique a envoyé des modèles? Je vous enverrais la liste des Exposants aussi au commencement de la semaine prochaine." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, November 1, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

3. “Une Exposition de l’Habitation”

To receive funding for CIAM-03 from the city of Brussels, the Belgian CIAM Group needed to organise a public side event which would precede CIAM-03: the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum.” Albert François was the president of the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum,” and Victor Bourgeois was in charge of the programme, the exhibitions, and the preparations.⁴¹⁷ The “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” were held in the Palais des Beaux-Arts from 22–26 November. In conjunction with the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum,” a public lecture series on the topic of minimal housing and public tours through Brussels on the same subject were given. The public lectures and guided tours included contributions by CIAM members who also attended CIAM-03, including Joseph Gantner, Cornelis van Eesteren, Sigfried Giedion, Karel Teige, and Eugène Kaufmann (1892–1984).⁴¹⁸ However, the main part of the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” was the “Une Exposition de l’Habitation” exhibition, comprising six different sections. A two-sided poster of the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” [see fig. I.3.6 and fig. I.3.7]. can be regarded as the event’s accompanying brochure and provides information about the agenda and the different exhibition sections.⁴¹⁹ Besides this source, Victor Bourgeois’ photographs provide most leads for the reconstruction of the exhibition [see fig. I.3.1 - I.3.5].

As was agreed during the first CIRPAC meeting, CIAM’s first exhibition, “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” was again exhibited in Brussels. The 109 exhibition panels were on display in the same exhibition space as the other “Une Exposition de l’Habitation” exhibitions. The exhibition panels were mounted on dry walls positioned in-between the columns of the Exhibition Hall. The dry walls were either positioned in between the columns, or around them in a zigzag arrangement [see fig. I.3.2, fig. I.3.4, and I.3.5].⁴²⁰ The second section was an exhibition on the newest building activities in Brussels in the field of minimal

⁴¹⁷ “V souvislosti s kongresem usporádala belgická skupina jakysi ‘Tyden nejmensiho bytu,’ ‘Les Journées de l’Habitation Minimum’ 22. - 26. XI. 1930: cyklus prednásek a niekoľik vystav. Predsedou týchto ‘Journées’ byl p. senátor Albert François. Přípravné práce belgické skupiny ridil Victor Bourgeois.” See Teige, “3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu,” 106.

⁴¹⁸ *Das Neue Frankfurt* published an overview of the speeches given: “Die belgischen ‘Journées de l’Habitation-Minimum.’ Eine Art interner Veranstaltung verschiedener belgischer Architekten-Vereine und Baugesellschaften. Sie wurden am 22. November durch eine Rede ihres lebenswürdigen Präsidenten, des Senators François, eröffnet und gingen am 27. über in den Kongreß für Neues Bauen. Die internen Verhandlungen, die sich im wesentlichen auf den Stand der Wohnungsbaufragen in Belgien bezogen, waren kombiniert mit mehreren großen Vorträgen, die z.T. mit den Ausstellungen zusammenhingen. Es sprachen u. a.: am 22.: Dr. Gantner-Frankfurt ‘L’ Activité urbaine de la ville de Francfort de 1925 à 1930’; am 23.: van Eesteren-Amsterdam ‘L’effort urbanistique de la ville ‘Amsterdam’; am 24.: Dr. Giedion-Zürich über die Ziele des Kongresses und Karel Teige-Prag über den Wohnungsbau in der Tschechoslowakei; am 25.: Syrkus-Warschau über den Wohnungsbau in Polen und am 26. Baurat Kaufmann-Frankfurt über den Wohnungsbau in Frankfurt. Diese Vorträge waren von Seiten des Brüsseler Publikums außerordentlich gut besucht.” Joseph Gantner, “1. Die belgischen ‘Journées de l’Habitation-Minimum,’” *Das Neue Frankfurt* 12 (1930): 260, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

⁴¹⁹ See: “AU PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS, UNE EXPOSITION DE L’HABITATION DONT VOICI LE PANORAMA,” *LA COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE*, 1930, 42-3-9-11, gta Archives. Numerous reports on CIAM-03 in the gta Archives also mention the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum.” To give one example, see Merkelbach, “DERDE INTERNATIONALE CONGRES VOOR ‘NEUES BAUEN’ TE BRUSSEL,” 18.

⁴²⁰ This noticeable arrangement, as well as the arrangement of the panels on display for the first time in Frankfurt in 1929, is analysed in chapter 6.2.1. in “Part II. Analysis.”

housing. Projects by Victor Bourgeois, Hubrecht Host, Raphaël Verwilghen, Jean-Jules Eggericx, Louis Herman De Koninck, Henveaux, and Victor Taelemans were displayed.⁴²¹ Work samples from a structural engineering class led by Bourgeois at the “Institut Supérieur des Arts Décoratifs” were also shown [see I.3.1 and fig. I.3.3].⁴²² The third section incorporated a modern show kitchen [see fig. I.3.5] including modern kitchen equipment.⁴²³ The kitchen was built in an improvised room defined by “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition panels. The fourth section presented international literature on minimal housing, including a collection of Czech magazines on the subject.⁴²⁴ Technical drawings addressed the question of how to rationalise the building process.⁴²⁵ Tubular steel furniture by Thonet [see fig. I.3.3 and fig. I.3.4] gave answers on the industrialisation of furniture.⁴²⁶ The fifth section was a memorial exhibition in commemoration of the Belgian architect Louis van der Swaelmen, who was mainly responsible for the regional planning of the city of Brussels [see fig. I.3.1 and fig. I.3.3].⁴²⁷ The sixth section was an exhibition about the building and design activities of *Das Neue Frankfurt* [see fig. I.3.3] between 1925 and 1930.⁴²⁸ Joseph Gantner opened the exhibition and gave an in-depth overview of what had been done in the fields of

⁴²¹ “Výstava nové architektury v Belgii (Bourgeois, Hoste, Verwilghen, Eggericx, de Koninck, Henveaux, Taelemans).” Teige, “3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu,” 106.

⁴²² The exhibited working samples from the Institut Supérieur des Arts Décoratifs are only listed in two articles on the “Journées de l’Habitation-Minimum.” “Sie bestanden aus [...] aus einigen Arbeitsproben der von Victor Bourgeois geleiteten Hochbauklasse des ‘Institut supérieur des Arts décoratifs’” (Gantner, “1. Die belgischen ‘Journées de l’Habitation-Minimum,’” 260); “6. výstava zákovských prací architektonické speciálky na ‘Institut supérieur des Arts décoratifs,’ jiz vede Victor Bourgeois” (Teige, “3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu,” 106).

⁴²³ It cannot be said with certainty whether this kitchen was a Frankfurt Kitchen or not. In the Belgian magazine *L’Equerre*, it is stated that a Frankfurt kitchen was exhibited at the “Journées de l’Habitation-Minimum”: “La ‘cuisine de Francfort,’ avec son maximum d’utilités, dans le moindre espace compatible avec sa fonction. Des armoires lisses, portes lisses, offrant la plus grande facilité de nettoyage; partout des placards bien conçus, un passe-plats, un fourneau à gaz, un évier, etc.” Pouf, “L’habitation minimum,” *L’Equerre* 5 (1931): 6, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives. Nevertheless, in an article about CIAM-03, Joseph Gantner mentions a show kitchen having been built by a group of Belgian Architects: “Belgien selbst hat [...] durch eine Gruppe junger Architekten eine moderne Küche mit originaler Ausstattung eingebaut.” Gantner, “Internationaler Kongress für neues Bauen.” This description is consistent with the programme of the “Journées de l’Habitation-Minimum”: “III. Présentation d’une cuisine rationnelle conçue par la section belge des Cong. Int. d’Architecture moderne et réalisée avec la collaboration des maisons Baudoux, Electrolux, Homann, Marbrite, Soméba, Van de Ven et Au Bon Marché.” See “AU PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS, UNE EXPOSITION DE L’HABITATION DONT VOICI LE PANORAMA.”

⁴²⁴ The exhibited Czech publications are only mentioned in one review: “Soubor exposic byl usporádán tímto způsobem: [...] výstava knih, publikací a časopisů, věnovaných moderní architektuře (z Československa vstavována STAVBA a MSA).” Teige, “3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu,” 106.

⁴²⁵ This section was curated with the support of the Comptoir National des Matériaux: “Esquisse d’un fichier technique. Présentation systématique au moyen de fiches systématiques, des objets de série qui peuvent participer à l’équipement de la maison minimum et des procédés de construction qui tendent au renouvellement et à la rationalisation de l’art de bâtir. Ce fichier est établi avec le concours du Comptoir National des Matériaux.” See “AU PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS, UNE EXPOSITION DE L’HABITATION DONT VOICI LE PANORAMA.”

⁴²⁶ The furniture is mentioned in a review in the Belgian magazine *L’Equerre*: “Plus loin, quelques chaises en tubes d’acier chromé, s’offraient à l’essai. Leur grande souplesse, leur propreté leur vaudront certainement le succès.” Pouf, “L’habitation minimum,” 6. It can be assumed that this furniture was from Thonet: “La question sociale du logement en Belgique. Panneau de la Société Nationale des Habitations et Logements à bon marche. Le mobilier de cette section est prêté par la maison Thonet.” See “AU PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS, UNE EXPOSITION DE L’HABITATION DONT VOICI LE PANORAMA.”

⁴²⁷ “Zeigten die Belgier vor allem auch eine kleines Gedächtnis-Ausstellung für den verstorbenen Städtebauer L. van der Swaelmen, dem die Stadt Brüssel ihren ersten Regionalplan verdankt.” Gantner, “Brüsseler Architektur-Tage. I.”

⁴²⁸ See the following letter from Giedion to Bourgeois: “On m’a demandé deux fois de Francfort, si vous aviez encore l’intention de faire une exposition sur Francfort et Gantner et May m’ont dit qu’ils n’ont rien entendu de vous. J’ai répondu il y a 4 semaines que le Congrès lui-même ne fait pas cette exposition et que c’est seulement vous et le groupe belge qui a a prendre des décisions das cette affaire.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, July 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

architecture, urban planning, industry, and graphic design.⁴²⁹ Joseph Gantner was also responsible for setting up the exhibition at the Palais des Beaux-Arts.⁴³⁰ The objects on display included a large collection of photographs and plans showing projects from the housing programme of *Das Neue Frankfurt* as well as industrial and graphic designs. Over 250 photographs and plans of housing projects, satellite towns, and garden cities in Frankfurt were exhibited, such as the Römerstadt and Praunheim. Industrial objects manufactured in Frankfurt were also on display, such as the Fuld-telephone and Zeiss-lamps designed by Adolf Meyer. Finally, designs from the Kunstgewerbeschule Frankfurt were exhibited, including lamps, enabled objects, shop signs, commercials and advertisement posters, studies on the design of school furniture, the extension of cemeteries, designs for funerary monuments, public pools, and power stations.⁴³¹

⁴²⁹ Gantner's opening speech was published in the journal *Tekhne*, and provides most leads for the content of the exhibition. See Joseph Gantner, "LES JOURNÉES DE L'HABITATION-MINIMUM. L'activité architecturale et urbanistique de Francfort (1925–1939)," *Tekhne* 6 (1931): 113–19, 42-3-9-12, gta Archives. Another document containing detailed information about the "Journées de l'Habitation-Minimum," its exhibitions, and programme is a two-sided poster-like programme with the headline: "LA COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE." It can be assumed that CIAM's Belgian Group published this document together with the Belgian Group of the International Congresses of the Independent Film. See "LA COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE," 1930, 42-3-9-11, gta Archives.

⁴³⁰ "Da ich [Joseph Gantner] in den Tagen eine Ausstellung der Stadt Frankfurt einzurichten hatte [...]." Gantner, "Brüsseler Architektur-Tage. I."

⁴³¹ "LA SECTION DE LA VILLE FRANCFORT," *LA COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE*, 1930, 42-3-9-11, gta Archives.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of “Rational Lot Development”

From February 1931 to January 1933, the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition travelled to eight different cities in Switzerland, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, and Italy. Hence, “Rational Lot Development” was shown in more different cities and countries than any other travelling CIAM exhibition. In December 1930, just after the exhibition had closed in Brussels, it was announced in the journal *Das Neue Frankfurt* that “Rational Lot Development” would travel together with the panels of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” to various cities.⁴³² However, this was not the case. The exhibition was only on display once more with the exhibition “Horizontal Sliding Windows” in Zurich (February–March 1931). Then it was shown, independently of “Horizontal Sliding Windows,” in Berlin (May–August 1931), Basel (October 1931), Barcelona (April 1932), Madrid (April 1932), Amsterdam (June–July 1932), Milan (January 1933), and Bologna (January 1933).⁴³³ In 1936, the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition panels were gifted to the Bausammlung of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich (ETH), where they were later lost.⁴³⁴ Cologne,⁴³⁵

⁴³² “DIE AUSSTELLUNGEN, die der Kongress vorbereitet hatte, wurden am 28. eröffnet. Wichtig vor allem die etwa 60 einheitlich gezeichnete Blätter umfassende Abteilung der Aufschliessungspläne. Sie sind in derselben Weile dargestellt wie die Blätter des “Existenzminimums” und werden in Zukunft mit jenen zusammen wandern. (Eine Publikation auch hierüber ist im Verlag Englert und Schlosser in Vorbereitung; wir kommen noch darauf zurück.)” Gantner, “2. Der Kongreß für Neues Bauen,” 261. A similar announcement was published in *Frankfurter Zeitung*: “This exhibition, like the previous one on ‘The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,’ will travel to different locations.” Sigfried Giedion, “Dritter Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen in Brüssel,” *Frankfurter Zeitung* (December 3, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

⁴³³ Since no other archival material with further indications for more venues could found either in the gta Archives or in any other archives, it can be assumed that the exhibition stopped travelling after Bologna.

⁴³⁴ “Diese [Ausstellungstafeln] wurden 1936 der Bausammlung der Eidgenössischen Technischen Hochschule in Zürich übergeben, wo sie später verloren gingen.” Steinmann, ed., *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 103.

⁴³⁵ The following letter from Eugen Blanck to Sigfried Giedion gives information about negotiations about sending the exhibition material to Cologne: “Sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Giedion! Herr Dr. With hat leider für diesen Monat schon über seinen Ausstellungsraum im Kunstgewerbemuseum verfügt. Da eine andere Gelegenheit für die Ausstellung rationeller Bauweisen in Köln nicht vorhanden ist, können wir das Material von Brüssel aus hier nicht übernehmen. Dagegen könnte im Februar evtl. eine kurze Ausstellung noch eingeschoben werden, wenn das Material dann noch frei ist. Herr Dr. Ganter der bei mir heute telegrafisch wegen der Sache anfragte, da ein anderer Interessent vorhanden sei habe ich in diesem Sinn benachrichtigt. Wegen der Ausstellung der Schiebefenster habe ich heute mit Herrn Direktor Hösel, Messe- u. Ausstellungsamt Köln-Deutz, gesprochen, der diese Ausstellung für die Frühjahrsmesse vom 22.-27.3. 1931 evtl. übernehmen möchte. Bedingung wäre jedoch, daß dieses Material in keiner anderen westdeutschen Stadt mehr gezeigt würde. Ich bitte Sie, sich wegen dieser Sache direkt mit Herrn Direktor Hösel ins Benehmen zu setzen. Ich schlage vor, wenn die Ausstellung in Köln zustande kommt, sie noch durch einige Kölner Firmen, die sehr leistungsfähig auf diesem Gebiet sind, zu ergänzen. Bezüglich der Vervollständigung der Ausstellung „Rationelle Bauweise“ durch weiteres deutsches Material habe ich mich mit Herrn van Eesteren in Verbindung gesetzt.” Eugen Blanck, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, December 5, 1930, 42-K-1930-Blanck-Eugen, gta Archives.

Mannheim,⁴³⁶ Stuttgart,⁴³⁷ and Geneva⁴³⁸ were also considered as exhibition venues, but the plans were never realised.⁴³⁹ Like the travelling exhibition of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was not shown outside of Europe. Nevertheless, the idea of exhibiting “Rational Lot Development” in America was discussed during the Delegates’ Meeting on 25 September. Richard Neutra, delegate of the American CIAM Group, reported on his efforts to increase the visibility of the work of CIAM in America. In response to Karl Moser’s suggestion to start the “CIAM propaganda [campaign] in the States with a travelling exhibition, which could travel around the country,”⁴⁴⁰ he answered that he had

already talked about this with his American friends. But the funds required for such exhibitions had first to be raised by the American colleagues themselves. This was different from here [Europe], where one could convince cities and other bodies to show these exhibitions. Nevertheless, there was without any doubt interest in the topic of minimal housing in America, and it was now up to CIAM to promote this interest.⁴⁴¹

While the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was on display in Brussels, various errors were identified on the panels which needed to be revised and corrected before the exhibition could travel. Correspondence between Sigfried Giedion, Cornelis van Eesteren, and Walter Gropius from mid-December 1930 to March 1931 reveal that – like the preparation of the

⁴³⁶ A letter from Sigfried Giedion to Adolf Platz, Stadtbaudirektor of the City of Mannheim, shows Giedion’s effort to bring the exhibition to Mannheim: “Gleichzeitig möchte ich Ihnen an erster Stelle mitteilen, dass wir auch die diesjährige Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweisen’ als Wanderausstellung ausbauen. Die Ausstellung wird am 15. Februar in Zürich gezeigt werden und Mannheim könnte sie im Monat Januar an erster Stelle haben. Bitte geben Sie uns umgehend Nachricht, ob Mannheim Interesse daran hätte, damit wir im vorteilhaften Fall mit einer andern Stadt verhandeln. Die Ausstellung ‘Horizontale Schiebefenster’ ist von der Bauwelt Musterschau angefordert.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Gustav Adolf Platz, November 11, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Platz, gta Archives.

⁴³⁷ “Beiliegend sende ich ihnen einen brief der staatl. beratungsstelle für das baugewerbe, stuttgart vom 10.8.31. ich habe darauf geantwortet, dass es nicht ausgeschlossen sei, die ausstellung herbst oder winter in stuttgart zu zeigen. wir erwarten jedoch noch bescheid von 2 städten sobald dieser da sei, könnten wir definitiven bericht geben.” A handwritten note from Giedion on the upper corner reads as follows: “Antwort 20. Aug. daß Steiger mir Nachricht gibt oder direkt an an Gropius schreibt damit Pläne nach Basel geschickt werden.” Rudolf Steiger, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, August 13, 1931, 42-K-1931-Steiger, gta Archives.

⁴³⁸ “Lieber Herr Höchel, [...] Wir sprachen in Zürich wegen der Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweisen,’ die augenblicklich in Basel zur Verfügung steht. Könnte man sie nicht im Monat Februar in Genf zur Ausstellung bringen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Arnold Höchel, January 15, 1932, 42-II-Correspondance-1932-uncatalogued, gta Archives.

⁴³⁹ Since no evidence could be found during the research for this thesis, it seems unlikely that the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was actually shown in these cities.

⁴⁴⁰ “Professor Moser dankt Herrn Neutra für seinen Bericht und für seine Bereitwilligkeit, speziell in Amerika mitzuarbeiten. Auf seine Frage, ob es nicht vielleicht zweckmässig sei, die Propaganda in Amerika mit einer Wanderausstellung zu eröffnen, etwa mit der Brüsseler Ausstellung und vielleicht noch zwei oder drei anderen Wanderausstellungen, die man dann dort im Lande herumreisen lassen könnte.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 11ff.

⁴⁴¹ “Herr Neutra meint, dass er darüber bereits mit seinen amerikanischen Freunden gesprochen habe. Aber die für derartige Ausstellungen erforderlichen Mittel müssten zunächst einmal von den amerikanischen Kollegen selbst aufgebracht werden; es sei damit also anders als bei uns, wo man auch Städte und andere Körperschaften für solche Ausstellungen interessieren könne. Gleichwohl sei Interesse für Kleinwohnungen in Amerika zweifellos vorhanden, und es liege nun am Kongress, dieses Interesse etwa in der bereits von ihm angedeuteten Weise zu fördern.” CIAM, “DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M,” 11ff.

exhibition itself – the correction of the panels was a difficult undertaking. Communication with Victor Bourgeois regarding the revision of the plans was rather slow:

Dear [van] Eesteren! Prof. Moser tells me that Bourgeois will not be able to work for the next two weeks according to a medical certificate. I had already feared something similar. You will probably also have received notice from Bourgeois. We fear for the completion and the fate of the exhibition: I am supposed to report to Cologne when the 'Rational Lot Development' exhibition is completed. At worst, between 12–15 January at the latest. But what will happen with the window exhibition? The Bauwelt publishing house asks for precise information, but I am unable to do so, because I have no news from Brussels. We rely entirely on you and ask you to see that things get in order.⁴⁴²

Since Giedion feared the “completion and fate of the exhibition”⁴⁴³ due to Bourgeois' silence, he hired an editor at the beginning of February 1931.⁴⁴⁴ However, the revision of the panels had not been completed before the travelling exhibition was first shown in Zurich.⁴⁴⁵ Hence, it can be assumed that Berlin was the first venue where the travelling exhibition showed the revised panels.

In contrast to the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, “Horizontal Sliding Windows” did not need any changes or adjustments.⁴⁴⁶ Still, Zurich was the only venue the travelling exhibition visited which also showed some of the window models from Brussels.

⁴⁴² “Lieber Eesteren! Prof. Moser sagt mir, dass Bourgeois die nächsten zwei Wochen nicht arbeitsfähig sein wird nach ärztlichem Zeugnis. Irgendetwas Aehnliches hatte ich bereits befürchtet. Du wirst ja wahrscheinlich auch von Bourgeois Bericht haben. Wir fürchten hier für die Fertigstellung und das Schicksal der Ausstellung: ich soll nach Köln berichten, wenn die Ausstellung "Rationelle Bebauungsmethoden" wirklich fertig wird. Wenn dies, sagen wir bis ungefähr 12.–15. Januar der Fall sein kann, genügt es schlimmsten Falls auch. Was aber geschieht mit der Fensterausstellung? Ich sollte dem Bauwelt-Verlag eine präzise Auskunft geben, kann dies aber nicht tun, da ich von Brüssel keine Nachricht habe. Wir verlassen uns ganz auf Dich und bitten Dich, zu sehen, dass die Dinge in Ordnung kommen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, December 19, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van Eesteren, gta Archives.

⁴⁴³ “Ich bin vor allem ohne jede Nachricht von Seiten Bourgeois. Ich fürchte, die Ausstellung ist heute noch nicht fertig, und bitte Dich, mir darüber Bericht zu geben. Vor der Eröffnung in Zürich wird wohl kaum die Ausstellung anderswo gezeigt werden können. Die Ausstellung muss am 10. Februar in Zürich sein, wo sie am 15. Februar eröffnet wird.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, December 30, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van Eesteren, gta Archives. Since the exhibition material shown in Brussels was neither changed nor amended for Zurich, it can be assumed that Giedion refers to the production of the exhibition panels for the publication when he says that “the exhibition is still not ready.”

⁴⁴⁴ “Wir haben die Ausstellung genau durchgesehen und sind auf verschiedene Fehler gekommen, besonders auf rechnerischem Gebiet. Wir haben eine Kraft angestellt, denn keiner von uns könnte es verantworten, wenn die Ausstellung vorher an einem anderen Ort gezeigt würde oder gar die Publikation mit den Fehlern herauskäme.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, February 2, 1931, 42-K-1931-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives. The date of the letter leads to the conclusion that the plans have been exhibited in Zurich unrevised.

⁴⁴⁵ “Die überarbeiteten pläne sind nun an steiger zurückgeschickt worden.” Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, March 24, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives.

⁴⁴⁶ “Lieber Eesteren! Prof. Moser sagt mir, dass Bourgeois die nächsten zwei Wochen nicht arbeitsfähig sein wird nach ärztlichem Zeugnis. Irgendetwas Aehnliches hatte ich bereits befürchtet. Du wirst ja wahrscheinlich auch von Bourgeois Bericht haben. Wir fürchten hier für die Fertigstellung und das Schicksal der Ausstellung: ich soll nach Köln berichten, wenn die Ausstellung 'Rationelle Bebauungsmethoden' wirklich fertig wird. Wenn dies, sagen wir bis ungefähr 12. - 15. Januar der Fall sein kann, genügt es schlimmsten Falls auch. Was aber geschieht mit der Fensterausstellung?” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, December 19, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van Eesteren, gta Archives.

Nevertheless, the correspondence of inter alia Sigfried Giedion and Karl Moser reveal their effort to also show both exhibitions in, among others, Berlin and Basel.⁴⁴⁷ Already during the acquisition process of the windows, considerable interest in taking over the exhibition had been expressed from multiple sides.⁴⁴⁸ For example, the *Ständige Bauwelt Musterschau Berlin* considered taking over “Horizontal Sliding Windows” right after Brussels.⁴⁴⁹ After the CIAM-03 exhibitions were closed in Brussels, Sigfried Giedion handed over responsibility for the negotiations about the window exhibition to Victor Bourgeois. He let him know that he himself “will write again to the director of the ‘Bauwelt’ who needs to get in touch with you concerning the models which will make the trip to Berlin.”⁴⁵⁰ Yet it seems very unlikely that “Horizontal Sliding Windows” was ever shown at the *Bauwelt Musterschau*.⁴⁵¹

The available archival material in the gta Archives for the reconstruction of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” varies across the different venues. Correspondence between the delegates served as initial sources for the reconstruction of the different venues. Furthermore, invitation cards and foreign reports also stored in the gta Archives served as additional sources for the reconstruction. Reports in foreign journals were also used for the reconstruction of the venues and additional material. For example, a detailed report about Barcelona CIRPAC meeting in the Spanish journal *AC* also reports on the traveling exhibition.⁴⁵² The same applies for a report by Cornelis van Eesteren in *De 8 en*

⁴⁴⁷ “Beide Ausstellungen werden vom 15. Februar an bis etwa 15. März in Zürich gezeigt werden, bei welcher Gelegenheit Gropius, van Eesteren und vielleicht noch einige Architekten sprechen werden.” Karl Moser, Letter to Hermann Kienzle, December 31, 1930, 42-K-1930-Moser-Karl, gta Archives.

⁴⁴⁸ “Da von verschiedenen Seiten bereits für die Ausstellung Interesse geäußert wurde, so werden wir dieselbe voraussichtlich auch noch an einigen anderen Orten zeigen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hugo Häring, November 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Häring, gta Archives.

⁴⁴⁹ This is revealed in the correspondence between Sigfried Giedion and Hugo Häring, among others. Some weeks before the exhibition opened in Brussels, Giedion reported to Häring: “Da von verschiedenen Seiten bereits für die Ausstellung Interesse geäußert wurde, so werden wir dieselbe voraussichtlich auch noch an einigen anderen Orten zeigen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hugo Häring, November 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Häring, gta Archives. A week later he specified that “die Bauwelt Musterschau hat sich zwecks Uebernahme der Fenster Ausstellung an uns gewandt.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hugo Häring, November 18, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Häring, gta Archives. “Vielleicht sagen Sie Ihrem Handwerker, dass die Bauwelt Musterschau Berlin bereits die ganze Fensterausstellung aufgefördert hat.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Max Cetto, November 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Cetto, gta Archives. And: “Il y a jusqu’au moment 18 à 20 modeles annonces. La Bauwelt de Berlin s’intéresse déjà pour l’exposition des fenêtres à coulisse et veut la montrée à Berlin. Veuillez avoir la bonté de me faire communiquer tous les modèles qui ne sont pas dans la liste oi-incluse et qui vous sont annoncées et parvenues. Non attendons encore les plans du Palais des Beaux Arts avec l’indication de la place necessaire pour l’exposition.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, November 8, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

⁴⁵⁰ “J’écrirai encore au directeur de la ‘Bauwelt’ qui doit se mettre en communications avec vous, concernant les modèles qui doivent faire le voyage à Berlin. Je reçois une lettre de Heinrich Hecker, Köln-Sülz [...] où il demande, qu’on doit envoyer son modèle directement à lui. Je reçois aussi une seconde lettre des ‘Vereingte Baubeschlag-Fabriken, Gretsch & Co. G.m.b.H. Feuerbach’, qui demandent, qu’on envoie leur fenêtre en Hollande. Veuillez avoir la bonté de laisser faire régler ces deux affaires. On me communique qu’on vous a déjà averti.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, December 30, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

⁴⁵¹ Since neither advertisements nor photographs could be found in the official catalogue of the “Bauwelt Musterschau” from 1930–1931, this argues against the exhibition travelling to Berlin. See Bauwelt, eds., *Bauwelt Katalog. Baujahr 1930–1931*, 2nd edn. (Berlin: Bauwelt-Verlag, 1931).

⁴⁵² “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” *AC: Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea. Publicación del G.A.T.E.P.A.C.* 5 (1932): 38–41, <https://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/hd/es/viewer?id=0df0acdb-b4cc-4519-8838-88435fa363ff>.

Opbouw.⁴⁵³ As soon as a venue of the travelling exhibition could be verified, in the best case with the corresponding translation of the name of the exhibition in the corresponding language, online research was successful. For example, one photograph of the travelling exhibition in Amsterdam was found [see fig. I.4.16]. While trips to the archives of the respective cities were planned at the beginning of the research,⁴⁵⁴ due to the COVID-19 pandemic only two archival visits to Berlin (Kunstabibliothek Berlin, Zentral- und Landesarchiv Berlin, Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Kunstbibliothek) were possible.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵³ See Cornelis van Eesteren "Het Nieuwe Bouwen te Barcelona," *De 8 en Opbouw* 17 (1932): 167–76. In this report, most of the photos published in the fifth issue of *AC: Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea* are also published.

⁴⁵⁴ Initially, it was planned to visit the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, which since 2014 has held the Archive from the Steedelijk Museum, the venue of the exhibition of CIAM-04; the Galleria D'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea di Bergamo to look at the estate of Franco Albini, as well as the Fondazione Franco Albini in Milan to examine his involvement in the exhibition of CIAM-07; the Fundació Joan Miró in Barcelona to look at the Estate of Joseph Luís Sert; the Archivio di Stato Bologna for the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" in Bologna, the Archives d'Architecture Moderne in Brussels to look at the Fonds Victor Bourgeois for a broader examination of his work for CIAM-03; the RIBA Archives Collections, Collection Jaqueline Tyrwhitt in London for studying her role in CIAM's exhibitions after 1934; the Het Nieuwe Instituut Rotterdam to look at the Collection of J. B. Bakema.

⁴⁵⁵ The assumption that the "Dwelling for Minimal Existence" exhibition had probably also been shown in Berlin in 1930, as well as the certainty that "Rational Lot Development" had been shown in the city in 1931, led to several archival and library visits in Berlin in July 2021 and December 2021 to go through non-digitised collections. For research related to the "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" exhibition, the Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin as well as the Kunstbibliothek Berlin, Archäologisches Zentrum were visited. For research related to "Rational Lot Development," the Landesarchiv Berlin as well as the Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin were visited. The author visited the Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Pariser Platz (Academy Archives, Pariser Platz) on 2 and 6 December 2021. All material from the eleven collections which yielded hits for either the search words "Berlin Bauausstellung 1931" and "CIAM" in the online search machine of the Academy Archives (see: "Archivdatenbank der Akademie der Künste", *Archivdatenbank der Akademie der Künste*, <https://archiv.adk.de>) was accessed: 1.) Adolf-Behne-Archiv 2.) Adolf-Rading-Archiv 3.) Erwin-Gutkind-Sammlung 4.) Franz-Hoffmann-Archiv 5.) Hans-Scharoun-Archiv 6.) Hugo-Häring-Archiv 7.) Hubert-Hoffmann-Archiv 8.) Karl-Otto-Archiv 9.) Luckhardt-und-Anker-Archiv 10.) Ludwig - Mies van der Rohe - Sammlung 11.) Martin-Wagner-Sammlung; 1.) Adolf-Behne-Archiv. Signatur: Behne-Adolf 340, 05. Druckschriften, "Zeitungsartikel von Adolf Behne," 242 pages, 1938–40. 2.) Adolf-Rading-Archiv. Signatur: Rading-Adolf 103, 06.01 Werkfotos, projektbezogen, "Berlin, Bauausstellung, Standgestaltung," 6 photographs, 1931. 3.) Erwin-Gutkind-Sammlung: Signatur: Gutkind-Erwin-10, 06.01. Werkfotos "Berlin, Bauausstellung 1931," 12 photographs with negatives, 1931. 4.) Franz-Hoffmann-Archiv. Signatur: Hoffmann-Franz 38, "Prospekt der Deutschen Bauausstellung Berlin," 10 photographs with negatives, 1929–31. 5.) Hans-Scharoun-Archiv. Signatur: Scharoun-Hans 4347, 02.02.10 sonstige Institutionelle oder Verbandstätigkeit, "CIAM-Kongress Vorbereitung 1931/33," 1 booklet, 1931; Signatur: Scharoun-Hans 4762, 02.01 Projektbezogene Sachakten, 02.01 Projektbezogene Sachakten, 90 pages, 1928–30; Signatur: Scharoun-Hans 99, 06.03 Fotoalben und Fotokonvolute, "La Sarraz (Schweiz), Schloß," 1 photograph, 1928. 6.) Hugo-Häring-Archiv. Signatur: Häring-Hugo 31, 05. Druckschriften, "Berlin, Bauausstellung 1931, Entwurf Schalendachhaus," Zeitschriftenausschnitt, 1930–1931; Signatur: Häring-Hugo 21, 06.01 Werkfotos, projektbezogen, "Berlin, Bauausstellung 1931, Entwürfe Schalendachhaus/Reihenhaus, Flachbautyp," 23 photographs, 1931. 7.) Hubert-Hoffmann-Archiv. Signatur: Hoffmann-Hubert 877, 03.01 Literarisch/theoretische Texte, "Städtebau im Dritten Reich. Manuskript über Städtebau im Nationalsozialismus mit Bezügen zur Bauhaus-Lehre und zur 'Charta von Athen,'" 2 pages, 1993. Signatur: Hoffmann-Hubert 875, 02.01 Projektbezogene Sachakten, "CIAM-IV 1933," 2 pages, 1933. Signatur: Hoffmann-Hubert 876, 02.01 Projektbezogene Sachakten, "CIAM 'Charta von Athen,'" 34 pages, 1947–49. 8.) Karl-Otto-Archiv. Signatur: Otto-Karl 1783, 05. Druckschriften, "Berlin, Deutsche Bauausstellung 1931," 1 folder with several pages from the official catalogue "Amtlicher Katalog und Führer," 1931; Signatur: Otto-Karl 1857, 06.01 Werkfotos, projektbezogen, "Berlin, Bauausstellung 1931, Wohnung unserer Zeit, Musterwohnung," 17 photographs, 1931; Signatur: Otto-Karl 1, 06.01 Werkfotos, projektbezogen, "Berlin, Deutsche Bauausstellung: Typenwohnung in der Abteilung 'Wohnung unserer Zeit,'" 31 photographs, 1931; Signatur: Otto-Karl 1882, 06.03 Fotoalben und Fotokonvolute, "Ausstellungen (Weltausstellung Barcelona 1929, Bauausstellung Berlin 1931, Constructa Bauausstellung 1951)," 21 photographs, 1928, 1931, 1951; Signatur: Otto-Karl 28, 07.01 Pläne und Zeichnungen, projektbezogen, "Berlin, Deutsche Bauausstellung: Typenwohnung in der Abteilung 'Wohnung unserer Zeit,'" 14 photographs, 1931. 9.) Luckhardt-und-Anker-Archiv. Signatur: Luckhardt 30, 02.01 Entwurfs- und Bautätigkeit, "Berlin-Charlottenburg, Heerstraße 55," from *Der Querschnitt*, XI.Jg., H.5, Mai 1931, Hegemann, Werner: "Berlin und die internationale Baukunst – Zur Berliner Bauausstellung," S.301-304, 3 pages, 1931. 10.) Ludwig - Mies van der Rohe - Sammlung. Signatur: Mies 19, 06.01 Werkfotos, projektbezogen, "Berlin, Bauausstellung 1931, Haus Mies van der Rohe," 34 photographs, 1931. 11.) Martin-Wagner-Sammlung. Signatur: Wagner-Martin 107, 05. Druckschriften, "Veröffentlichungen zur Deutschen Bauausstellung Berlin 1931," 308 pages, 1931, inter alia newspaper clippings from *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, *Die Baugilde*, *Zeitschrift für Wohnungswesen*, *Deutsche Bauhütte*, *Zeitschrift der deutschen Architektenschaft*, *Vossische Zeitung*. Two articles mention the travelling exhibition "Rational Lot Development": "Die Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin 1931," *Zeitschrift für Kommunalwirtschaft*, no. 11, 21. Jg., (Berlin), June 10, 1931: 596–607. And: Fred Forbat, "Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen," *Wohnungswirtschaft*, no. 11/12, 8. Jg., (Berlin), June 15, 1931: 203–05. Signatur: Wagner-Martin 10, 06.01 Werkfotos, projektbezogen, "Berlin-Charlottenburg, Messegelände/ Bauausstellung," 99 photographs, 1928-35. Signatur: Wagner-Martin 8, 06.01 Werkfotos, projektbezogen, 49 photographs, 1911–1930. The author visited the Landesarchiv Berlin on 2 December 2021. All material

which yielded a hit for the search term "Berlin Bauausstellung 1931" in the online search machine of the Landesarchiv Berlin (see "Beständeübersicht," *Landesarchiv Berlin*, <http://www.content.landesarchiv-berlin.de/php-bestand/>) was accessed: 1.) photograph album F Rep 290-08 101, 2.) photograph album F Rep 290-08 102, 3.) file B Rep. 142-03 - 163, 4.) file A Rep. 001-02 - 56; 1.) F Rep 290-08 101, "Berlin auf der Bausstellung. Zentrale Hochbauverwaltung Stadtbaurat Dr. Ing. Wagner," album with 24 photographs, 1931, contains no photographs of the exhibition "Rational Lot Development." 2.) F Rep 290-08 102, "Bauausstellung 1931. Amt für Stadtplanung. Ausstellungsraum. Rundsaal der Stadt Berlin, Raum für Gesetzgebung, Raum für Verwaltungsreform," album with 36 photographs, 1931; contains two photographs of the exhibition "Rational Lot Development": I4, 66/9199 and I22, 66/9217. 3.) B Rep. 142-03 - 163, "Ausstellungen. Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin 1931," contains inter alia correspondence of the "AUSSTELLUNGS-, MESSE-, UND FREMDENVERKEHRSAMT DER STADT BERLIN," "Zweiter Bericht über die Vorarbeiten zur 'Deutschen Bauausstellung Berlin 1931' nach dem Stande von Mitte September 1930," brochures of the "Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin 1931," 1930–33. 4.) A Rep. 001-02 - 56, "Bauausstellung in Berlin 1931," contains inter alia letters from the "AUSSTELLUNGS-, MESSE-, UND FREMDENVERKEHRSAMT DER STADT BERLIN," 1927–30.

4.1. Zurich, Kunstgewerbemuseum, February–March 1931

Title: "Ausstellungen Walter Gropius. Rationelle Bebauungsweisen"

Time: 14 February–15 March 1931

Location: Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich

Images: No

Catalogue: Yes

Other material: No

The Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich was the first venue visited by the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development." It was also the first – and only – venue which also showed parts of the "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibition.⁴⁵⁶ Furthermore, the material was shown together with an exhibition on Walter Gropius, previously shown at the Ständige Bauwelt Musterschau in Berlin in 1930.⁴⁵⁷ On 14 February 1931, the exhibitions were opened under the name "Ausstellungen Walter Gropius. Rationelle Bebauungsweisen," and were on show until 15 March 1931. On the occasion of the exhibition in Zurich, the first CIRPAC meeting in preparation for CIAM's Fourth Congress (CIAM-04) was held in Zurich on 15 February.⁴⁵⁸ During the meeting, it was announced that CIAM-04 would be devoted to "The Functional City," and that CIAM-04 would expand the conclusion of CIAM-03, namely the need for rational development methods instead of axial city plans in the planning of entire cities.⁴⁵⁹

Shortly after "Rational Lot Development" closed in Brussels, the Swiss newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* announced that the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition "will be shown

⁴⁵⁶ "Wir freuen uns, daß wir im Zürcher Kunstgewerbemuseum, durch die Initiative des Herrn Dir. Alfred Altherr, beide Ausstellungen zum ersten Mal auf ihrer Wanderfahrt zeigen können." Sigfried Giedion, "Die Funktion der Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauens," in *Ausstellungen Walter Gropius. Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, ed. Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich (Zurich: Kunstgewerbemuseum, 1931), 15.

⁴⁵⁷ For the accompanying brochure of the Walter Gropius exhibition in Berlin, see Bauweltmusterschau, eds., *Ausstellung Walter Gropius. Zeichnungen, Fotos, Modelle in der ständigen Bauwelt-Musterschau* (Berlin: Schinkelsaal des Architektenhauses, 1931).

⁴⁵⁸ "Aus Anlass der Ausstellung 'Rationelle Bebauungsweisen' in Zürich fand am 15. Februar 1931 die erste Sitzung der Kommission statt, in deren Händen die Vorbereitung des 4. Kongresses mit dem Thema 'Funktionelle Stadt' lag. Anwesend waren Cornelius van Eesteren als Präsident, Sigfried Giedion, Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Werner Moser und Rudolf Steiger; Victor Bourgeois und Raphael Verwilghen fehlten. Die Kommission gab der holländischen Gruppe den Auftrag, Richtlinien für die Bearbeitung dieses Themas zu entwerfen und an einer ausserordentlichen Tagung vorzulegen, die während der Deutschen Bauausstellung in Berlin vom 4.-7. Juni 1931 angesetzt wurde. Es handle sich darum, Städte zu untersuchen, heisst es in einem Rundschreiben im Anschluss an die Sitzung, um sich über deren Funktionen klarzuwerden." Steinmann, ed., *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 114. The connection between the venues of CIRPAC meetings in preparation for CIAM-04 and the venues of the travelling exhibitions of "Rational Lot Development" is analysed in chapter 1.4. in "Part II. Analysis."

⁴⁵⁹ Mumford also mentions this meeting in Zurich in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*. However, unlike Steinmann, he does not associate the meeting with the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" in Zurich: "At the organization meeting to plan the next Congress on this theme, held in Zurich in February 1931, Cornelius van Eesteren asserted that the 'Rationelle Bebauungsweisen' (Rational Site Planning) exhibition then travelling around Europe had shown that 'Districts for the masses with their high population densities, suffer the consequences of incorrect development'. [...] Therefore, he concluded, what are needed not are axial city plans, but new rational development methods that could be extended to the planning of entire cities." Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 59.

together with the Second Congress exhibition 'Horizontal Sliding Windows,' organised by Rudolf Steiger, at the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich in February."⁴⁶⁰

The Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich published a brochure for the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" [see fig. I.4.1 – fig. I.4.4] entitled "Guidelines of the Kunstgewerbemuseum of the City of Zurich. 99. New Building. Gropius-Exhibition of the Bauwelt-Musterschau. Rational Lot Development. Travelling Exhibition of the Third International Congress of Modern Architecture. 14 February–15 March 1931."⁴⁶¹ These "Guidelines" were planned as early as December 1930, as we know from correspondence between Sigfried Giedion and Cornelis van Eesteren:

We will write a preface to the exhibition in Zurich. I have spoken with Altherr, the director of the Kunstgewerbemuseum. He will send you an example of how these catalogues look. You should write a four-page-long preface about the aims of the exhibition, 30 Swiss centimes a line. I will write about one page, and Steiger will write about one-and-a-half pages about the windows.⁴⁶²

The brochure is structured in five parts. It begins with an introduction to the Walter Gropius exhibition.⁴⁶³ The second and third chapters, written by Sigfried Giedion, summarise the work accomplished since CIAM-01 as well as the general aims of CIAM,⁴⁶⁴ namely, to exert influence on the key actors and institutions involved in building activity in Switzerland:

At the Brussels Congress it was pointed out in detail that the results of the previous year's exhibition ('The Dwelling for Minimal Existence') in Zurich were without any influence on the decisions of the authoritative bodies. We would like to hope that this time the work of the Congress can also have an effect in Switzerland.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁰ "Und wird zusammen mit der von Rudolf Steiger organisierten zweiten Kongreß-Ausstellung 'Horizontale Schiebefenster' im Februar im Zürcher Kunstgewerbemuseum gezeigt werden." Gantner, "Brüsseler Architektur-Tage. I."

⁴⁶¹ The title pages states: "Wegleitungen des Kunstgewerbemuseums der Stadt Zürich. Nr. 99. Neues Bauen. Gropius-Ausstellung der Bauwelt-Musterschau. Rationelle Bauungsweisen. Wanderausstellung des III. Internationalen Kongresses für Neues Bauen. 14. Februar – 15. März 1931." See Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich, eds., *Ausstellungen Walter Gropius*.

⁴⁶² "Zu der Ausstellung in Zürich werden wir ein Vorwort verfassen. Ich habe mit Altherr, dem Direktor des Kunstgewerbemuseums, darüber gesprochen. Er wird Dir ein Beispiel schicken, wie diese Kataloge aussehen. Du solltest – für 30 Rp. die Zeile – ein Vorwort von ungefähr 4 Seiten über die Ziele der Ausstellung schreiben. Ich werde ungefähr eine Seite schreiben, und Steiger über die Fenster ungefähr 1 1/2 Seite." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, December 30, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van Eesteren, gta Archives.

⁴⁶³ Max Osborn, "Walter Gropius," in *Ausstellungen Walter Gropius*, ed. Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich, 3–9.

⁴⁶⁴ Giedion, "Die Funktion der Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauens," 10–16.

⁴⁶⁵ "Auf dem Brüsseler Kongreß wurde ausführlich hervorgehoben, daß die Resultate der vorjährigen Ausstellung ('Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum') in Zürich auf die Entschlüsse der maßgeblichen Stellen ohne jeden Einfluß waren. Wir möchten gerne hoffen, dass diesmal die Arbeit der Kongresses auch in der Schweiz zur Auswirkung gelangen kann." Giedion, "Die Funktion der Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauens," 15ff. The target group of public pressure groups is discussed in chapter 8.5.1. in "Part II. Analysis."

Furthermore, Sigfried Giedion summarises the lectures and reports given at CIAM-03 on “Low-, Mid-, and High-Rise,”⁴⁶⁶ “The State of Dwellings for Minimal Existence,”⁴⁶⁷ and “Resistances.”⁴⁶⁸ The fourth chapter, “Rational Lot Development,”⁴⁶⁹ is written by Cornelis van Eesteren and addresses the theme, aim, and structure of the exhibition. He begins with a comparison to the travelling exhibition of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” in Zurich in 1930 and explains the travelling exhibition “Rational Lot Development” is likewise anything but “a showpiece” [see fig. I.4.3].⁴⁷⁰ The fifth and final part is written by Rudolf Steiger, and explains the aims of the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition [see fig. I.4.4].⁴⁷¹ His one-page explanation of the exhibition on the last page of the brochure is, except for one divergence, identical to his introduction to the guided tour of the exhibition in Brussels.⁴⁷² Only the last paragraph of his introduction, in which he stressed that “almost all available models” were on display in Brussels, is missing, and can be seen as an additional indication that not all the windows from Brussels were shipped to Zurich. In contrast to the material of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development,” which was shown “in its full scope”⁴⁷³ in Zurich, only Swiss windows were exhibited in Brussels. It was Steiger’s responsibility to lead the negotiations with Alfred Altherr about bringing just the Swiss windows to Zurich.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁶⁶ “Flach- Mittel- und Hochbau,” in *Ausstellungen Walter Gropius*, ed. Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich, 16f.

⁴⁶⁷ “Stand der Wohnung für das Existenzminimum,” in *Ausstellungen Walter Gropius*, ed. Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich, 17.

⁴⁶⁸ “Die Widerstände,” in *Ausstellungen Walter Gropius*, ed. Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich, 17ff.

⁴⁶⁹ Cornelis van Eesteren, “Rationelle Bebauungsweisen,” in *Ausstellungen Walter Gropius*, ed. Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich, 19-24. The same text was published in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* together with an announcement about the exhibition opening: “Im Kunstgewerbemuseum wird am Sonntag die Wanderausstellung des III. Kongresses für Neues Bauen ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweisen’ eröffnet. Zur Einführung seien wir hier die Stellungnahme des Vorstandes des Amsterdamer Stadtplanungsbureaus und Präsidenten des Kongresses für Neues Bauen, E. Van Eesteren, mit. Sie auch auch in der Wegleitung erscheinen.” Cornelis van Eesteren, “Rationelle Bebauungsweisen,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (February 13, 1931), Abendausgabe, nr- 279, 42-I-uncatalogued, gta Archives.

⁴⁷⁰ “Wie die Ausstellung ‘Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum’, die vor einem Jahr gezeigt wurde, ist auch diese Ausstellung kein Schaustück. Selbst wenn im Gegensatz zu der erstgenannten diesmal die Zeichnungen oft durch erklärende Photos erläutert sind.” Cornelis van Eesteren, “Rationelle Bebauungsweisen,” in *Ausstellungen Walter Gropius*, ed. Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich, 19. This quote is again used in chapter 6.3. in “Part II. Analysis” to demonstrate how CIAM’s publications were, like the exhibitions, a working tool.

⁴⁷¹ Rudolf Steiger, “Horizontale Schiebefenster,” in *Ausstellungen Walter Gropius*, ed. Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich, 25.

⁴⁷² Steiger summarises the thematic background and aim of this exhibition. Then he explains that the Congress’ previous preoccupation with dwellings for minimal existences showed that “due to the reduction of room sizes, the question of space-saving windows has become as urgent as ever [...] since casement windows take up to 15 to 25% of the floor space.” Since an in-depth study of horizontal sliding windows is needed, “the exhibition aims to give a comparable overview of the work yet accomplished to stress improvements still to be made.” The German text reads as follows: “Das Studium der Probleme der Minimal-Wohnung zeigt, daß durch die Reduktion der Raumgrößen, die Frage der Verwendung einer raumsparenden Fensterkonstruktion brennender geworden ist, denn je. Die von einem normalen, gut ausgedachten seitlichen Klappfenster für Möblierung und Benützung unbrauchbar gemachte Fläche beträgt 15 bis 25% der Bodenfläche eines Minimalwohnraumes. Da die in Privathäusern schon längst angewendeten vertikalen Schiebefenster letzten Endes infolge ihres Mechanismus der Gegengewichte und deren Einbau in der Herstellung teurer zu stehen kommen, als horizontale Schiebefenster, scheinen letztere für die Kleinwohnung allein in Frage kommen zu können. Aus diesen Gründen entschloß sich der Internationale Kongreß für neues Bauen, nebst der Planausstellung über rationelle Bebauungsweisen eine Ausstellung von in den europäischen Ländern üblichen Modellen horizontaler Schiebefenster zu veranstalten. [...] Einerseits soll dadurch eine Uebersicht über die bisherigen Leistungen gewonnen werden, andererseits soll durch eine vergleichende Gegenüberstellung der verschiedenen Systeme Anregung gegeben werden, Detailkonstruktionen noch weiter zu verbessern.” Steiger, “Horizontale Schiebefenster,” 25. For the text of the guided tour in Brussels, see CIAM, “FÜHRUNG DURCH DIE AUSSTELLUNG DER SCHIEBFENSTER durch die Herren Architekten R. STEIGER (Zurich) und P. BARBE (Paris).”

⁴⁷³ “Die Ausstellung ‘rationelle Bebauungsweisen’* ([in Fußnote:] *Besonderer Dank gebührt der belgischen Gruppe und ihrem Delegierten, dem Vizepräsidenten des Kongresses Victor Bourgeois, der unter großem persönlichen Opfern die Ausführung der Ausstellung unternommen hat.) wird in ihrem vollen Umfang gezeigt werden.” Giedion, “Die Funktion der Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauens,” 15.

⁴⁷⁴ “Lieber Herr Steiger! Ehe ich wegfahre möchte ich Ihnen doch noch Bericht geben, dass ich mit Herrn Direktor Altherr wegen der Ausstellung unterhandelt habe. Würden Sie so freundlich sein, mit ihm in Verbindung zu bleiben, damit auch die

This limitation to just Swiss models was attributed to logistical reasons, and justified with the outstanding quality of the Swiss models: "The exhibition 'Horizontal Sliding Windows' will include only Swiss models because of transport difficulties. The Swiss models have attracted great attention at the Congress in terms of design and construction, so that the problem of the horizontal sliding window can be made completely clear in this reduction."⁴⁷⁵

The travelling exhibitions of "Rational Lot Development" and "Horizontal Sliding Windows" in Zurich were very well received. According to a detailed article in the journal *Das Wohnen*, "Rational Lot Development" in particular was praised for its "excellent elaboration," "appropriate declarations," and "uniform presentation," as well as "its illustrative additions enriching the systematically structured panels."⁴⁷⁶ The article notes that this exhibition was preceded by "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" in the last year, and praises the guided tours for enabling the "intellectual appropriation" of the material, since "such an exhibition must not only be visited, but 'read.'"⁴⁷⁷

Fenster-Ausstellung (Schweizer Modelle) im Kunstgewerbemuseum gezeigt werden kann." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Rudolf Steiger, December 30, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Steiger, gta Archives.

⁴⁷⁵ "Die Ausstellung 'Horizontale Schiebefenster' wird, schon der Transportschwierigkeiten wegen, nur Schweizer Modelle umfassen. Die Schweizer Modelle haben auf dem Kongreß große Aufmerksamkeit hinsichtlich Ausführung und Konstruktion gefunden, sodaß das Problem des horizontalen Schiebefensters auch in dieser Reduktion völlig klar gemacht werden kann." Giedion, "Die Funktion der Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauens," 15.

⁴⁷⁶ "Führungen [sorgten] für die zweckdienliche Erschließung des reichhaltigen Materials. [...] Auf grossen Aluminiumtafeln sind die einheitlich ausgearbeiteten Darstellungen aufgezogen: Beispiele aus allen Ländern mit Situationsplänen in gleichem Masstab und Zahlenangaben in gleichförmiger, leicht vergleichbarer Anordnung. Weitere illustrative Beigaben dienen zur Bereicherung der systematisch aufgebauten Tafeln. Was ergibt sich nun aus dem Studium dieser Zusammenstellung? [...] Das Studium der vielen Situationspläne im Zusammenhang mit den einheitlich berechneten Zahlen bildet das Hauptinteresse der vorzüglich ausgearbeiteten Ausstellung." See E. Briner, "Rationelle Bebauungsweise," *Das Wohnen* 3 (1931): 34, 42-3-7-3, gta Archives.

⁴⁷⁷ "Denn eine solche Ausstellung muss nicht nur besichtigt, sondern «gelesen» werden." Briner, "Rationelle Bebauungsweise," 34.

4.2. Berlin, Deutsche Bauausstellung, May–August 1931

Title: “Rationelle Bebauungsweisen.”

Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau- und Wohnungswesen, Raum 100

Time: 9 May–2 August 1931

Location: Deutsche Bauausstellung, Messegelände

Images: Yes

Catalogue: Yes

The second venue of the “Rational Lot Development” travelling exhibition was the *Deutsche Bauausstellung* in Berlin, where the exhibition was shown from 9 May–2 August 1931. It was displayed as part of the exhibition section “Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen” (“International Exhibition of Urban Planning and Housing”) in Hall I, room 100 [see fig. I.4.5 and fig. I.4.6]. As was case in Zurich, another CIRPAC meeting was held in Berlin in preparation for CIAM-04 and on the occasion of the travelling exhibition at the Deutsche Bauausstellung.⁴⁷⁸ The CIRPAC meeting took place from 4–6 June 1931, and was held in the so-called “Restaurationssaal” in Hall IV.⁴⁷⁹

The planning for exhibiting “Rational Lot Development” in Berlin began as early as January 1931. Walter Gropius was responsible for negotiations with the *Deutsche Bauausstellung* as well as the preparations on site. It was a painstaking journey, punctuated by a series of complications and unpleasant surprises.⁴⁸⁰ CIAM charged 700 Swiss Francs as rental fee for the exhibition in Berlin.⁴⁸¹ In the beginning of the planning, it was intended to display “Rational Lot Development” for just four weeks at the *Deutsche Bauausstellung*. But at the wish of the directors of the *Deutsche Bauausstellung*, and owing to organisational reasons, “Rational Lot Development” was ultimately shown throughout the entire duration of the *Deutsche Bauausstellung*:

Dear Giedion, the building exhibition calls me today. The direction would like to possibly take over the exhibition, but this can hardly be arranged for four

⁴⁷⁸ Like the first CIRPAC meeting for CIAM-04 in Zurich, the connection of this venue for the travelling exhibition and the meeting is also drawn and analysed in chapter 1.4. in “Part II. Analysis.”

⁴⁷⁹ “Die beiden plenarsitzungen finden statt im gelände der bauausstellung, halle IV, mitte, restaurationssaal.” Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, May 15, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives. Interestingly, even though Mumford and Steinmann both elaborate in detail on the Second Preparatory Meeting for CIAM-04, both omit to mention that “Rational Lot Development” was shown on this occasion. See Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 65, and Steinmann, *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 114ff.

⁴⁸⁰ Walter Gropius’ sole responsibility is analysed in chapter 8.3.1 in “Part II. Analysis” as an example of the different responsibilities and accountabilities when it came to the preparations of CIAM’s exhibitions shown at the Congresses and the subsequent travelling exhibitions.

⁴⁸¹ “Da die Bauausstellung zu Ende geht gestatten wir uns Ihnen die beiliegende Nota von Fr. 700.– für unsere Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweisen’ zu übermitteln mit dem Ersuchen den Betrag freundlichst unserem Konto bei der Schweiz. Bankgesellschaft in Zürich einzahlen zu lassen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to the Directorate of the Berliner Bauausstellung, August 1, 1931, 42-1931-Museen-Behoerden-Vereinigungen, gta Archives.

weeks, but for the entire duration of the exhibition from 9.5.–2.8.31, so just under three months; can I confirm this? I consider this as very appropriate, since undoubtedly an infinite number of people from home and abroad will visit this great exhibition, so please let me know as soon as possible.⁴⁸²

The Landesarchiv Berlin holds two photo albums from the *Deutsche Bauausstellung* documenting the exhibition section of “Städtebau der Stadt Berlin.”⁴⁸³ This exhibition was shown in the so-called “Rundsaal” in the main building. One album contains two photographs partly showing “Rational Lot Development” in the background [see fig. I.4.7]. The letters “ebauungsw” (from the German title “Bebauungsweisen”) can be seen through the opening leading to the exhibition space behind the “Rundsaal.” The second photograph shows a larger section of “Rational Lot Development” behind a mural on “Wohnungs-Kultur” [see fig. I.4.8]. In this photograph, ten exhibition panels of “Rational Lot Development” are visible. Nine of the panels are completely rendered, the tenth cut off. The exhibition panels have been mounted side by side along the wall. Above another opening leading to another exhibition space, the words “neues bauen – lle bebauungsweisen” (from “Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen” and “Rationelle Bebauungsweisen”) are visible. In comparison to the publication of CIAM-03, nine of the ten panels on the photograph can be identified:

Category: Low Buildings⁴⁸⁴

Panel 1: (from left to right): Plan no. 1, Letchworth, Pixmore Hill 1903.

Panel 2: Plan no. 5, Brussels (Kappeleveld) 1923.

Panel 3: Plan no. 6, Jumet (Belgium).

Panel 4: Plan no. 9, Radburn U.S.A. 1926.

Category: Low Buildings N–S Exposure⁴⁸⁵

Panel 5: Plan no. 16, Stockholm.

⁴⁸² “Lieber Giedion, die bauausstellung ruft heute bei mir an. die leitung möchte eventl. die ausstellung übernehmen, aber sie kann es schwer einrichten, dies für 4 wochen zu machen, sondern müsste sie während der ausstellungsdauer vom 9.5. – 2.8.31, also knapp 3 monate übernehmen, kann ich in dieser beziehung zusagen? ich würde dies doch für sehr zweckentsprechend halten, da zweifellos unendlich viel menschen des in- und auslandes diese grosse ausstellung besuchen werden, bitte geben sie mir doch gleich bescheid.” Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, January 14, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives. In a letter from Giedion to the German Association of Roofing Paper Factories, he asked for financial support, emphasising that “Rational Lot Development” will be shown at the Berliner Bauausstellung over the whole exhibition period: “Wir haben 1929, anlässlich unseres Frankfurter Kongresses eine Ausstellung anlässlich “Wohnung für das Existenzminimum” veranstaltet und des letztjährigen Kongresses eine Ausstellung über ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweisen’ die voraussichtlich an der Berliner Bauausstellung während ihrer ganzen Dauer gezeigt wird.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Vereinigte Dachpappen-Fabriken, March 5, 1931, 42-1931-Industrie-Banken, gta Archives.

⁴⁸³ In the “Städtebau der Stadt Berlin” exhibition, six murals thematised different planning topics of the city, namely “Spiel und Sport” (“Games and Sport”), “Bauwirtschaft” (“Building Economy”), “Arbeitsstätten und Wohnung” (“Workplace and Living”), “Wohnstätten” (“Dwellings”), “Erholung, Bequemlichkeit, Hygiene” (“Recreation, Comfort, Hygiene”), and “Verkehr” (“Traffic”). See *Ausstellungs-, Messe- und Fremdenverkehrs-Amt der Stadt Berlin*, eds., *Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin 1931. Amtlicher Katalog und Führer* (Berlin: Bauwelt-Verlag/Ullsteinhaus, 1931), 143ff.

⁴⁸⁴ For the plans in the publication, see *Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen*, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, plan no. 1, 5–6; 9. For an English overview of the published plans in the “Low Buildings” category, see 193ff.

⁴⁸⁵ For the plans in the publication, see *Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen*, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, plan no. 16–17. For an English overview of the published plans in the “Low Buildings N-S Exposure” category, see 195ff.

Panel 6: Plan no. 17, Basel (Schorenmatten) 1929.

Panel 7: a settlement in Denmark from 1921, which is not printed in the publication

Category: Medium Height Buildings⁴⁸⁶ 196–98; 21–26

Panel 8: Plan no. 21, Switzerland, Basel 1890.

Category: Classified⁴⁸⁷ 198–200; 27–36

Panel 9: Plan no. 32, Stockholm 1930.

Panel 10: Plan no. 33, Warsaw 1928

The *Deutsche Bauausstellung* published a catalogue with information on the different exhibition areas and material on display.⁴⁸⁸ A page-long article about the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was also published in the catalogue.⁴⁸⁹ The catalogue entry shows a portrait of Walter Gropius, his name more prominent than that of CIAM [see fig. 1.4.9].⁴⁹⁰

The reporting on the exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in Berlin is quite slim. Even though reporting on the *Deutsche Bauausstellung* itself is extensive, hardly any articles mention “Rational Lot Development.”⁴⁹¹ One of the few reports mentioning “Rational Lot Development” emphasises the broad collection of the different settlement schemes:

⁴⁸⁶ For the plans in the publication, see Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, plan no. 21. For an English overview of this publish plan in the “High and Medium Height Building” category, see 196–98.

⁴⁸⁷ For the plans in the publication, see Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, plan no. 32–33. For an English overview of these two plans in the “Classified” category, see 198–200.

⁴⁸⁸ Ausstellungs-, Messe- und Fremdenverkehrs-Amt der Stadt Berlin, eds., *Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin 1931*.

⁴⁸⁹ “Die Organisation der ‘Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauen’ hat es sich zum Ziel gesetzt, die heutigen Bauprobleme in kollektiver internationaler Arbeit zur Klärung zu bringen. Die Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweisen’ stellt ein Arbeitsergebnis des Kongresses aus dem letzten Jahre dar und zeigt, auf wie viele Arten die Fragen der Aufschließung und der Bauhöhen für Wohnviertel angepackt werden können, um den Anforderungen des Lebens gerecht zu werden. Jede Großstadt muß sich Rechenschaft darüber geben, wie sie ihre zukünftige Bevölkerung zu verteilen hat. Die Zahlen und Pläne dieser Ausstellung geben Einblick und Vergleichsmöglichkeit in die verschiedenartigen Lösungen. Sie geben das Maximum jeder Bauweise an, das für die Wahl entscheidend sein muß. Man kann durchgehend die Tendenz beobachten, das Maximum der bei strengen hygienischen Forderungen noch zulässigen Wohndichte zu ermitteln. Keine Ästhetik vermag gesunde Wohnviertel zu schaffen, sondern allein rationelle, d. h. wirtschaftlich, sozial und psychologisch richtig durchdachte Aufschließungsmethoden. Die Ausstellung gliedert sich in 4 Teile: a) Flachbau / b) Mittelhochbau / c) Hochbau / d) Gemischte Bauweisen. Damit die verschiedenen Lösungen untereinander verglichen werden können, sind sämtliche Tafeln der Ausstellung einheitlich und in gleichem Maßstab gezeichnet worden. Meistens sind Wohnungsgrundrisse beigegeben, um zu zeigen, von welcher Wohneinheit bei der Planung ausgegangen wurde. Die Zahlenauswertung erfolgte nach einheitlichem Schema, das direkte Vergleiche ermöglicht.” Ausstellungs-, Messe- und Fremdenverkehrs-Amt der Stadt Berlin, ed., *Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin 1931*, 145.

⁴⁹⁰ For how this catalogue entry most likely serves as an example of how CIAM's exhibitions got lost in the historiography of CIAM, see chapter A.1.2. in “Part A. Introduction.”

⁴⁹¹ Only two of the articles viewed within the framework of this research touch on CIAM's exhibition, in one and three sentences respectively. When the author conducted research at the Archiv der Akademie der Künste, Berlin, the collection of newspaper clippings of Martin Wagner, at the time of the Bauausstellung in 1931 director of urban development in the city of Berlin and deputy chairman of the committee of the International Exhibition for Urban Planning and Housing (“Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen”), was revised. In this collection of over 300 clippings from 1931, mostly on the Bauausstellung in Berlin, only two mention “Rational Lot Development.” The first article is “Die Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin 1931,” *Zeitschrift für Kommunalwirtschaft* 11, 21. Jg. (June 10, 1931): 596–607. Signatur: Wagner-Martin 107, 05. Druckschriften, “Veröffentlichungen zur Deutschen Bauausstellung Berlin 1931.” The second is Fred Forbat, “Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen,” *Wohnungswirtschaft* 11/12, 8. Jg. (June 15, 1931): 203–05, Martin-Wagner-Sammlung. Signatur: Wagner-Martin 107, 05. Druckschriften, “Veröffentlichungen zur Deutschen Bauausstellung Berlin 1931, Martin-Wagner-Sammlung. Signatur: Wagner-Martin 107, 05. Druckschriften, “Veröffentlichungen zur Deutschen Bauausstellung Berlin 1931.”

Actually, outside of this section ['German Housing Exhibition'], we should also mention a very interesting series of development plans, 'rational building methods,' exhibited by the International Congresses of Modern Architecture, a collection of fifty-eight settlement plans from various parts of the world.⁴⁹²

Another article puts the comparable figures in the foreground, and explains what CAIM understood by "rational" developments:

The section concludes with an exhibition of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture. This collection of plan material on rational building methods is the beginning of an international statistic on the efficiency of housing development plans, which is still missing today. It should help to clarify the question of the most rational and efficient methods of development, where 'rational' is to be understood as an optimum in sociological, psychological, hygienic, and economic terms.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹² "Eigentlich außerhalb dieser Abteilung ['Deutsche Ausstellung für Wohnungswesen'] sei noch eine sehr interessante Folge von Bebauungsplänen, 'rationelle Bauweisen' erwähnt, ausgestellt von den internationalen Kongressen für neues Bauen, eine Sammlung von 58 Siedlungsplänen aus den verschiedensten Teilen der Welt." Forbat, "Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen," 203–05.

⁴⁹³ "Die Abteilung ['Deutsche Ausstellung für Wohnungswesen'] schließt mit einer Ausstellung des internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen. Diese Sammlung von Planmaterial über rationelle Bauweisen ist der Beginn einer bis heute noch fehlenden internationalen Statistik über die Leistungsfähigkeit von Siedlungsplanungen. Sie soll helfen, die Frage der rationellsten und leistungsfähigsten Aufschließungsweisen zu klären, wobei unter rationell ein Optimum in soziologischer, psychologischer, hygienischer, wirtschaftlicher und ökonomischer Hinsicht zu verstehen ist." See "Die Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin 1931," 596–607.

4.3. Basel, Gewerbemuseum, October 1931

Title: "Rationelle Bebauungsweisen. Volkstümliche Tier- und Landschaftsbilder aus Russland. Russische Grafik. Russische Kinderbücher"

Time: 4 October–1 November 1931

Location: Gewerbemuseum Basel

Images: No

Catalogue: Yes

The Gewerbemuseum Basel was the third destination for the "Rational Lot Development" travelling exhibition, where it was shown from 4 October–1 November 1931. It was exhibited alongside three other travelling exhibitions: "Folk Paintings of Animals and Landscapes from Russia," "Russian Graphics," and "Russian Children's Books." Karl Moser was responsible for promoting "Rational Lot Development" in Switzerland, and started negotiations with Hermann Kienzle, the director of the Gewerbemuseum Basel, around the same time as he did with Alfred Altherr for Zurich. At the end of December 1930, before both "Rational Lot Development" and "Horizontal Sliding Windows" were shipped from Brussels to Zurich, Moser sent a letter to Kienzle, promoting the two exhibitions:

I regret that you were not able to accept our invitation to participate in the Brussels Congress, and I would now like to ask you whether the Gewerbeschule, or the Werkbund in Basel, would be able to take over the second travelling exhibition, "'Rational Lot Development' (plans are in the same layout as the floor plans of the dwellings for minimal existence), either before 15 February or from 15 to 20 April. At the same time, the exhibition of about twenty horizontal sliding windows is also available. Both exhibitions will be shown in Zurich from 15 February until about 15 March, on which occasion Gropius, van Eesteren, and perhaps some other architects will speak. May I ask you to let me know early next year if and when you can take over the exhibition. Since the installation of the exhibition has high costs, the I.K. [Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen] will have to charge a fee of about 300-400 Swiss Francs. We are still a rather penniless

society, but we hope that we will be able to act more generously in the future.⁴⁹⁴

Despite Moser's effort, there is no evidence that both exhibitions were ever shown together in Basel. The invoice for the travelling exhibition, for example, only lists the rental fee for "Rational Lot Development."⁴⁹⁵

The Gewerbemuseum Basel published an exhibition brochure for the travelling exhibition [see fig. I.4.10], entitled "Rational Lot Development. Folk Paintings of Animals and Landscapes from Russia. Russian Graphics. Russian Children Books."⁴⁹⁶ The brochure starts off with a "Preface" by Hermann Kienzle.⁴⁹⁷ He begins by referring to CIAM's first exhibition, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," which was shown at the Gewerbemuseum in 1929. Explaining why another CIAM exhibition is being displayed, he states that "in Basel the interest in urban planning questions reaches audiences well beyond the expert circles, [...] although [the exhibition] is probably addressed primarily to experts. But thanks to its clear, simple structure and its descriptive presentation, it is also easy for the layman to understand. With this exhibition, the Gewerbemuseum would like to continue to play its role in clarifying our urban planning ideas."⁴⁹⁸ Kienzle also offers an honest explanation for the rather unusual complement of the exhibition material from Brussels with hunting tools, representations of fur animals in inter alia wood and clay, fur clothes, as well as modern Russian graphics and children's drawings: since "the material of this exhibition ["Rational Lot Development"] doesn't quite fill our exhibition space, we took on another travelling exhibition

⁴⁹⁴ "Ich habe bedauert, dass Sie unserer Einladung zur Teilnahme am Brüssler Kongress nicht haben folgen können und erlaube mir nun, Sie anzufragen, ob die Gewerbeschule, bezw. der Werkbund in Basel die zweite Wanderausstellung "Rationelle Bebauungsmethoden" (Pläne in der selben Aufmachung wie bei den Wohnungsgrundrissen für das Existenzminimum) entweder vor dem 15. Februar oder auf 15. bis 20. April zu übernehmen in der Lage wäre. Gleichzeitig steht auch die Ausstellung von etwa 20 ausgeführten Horizontalschiebefenstern zur Verfügung. Beide Ausstellungen werden vom 15. Februar an bis etwa 15. März in Zürich gezeigt werden, bei welcher Gelegenheit Gropius, van Eesteren und vielleicht noch einige Architekten sprechen werden. Darf ich Sie bitten, mir anfangs des nächsten Jahres mitzuteilen, ob und wenn Sie die Ausstellung aufnehmen können. Da das Arrangement der Ausstellung mit sehr vielen Kosten verbunden wer, so müssen die I.K. eine Abgabe von ca. Fr. 3-400.- verlangen. Wir sind eben vorläufig noch eine recht mittellose Gesellschaft, hoffen aber, dass mit der Zeit grosszügiger gehandelt werden könne." Karl Moser, Letter to Hermann Kienzle, December 31, 1930, 42-K-1930-Moser-Karl, gta Archives.

⁴⁹⁵ "Wir gestatten uns, Ihnen beiliegend eine Nota von Fr. 500.- für unsere Ausstellung 'Rationelle Bebauungsweisen' zuzusenden, und wären Ihnen dankbar, wenn Sie diesen Betrag an unser Konto bei der Schweiz. Bankgesellschaft Zürich überweisen liessen." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hermann Kienzle, February 9, 1932, 42-II-Correspondance-1932-uncatalogued, gta Archives.

⁴⁹⁶ Gewerbemuseum Basel, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen. Volkstümliche Tier- und Landschaftsbilder aus Russland. Russische Grafik. Russische Kinderbücher* (Basel: Gewerbemuseum, 1931).

⁴⁹⁷ Hermann Kienzle, "Vorwort," in *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, ed. Gewerbemuseum Basel, 3ff.

⁴⁹⁸ "Im Dezember 1929 haben wir eine Ausstellung 'Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum' gezeigt. Es war dies eine Wanderausstellung, die vom 'Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen' als Ergebnis des 2. Kongresses (Frankfurt 1929) zusammengestellt worden war. Der 3. Kongreß (Brüssel 1930) behandelte das Problem der 'Rationellen Bebauungsweisen.' Und wiederum ist das Material dieses Kongresses als internationale Wanderausstellung hergerichtet worden. In Anbetracht der erfreulichen Tatsache, daß in Basel das Interesse an städtebaulichen Fragen weit über die Fachkreise hinaus wach ist, hat die Direktion des Gewerbemuseums auch diese Ausstellung für Basel übernommen, obgleich sie sich wohl in erster Linie an den Fachmann wendet. Aber dank ihrer klaren, einfachen Gliederung und ihrer anschaulichen Darstellung ist sie auch für den Laien leicht verständlich. Das Gewerbemuseum möchte mit dieser Ausstellung weiter seinen Teil beitragen zur Klärung unserer städtebaulichen Vorstellungen." Kienzle, "Vorwort," 3. This comparison of a trained and untrained target group is discussed in chapter 6.5. in "Part II. Analysis."

that came our way.”⁴⁹⁹ Kienzle’s introductory words are followed by Cornelis van Eesteren’s explanation of “Rational Lot Development,”⁵⁰⁰ identical to his text in the brochure produced by the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich.⁵⁰¹ The printed text by Sigfried Giedion on “The Role of the International Congresses for Modern Architecture”⁵⁰² that follows is likewise almost identical the text in the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich brochure.⁵⁰³ The next item, “Explanation of the Plan Material,”⁵⁰⁴ is near-identical to the reading instructions printed in the “Rational Lot Development” publication.⁵⁰⁵ Both explanations start off with an overview of the seven categories of the exhibition material. This is interesting for two reasons. First, the order of the categories in the brochure is not identical to the order given in the publication. In the brochure, the historic examples are listed as the first category, whereas the publication lists them as the last item.⁵⁰⁶ Second, besides this differentiation regarding the order, the number of given categories in itself is striking. In the tour of the guided tour of the exhibition opening in Brussels, four⁵⁰⁷ – and not seven – categories are given.⁵⁰⁸ The text in the brochure reads as follows:

The Material is divided into the following groups:

1. Historical Examples
2. Low-Rise Buildings (1–2 storey single-family houses)
3. Medium-Rise Buildings (2–4 floors)
4. High-Rise Buildings (5 and more floors – with elevator)
5. Mixed Low-Rise and Medium-Rise Buildings
6. Mixed Low-Rise and High-Rise Buildings
7. Medium-Rise and High-Rise Buildings⁵⁰⁹

⁴⁹⁹ “Da jedoch das Material dieser Ausstellung unsere Räume nicht ganz füllt, haben wir eine andere Wanderausstellung, die sich uns darbot, übernommen.” Kienzle, “Vorwort,” 3.

⁵⁰⁰ Cornelis van Eesteren, “Rationelle Bebauungsweisen,” in *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, ed. Gewerbemuseum Basel, 5–9.

⁵⁰¹ van Eesteren, “Rationelle Bebauungsweisen,” 19–24.

⁵⁰² Sigfried Giedion, “Die Funktion der Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauen,” in *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, ed. Gewerbemuseum Basel, 10–16.

⁵⁰³ For the text in the Basel brochure, see Giedion, “Die Funktion der Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauen,” 10–12.

⁵⁰⁴ “Erläuterung des Planmaterials,” in *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, ed. Gewerbemuseum Basel, 17–19.

⁵⁰⁵ “Erläuterung des Planmaterials,” 78ff.

⁵⁰⁶ “1. Flachbau [...] 7. Historische Beispiele.” “Erläuterung des Planmaterials,” 78.

⁵⁰⁷ “1. Flachbau [...] 7. Historische Beispiele.” “Erläuterung des Planmaterials,” 78.

⁵⁰⁸ “Die Ausstellung zerfällt in 4 Kategorie [sic]: a) Flachbau, b) Mittelbau, c) Hochbau, d) Gemischte Bauweise. Diese Hauptgruppen sind nach den Entstehungsorten angeordnet.” CIAM, “FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG ‘RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN’ durch die Herren Architekt V. BOURGEOIS (Brüssel) u. C. van EESTEREN (Architekt für Städtebau der Stadt Amsterdam).”

⁵⁰⁹ “Das Material wird in folgende Kategorien gegliedert: 1. Historische Beispiele. 2. Flachbau (1–2 geschossene Einfamilienhäuser). 3. Mittelhochbau (2–4 Geschosse). 4. Hochbau (5 und mehr Geschosse - mit Fahrstuhl). 5. Flachbau und Mittelhochbau gemischt. 6. Flachbau Hochbau gemischt. 7. Mittelhochbau und Hochbau gemischt. See “Erläuterung des Planmaterials,” 17.

According to a report in the *Illustrierte schweizerische Handwerker-Zeitung*, the exhibition in Basel was not well visited. Even though the author states that the exhibition panels are not easy to read for a non-trained audience, he nevertheless acknowledges the quality of the displayed material, which become easier to understand through the guided tours given in Basel:

The beginning of November marked the end of another exhibition that deserved a little more general interest than it actually received. Namely, the one about rational lot development. Certainly, exhibitions of plans can only be fully understood by experts and can usually be replaced just as well by a book. But for every layman who took the trouble to attend one of the numerous understandable guided tours of the exhibition by Dr. G. Schmidt, the plans, which at first sight might appear dry, were transformed into vivid pictures, in which the many-sided and very important housing problems of yesterday, today, and tomorrow are reflected.⁵¹⁰

At least Sigfried Giedion was pleased with the hanging of the panels in Basel, as he remarked in a letter to Hermann Kienzle after visiting the exhibition in Basel:

With pleasure I have seen the excellent arrangement of our exhibition in your rooms. I was sorry that I could not speak to you on this occasion.⁵¹¹

⁵¹⁰ "Mit Anfang November fand eine weitere Ausstellung ihren Abschluss, die etwas mehr Allgemeininteresse verdient hätte, als ihr tatsächlich zugekommen ist. Nämlich diejenige über rationelle Bebauungsweisen. Gewiß, Planausstellungen können nur von Fachleuten restlos verstanden werden und lassen sich in der Regel auch ebenso gut durch die Buchform ersetzen. Wer sich als Laie im vorliegenden Falle aber die Mühe nahm, einer der zahlreichen, gemeinverständlichen Führungen von Dr. G. Schmidt durch die Ausstellung beizuwohnen, dem verwandelten sich die scheinbar trockenen Pläne zu lebendigen Bildern, in denen sich unsere vielseitigen und sehr wichtigen Wohnprobleme von gestern, heute und morgen widerspiegeln." See "Ausstellungen im Gewerbemuseum Basel," *Illustrierte schweizerische Handwerker-Zeitung. Unabhängiges Geschäftsblatt der gesamten Meisterschaft aller Handwerke und Gewerbe* 34, issue 47–48 (1931): 403ff., <http://doi.org/10.5169/seals-577500>.

⁵¹¹ "Mit Vergnügen habe ich die ausgezeichnete Aufmachung unserer Ausstellung in Ihren Räumen gesehen. Es hat mir leid getan, dass ich Sie bei dieser Gelegenheit nicht sprechen konnte." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hermann Kienzle, October 13, 1931, 42-03-1931-Giedion-Behoerden-Museen_01, gta Archives.

4.4. Barcelona, City Exhibition Hall, April 1932

Title: "Exposició de la Parcel·lació Racional en les Ciutats Modernes" (Catalan)

"Exposición de la Parcelación Racional en las Ciudades Modernas" (Spanish)

Time: 1–10 April 1932

Location: City Exhibition Hall at the Plaza de Cataluña, Barcelona

Image: Two images of in the journal *AC: Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*

Catalogue: Exhibition brochure in Catalan

Barcelona was the fourth city to host the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development." After being displayed in Basel, the exhibition panels were shipped to Barcelona, where they were shown on the occasion of the 1932 Barcelona CIRPAC meeting⁵¹² before the exhibition was opened to the public from 1–10 April 1931. The Catalan name was "Exposició de la parcel·lació racional en les ciutats modernes," and the Spanish "Exposición de la Parcelación Racional en las Ciudades Modernas." The exhibition and the CIRPAC meeting were organised by GATCPAC (Grupo de Artistas y Técnicos Españoles Para el Progreso de la Arquitectura Contemporánea), the Spanish National Group of CIAM, in collaboration with the Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular, under the patronage of the Government of Catalonia and the City Council of Barcelona.⁵¹³ The CIRPAC meeting took place from 29–31 March 1931, where the planning for CIAM-04 and CIAM's third exhibition were the main item on the agenda.⁵¹⁴ The CIRPAC meeting took place in the office of GATCPAC,⁵¹⁵ and its reception and closing event were held in the Saló de Ciento in the Government of Catalonia offices.⁵¹⁶ The "Exposición de la Parcelación Racional en las Ciudades Modernas" exhibition was

⁵¹² "Die Ausstellung geht von Basel nach Barcelona, wo wir Ende März eine Delegiertenversammlung abhalten sollen." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hermann Kienzle, February 23, 1932, 42-II-Correspondance-1932-uncatalogued, gta Archives.

⁵¹³ "Organizada por el G.A.T.E.P.A.C. con la colaboración del Ateneo Enciclopédico Popular y patrocinada por la Generalidad de Cataluña y el Ayuntamiento ha tenido lugar en Barcelona los días 29, 30 y 31 de marzo la segunda reunión preparatoria de delegados del C.I.R.P.A.C. para la organización del Congreso de Moscú." See "Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932," *AC: Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea. Publicación del G.A.T.E.P.A.C. 5* (1932): 38, <https://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/hd/es/viewer?id=0df0acdb-b4cc-4519-8838-88435fa363ff>. The article is also published in Pietro Canella, ed., *A.C.: Documentos de actividad contemporánea, 1931–1937* (Bari: Dedalo Libri, 1978), 90–93.

"EXPOSICIO de la parcel·lació racional en les ciutats modernes, organitzada pel "G.A.T.C.P.A.C. i l'Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular, sota l'alt patronatge de la Generalitat de Catalunya i l'Ajuntament de Barcelona. Barcelona del 1 al 10 d' Abril 1932." See "Congrés Internacional d'Arquitectura Moderna – Bruxelles. CIRPAC. Exposició de la parcel·lació racional en les ciutats modernes," 1932, 42-3-7-22:1, gta Archives. The Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular was a civil and cultural association, founded in Barcelona in 1903 by a group of intellectuals with a working-class background who defended the cultural, pedagogical, and social aspirations of the working class. For a more detailed explanation, see Andrew H. Lee, "Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular," *Social History Portal*, accessed November 8, 2022, <https://socialhistoryportal.org/news/articles/110265>.

⁵¹⁴ As is the case for the first CIRPAC meetings for CIAM-04 in Zurich and Berlin, the connection of this venue of the travelling exhibition and the meeting is drawn and analysed in chapter 1.4. in "Part II. Analysis."

⁵¹⁵ "GATCPAC opened its office and exhibition space on the most elite shopping street of Barcelona, the Passeig de Gràcia." Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 67.

⁵¹⁶ "Se celebraron las reuniones en el local de G.A.T.E.P.A.C. en Barcelona y la de clausura en el saló de sesiones de la Generalidad de Cataluña." See "Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932," 41.

shown in the exhibition hall of the city at the Plaza de Cataluña.⁵¹⁷ Even though GATCPAC's office had an exhibition space, it was, according to a letter from Josep Lluís Sert (1902–1983) to Sigfried Giedion, not adequate for the purpose of this event.⁵¹⁸

The “Exposición de la Parcelación Racional en las Ciudades Modernas” exhibition opened on 1 April, one day after the official closing event of the CIRPAC meeting. According to the report on the exhibition in the journal *AC. Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea*, the opening was attended by numerous civil authorities who supported the exhibited planning schemes.⁵¹⁹ Even though the CIRPAC meeting officially finished on 31 March, and the opening of the exhibition was concluded on 1 April, multiple lectures by CIAM delegates were still be given on 1 and 2 April.⁵²⁰ While the exhibition lasted for ten days, every afternoon one of the various members of the GATCPAC gave a lecture on the exhibited plans and promoted CIAM's idea of rational town planning. When the exhibition ended on 10 April, the material was transferred to Madrid.⁵²¹

In the fifth issue of *AC*, an in-depth report on the Barcelona CIRPAC meeting⁵²² was published which, besides the exhibition brochure in Catalan and a report by Cornelis van

⁵¹⁷ “Se organizaron también varias excursiones y visitas a la ciudad en honor de los delegados. Se celebraron las reuniones en el local de G.A.T.E.P.A.C. en Barcelona y la de clausura en el salón de sesiones de la Generalidad de Cataluña.” Club sobre ‘Arquitectura funcional.’” See “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 41.

⁵¹⁸ “Cher Monsieur, [...] Nous sommes tres contents de la decision prise au sujet de l'Assemblée des Delegates qui doit se celebrer au mois de mars prochain et sommes disposés d'aider ce projet par tous les moyens possibles. Pour les conférences nous solliciterons de la Municipalité un local qui reunisse de meilleures conditions car celui dont on dispose ne suffirait pas a cet effet.” Josep Lluís Sert, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, December 12, 1931, 42-II-Correspondance-1932-uncatalogued, gta Archives.

⁵¹⁹ “EXPOSICIÓN DE LA PARCELACIÓN RACIONAL EN LAS CIUDADES MODERNAS. El C.I.R.P.A.C. correspondiendo al eficaz apoyo prestado a la reunión de delegados por la Generalidad de Cataluña y el Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, ha facilitado a esta ciudad la exhibición de su exposición internacional ‘Lotissement rationel’ (Parcelación racional). La inauguración de la misma tuvo lugar el día 1 de abril en el local de exposiciones de la ciudad, en la Plaza de Cataluña. Asistieron al acto las autoridades, que dándose cuenta de la importancia que el movimiento urbanístico actual habra de tener en el futuro de nuestras ciudades, han prestado su decidido apoyo a cuantos actos han tenido lugar con motivo de la reunión de los delegados del C.I.R.P.A.C. en Barcelona.” See “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 41.

⁵²⁰ Right after the opening of the exhibition, Giedion gave a lecture at the Atenco Enciclopédico Popular on “The Optical Revolution of the Twentieth Century.” It was followed by a lecture by Gropius at the Aula of the German–Spanish Committee, as well as by a lecture from van Eesteren at the Associació d'Arquitectes de Catalunya on “The Urbanisation of the City of Amsterdam.” The last event and lecture, another address by Gropius at the Conferentia Club on “Functional Architecture,” took place on 2 April: “Din 1 de abril. Inauguración de la Exposición de Parcelación racional con asistencia de las autoridades. Conferencia de S. Giedion, secretario del C. I. R. P. A. C., en el Atenco Enciclopédico Popular sobre ‘La revolución óptica del siglo XX.’ Conferencia de Walter Gropius, delegado de Alemania, en el Aula de la escuela alemana (Comité Hispano Aleman). Conferencia de Van Eesteren, delegado de Holanda, en el local de la Asociación de Arquitectos de Cataluña sobre ‘La Urbanización de la ciudad de Amsterdam’ Dia 2 de abril. Conferencia de Walter Gropius patrocinada por el Conferentia Club sobre ‘Arquitectura funcional.’” See “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 41.

⁵²¹ “Mientras ha permanecido abierta la exposición, diversos miembros del G.A.T.E.P.A.C. han disertado cada tarde sobre los planos expuestos, propugnando por la solución racional de los problemas de Urbanismo. La clausura de la exposición se realizó el día 10 de abril para dar lugar a su traslado a Madrid, solicitada por el Colegio de Arquitectos de dicha capital. Con este motivo, dió una conferencia en Madrid S. Giedion, secretario general del C.I.R.P.A.C.” See “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 41.

⁵²² “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 38–41.

Eesteren in *De 8 en Opbouw*,⁵²³ serves as the third main source for the reconstruction of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in Barcelona. The report on the Barcelona CIRPAC meeting in *AC* included a total of eighteen photographs of the CIRPAC meeting.⁵²⁴ Two of these photographs [see fig. I.4.11 and fig. I.4.12] show the “Exposición de la Parcelación Racional en les Ciudades Modernas” in the exhibition hall of the city at the Plaza de Cataluña.⁵²⁵ The first photograph shows eleven exhibition panels mounted side by side on a rounded wall. In front of the panels, five pot plants are set. In comparison with the publication of CIAM-03, eight of the eleven panels (panels 1–8) can be identified:

Category: Low buildings E–W Exposure⁵²⁶

Panel 1: (from left to right): Plan #19, Zurich, Neubühl 1930.

Panel 2: Plan #18, Utrecht.

Category: Low buildings N–S Exposure⁵²⁷

Panel 3: Plan #17, Basel Schorenmatten 1929.

Panel 4: Plan #16, Stockholm.

Panel 5: Plan #15, Paris.

Panel 6: Plan #14, Rotterdam.

Panel 7: Plan #13, Abo, Finland 1930.

Panel 8: Plan #11, Zurich, Hardturmstrasse 1927.

Panel 9: unclear; no plan in the publication matches the pattern.

Panel 10: unclear; no plan in the publication matches the pattern.

Panel 11: unclear; barely visible.

The second photograph again shows panel 7 (Plan #13, Abo, Finland 1930) and panel 8 (Plan #11 Zurich, Hardturmstrasse 1927), but from a greater distance. The panels are only

⁵²³ Cornelis van Eesteren, “Het Nieuwe Bouwen te Barcelona,” *De 8 en Opbouw* 17 (1932): 167–76. This report includes most of the photos published in the fifth issue of *AC*.

⁵²⁴ Fourteen photographs show the delegates during the several excursions and visits to the city; another two are of the official closing event as well as the reception in the Saló de Ciento in the Government of Catalonia. See “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 38–40.

⁵²⁵ Copies of these two photographs are also preserved in the gta Archives. See “3. Kongress Brüssel 1930 Bildmaterial,” 42-3-F-2, gta Archives. Martin Steinmann published one of them in his book, *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, in the chapter on CIAM-03. Even though this photograph is the only graphic source of “Rational Lot Development” in his book, Steinmann leaves the photograph unremarked, except for the following footnote: “Eine Fotografie der Ausstellung in Barcelona 1932 zeigt das Aussehen der Tafeln.” As his source, Steinmann gives the journal *AC*, not the gta Archives. See Steinmann, *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 103; 105.

⁵²⁶ For the corresponding plans in the publication, see Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, no. 18–19. For an English overview of the published plans in the “Low buildings E–W Exposure” category, see 196.

⁵²⁷ For the plans in the publication, see Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, plan no. 11, 13–17. For an English overview of the published plans in the “Low buildings N–S Exposure” category, see 195ff.

partly visible, since either circular arranged columns in the middle of the hall or more plants are blocking the view. Furthermore, steel furniture and one wooden armchair are on display.

Excerpts from the “Rationelle Bebauungsweisen” publication, translated into Catalan, served as an improvised brochure for the exhibition in Barcelona.⁵²⁸ In addition to an overview of the plans, exhibited excerpts of the reports by Gropius and Le Corbusier were printed [see fig. I.4.13 and fig. I.4.14].

⁵²⁸ See GATCPAC, “Congrés Internacional d’Arquitectura Moderna – Bruxelles. CIRPAC. Exposició de la parcel·lació racional en les ciutats modernes,” 1932, 42-3-7-22:1, gta Archives.

4.5. Madrid, Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, April 1932

Title: "Exposición de las Parcelaciones Racionales"

Time: 21–30 April 1932

Location: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, Antonio Maura, número 12

Image: No

Catalogue: No

Other Material: Invitation card

The fifth venue for the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" was the Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid (Madrid Institute of Architects, or COAM)⁵²⁹ in Madrid.

There, the exhibition was shown from 21–30 April 1932 under the Spanish title "Exposición de las Parcelaciones Racionales" [see fig. I.4.15]. As soon as "Rational Lot Development" closed in Barcelona on 10 April, it was immediately sent to Madrid, where it opened eleven days later.⁵³⁰ In Madrid, the exhibition was hosted by CIAM together with GATEPAC.

According to the report on the Barcelona CIRPAC meeting in the journal *AC*, Sigfried Giedion also gave a speech on the occasion of the opening of "Rational Lot Development" in Madrid.⁵³¹

⁵²⁹ The invitation card for the opening of the exhibition in Madrid is the only archival material proving that "Rational Lot Development" was shown in Madrid. See "Invitation to the 'Exposición de las Parcelaciones Racionales,' Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid" and G.A.T.E.P.A.C., 42-3-6-2, gta Archives. Even though the invitation does not give the year, it can be assumed that the exhibition was shown in Madrid after the Delegates' Meeting in Barcelona in 1932. The Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid (COAM) started to publish its journal, *Arquitectura*, from 1918 onwards. For the 100th anniversary of the journal, all issues were digitised and published on the COAM homepage. See "Revista Arquitectura / Revista Nacional Arquitectura 100 Años," COAM, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.coam.org/es/fundacion/biblioteca/revista-arquitectura-100-anos>. For this research, all journals from 1931–1933 have been consulted, but no articles or announcements mentioning the exhibition in Madrid could be found. The Index of Authors and Subjects of *Arquitectura* from 1918–1936 was likewise checked with the same negative result. See Comision de Cultura des C.O.A.M., *Indice de la Revista Arquitectura. Años 1918–1936* (Madrid: Grafica Hernandez, 1975).

⁵³⁰ "La clausura de la exposición se realizó el día 10 de abril para dar lugar a su traslado a Madrid, solicitada por el Colegio de Arquitectos de dicha capital." See "Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932," 41.

⁵³¹ "Con este motivo, dió una conferencia en Madrid S. Giedion, secretario general del C.I.R.P.A.C." See "Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932," 41.

4.6. Amsterdam, Middelbaar Technische School, June–July 1932

Title: “De Rationeele Woonwijk”; alternativ: “De Rational Woonwijk”

Time: 15 June—6 July 1932

Location: Middelbaar Technische School, Dongestraat 12, Amsterdam Zuid

Image: Yes

Catalogue: No

The sixth venue for the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” was two rooms of the Middelbaar Technische School in Dongestraat 12, Amsterdam, from 25 June to –6 July 1932. The exhibition was given the Dutch name “De Rationeele Woonwijk.” The exhibition in Amsterdam was shown on the occasion of the general meeting of the Nederlandsch Institut voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedebouw (Dutch Institute for Public Housing and Urban Development). The general meeting was dedicated to the theme “Organic Living in the Open City,” prepared by members of both the Dutch National Group of CIAM and the Nederlandsch Institut voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedebouw.⁵³² The opening of the exhibition in Amsterdam took place in the morning of 25 June. All invited guests, including members of the Nederlandsch Institut voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedebouw, were given a guided tour of the exhibition. Additional guided tours were offered twice in the following two weeks, as well as upon request to the Secretary of the Dutch CIAM Group located in Amsterdam.⁵³³ Furthermore, on the occasion of “Rational Lot Development” opening in Amsterdam, the de Uitkijk cinema included the documentary film “Die Stadt von Morgen” in its programme from 24 June to 9 July.⁵³⁴

⁵³² “Laar aanleiding der tentoonstelling, welke de ‘Kongresse für neues Bauen’ (Congrès internationaux d’architecture moderne) van 25 Juni tot 5 Juli a.s. zullen houden in het gebouw der Middelbaar Technische School aan delongestraat te Amsterdam, ter gelegenheid van een ledenvergadering van het Institut voor Volkshuisvesting en aanroepen preadvies over het onderwerp: ‘De organische woonwijk in open bebouwing,’ opgesteld door en Hollandsche ledengroep van bovengenoemd congres (tevens leden van het Institut voor Volkshuisvesting) al worden ingeleid, achten wij het zeer gewenst, hier nog eens aan de hand van eenige artikelen, doel en freven van bovengenoemde congressen viteit te zetten.” See “Bericht,” *De 8 en Opbouw* 12 (1932): 113, 42-3-8-31, gta Archives.

⁵³³ “TENTOONSTELLING ‘DE RATIONEELE WOONWIJK’ REIZENDE TENTOONSTELLING VAN DE INTERNATIONALE CONGRESSSEN VOR HET NIEUWE BOUWEN. Gebouw Middelbaar Technische School, Dongestraat 12, Amsterdam/Zuid, (vanaf C.S., lijn 25 halte Maasstraat, vanaf M.P. en W.P., bus E halte Scheldeplein.) GEOPEND van 25 Juni tot en met 6 Juli, dagelijks (behalve des Zondags) van 10-6 uur, bovendien Woensdag 29 Juni en Woensdag 6 Juli des avonds van 8-10 uur. OPENING: Zaterdag 25 Juni des morgens 11 uur, met een rondgang voor genoodigden en de leden van het Nederlandsch Institut voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedehouw. RONDGANGEN onder leiding: Bij de opening 25 Juni elf uur. Woensdag 29 Juni des avonds 8 uur. Woensdag 6 Juli des avonds 8 uur. Verder na schriftelijke aanvraag voor groepen belangstellenden of verenigingen. Adres: Secretariaat van de Nederlandsche Groep van de Internationale Congressen vor het Nieuwe Bouwen. Keizersgracht 574, Amsterdam/C.” See “TENTOONSTELLING ‘DE RATIONEELE WOONWIJK,’” *De 8 en Opbouw* 13 (1932): 134.

⁵³⁴ The Dutch magazine *De 8 en Opbouw* published an article on the opening of the exhibition in Amsterdam. The article corresponds to van Eesteren’s text on the exhibition published in the brochures of the travelling exhibition in the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich and the Gewerbemuseum Basel. At the end of the article, the screening of the film “Die Stadt von Morgen” on the occasion of the exhibition in Amsterdam is promoted: “FILMVERTOONING TER GELEGENHEID VAN DE TENTOONSTELLING, DE RATIONEELE WOONWIJK. Ter gelegenheid van de tentoonstelling de ‘Rationeele Woonwijk’ (25 Juni–6 Juli in de Middelbaar Technische School, Dongestraat 12, Amsterdam, zie nadere aankondiging elders in dit blad), heeft het filmtheater ‘de Uitkijk’ in haar pro-gramma van 24 Juni–9 Juli opgenomen de film: Die Stadt von Morgen. Een ieder, die

One photograph [see fig. I.4.16] of the exhibition in Amsterdam has survived, showing one corner of the “Rationeele Woonwijk” exhibition in the Middelbaar Technische School.⁵³⁵ The original caption of the image from 1932 reads as follows:

World Exhibition; In Amsterdam at the MTS on Dongestraat an exhibition devoted to the rational residential district is held. The different plates of uniform size indicate the different states in the various cities. All countries are represented and each country has its own plate. Corner of the interesting architectural exhibition. The new architecture is illustrated using construction drawings, floor plans, publications, books, and photography (including aerial photographs).⁵³⁶

The photo shows eleven exhibition panels from “Rational Lot Development,” mounted side by side along the walls of the room.⁵³⁷ A collection of books is also on display on two tables in front of the exhibition panels. A chair in front of this improvised library indicates that the books were not only on display, but could also be read. The caption of the photograph reads: “On a simply-designed desk with a tubular chair (steel furniture) in front of it, the brand of furniture manufacturer Ahrend.”⁵³⁸ The name “Ahrend” is also shown in large letters on the left of the two tables. In the middle of the room, photographs and drawings are laid out on the floor, protected by barrier tape. The collection of material shows photographs and

belang stelt in de hedendaagsche stedenbouwkundige problemen, kunnen wij het bijwonen van deze filmvertooning aanbevelen.” Cornelis van Eesteren, “TENTOONSTELLING DE RATIONEELE WOONWIJK,” *De 8 en Opbouw* 13 (1932): 133, 42-3-7-3.

“Die Stadt von Morgen” is a documentary by the town planner and Stadtbaurat of the city of Nurnberg, Maximilian von Goldbeck, and Erick Kotzer from 1930. See Leonardo Ciacci, “The City of Tomorrow, Berlin, 1930. A filmed town planning scheme for every city,” *Planum Magazine*, accessed November 2, 2022, <http://www.planum.net/a-filmed-town-planning-scheme-for-every-city>. For the long version of the film, see Planum. The Journal of Urbanism, *Die Stadt von Morgen (1930) Long Version*, 2013, Vimeo, <https://vimeo.com/67818890>.

⁵³⁵ The photograph is available on the online image bank Spaarnestad Photo under the keyword “rationeele woonwijk.” See Nationaal Archief/Collectie Spaarnestad, “City Design. In an Amsterdam Technical School an exhibition is being held about modern city design,” unknown photographer, image number SFA001012278, code location 2601-3, https://beeldbank.spaarnestadphoto.com/search_pp?showpicture=14487&page=1&pos=1#. The Spaarnestad Collection is a photo collection with more than 13 million photos, making it one of the largest image banks on the history of the Netherlands. Spaarnestad Photo was founded in 1985. In 2008, the archives of Spaarnestad Photo were moved to the Nationaal Archief in The Hague. See “De rijkste beeldbank over de geschiedenis van Nederland,” *Spaarnestad Photo*, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://spaarnestadphoto.nl>.

⁵³⁶ “Het oorspronkelijke bijschrift luidt: ‘Wereldtentoonstelling; Te Amsterdam in de MTS aan de Dongestraat wordt een tentoonstelling gehouden gewijd aan de rationeele woonwijk. De verschillende platen van een uniforme grootte geven de verschillende toestanden aan van diverse steden. Alle landen worden bezocht en ieder land maakt er zijn eigen platen bij. Hoek van de interessante architectonische tentoonstelling. De nieuw zakelijke architectuur wordt geïllustreerd met behulp van bouwtekeningen, plattegronden, publicaties, boeken en fotografie (oa. luchtfoto’s).’ See Nationaal Archief/Collectie Spaarnestad, “City Design. In an Amsterdam Technical School an exhibition is being held about modern city design.”

⁵³⁷ This photograph is again referred to in chapter 5.3 in “Part II. Analysis” as an illustrative example of how CIAM’s exhibitions can also be regarded as a galley proof for the adjoining publications. Furthermore, it is again discussed in chapter 6.2.1. as an example of how the exhibition panels were meant to be perceived one by one.

⁵³⁸ “Op een strak vormgegeven bureau met ervoor een buisstoel (stalen meubel), het merk van meubelfabrikant Ahrend.” See “City Design. In an Amsterdam Technical School an exhibition is being held about modern city design.”

drawings of the work of Le Corbusier,⁵³⁹ including his project for the Palace of the Soviets⁵⁴⁰ as well as material from his "Ville Radieuse" [see fig. I.4.17].⁵⁴¹

In comparison with the publication of "Rational Lot Development," all eleven panels from the photographs can be identified:

Category: Low Medium and High Buildings combined⁵⁴²

Panel 1: (from left to right): Plan #46, Amsterdam, Indische Buurt.

Panel 2: Plan #47, Sosnowiec, Polen.

Panel 3: Plan #48, Berlin.

Panel 4: Plan #50, Frankfurt, Westhausen 1930.

Panel 5: Plan #49, Karlsruhe, Dammerstock 1929.

Category: High and Low Buildings combined⁵⁴³

Panel 6: Plan #51, Budapest, Rakosfalva.

Panel 7: Plan #52, Holland.

Panel 8: Plan #53, Holland.

Category: High and Medium combined⁵⁴⁴

Panel 9: Plan #54, Spandau, Haselhorst.

Category: Historic Examples⁵⁴⁵

Panel 10: Plan #55, Belgium, Beguinages 1200–1700.

Panel 11: Plan #56, Belgium, Bois du Luc 1838.

⁵³⁹ "Deze tentoonstelling, geheel gewijd aan de moderne woonwijk, met voorbeelden en tegenvoorbeelden uit binnen en buitenland, sluit aan bij het in dit nummer besproken praeadvies. Verder omvat deze tentoonstelling verschillende voorstellen van leden van de Nederlandsche Groep van de internationale Congressen voor het Nieuwe Bouwen, voor woonwijken of verbetering van woonwijken in Nederlandsche steden, terwijl tevens een kleine foto-collectie van het werk van den Franschen architect le Corbusier aanwezig is. De toegang tot deze tentoonstelling is vrij." See "TENTOONSTELLING 'DE RATIONEELE WOONWIJK'."

⁵⁴⁰ "Men mist dan in de eerste plaats het nieuwe werk van Le Corbusier, dat hier ok tentoongesteld is, zijn ontwerp voor het 'Sowjet paleis.' De teekeningen op groter schaal zijn interessant genoeg. En boogconstructie, tweemaal zoo breed als een boog van de Moerdijkbrug, en hooger dan de Westertoren, waaraan de geheele dakconstructie hangt, is van een gedurfdheid, die frisch aandoet. Wie deze internationale verzameling allen en zonder toelichting- tend woord bekijkt, verliest, afgescheiden van de ontegenzeggelijke voordeelen van dezen bouw, niet gemakkelijk zijn crite." J. B., "DE TENTOONSTELLING 'DE RATIONEELE WOONWIJK,'" *Bouwkundig Weekblad* (1932), 245, 42-3-7-3, gta Archives.

⁵⁴¹ "Ook de plannen der 'ville radieuse' van Le Corbusier zijn op de tentoonstelling aanwezig." See "TENTOONSTELLING 'DE RATIONEELE WOONWIJK,'" 134.

⁵⁴² For the plans in the publication, see: Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, plan no. 46–50. For an English overview of the published plans in the "Low Medium and High Buildings combined" category, see 201ff.

⁵⁴³ For the plans in the publication, see Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, plan no. 51–53. For an English overview of the published plans in the "High and Low buildings combined" category, see 202ff.

⁵⁴⁴ For the plans in the publication, see Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, plan no. 51–53. For an English overview of this published plan in the "High and Medium combined" category, see 203.

⁵⁴⁵ For the plans in the publication, see Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, plan no. 51–53. For an English overview of these two plans in the "Historic Examples" category, see 203.

The press expressed doubts as to whether the exhibition material could not simply have been published in a book: "In two rooms of the M. T. S. [Middelbaar Technische School] on Dongestraat in Amsterdam, the well-known images from 'Rational Lot Development' are on display. It is nice to look at them again on a larger scale. Apart from that, it would also be enough to take the book from the shelf and see at home in small scale what can be seen in full size in the exhibition."⁵⁴⁶ Despite this criticism, the author of the article in the *Bouwkundig Weekblad* nevertheless acknowledges the exhibited material in regard to the actuality and relevance of the topic.

⁵⁴⁶ "In twee zalen van de M. T. S. aan de Dongestraat te Amsterdam zijn de bekende afbeeldingen uit 'rationelle bebauwingsweisen' tentoongesteld. Het is prettig, deze op groeter schaal niar weer te ontmoeten. Afgezien daarvan, zou men ook kunnen volstaan met dit boekje uit zijn kast te halen en thuis op kleine schaal te zien, wat op de tentoonstelling op ware grootte te bekijken valt." J. B., "DE TENTOONSTELLING 'DE RATIONEELE WOONWIJK,'" 245.

4.7. Milan, Fascist Architects Union, November–December 1932

Title: “Sistemi di Lottizzazione Razionale“

Time: 28 November—10 December 1932

Location: Rooms of the Fascist Architects Union, via Palestro 6–8, Milano

Images: No

Catalogue: No

Further material: No

The travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” was shown under the name “Sistemi di Lottizzazione Razionale” from 28 November to 10 December 1932 in the premises of the Fascist Architects Union (Il Sindacato fascista architetti di Milano) in Milan. The exhibition visited Milan upon the initiative of Piero Bottoni (1903–1973) and Gino Pollini (1903–1991).⁵⁴⁷ Even though the journal *Das Neue Frankfurt* announced that both CIAM exhibitions, “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” and “Rational Lot Development,” would be shown together in Milan,⁵⁴⁸ it is attested by various sources that although both were shown in the city, they were not shown together.⁵⁴⁹

Since the travelling exhibition was shown in the premises of the Fascist Architects Union, it is reasonable to assume that the journal of the National Fascist Union of Architects, the *Architettura. rivista del Sindacato Nazionale Fascista Architetti*, might have reported on the exhibition. However, such was not the case,⁵⁵⁰ and the same applies for the journal

⁵⁴⁷ “La mostra è esposta dal 28 novembre al 10 dicembre 1932 in via Palestro 6–8, nei locali del Sindacato fascista architetti di Milano, per iniziativa dei delegati italiani dei CIAM, Bottoni e Pollini.” Giancarlo Consonni, “Piero Bottoni e Bologna, 1934–1941,” in *Norma e arbitrio. Architetti e ingegneri a Bologna*, ed. Giuliano Gresleri and Pier Giorgio Massaretti (Venice: Marsilio, 2001), 274. According to a report on the exhibition in Bologna, the work of CIAM was very well known after “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” was shown in Milan in 1931: “E’ ormai nota in Italia, specie da quando fu tenuta a Milano la MOSTRA della «Casa minima», l’opera dei Congresso internazionali di architettura.” See “Mostra dei sistemi di lottizzazione razionale ordinata dal Sindacato provinciale Architetti,” *Il Resto del Carlino* (January 15, 1933), 42-3-7-3, gta Archives. Similar wording can be found in Piero Bottoni’s article on the publication of CIAM-03 in *Rassegna*: “E ormai nota in Italia, specie da quando fu tenuta Milano la Mostra della “Casa Minima”, l’opera dei Congressi Internazionali per ‘Architettura Moderna.” Bottoni, “SISTEMI DI LOTTIZZAMENTO RAZIONALE,” *Rassegna di architettura rivista mensile di architettura e decorazione* 2 (February, 1932): 84, <http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/giornale/VEA0008781/1932/unico>.

⁵⁴⁸ *Das Neue Frankfurt* announced: “Die Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweisen’ wandert von Brüssel erft nach Zürich, sodann nach Mailand, wo sie zusammen mit den Ausstellungen ‘Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum’ und ‘Das Neue Frankfurt’ im März gezeigt wird.” Joseph Gantner, “5. Nächste Veranstaltungen,” *Das Neue Frankfurt* 12 (1930): 262, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

⁵⁴⁹ “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition was shown in Milan in March 1931. It was opened with a speech by Joseph Gantner entitled “Casa minimale, architettura razionale, città futura” on 12 March 1931. See “Unsere Ausstellungen,” *Das Neue Frankfurt* 5, no. 3 (March 1931): 58. “Rational Lot Development” was shown from November to December 1932: “La Mostra ‘Sistemi di Lottizzazione Razionale’ segue in ordine di tempo e di logica l’Esposizione della ‘Casa Minima’ che si tenne l’anno scorso a Milano,” Invito alla mostra dei ‘Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione,’ Comitato Principale del Sindacati Artisti e Professionisti. Sindacato Fascista Architetti per L’Emilia e Romagna, January 5, 1933, 42-3-7-23, gta Archives. An article about the exhibition in Bologna, where it was shown right after Milan, also testifies that the exhibitions were shown independently from another: “Abbiamo già dato notizia che Il sindacato Architetti dell’Emilia e Romagna, co. patrocinio del Comitato provinciale dei Sindacati professionisti e artisti, ha organizzato a Bologna, ospite del Circolo di Coltura, via Mazzini 42, la «Mostra dei sistemi di lottizzazione razionale» che tu già esposta a Milano lo scorso mese.” See “Mostra dei sistemi di lottizzazione razionale ordinata dal Sindacato provinciale Architetti.”

⁵⁵⁰ The journal *Architettura. Rivista del Sindacato Nazionale Fascista Architetti* is digitalised and referenced by catchword on the digital library of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma. See: “Biblioteca Digitale,” *Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma*,

Rassegna di architettura. Rivista mensile di architettura e decorazione.⁵⁵¹ This omission is in contrast to the travelling exhibition of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” in Milan, about which an in-depth article was published in *Rassegna di architettura*.⁵⁵² The only article in *Rassegna di architettura* referring to CIAM-03 is a summary of the publication of “Rational Lot Development” by Bottoni. In this summary, Bottoni starts by referring to the travelling exhibition of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” in Milan. Even though he recognises the great attention CIAM received in Italy following the exhibition of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” in Milan, he does not consider the possibility that “Rational Lot Development” could also be shown in Italy.⁵⁵³

accessed November 12, 2022, <http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/>. All articles referenced by catchword “Casa dell’Architettura” on the homepage of the Istituto di Cultura Urbana LATINA. See “Collizioni Rivisti,” *Casa dell’Architettura, Istituto di Cultura Urbana LATINA*, accessed November 12, 2022, <http://www.casadellarchitettura.eu/collezioni/riviste>. Besides a keyword search in all journals, all journals published while the exhibition was on show in Milan were consulted for this research. For November 1932: *Architettura. Rivista del Sindacato Nazionale Fascista Architetti* 11 (November 1932): 677–742, <http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/giornale/VEA0010898/1933/v.11>; for December 1932: *Architettura. Rivista del Sindacato Nazionale Fascista Architetti* 12 (December 1932): 743–813, <http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/giornale/VEA0010898/1933/v.12>.

⁵⁵¹ Like *Architettura. Rivista del Sindacato Nazionale Fascista Architetti*, the journal *Rassegna di architettura rivista mensile di architettura e decorazione* is also digitalised on the digital library of the Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Roma. See “Biblioteca Digitale” and “Collizioni Rivisti.” Besides a keyword search in all journals, the journals published while the exhibition was on show in Milan and Bologna were consulted for this research. For January 1933, in addition to the above: *Rassegna di architettura rivista mensile di architettura e decorazione* 1 (January 1933): 1–52, <http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/giornale/VEA0008781/1932/unico>. The next report related to CIAM is about CIAM-04: “IL IV CONGRESSO INTERNAZIONALE DI ARCHITETTURA MODERNA (C.I.A.M.). MARSIGLIA-ATENE 1933,” *Rassegna di architettura rivista mensile di architettura e decorazione* 9 (September 1933): 372–74, <http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/giornale/VEA0008781/1932/unico>.

⁵⁵² Franco Alberto Schwarz, “Lo Studio Delle Piante Nell’Edilizia Polare di Francoforte,” *Rassegna Di Architettura. Rivista Mensile Di Architettura* 3 (1931): 81–90, accessed December 31, 2022, http://www.casadellarchitettura.eu/fascicolo/data/2011-06-13_467_2223.pdf.

⁵⁵³ Piero Bottoni, “La mostra della casa ‘minimum’ a Milano,” *Rassegna Di Architettura. Rivista Mensile Di Architettura* 3, no. 9 (1931): 41.

4.8. Bologna, Sede del Circolo di Cultura, January 1933

Title: "Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione" (Invitation)

"Mostra dei sistemi di lottizzazione razionale" (Newspaper)

Time: 7–13 January 1933

Location: Circolo di Cultura, Via Mezzini 45, Bologna

Image: No

Catalogue: Invitation with explanations

Bologna was the eighth and presumably last venue of the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development." It was shown from 7 to 13 January 1933 at the Circola di Cultura in Bologna under the name "Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione." It was hosted by the Association of Architects of Emilia and Romagna (Sindacato Architetti dell'Emilia e Romagna) and organised under the patronage of the Provincial Committee of the Association of Professionals and Artist (patrocinio del Comitato provinciale dei Sindacati professionisti e artisti) with the assistance of Piero Bottoni and Gino Pollini.⁵⁵⁴ Fifty-six exhibition panels were displayed in Bologna.⁵⁵⁵ Bologna was the second and final stop for the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" in Italy after Milan.⁵⁵⁶

The three key figures in the planning and organisation of "Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione" in Bologna were Alberto Legnani (1894–1958),⁵⁵⁷ Piero Bottoni, and Gino Pollini.⁵⁵⁸ One week before "Rational Lot Development" closed in Milan, Legnani contacted Bottoni and expressed his desire to bring the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" to Bologna. A couple of days later, Legnani let Bottoni know that Melchiorre Bega, the director

⁵⁵⁴ "Abbiamo già dato notizia che Il sindacato Architetti dell'Emilia e Romagna, co. patrocinio del Comitato provinciale dei Sindacati professionisti e artisti, ha organizzato a Bologna, ospite del Circolo di Cultura, via Mazzini 42, la « Mostra dei sistemi di lottizzazione razionale » che tu già esposta a Milano lo scorso mese." See "Mostra dei sistemi di lottizzazione razionale ordinata dal Sindacato provinciale Architetti." The invitation brochure names "Il Sindacato Fascista Architetti per l' Emilia e Romagna" as the host. See "Invito alla mostra dei 'Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione.'"

⁵⁵⁵ "La Mostra consta di 56 grandi tavole montate su lastre di alluminio che contengono i risultati degli studi sul razionale lottizzazione dei terreni da costruzione nei vari paesi al terzo congresso internazionale di architettura moderna a Bruxelles." See "Mostra dei sistemi di lottizzazione razionale ordinata dal Sindacato provinciale Architetti."

⁵⁵⁶ "La mostra è esposta dal 28 novembre al 10 dicembre 1932 in via Palestro 6–8, nei locali del Sindacato fascista architetti di Milano, per iniziativa dei delegati italiani dei CIAM, Bottoni e Pollini, ed è significativo che questi pensino a Bologna come prima altra tappa italiana della mostra (che sarà poi l'unica), ABM, Corrispondenza, Lettera di Bottoni a Legnani, 29 novembre 1932." See Consonni, "Piero Bottoni e Bologna, 1934–1941," 274.

⁵⁵⁷ Alberto Legnani was the regional secretary of Il Sindacato Fascista Architetti per l'Emilia e Romagna and a representative of the MIAR, the Italian Movement for Rational Architecture (Movimento Internazionale d'Architettura Razionale).

⁵⁵⁸ An entry in the online chronicle of the city of Bologna on the exhibition names Piero Bottoni and Gino Pollini as key figures for its planning and organisation: "La mostra sulla 'lottizzazione razionale' presentata al Congresso Internazionale di Architettura Moderna di Bruxelles si trasferisce a Bologna al Circolo delle Arti, grazie agli auspici degli architetti Piero Bottoni e Gino Pollini." See "La Mostra sulla 'Lottizzazione Razionale' al Circolo delle Arti," *Cronologica di Bologna dal 1796 a oggi*, accessed November 10, 2022, https://www.bibliotecasalaborsa.it/bolognaonline/cronologia-di-bologna/1933/la_mostra_sulla_lottizzazione_razionale_al_circolo_delle_arti. The invitation also stresses the engagement of the Italian Members of CIAM: "Il Sindacato Fascista Architetti per l' Emilia e Romagna invita la S. V. ad intervenire alla inaugurazione della Mostra del 'Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione' organizzala per interessamento dei membri italiani at Congressi Internazionali di Architettura Moderna (del C.I.R.P.A.C.)." See "Invito alla mostra dei 'Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione.'"

of the Sindacato Architetti dell'Emilia e Romagna, had approved his suggestion to take over the exhibition. Bega considered "Rational Lot Development" to be very interesting, but felt it necessary to illustrate the exhibition with an explanatory lecture. Bottoni followed Bega's wish, and opened the exhibition on 7 January with the requested lecture.⁵⁵⁹ In his lecture, Bottoni explained CIAM's aims and main preoccupations as well as the criteria by which the exhibition panels were assembled.⁵⁶⁰

The Association of Architects of Emilia and Romagna published an invitation [see fig. I.4.18 and fig. I.4.19] for the exhibition, which simultaneously served as an accompanying brochure.⁵⁶¹ On the inner side of the explanatory invitation, both explanatory notes ("Note Illustrative") and a table detailing the grouping criteria of the exhibited plans ("La raccolta di tavole è suddivisa in vari gruppi") were given. The text of the explanatory notes resembles the introduction text to the exhibitor material in the "Rational Lot Development" publication.⁵⁶² However, the emphasis here is on the fact that Italian examples are exhibited.⁵⁶³ If we assume that the plans in the exhibition in Bologna were identical in numbering and content to the plans in the publication, this remark refers to plan no. 25 and 29 from the publication.⁵⁶⁴ Similar to the brochure for the exhibition in Barcelona, this brochure gives an overview of the exhibited plans and the criteria for their arrangement under the title "La raccolta di tavole è suddivisa in vari gruppi". Again, the table resembles the original overview given in the "Rational Lot Development" publication.⁵⁶⁵

The Italian newspaper *Il Resto del Carlino* published an article [see fig. I.4.20] about the "Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione" exhibition in Bologna.⁵⁶⁶ Besides common facts about the exhibition, the article refers – without naming it – to the publication of CIAM-03, and sums up the report by Walter Gropius on "Flach-, Mittel- oder Hochbau" as well as Le Corbusier's

⁵⁵⁹ "Il 2 dicembre Legnani comunica a Bottoni il suo «vivissimo desiderio di ripetere a Bologna la mostra» e il 6 dicembre, nell'annunciarci che il Direttorio del sindacato architetti ha approvato la sua proposta, scrive: «L'Arch. Bega si era assunto l'incarico di prendere accordi con lei o con Pollini a Milano ieri, ma oggi mi ha riferito che non ha potuto parlare con loro. Mi dice invece che ha visto la mostra e che l'ha trovata interessante, ma che ritiene abbia bisogno di essere illustrata. Per cui ritengo indispensabile una sua conferenza», ABM, Corrispondenza. La mostra si inaugura a Bologna il 7 gennaio 1933 nella sede del Circolo di cultura, in via Mazzini 47 e per l'occasione Bottoni tiene la conferenza richiesta da Bega." Consonni, "Piero Bottoni e Bologna, 1934–1941," 274.

⁵⁶⁰ "L'arch. Piero Bottoni du Milano, membro italiano dei Congresso internazionali di architettura, ha illustrato la sera dell'inaugurazione i temi svolti dal congresso e i criteri seguiti nella compilazione del materiale esposto." See "Mostra dei sistemi di lottizzazione razionale ordinata dal Sindacato provinciale Architetti."

⁵⁶¹ "Invito alla mostra dei 'Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione.'"

⁵⁶² Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bauweisen*, 78.

⁵⁶³ "Questa Esposizione, che viene oggi presentata a Bologna, e che comprende anche esempi italiani." See "Invito alla mostra dei 'Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione.'"

⁵⁶⁴ Plan no. 25 depicts a working-class district in Milan from 1929 on which, due to its density, the orientation as well as the distance between the buildings is regarded as a negative example. Plan no. 29 shows workers' apartment buildings, considered an improvement of the working-class district from plan no. 25. See Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bauweisen*, plan no. 25 and 29; see also explanations for the plans on 197 and 198.

⁵⁶⁵ Only the numbers for the "Esempi Storici" ("Historische Beispiele") have been lost in translation: "La raccolta di tavole è suddivisa in vari gruppi" See: "Invito alla mostra dei 'Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione.'" For the original table in the publication on CIAM-03, see Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bauweisen*, 77.

⁵⁶⁶ "Mostra dei sistemi di lottizzazione razionale ordinata dal Sindacato provinciale Architetti."

report on “Le parcellement du sol des villes.”⁵⁶⁷ The article closes with words of praise for the switch in urban planning principles represented in the exhibition: “One can only hope that the knowledge associated with this exhibition will spread, and in the future accompany the search in our country for modern living conditions regarding the economy, habits, and climate.”⁵⁶⁸

In scientific works on the modern movement in Bologna, there are numerous mentions that indicate the importance of the exhibition to the city's architectural development.⁵⁶⁹ For example, one states that “[t]he success of the exhibition accompanied by a lecture by Bottoni [...] was sensational and aroused lively interest even among the highest authorities of the city.” Furthermore, it is explained that “[t]he first hypotheses for a new urban development plan and the competition for the new fair (1934), won by Piero Bottoni, are closely linked to these events [the exhibition and lecture].”⁵⁷⁰ The exhibition is also mentioned in the online chronicle of the city of Bologna. The entry in the chronicle again underlines the impact of the exhibition on competition entries and the city planning of Bologna in the 1930s. For example, a connection between the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in Bergamo and exhibited projects from Alberto Legnani and Melchiorre Bega at the Milan Triennial V in 1933 is drawn.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁷ For the report by Gropius in CIAM'S publication, *Rationelle Bauweisen*, see Walter Gropius, “Flach-, Mittel- oder Hochbau,” in *Rationelle Bauweisen*, 26–47. For the report by Le Corbusier, see Le Corbusier, “Le parcellement du sol des villes (Die Bodenaufteilung der Städte),” in *Rationelle Bauweisen*, 48–57.

⁵⁶⁸ “C'è da augurarsi che la conoscenza e la diffusione di questi studi valga a afar ricercare e a trovare anche aper il nostro paese dei concetti di lottizzazione che tengano conto delle Notre condizioni (economia, abitudini, clima, ecc. ecc.) e anche della reale evoluzione della vita moderna.” See “Mostra dei sistemi di lottizzazione razionale ordinata dal Sindacato provinciale Architetti.”

⁵⁶⁹ For the history of the modern movement, see Giuliano Gresleri and Pier Giorgio Massaretti, eds., *Norma e arbitrio. Architetti e ingegneri a Bologna, 1850–1950* (Venice: Marsilio, 2001). For the importance of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, see especially Consonni, “Piero Bottoni e Bologna, 1934–1941,” 261 and 274.

One relativising statement for the importance of the exhibition can be found in an essay on the architect Giuseppe Vaccaro by Silvio Cassarà. According to Cassarà, Vaccaaro's rationalism was already strongly apparent before the exhibition came to Bologna. Even though Cassarà does not give the name of the exhibition, from the context no other exhibition can be indicated: “Del resto il razionalismo in nuce di Vaccaro precede la mostra dei CIAM anprodata in città nel 1933.” See Silvio Cassarà, “Giuseppe Vaccaro e l'ora del moderne,” in *Norma e arbitrio*, 243.

For a study on the dissemination of Swedish planning ideas in Italy, inter alia through the travelling exhibition in Milan and Bologna, see Chiara Monterumisi and Monica Prencipe, “Tra tradizionalismo e internazionalismo. L'architettura svedese nella critica giovanile di Giuseppe Samonà,” in *Rileggere Samonà*, Collana Patrimonio Culturale e Territorio 7 (Rome: RomaTrE-PRESS, 2020), 27–34,

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/342476428_Tra_tradizionalismo_e_internazionalismo_L%27architettura_svedese_nel_la_critica_giovanile_di_Giuseppe_Samonà_Between_traditionalism_and_internationalism_Swedish_architecture_in_the_early_writings_of_Gius#fullTextFileContent.

⁵⁷⁰ “Alberto Legnani, in contatto con gli ambienti dei CIAM, riuscì a replicare al circolo delle Arti la mostra sulla “lottizzazione razionale” (Bruxelles 1931). Il successo della mostra, accompagnata da una conferenza di Bottoni, reduce con Pollini dal IV CIAM di Atene, fu sensazionale e promosse un interesse vivissimo anche a livello delle massime autorità cittadine. Le prime ipotesi per un nuovo piano regolatore e il concorso per la nuova Fiera (1934), vinto da Bottoni, sono intimamente legati a tali eventi.” Giuliano Gresleri, “Giuseppe Vaccaro e Bologna,” arcomai. Movimento in atto tra architettura e progetto urbano, November 13, 2005, <http://www.planum.net/a-filmed-town-planning-scheme-for-every-city>.

⁵⁷¹ “Il tema di una moderna lottizzazione è centrale per l'organizzazione delle nuove periferie urbane. Nel contesto della mostra bolognese maturano importanti progetti, quali il concorso per la nuova Fiera, che sarà bandito dal Rotary Club nel 1934. In questo periodo gli architetti razionalisti sperimentano modelli edilizi, quali la “casa appenninica” presentata alla 5a Triennale milanese da Alberto Legnani, Melchiorre Bega e Giorgio Ramponi, “adatta per essere edificata sui colli che coronano la maggior parte delle città dell'Emilia e della Romagna ed in specie Bologna”, oppure la “casa degli sposi novelli”, progettata sempre da Legnani, vincitrice del concorso I.C.P. del 1934.” See “La Mostra sulla ‘Lottizzazione Razionale’ al Circolo delle Arti.”

Part II – Analysis of the Exhibitions of CIAM-03 as Method of Work

In the second part of this dissertation, along eight analytic categories, the different functions of CIAM's exhibitions are investigated. The eight analytical categories emerged, first, from the in-depth study and examination of the archival material used for the reconstruction (space, programme, material), as well as, second, from categories used in reference works on architectural exhibitions. The aim of the following analysis is to understand the functions and significance of CIAM's exhibitions for the Congresses, as well as for CIAM as association. The analysis is mainly based on the exhibitions of CIAM-03, but whenever needed, further CIAM exhibitions are used to contextualize the findings further.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Holding meetings attended by an average of 100 participants brings certain challenges, such as the question of where they should take place. Holding such well-attended meetings and showing exhibitions with, again, an average of 100 exhibition panels only complicates the matter further. Discussions about finding a suitable location for CIAM's Congresses was thus not only a challenging issue, but a recurrent one.

Looking at the ever-changing location from Congress to Congress, each with a different relation between where the exhibitions were shown and where the meetings were held, a development can be traced which, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter, stresses the growing significance of CIAM's exhibitions as the *space* of CIAM's Congresses.

The first section of this chapter traces how, first, the proximity of exhibition space to the meeting space at CIAM-02, CIAM-03, CIAM-04, and CIAM-07 continuously grew, until ultimately the Congress' meetings took place *within* the exhibition space. This development is mirrored in the reporting on CIAM-02 and CIAM-03. But not only did the spatial relation from exhibition space to meeting space change, but also the positioning of the exhibition panels *within* the exhibition space, as will be demonstrated in a section of this chapter.

There, it is shown how the arrangement of the exhibition panels within the exhibition space changed from serving as the audience's foreground to forming a space of their own. Third, looking at the planning process of CIAM-03 and more precisely at the discussions about – and misunderstandings of – the spatial dependency of the exhibition space on the meeting

space, the significance of CIAM's exhibitions as a working space of CIAM's Congresses becomes evident. This observation will be called *spatial immediacy*. Finally, a connection between the venues of the traveling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" and the CIRPAC meetings in preparation for CIAM-04 – and in particular the exhibition of CIAM-04 – will be made, which until now in the historical analysis of the CIRPAC meetings was solely the importance of the planning of the exhibitions during the equally-overlooked CIRPAC meetings. Hence, the purpose of this chapter is to understand the significance of CIAM's exhibitions as the *space* for CIAM's Congresses.

1.1. A Growing Proximity: The Exhibition Space in Relation to the Meeting Space

The significance of CIAM's exhibitions as the *space* of the Congress is reflected in the changing relation between the exhibition space and the meeting space. From Congress to Congress, the distance between the exhibition space and the meeting space decreased – or to put it differently: with every Congress, the proximity between the exhibition space and the meeting space continuously grew.

At CIAM-02 in Frankfurt in 1929, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" exhibition was shown in a different building to where the meetings of CIAM-02 were held. Approximately one kilometre lay between the exhibition and the meeting space, making it impossible to either spontaneously or regularly visit the exhibition during the meetings. The first spatial advance between the exhibition and the meeting space happened at the next Congress. At CIAM-03 in Brussels in 1930, both the exhibitions and the meetings took place in the same building, the Palais des Beaux-Arts. Though they took still place in different rooms, they did not have a kilometre separating them, but only a wall. At CIAM-04 in 1933, the next spatial advance took place. This time, exhibitions and meetings took place not within one building, but on the deck of the steamship *Patris II* from Marseille to Athens. Even though what can be considered as the official exhibition of CIAM-04 was shown in Amsterdam two years later, the participants of CIAM-04 in 1933 were surrounded by the exhibition panels during the meetings on deck, which served both as an improvised exhibition-cum-meeting space. Though not within the walls of the same room, the exhibition panels and the participants of CIAM-04 gathered under the same sky and on same waters. The apotheosis of the spatial proximity of the exhibition space to the meeting space took place at CIAM-07 in Bergamo in 1949, when CIAM's exhibition was shown not only in the same building as the meetings, but in the same room of the Palazzo della Ragione.

1.1.1. From Separate Buildings to the Same Room

CIAM's Second Congress, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," in Frankfurt in 1929 was the first CIAM Congress to be accompanied by an exhibition. But it was also the first – and this is even more important – and only CIAM Congress during which the exhibition was held in a different location to the meetings. The exhibition of CIAM-02 was on shown in the Werkbundhaus⁵⁷² at the exhibition grounds of Frankfurt, whereas the meetings were held in the Palmenhaus, northwest from the Werkbundhaus. CIAM-02 took place on 24–26 October 1929. The Congress was opened on October 24 in the so-called "Hochzeitssaal" (Wedding Hall) of the Palmenhaus with a speech by Karl Moser, then President of CIAM. Over 130 participants attended the opening and the following two days. After the opening, the two-day marathon of lectures, reports, and discussions began. The official and public opening of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" took place on the third day of CIAM-03. On the morning of 26 October, the participants of CIAM-03, invited guests, and the press came together in the Werkbundhaus to attend the opening of the exhibition. Despite this agenda, a single visit of the participants to the exhibition prior to the opening was only included in the programme at the last minute. The spatial separation between the conference and the exhibition venue presumably didn't allow any further visits.

This spatial separation of the exhibition and meeting space in two different locations was abandoned after CIAM-02. Both the exhibitions and the meetings of CIAM-03 took place under the same roof of the newly erected Palais des Beaux-Arts by Victor Horta in Brussels. It was in the middle of the first CIRPAC meeting for CIAM-03 when the question of the location for the Congress came up. Right after Victor Bourgeois had read aloud Raphaël Verwilghen's first detailed outline for the exhibition of CIAM-03, Bourgeois took the opportunity to inform the attending CIRPAC members about the Belgian CIAM Group's preference to hold CIAM-03 in the Palais des Beaux-Arts. Even though at this moment in time Bourgeois still emphasised the strict division between the exact thematic focus of the exhibition and the meetings, he nevertheless made it clear that only one location for the exhibition and the meetings was needed:

⁵⁷² The detailed report on CIAM-03 by Eugen Kaufmann mentions the Wertbundhaus as the venue of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence." See Ernst Kaufmann, "Die internationale Ausstellung 'Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum,'" *Das Neue Frankfurt* 3, no. 11 (November 1929): 213–15. An article on CIAM-02 stored in the gta Archives also mentions the Werkbundhaus as venue. See Gustav Lampmann, "Zweiter internationaler Kongreß für neues Bauen. 24. bis 26. Oktober in Frankfurt a. M.," *Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung* (November 13, 1929), 42-1929-2-6-1/2, gta Archives. Both Steinmann and Mumford name the Palmengarten as the sole venue of CIAM-02. Even though they touch upon "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," they neither name the Werkbundhaus as venue of the exhibition, nor mention that the exhibition was shown in a different location to the actual Congress. See Eric Paul Mumford, "CIAM 2, Frankfurt, 1929: The *Existenzminimum*," in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 27–43; Martin Steinmann, "2. Kongress, Frankfurt, 1929: Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum," in *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939* (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1979), 36–73.

What we are talking about here, gentlemen, is the urbanisation exhibition and not the Congress. If you allow me to clarify the ideas, here is how we conceived the administrative organisation in Brussels. We have just built a palace containing large and small meeting rooms, with exhibition halls. All I need is your approval to sign the draft contract prepared for this purpose. This project is advantageous because the Palais des Beaux-Arts will provide our equipment. We will have a large meeting room, secretarial facilities, and a restaurant. So everything will be centralised, which is very important from a practical point of view.⁵⁷³

Already in the beginning of January 1930, Bourgeois had informed Karl Moser and Sigfried Giedion about the Palais des Beaux-Arts as the preferred location for CIAM-03. In a letter to Giedion from 5 January, Bourgeois already describes the variety of different spaces for CIAM-03 within the Palais:

We have already started working for the Congress, which will be held at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, as well as the exhibition, in very comfortable premises with a restaurant and a large reception room.⁵⁷⁴

In his letter to Moser from 15 January, Bourgeois took his description one step further and – similar to how he conveyed the narrative during the CIRPAC meeting – emphasised the different functions being “centralised” in a single building:

We have obtained very beautiful premises in the new Palais des Beaux-Arts (large and small rooms for meetings, exhibitions, restaurants, secretariat. Everything will be centralized there).⁵⁷⁵

As no objections were expressed by the CIRPAC members present, the Palais des Beaux-Arts was decided as the sole location for CIAM-03 during the first CIRPAC meeting.

⁵⁷³ “Il s’agit ici, Messieurs, de l’exposition d’urbanisation et non pas du congrès. Si vous me le permettez, afin de mieux préciser les idées, voici comment nous avons conçu à Bruxelles, l’organisation administrative. On vient d’édifier un palais contenant de grandes et de petites salles de réunion, avec des salles d’exposition. Je n’attends plus que votre approbation pour signer le projet de contrat préparé à cet égard. Ce projet est avantageux pour nous en ce sens que notre équipement sera repris par le palais des Beaux Arts. Nous disposerons d’une grande salle de réunions, de locaux pour le secrétariat et d’un restaurant. Tout sera donc centralisé, ce qui est très important, au point de vue pratique.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” February 10, 1930, 23, 42-3-1-11F, gta Archives.

⁵⁷⁴ “Nous avons déjà travaillé pour le congrès, il aura lieu au Palais des Beaux Arts de Bruxelles de même que l’exposition, ce sont, des locaux très confortables avec restaurant et grande salle de fêtes.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, January 5, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

⁵⁷⁵ “Ici à Bruxelles le Congrès se présente très bien, nous avons obtenu de très beaux locaux au Nouveau Palais des Beaux Arts (grandes et petites salles de séance, expositions, restaurants, secrétariat tout y sera centralisé). L’exposition aurait lieu du 29 Septembre au 13 octobre et le Congrès du 1er au 4 Octobre: à l’exposition nous sommes d’accord avec Francfort pour obtenir les plans de l’exposition de l’habitation minimum.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Karl Moser, January 15, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

CIAM-04 was characterised, however, by a series of exceptional circumstances. True to these circumstances, one exception may also be permitted here. If one momentarily leaves aside the fact that the official exhibition of CIAM-04 took place in Amsterdam, and almost two years after the *Patris II* re-entered the port of Marseilles in August 1933, the deck of the *Patris II* represents a further step in the growing proximity of the exhibition space to the meeting space. This exception can be justified by the fact that most of the exhibition panels, which were on display in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam on the occasion of CIAM's third exhibition, "Housing, Working, Traffic, Recreation in the Contemporary City," in 1935 [See Summary CIAMs Exhibitions], had already been displayed in the improvised meeting space on the deck of the *Patris II*.⁵⁷⁶ Hence, at CIAM-04, CIAM's exhibition material was on display within the same space – on the same deck, to be precise – of the meetings for the first time. Thus, CIAM-04 represents the next step in the continuously growing proximity of the exhibition space to the meeting space.

Another reason why CIAM-04 is an exception in many respects is the amount of photographic material documenting the Fourth Congress. No other CIAM Congress is so extensively documented. One reason for this is the photographic documentation by László Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946).⁵⁷⁷ His photos as well as his film capture how the participants were surrounded by the exhibition panels on deck during the speeches and discussions. One photograph shows Sigfried Giedion and Otto Neurath (1882–1945) on the deck of the *Patris II*, intensely engaged in conversation [see fig. II.1.1]. Giedion is wildly gesturing with his hands, while Neurath is carefully listening to him in bent posture. While their discussion was presumably about the panels, it was definitely limited by them – quite literally. Panels leaning against wooden pillars on the right and left side of Neurath and Giedion demarcate the rather intimate space of their discussion. But not only is their temporary discussion space demarcated by the panels, but the entire venue of CIAM-04. Further panels in the background of the photograph (in between Giedion and Neurath) are leaning against the railing of the ship, at the same time limiting and enclosing the venue of CIAM-04. Thus, not only were the participants of CIAM-04 surrounded by the exhibition panels, the very location of CIAM-04 was encompassed by them [see fig. II.1.2].

⁵⁷⁶ See footnote 14.

However, as Andreas Kalpakci observes, the panels were "visibly too large and cumbersome for the unexpected setting of the *Patris II*." Kalpakci, "Making CIAM: The Organizational Techniques of the Moderns, 1928–1959" (PhD diss., ETH Zurich, 2017), 337.

⁵⁷⁷ Daniel Weiss, Gregor Harbusch, and Bruno Maurer, "A Major Heritage and an Unpublished Book," in *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis*, ed. Evelien van Es, Gregor Harbusch, and Bruno Maurer et al. (Bussum: Thoth Uitgeverij, 2014), 12.

The spatial proximity between the exhibition space and the meeting space reached its zenith at CIAM-07 in Bergamo in 1949. The exhibition and the meetings of CIAM-07 were held in the main hall of the Palazzo della Ragione on the main square of Bergamo Alta. Even though different locations around the main square were available to the members during the Congress, something which Andreas Kalpakci calls an “assemblage of space,”⁵⁷⁸ the exhibition and the meetings of CIAM-07 nevertheless were held in the same space. In contrast to CIAM-04, where the panels were of necessity and in an improvised manner on display on the deck of the *Patris II*, at CIAM-07 the spatial setting of the exhibition and the meetings within the same space was planned long in advance and purposefully. Franco Albini (1905–1977), with the help of the young architect Nestori Sacchi, designed the arrangement of the exhibition panels and seats in the main hall of the Palazzo.⁵⁷⁹ Albini's drawings evidence his intended spatial arrangement as well as his anticipated use of the exhibition panels within the space [see fig. II.1.3]. He divided the main hall lengthways in two halves. One half was occupied by the exhibition panels (grilles) hanging from the ceiling in thirteen rows [see fig. II.1.4]. The other half was occupied by the seats for the participants as well as a podium with one long table for the speakers [see fig. II.1.5]. Thirteen rows of seats with sixteen chairs each provided ample space for the approximately 100 participants of CIAM-07. Behind the seats, an additional row of exhibition panels was hanged [see fig. II.1.6], the only exception in the otherwise strictly separated layout of the room in two halves. The orientation of the elevated podium in front of the seats on the one side, and the row of panels on the other, allowed the speakers to not only overlook the audience during their lectures, but also to look at the exhibition panels; both the exhibition panels on the left half of the room, as well as those behind the last row of seats. This spatial arrangement represented a whole new setting, as well as the apotheosis of the continuously growing proximity of the exhibition space to the meeting space, which were now just one joint space.

1.1.2. The Reports on CIAM-02 and CIAM-03 in *Das Neue Frankfurt*

This change from two different buildings (CIAM-02) to a single building (CIAM-03) can also be traced in the reports in the magazine, *Das Neue Frankfurt (DNF)*. Two issues of *DNF* reported on the exhibitions and the meetings of CIAM-02 and CIAM-03. In the case of CIAM-02, two articles per issue report on the exhibition and the meetings separately. However, in the case of CIAM-03, one joint article per issue reports on both the exhibition and the

⁵⁷⁸ Kalpakci, “Making CIAM,” 396.

⁵⁷⁹ Kalpakci, “Making CIAM,” 396ff.

meetings. The growing spatial proximity is thus translated on paper: two different buildings – two separate articles; one building – one joint article only.

For CIAM-02, the October issue of *DNF* printed a series of eight small photographs of the meetings on one double-page spread [see fig. II.1.7] and another three photographs of the opening of the exhibition on the following page, including a brief summary of CIAM-02 [see fig. II.1.8]. The series of eight small photographs from the meetings of CIAM-02, which run along the top of a double-page, were taken by Hans Leistikow (1892–1962). Each photograph captures what one might consider a meeting's main activity – the participants of CIAM-02 are shown either listening to others talking, or vice versa. For example, the first photograph shows Karl Moser reading from a sheet of paper, surrounded by a captive and attentive audience. Whenever the act of listening or talking needs to be further emphasised, brief and understated captions further stress the nature of the meeting: “Gropius gives a lecture,” “Bourgeois talks,” “In the rows of the audience,” or “May talks. Next to him Giedion.”⁵⁸⁰ Under the series of photographs, the bold header “Photographs from the II. International Congress for Modern Architecture Frankfurt am Main 24–26 October 1929” contextualise the photographs without further explanation. Underneath, a bold black stroke separates the photographs and the header from the texts below, which are dedicated to “The Museum of the Future” and the “The International Congress of Independent Film.” The layout makes it unmistakably clear that the eight pictures and the headline say everything there is to say about the meetings of CIAM-02: one talked, others listened to everything said. To the surprise of the reader, CIAM-02 is mentioned again on the following page. Had the stroke not just unmistakably indicated the end of the coverage of CIAM-02? The end of the coverage of the meetings of CIAM-02 – yes. But there was still the exhibition of CIAM-02, which also needed to be covered. And thus, on the following page, another three photographs are included, again along the top of the page, again depicting participants in action, this time at the opening of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition. Nevertheless, the layout has changed slightly: where the second photograph was placed on the previous double-page, on this page, a brief explanation is written, filling the square not with an image but text. The explanation describes when and where these three photographs were taken: “From the opening of the international plan and model exhibition ‘The Dwelling for Minimal Existence.’ Frankfurt a. M. 26 October to 10 November 1929.” While the participants of the meetings were captured in suits on the previous double-page, in these three photographs they are wearing coats and hats, as if Leistikow wanted to emphasise

⁵⁸⁰ “Gropius hält sein Referat. In den Reihen der Zuschauer. Bourgeois spricht. May spricht. Neben ihm Giedion.” See “BILDER VOM II. INTERNATIONALEM KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN FRANKFURT AM MAIN 24.–26. OKTOBER 1929”, *Das Neue Frankfurt* 10 (1929): 206ff., https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1929.

that the participants first had to brace themselves against the autumnal temperatures when getting from the meetings in the Palmenhaus to the “plan and model exhibition” in the Werkbundhaus. Again, a headline is given underneath the photographs. In comparison to the headline on the previous double-page, it is less prominent, and followed not by a stroke, but a brief summary. Apparently, in contrast to the photographs of the meetings, the photographs of the exhibition do not speak for themselves. The headline furthermore repeats the division of the meetings and the exhibition already captured in the photographs: “The II. International Congress for Modern Architecture and the Frankfurt Exhibitions.” The same applies to the brief summary, in which the location change is again emphasised according to the official agenda of CIAM-02 and given in its chronological order. First, “[t]he actual Congress, which was attended by about 120 members from eighteen countries, held its meetings, which were secret to the public and the press, on 24 and 25 October in the Wedding Hall of the Palmengarten.” Second, “[o]n October 26, at the public closing meeting in the Sax Hall on the exhibition grounds, Gropius, Bourgeois, and Schmidt spoke in detail about the results of the negotiations.” Third, “Ernst May, as representative of the city of Frankfurt, opened the three exhibitions that are still on display in the Werkbundhaus on the exhibition grounds.”⁵⁸¹ These separate mentions of CIAM-02 in the same issue translate the spatial division of the exhibition space and the meeting space onto the pages of the October 1929 issue of *DNF*. This translation is repeated in the November 1929 issue of *DNF*. Again, two separate articles report on the meetings on the one hand, and the exhibitions on the other. The November issue contains one detailed report on the exhibition, including photographs of both the space and the plans [see fig. II.1.9 and fig. II.1.10], and a separate report on the meetings of CIAM-02, including summaries of the lectures given [see fig. II.1.11]. The first article, “THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION ‘THE DWELLING FOR MINIMAL EXISTENCE,’” gives an in-depth description of the exhibition material on display, its mounting mechanism, its arrangement, as well as the aims associated with the exhibitions.⁵⁸² Two photographs of the exhibition in the Werkbundhaus depict the exhibition space and the material. Thereby, they are putting the location of the Werkbundhaus in the foreground. Intriguingly, in the October 1929 issue, a detailed report on the Palmenhaus including photographs preceded the reports on CIAM-02.⁵⁸³ Having photographs of one

⁵⁸¹ “Der eigentliche Kongreß, der von etwa 120 Mitgliedern aus 18 Ländern besucht war, hielt seine sowohl für das Publikum wie für die Presse geheimen Verhandlungen am 24. und 25. Oktober im Hochzeitssaal des Palmengartens ab. [...] Am 26. Oktober sodann, in der öffentlichen Schlußversammlung im Saxophonsaal der Messe, sprachen Gropius, Bourgeois und Schmidt in ausführlichen Referaten über die Ergebnisse der Verhandlungen [...]. Schließlich eröffnete als Vertreter der Stadt Frankfurt Ernst May die drei Ausstellungen, die z. Z. noch im Haus Werkbund der Messe zu sehen sind.” See: “DER II. INTERNATIONALE KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN UND DIE FRANKFURTER AUSSTELLUNGEN”, *Das Neue Frankfurt* 10 (1929): 208, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1929.

⁵⁸² See Kaufmann, “Die Internationale Ausstellung,” 213–17, PDF UNI HEIDELBERG.

⁵⁸³ See Ernst May, “DER PALMENGARTEN IN FRANKFURT AM MAIN,” *Das Neue Frankfurt* 10 (1929): 185–96, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1929.

location of CIAM-02 in one issue, and photographs of the other location in the other, again emphasises the spatial division of CIAM-02 in two different locations. The second article, "REPORT ON THE II. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR MODERN ARCHITECTURE – FRANKFURT.M. 24–26 October 1929,"⁵⁸⁴ gives an account of the lectures from the meetings, the presented reports, and the discussions held [see fig. II.1.11]. The exhibitions are only mentioned in passing with a reference to the previous article, as if they were not part of the meetings: "and later on, city councillor May opened the three exhibitions already mentioned before."⁵⁸⁵ This clear separation of an article on the exhibition on the one hand, and an article on the meetings including the lectures given on the other, again repeats the spatial division of the two locations of CIAM-02 on the pages of *DNF*. This division is also repeated in the issue's table of contents [see fig. II.1.12].

Precisely the opposite is the case for the reports on CIAM-03 in *DNF*. Both the November and December issues of 1930 report on CIAM-03 not in two separate articles per issue, but in one joint article. In each article, information on the meetings and the exhibitions is bundled together. The article in the November 1930 issue [see fig. II.1.13] lists the agenda of CIAM-03 under the header "THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR MODERN ARCHITECTURE. BRUSSELS 26–29 NOVEMBER 1930."⁵⁸⁶ Underneath, the dates and hours of the exhibition openings, lectures, and discussions of CIAM-03 are given. The second article on CIAM-03 is printed in the December 1930 issue [see fig. II.1.14] and reports on CIAM-03 under the header "THE BRUSSELS' CONGRESSES."⁵⁸⁷ The article is divided into five numbered sections: "1. The Belgian 'Journées de l'Habitation-Minimum'"; "2. The Congress for Modern Architecture"; "3. The Question of 'Low-, Mid-, or High-Rise?';"; "4. Personal Changes"; "5. Upcoming Events."⁵⁸⁸ The "Rational Lot Development" and "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibitions are mentioned together with the meetings under the second section, "2. The Congress for Modern Architecture." Like the physical and textual separation of the exhibition and meetings of CIAM-02, this fusion of the meetings and the exhibitions of CIAM-03 *under one section* translates their happening *under one roof* onto the pages of *Das Neue Frankfurt*.

⁵⁸⁴ Joseph Gantner, "BERICHT UBER DEN II. INTERNATIONALEN KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN - FRANKFURT-M. 24. BIS 26. Oktober 1929," *Das Neue Frankfurt* 11 (1929): 225ff., https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1929.

⁵⁸⁵ "Und nachher eröffnete Stadtrat May die schon erwähnten drei Ausstellungen." Joseph Gantner, "BERICHT UBER DEN II. INTERNATIONALEN KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN - FRANKFURT-M. 24. BIS 26. Oktober 1929," 225, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1929.

⁵⁸⁶ "DRITTER INTERNATIONALER KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN. BRÜSSEL 26.–29. NOVEMBER 1930," *Das Neue Frankfurt* 11 (1930): 241ff., https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1930.

⁵⁸⁷ Joseph Gantner, "DIE BRÜSSELER KONGRESSE," *Das Neue Frankfurt* 12 (1930): 260–62, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1930.

⁵⁸⁸ "1. Die belgischen 'Journées de l'Habitation-Minimum,' [...] 2. Der Kongreß für Neues Bauen [...] 3. Die Frage 'Flach-, Mittel-, oder Hochbau?' [...] 4. Persönliche Veränderungen [...] 5. Nächste Veranstaltungen." Gantner, "DIE BRÜSSELER KONGRESSE," 260–62, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1930.

The group photo of CIAM-03 [see fig. II.1.15] was taken in the “Grande Salle” of the Palais des Beaux-Arts [see fig. I.1.2]. Even though the ceiling of the hall is cut off in the photograph, it is nevertheless represented through the load-bearing columns and beams in the background of the photograph, manifesting the message that CIAM-03, with its meetings and exhibitions, took place *under the same roof*.

1.2. From Foreground to a Genuine Space

As described in the preceding chapter, both the meetings of CIAM-04 and CIAM-07 were held in the same space as the exhibitions. Nevertheless, there is a difference worth noting when it comes to the *placing* and *positioning* of the exhibition panels at CIAM-04 and CIAM-07 *within* the space. At CIAM-04, the exhibition panels of “The Functional City” formed the foreground of the audience and thereby provided a *filter* while listening to the speeches given. At CIAM-07, however, the panels formed a space of their own to allow a careful study of the exhibited material.

At CIAM-04, the exhibition panels were placed behind the speaker, serving as his background while lecturing [see fig. II.1.2]. Or, to look at it from a different perspective: the exhibition panels were placed in front of the audience, allowing them to look at the panels while listening to the speeches given [see fig. II.1.16]. At CIAM-07, it was the other way around. The single row of exhibition panels was placed behind the last row of seats and in front of the speaker, serving as the background of the audience [see fig. II.1.6] and the foreground of the speaker [see fig. II.1.5]. Recalling Hans Bernoulli's rather apposite remark in his report on the exhibitions of CIAM-03 that “[y]ou can't always just hear, you also have to see,”⁵⁸⁹ the question which arises for the placing of the panels of CIAM-04 and CIAM-07 is, *who* needed to hear, and *who* to see. One possible explanation for the different setting of the panels within the space – one behind, and one in front of, the speaker – may be the different analytic methods used for the exhibition panels on display at CIAM-04 and CIAM-07. At CIAM-04, thematic mapping was the analytic method used for the plans produced for this Congress. The maps did not promote certain settlement schemes (CIAM-03), nor did they aim to stress any specific floor plan topology (CIAM-02). Instead, their aim was to depict the different functional structures of the urban space. As Enrico Chapel put it:

This choice may seem paradoxical. Architects are supposed to propose spatial solutions, forms, and landscapes. So why might those at CIAM have

⁵⁸⁹ “Einer guten Übung gemäß war die Tagung begleitet von einer Ausstellung. Man kann nicht immer nur hören, man muß aus sehen.” Hans Bernoulli, “Vom III. Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen,” *Baseler Nachrichten* (November 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

engaged in elaborating a form of mapping that sought to identify the interrelation of various phenomena in space, a form of thematic mapping that prioritized the links between qualitative and quantitative information and the expression of complex ideas?⁵⁹⁰

The answer Chapel gives to his own question is the articulating of forms and functions – but “[t]o articulate forms and functions requires a methodology. The CIAM’s primary objective was to depict the state of existing cities in terms of their functional structure.”⁵⁹¹ CIAM did not depict these different states of existing cities through an “encyclopedic approach,”⁵⁹² but by means of “produc[ing] original insights”⁵⁹³ based on selected data. This is where CIAM saw the originality in their approach, as stated in the exhibition guidelines for the “Functional City Exhibition” in Amsterdam in 1935: “to stand out from those other conferences that lose themselves in endless analysis but fail to provide solutions.”⁵⁹⁴ According to Le Corbusier, this specific method would result in a “filter” through which urban forms should be analysed:

How are we to extract the pure metal from this mineral? By drawing on archaeologists’ and academics’ analyses? No! Analyse and classify by looking through a filter, through a prism for the modern era. This prism will shed a special light, the light of the Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne.⁵⁹⁵

And true to the nature of a filter, of a prism, through which one aims to look at urban forms, the filter needs to be in front of one’s eyes. Such was exactly the case on the deck of the *Patris II* during CIAM-04: the exhibition panels of “The Functional City” were in front of the audience and served as a filter while the audience listened to the given lectures.

CIAM-07, on the other hand, is often referred to as the “grid-congress.”⁵⁹⁶ The CIAM Grid was a method for arranging information and graphics on town planning projects on panels each measuring 21 by 33 cm. These panels could be put together on bigger screens with up to 120 panels. Depending on the comparative purpose, they could be rearranged on the grid

⁵⁹⁰ Enrico Chapel, “Thematic Mapping as an Analytic Tool: CIAM 4 and Problems of Visualization in Modern Town Planning,” in *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis*, ed. Evelien van Es, Gregor Harbusch, Bruno Maurer, et al. (Brussels: Thoth Uitgeverij, 2014), 27ff.

⁵⁹¹ Chapel, “Thematic Mapping as an Analytic Tool,” 28.

⁵⁹² Chapel, “Thematic Mapping as an Analytic Tool,” 31.

⁵⁹³ Chapel, “Thematic Mapping as an Analytic Tool,” 31.

⁵⁹⁴ Chapel quotes the manual and guidelines for the preparation of the exhibition and the publication stored at the gta Archives (42-04-2-2-1F). See: Chapel, “Thematic Mapping as an Analytic Tool,” 31.

⁵⁹⁵ Chapel quotes Le Corbusier in *Technika Chronika* 44/45/46 (October/November 1933): 1168). See Chapel, “Thematic Mapping as an Analytic Tool,” 31.

⁵⁹⁶ See Annie Pedret, “Old Methods, New Reality, 1947–51,” in *Team 10: an archival history* (London: Routledge, 2013), 58.

of vertical and horizontal bands. The panels were coded by four functions and nine themes.⁵⁹⁷

Except for the one row of panels which was placed behind the audience at CIAM-07, the rows of grilles in the other half of the room presented another phenomenon: they did not form the foreground of the audience, they formed a space in themselves. At CIAM-07, the grilles were not only *within* the meeting space, forming the surrounding of the participants, but they *constituted* a space of *their own*. As observed by Andreas Kalpakci, Franco Albini initially envisioned the grilles being adjustable in height.⁵⁹⁸ Pulleys were to have enabled the grilles to be raised and lowered. This mechanism would have allowed a comparison of those grilles hanging behind one another by adjusting their height. According to the photographs from CIAM-07, however, this plan was ultimately not executed, and the panels most likely immovable. Nevertheless, Albini's design created another spatial experience. Narrow alleys were formed by the row of grilles hanging densely one after another. To look at the panels, the participants were required to move through the narrow alleys in between the grilles; otherwise, the dense hanging did not allow the reading of the grilles. In comparison to the dense hanging of the exhibition panels side by side on the walls, *inter alia* as was the case for the travelling exhibitions of "Rational Lot Development" at the Berlin Building Exhibition [see fig. I.4.7 and fig. I.4.8] or in Amsterdam [see fig. I.4.16], at CIAM-07 the exhibition panels created a linear and dense space on their own. While the idea of taking a "conférence-promenade" through the exhibition, like at "Rational Lot Development" in Brussels in 1930, implied the idea of moving around freely in the exhibition space, the alleys formed by the row of grilles initiated and allowed a closer reading in a given order. Once standing in between the panels, once being caught by the grilles hanging behind and in front of you, taking a "conférence-promenade" was no longer possible. The narrow alleys did not allow the participant or visitor to move freely around the exhibition space, skipping a panel here and there, turning towards a panel on the other side of the room. Instead, the narrow alleys enforced a close reading with clear direction. There was no longer a possibility of turning to panels on the other side. The dense hanging of the grilles in the narrow rows unmistakably transported the message: stop and stare. This clearly formulated space in front of and through the exhibition material was first, even if less articulated, used at CIAM-02 in Frankfurt. There, the 109 exhibition panels were placed diagonally to the walls of the exhibition space in the Werkbundhaus in Frankfurt [see fig. II.1.9 and fig. II.1.10]. This flag-like was similar to that of the horizontal sliding windows in Brussels [see fig. I.2.1 and fig.

⁵⁹⁷ Mumford, "CIAM 7, Bergamo, Italy, 1949," in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 180ff.

⁵⁹⁸ Andreas Kalpakci, "Making CIAM," 396.

I.2.2]. However, and more importantly, the panels were positioned in relation to each other in such a way that, when standing in front of one panel, the other panels were, at best, only partially visible. Thereby, the hanging of the panels created partially articulated viewing spaces in front of the exhibition panels. The space around the panels was not entirely enclosed, but clearly indicated.⁵⁹⁹ At CIAM-07 in Bergamo, the spatial arrangement of the exhibition panels and the definition of a clearly-formed space then reached its climax, corresponding to the required careful study and in-depth reading of the grilles through a defined space.

1.3. Spatial Immediacy: CIAM's Exhibitions as Working Space

As we have seen in the preceding chapter, the variety of spaces within the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels was the decisive reason why the Belgian CIAM Group chose it as the location for CIAM-03. Victor Bourgeois stressed the advantage of having all different kind of spaces "centralised" in a single building. During the first and second CIRPAC meeting for CIAM-03, this variety of spaces was frequently mentioned. Nevertheless, the description of this variety of spaces used during the two CIRPAC meetings was neither consistent nor precise. Especially when it came to the differentiation between "exhibition space" and "meeting space," the members' choice of words during the meetings was inconsistent. This inconsistency can be traced throughout the entire planning process for CIAM-03 and, initially, led to the members' confusion, and ultimately to a compromise regarding the spatial arrangement within the Palais des Beaux-Arts.

Even if the meetings of CIAM-03 ultimately were not held within the exhibition space, as envisioned in the beginning of the planning and during preparations for CIAM-03, the minutes of the CIRPAC meetings, three planning reports by Victor Bourgeois, as well as letters documenting the preparations for CIAM-03 nevertheless reveal that the exhibition space was considered as a *working place* of CIAM-03. Shortly before the opening of CIAM-

⁵⁹⁹ For an in-depth study of the spatial experience of the exhibition, see my master's thesis on CIAM's first exhibition. In this thesis, I argued that the spatial arrangement was the spatial translation of CIAM-02's claims: "Zum einen erhob die räumliche Gestaltung den Grundriss selbst zu einem eigenen räumlichen Objekt und betonte dadurch, dass der Grundriss als Sinnbild des "problème architectural" an die Stelle der Architektur getreten war. Und zum anderen initiierte die räumliche Gestaltung eine bewusste und fokussierte Betrachtung von nur je einem Grundriss. Die räumliche Gestaltung kann folglich als Übersetzung der inhaltlichen Forderungen verstanden werden." See in particular Clara Teresa Pollak, "Zwischenfazit zur Hauptausstellung," in "Die Ausstellungskonzeption der CIAM. Eine Analyse anhand der Ausstellung 'Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum'" (master's thesis, TU München, 2019), 37. The master's dissertation also provides a detailed description of the arrangement: "Die raumgreifende Installation der diagonal ausgerichteten Paneele machte die darauf präsentierten Grundrisse zu eigenständigen räumlichen Objekten. Sie schuf zudem einen jeweils für die Betrachtung eines Grundrisses isolierten Raum. Die graphische Gestaltung von 'ein Paneel – ein Grundriss' wurde durch die raumgreifende Installation zu „ein Paneel - ein Grundriss - ein Betrachtungsraum“ erweitert. Gleichzeitig verhinderte die diagonale Staffelung einen simultanen Blick auf andere, geschweige denn alle Paneele. Jedes Paneel überlagerte das folgend gehängte Paneel. Der Betrachter musste sich in dem durch die Anordnung der Paneele jeweils geschaffenen Betrachtungsraum befinden, um den ausgestellten Plan bzw. Grundriss in Gänze sehen zu können. Damit wurde eine durch die Umgebung ungestörte Betrachtung nahegelegt. So wurde die Aufmerksamkeit auf je einen Grundriss nicht nur durch die Illusion der schwebenden Paneele fokussiert, sondern auch durch die einen isolierenden Betrachtungsraum erzeugende Anordnung." Pollak, "Interpretation der Ausstellung," in "Die Ausstellungskonzeption der CIAM," 34,

03, Bourgeois, in his third report to Sigfried Giedion, confessed that the meetings could not be held in the exhibition space due to the latter's capacity. Giedion and Cornelis van Eesteren tried to resolve the misunderstandings that had arisen from the imprecise use of language about the variety of spaces in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, but in the end their attempts to hold the meetings in the exhibition space were nevertheless not successful.

When Bourgeois explained why the Belgium CIAM Group preferred the Palais des Beaux-Arts as a location for CIAM-03 at the beginning of the first CIRPAC meeting on 3 February at Le Corbusier's studio, he used the availability of both meeting rooms and exhibition halls within the Palais des Beaux-Arts as his decisive argument: "A palace with large and small meeting rooms and exhibition halls has just been built. All I need is your approval to sign the draft contract prepared for this purpose."⁶⁰⁰

Unless, at this moment in time, the meetings and exhibitions of CIAM-03 were supposed to be held in different rooms, why else would you list both meeting rooms and exhibition halls as justification for the selection of the location? However, just two sentences later in the protocol, when Bourgeois again stressed the variety of spaces within the Palais des Beaux Arts, the recently-mentioned "exhibition halls" were all of a sudden missing from his register of the different spaces already reserved for CIAM-03: he mentions only "a large meeting room" as the venue for CIAM-03. In contrast to Bourgeois' first formulation, his second formulation suggests that – despite the available "large and small meeting rooms and exhibition halls" – the exhibition and meetings were intended to be held together in just one "large meeting room."

Bourgeois repeated this inconsistent description of the different available spaces during the second CIRPAC meeting. On 20 May, he introduced his report on the ongoing preparations for CIAM-03 by referring to the "practicalities" in Brussels. During the preparations for the exhibitions of CIAM-03, a floorplan would have been a great relief for those in charge of the preparations – and an opportunity to avert chaos. Hence Sigfried Giedion kept asking Bourgeois for a floorplan from the Palais des Beaux-Arts. He not only wanted to hear about the arrangement of the Belgian CIAM Group, but actually to see and visually understand Bourgeois' distribution of the different exhibitions and meetings within the Palais. But unfortunately, not only had Bourgeois forgotten the scheduled CIRPAC meeting on 17 May, he subsequently forgot to bring the floor plan of the Palais des Beaux-Arts with him on the alternate date of 20 May, upon which the attending members should have discussed his

⁶⁰⁰ "Je n'attends plus que votre approbation pour signer le projet de contrat préparé à cet égard." See: CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," February 10, 1930, 23, 42-3-1-11F, gta Archives.

planned spatial arrangement.⁶⁰¹ This absentmindedness added to the confusion of the attending CIRPAC members at the meeting, and ultimately resulted in the fact that the meetings of CIAM-03 were not held in the exhibition space. And so, after a quick summary of the financial situation for CIAM-03, Bourgeois listed the now-reserved spaces for CIAM-03 – without a plan as basis for the discussion:

We will have a hall for the sessions of the Congress, another more important one for the opening session. All of this is centralised at the Palais des Beaux-Arts. We will have a hall for the exhibitions, for meetings, a secretariat. There will also be a restaurant, a café; all of this to avoid wasting time.⁶⁰²

While Bourgeois' formulation during the first CIRPAC meeting indicated that the exhibition and meetings were supposed to be held in just one "large meeting room," things seemed to have changed at this point in time. Now, not just one "large meeting room" was needed, but "a hall for the sessions of the Congress," "another more important one for the opening session," "a hall for the exhibitions," and another room for the "meetings."

Despite the variety of spaces reserved by Bourgeois, Giedion in the following nevertheless stressed the exhibition as a *working place* of the Congress. When the members discussed when best to open CIAM-03 to the public, Giedion suggested the following:

Why don't we do it this way: when we are in the exhibition, we can start working straight away, and then we'll have the inauguration three days later. The delegates could start to work straight away, otherwise we will lose time.⁶⁰³

Giedion's suggestion unmistakably shows how he at this point understood CIAM's exhibitions as a *working place* of CIAM-03. This perception was already traceable during the first CIRPAC meeting, and not only in Giedion's remarks. On 3 February, before Bourgeois

⁶⁰¹ "M. BOURGEOIS – [...] J'ai oublié de prendre le plan avec moi. Nous aurons une salle pour les séances du congrès, une autre plus importante pour la séance d'ouverture. Tout cela est centralisé au Palais des Beaux Arts. Nous aurons une salle d'expositions, de réunions, un secrétariat. Il y aura également un restaurant, un café, tout cela pour éviter de perdre du temps. CIRPAC, "SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI" (1930), 1, 42-3-1-22F, gta Archives. It took almost half a year until Sigfried Giedion received a floorplan. A letter from Bourgeois to Giedion dated 11 November proves that Bourgeois eventually sent Giedion two copies of his plan: "Cher Monsieur Giedion, Par le même courrier je vous fais parvenir 2 plans du Palais des Beaux Arts." Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 11, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

⁶⁰² "M. BOURGEOIS – Du point de vue du Congrès, les choses marchent convenablement. Les choses ont été arrangées au Palais des Beaux-Arts. J'ai oublié de prendre le plan avec moi. [...] Nous aurons une salle pour les séances du congrès, une autre plus importante pour la séance d'ouverture. Tout cela est centralisé au Palais des Beaux Arts. Nous aurons une salle d'expositions, de réunions, un secrétariat. Il y aura également un restaurant, un café, tout cela pour éviter de perdre du temps." CIRPAC, "SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI," 1.

⁶⁰³ "M. le Docteur GIEDION – Ne pouvons nous pas faire ainsi: si nous sommes dans l'exposition, on peut commencer à travailler tout de suite, et puis on fera l'inauguration 3 jours plus tard. Les congressistes commenceront tout de suite, autrement, il y aura du temps de perdu." CIRPAC, "SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI," 2.

listed the available spaces in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, he proposed to hold a “conférence-promenade”⁶⁰⁴ within the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition: “This first question of urban planning does not lend itself well to a verbal presentation (reports), but may give rise to a conférence-promenade in the exhibition.”⁶⁰⁵ Besides stressing the insufficiency of a verbal examination of the subject of “Rational Lot Development,” by “conférence-promenade” Bourgeois above all stresses the necessity of the *exhibition space* as a *working place* of the Congress. He does so in two ways. First, by proposing to take a “conférence-promenade *in* the exhibition,” he decouples the speeches given at CIAM-03 (“*conférence-promenade* in the exhibition”) from their alleged spatial context of a meeting hall or conference hall and relocates them within the exhibition space (“conférence-promenade *in the exhibition*”). Second, he replaces the alleged rigid form of a “conférence” (one barely moves when listening to a speech or when following a discussion) with the motion of walking (“*conférence-walk* in the exhibition”). In this way, besides this repeated blurring of the two event typologies of “exhibition” and “conference,” Bourgeois stresses in particular the need for the exhibition *space* to allow visitors to move around the exhibition while discussing the subject of “Rational Lot Development.”

Even if – until now – not explicitly vocalised, the minutes of the first and second CIRPAC meetings nevertheless reveal that CIAM’s exhibitions were considered as a *working place* for CIAM-03: the exhibition was considered as the space where the delegates should “start working straight away,” as well as where they could take a “conférence-promenade” to compensate for the insufficient means of the otherwise verbal examination of the subject “Rational Lot Development.” Even if the inconsistency in the description of the different spaces needed for CIAM-03 was – and still is – confusing, Bourgeois and Giedion’s remarks on the use of the exhibition space nonetheless indicate their perception of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition as a *working place* for CIAM-03.

It took another three months until Bourgeois finally gave all these descriptions and implications a proper name. After the preparations for CIAM-03 had started in Brussels in August 1930, he finally vocalised what had been already indicated and paraphrased during the CIRPAC meetings by himself and Giedion. In his first report on the planning process from August 6, Bourgeois’ preceding inconsistency finally came to an end: “The meeting could perfectly be held in one of the exhibition halls of the Palais des Beaux-Arts.”⁶⁰⁶ Here

⁶⁰⁴ The English translation “Conference-walk” comes closest to this expression.

⁶⁰⁵ “M. BOURGEOIS – [...] Cette première question d’urbanisme se prête peu à un exposé verbal (rapport) mais pourrait donner lieu à une conférence-promenade dans l’exposition.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 23.

⁶⁰⁶ “Les réunions peuvent parfaitement avoir lieu, si nous ne sommes pas trop nombreux, dans une des salles d’exposition.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, August 6, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

the understanding of CIAM's exhibitions as a *working place* for CIAM was for the first time explicitly verbalised – or, more precisely, written. What was only paraphrased until then was now finally formulated. The labelled floorplan of the Palais des Beaux-Arts also proves this understanding and intention. The inscription of the exhibition space in the plan reads as follows: “SALLE DU CONGRÈS ET PLANS DES LOTISSEMENTS” [see fig. I.1.1].

Given the constant back-and-forth in the planning of CIAM's exhibitions, it is unsurprising that this intention was not put into practice. Just one week before CIAM-03 was officially opened, Bourgeois withdrew his proposal due to the capacity of exhibition space in his third planning report. The size of the space was not big enough for both showing the approximately sixty exhibition panels of “Rational Lot Development” and serving as “SALLE DU CONGRÈS” for the participants of CIAM-03. In his report from 17 November, Bourgeois informed Giedion about this change of plan: “For the sessions of the Congress, I think that, except for the guided tours, it will be better to meet in the conference room which is right next to the exhibition. This room can hold 300 people or more.”⁶⁰⁷ Despite this unforeseen – and unwanted – spatial separation of the exhibition space and the meeting space, Bourgeois nevertheless continued to stress the spatial dependence of the now-separated two spaces. By emphasising their immediate spatial proximity – two rooms were “right next” to each other – Bourgeois continued to emphasise the function of the exhibition space as a *working space* for CIAM-03. Since Bourgeois could probably imagine – to put it mildly – Giedion's reaction to this change of plan, he certainly chose his words carefully. By stressing that the meeting space would be “right next to the exhibition,”⁶⁰⁸ Bourgeois presumably played it safe and tried to downplay this unapproved change. He thus stressed the *spatial immediacy* of the exhibition space in relation to the meeting space and the underlying function of the exhibition space as a *working space*.

It is unclear whether Bourgeois was aware of the number of exhibition panels or the number of invited participants when he ultimately realised that the exhibition space in the Palais des Beaux-Arts was not big enough to also hold the meeting. In any case, it is likely that this unpleasant surprise could have been avoided, if Bourgeois had just brought the floorplan of the Palais des Beaux-Arts to the CIRPAC meeting on 20 May. After Bourgeois informed the attending members about the missing floorplan as well as the reserved spaces, the attending members discussed the exhibition space without a plan or even measurements.

⁶⁰⁷ “Pour les séances du congrès je pense que, sauf pour les visites guidées, il vaudra mieux se réunir dans la salle de conférences qui se trouve toute à côté de l'exposition. Cette salle peut contenir 300 personnes et même plus.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

⁶⁰⁸ “Pour les séances du congrès je pense que, sauf pour les visites guidées, il vaudra mieux se réunir dans la salle de conférences qui se trouve toute à côté de l'exposition. Cette salle peut contenir 300 personnes et même plus.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 17, 1930.

Given the fact that most of the members were either practising or trained architects, the following discussion almost seems absurd. Instead of referring to square metres or dimensions, the members tried to circumvent the missing indications of size by simply referring to the space in layman's terms:

M. le Docteur GIEDION – What is the size of the rooms? Is it possible to show two exhibitions? The old one and the new one?

M. BOURGEOIS – Explain to me where you are regarding the exhibitions.

M. le Docteur GIEDION – I would like to know if there is enough space for two exhibitions?

Dr. BOURGEOIS – It will be bigger than in Frankfurt,

Prof. MOSER – The second exhibition, which will also include questions on urban planning, will be larger than the one in Frankfurt.⁶⁰⁹

Using such vague descriptions as “bigger,” “larger,” and “enough space” when planning the arrangement of the exhibitions, it is hardly surprising that the exhibition space was ultimately not big enough for showing the “old” (“The Dwelling for Minimal Existence”) and the “new” (“Rational Lot Development”) exhibitions *and* for serving as a meeting space.

Just two weeks before the opening of CIAM-03, Sigfried Giedion was making every effort to rearrange Bourgeois' spatial distribution. He reached out to Cornelis van Eesteren, who at that time had already succeeded Mart Stam following his departure to the USSR, and asked him to

try the following in Brussels: in order not to confuse the Semaine de l'habitation minimum, which opens on the 22nd, the first two halls can be shown as intended, and afterwards, a rearrangement can be made: then, the Congress will get the first two halls for the window and plan exhibitions. The material of the city of Frankfurt will be eliminated and the exhibition on the minimum dwelling will be shown in the last two halls. Please let us know as soon as possible whether the hall of the Ville de Francfort would not be most favourable for the Congress meeting (Salle du Congrès).⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁹ “M. le Docteur GIEDION – Quelle est la grandeur des salles? Est-il possible de faire deux expositions? L'ancienne et la nouvelle? M. BOURGEOIS – Expliquez moi où vous en êtes concernant les expositions. M. le Docteur GIEDION – J'aimerais savoir s'il y a assez de place pour deux expositions? M. BOURGEOIS - Ce sera plus grand qu'à Francfort. M. le Professeur MOSER – La deuxième exposition qui comprendra encore des questions d'urbanisme, sera plus grande que celle de Francfort.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 1, 42-3-1-22F, gta Archives.

⁶¹⁰ “Praktisch ersuche ich Sie, in Brüssel folgendes zu versuchen: um die Semaine de l'habitation minimum nicht in Verwirrung zu bringen, die am 22. eröffnet werden soll, kann man die ersten zwei Säle wie beabsichtigt ist zeigen und nachher eine Umhängung vornehmen, sodass dem Kongress für seine Fenster und Planausstellung die ersten beiden Säle - und unter

As we know from the photographs of the meetings of CIAM-03 [see fig. II.1.17 – II.1.20], as well as from Bourgeois' photographs of the "Journées de l'Habitation Minimum" [see fig. I.2.1, fig. I.2.2, fig. I.3.1 – I.3.5], Giedion's effort in the end did not achieve the desired results. The meetings of CIAM-03 ultimately were held in a separate space and not within the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition; nevertheless, the archival materials bear witness to the spatial dependency of the exhibition and meeting space. I call this observation the "spatial immediacy" of the exhibition and meeting space.

1.4. The CIRPAC Meetings for CIAM-04 as Venue for the Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

Not only was the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition intended to serve as a *working space*, standing in spatial proximity to the meeting space of CIAM-03 at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, but the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development," too, stood in spatial connection with the CIRPAC meetings in preparation for CIAM-04. After CIAM-03, five CIRPAC meetings were held in preparation for CIAM-04.⁶¹¹ During three of these five CIRPAC meetings, the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" was on display simultaneously – and in close spatial proximity to the meetings.

The first CIRPAC meeting for CIAM-04 was held in Zurich from 14 to 15 February 1931 "on the occasion of the travelling exhibition 'Rational Lot Development,'"⁶¹² which was being shown for the first time since Brussels. The travelling exhibition was also opened on 14 February and displayed at the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich.⁶¹³ During the CIRPAC meeting, it was announced that the theme of CIAM-04 would be devoted to the "The Functional City," and that it would expand on the conclusions drawn at CIAM-03 "on the basis of the exhibition material,"⁶¹⁴ namely that rational development methods rather than

Ausscheidung verschiedenen Materials für die Stadt Frankfurt und die Existenzminimalausstellung die letzten beiden Säle gegeben werden. Bitte geben Sie uns umgehend Nachricht, ob nicht der jetzige Saal der "Ville de Francfort" für die Kongressstagung (Salle du Congrès) am günstigsten wäre." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Cornelis van Eesteren, November 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Eesteren, gta Archives.

⁶¹¹ The first CIRPAC meeting was held in Zurich on 14–15 February 1931; the second in Berlin, 4–7 June 1931; the third on 16–17 February 1932 in Zurich. The fourth CIRPAC meeting was held in Barcelona on 29–31 March –1932; the fifth in Paris, 21–22 April 1933. See Daniel Weiss and Gregor Harbusch, "CIAM 4 Chronology," in *Atlas of the Functional City*, ed. van Es et al., 464.

⁶¹² "Aus Anlass der Ausstellung 'Rationelle Bebauungsweisen' in Zürich fand am 15. Februar 1931 die erste Sitzung der Kommission statt, in deren Händen die Vorbereitung des 4. Kongresses mit dem Thema 'Funktionelle Stadt' lag. Anwesend waren Cornelius van Eesteren als Präsident, Sigfried Giedion, Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Werner Moser und Rudolf Steiger; Victor Bourgeois und Raphael Verwilghen fehlten. Die Kommission gab der holländischen Gruppe den Auftrag, Richtlinien für die Bearbeitung dieses Themas zu entwerfen und an einer ausserordentlichen Tagung vorzulegen, die während der Deutschen Bauausstellung in Berlin vom 4.–7. Juni 1931 angesetzt wurde. Es handle sich darum, Städte zu untersuchen, heisst es in einem Rundschreiben im Anschluss an die Sitzung, um sich über deren Funktionen klarzuwerden." Steinmann, *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 114.

⁶¹³ See chapter 4.1. in "Part I. Reconstruction" for the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" and "Horizontal Sliding Windows" in Zurich.

⁶¹⁴ "Heute gehen wir einen Schritt weiter, zum Studium der rationellen Bauweisen auf Grund von reichlichem Ausstellungsmaterial aus allen Ländern. Bei dieser Gelegenheit versuchen wir festzustellen, welche Wohnform (Flach-, Mittel- oder Hochbau) den heutigen wirtschaftlichen, technischen und psychologischen Forderungen am besten entspricht." Karl Moser, "Einleitungsrede von Prof. Karl Moser (Zürich)," November 27, 1930, 42-3-4-21DV, gta Archives.

axial city plans were needed for the planning of entire cities.⁶¹⁵ In a circular letter sent to the delegates after this first CIRPAC meeting in preparation for CIAM-04, it was declared that CIAM-04 would examine cities in order to understand their different functions, namely housing, working, recreation, and traffic. Furthermore, it was decided that the Dutch CIAM Group would work out guidelines for the next CIAM exhibition to be shown at CIAM-04. As was the case for the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, these guidelines would serve as the lead for the analytical approach and graphical language of “The Functional City” exhibition.

As was the case in Zurich, at the second venue of the travelling exhibition, the Berlin Building Exhibition, a second CIRPAC meeting was held, just a few rooms away from “Rational Lot Development.” The CIRPAC meeting took place at the Berlin Building Exhibition from 4 to 6 June –1931, where “Rational Lot Development” was on display from 9 May to –2 August 1931. This so-called “Special Congress”⁶¹⁶ had the aim of “intensifying international collaboration and strengthening personal contact between members of different groups,”⁶¹⁷ as well working out the guidelines for the exhibition of CIAM-04, which were first discussed in Zurich a couple of months earlier. During the meeting, Hans Schmidt’s proposal for a graphic and systematic presentation and examination for understanding the difference developments of the different cities, which was already under discussion during the first and second CIRPAC meetings for CIAM-03,⁶¹⁸ was picked up again. The guidelines, which the Dutch CIAM Group had worked out after the first CIRPAC meeting for CIAM-04 in Zurich, were presented during the second CIRPAC meeting in Berlin. The group presented three sample maps demonstrating the proposed analytic approach and graphic style for “The Functional City” exhibition. The first map was drawn at a scale of 1:10,000 and themed on the three functions of housing, working, and recreation. The second map was also drawn at a scale of 1:10,000, its theme the fourth function of traffic. The third map was drawn⁶¹⁹ at a scale of 1:50,000 and summarised the information of the first and second map on the one hand, and showed the area of influence of the city on the other.⁶²⁰ The Berlin CIRPAC

⁶¹⁵ Mumford also mentions this meeting in Zurich in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*. However, unlike Steinmann, he does not associate the meeting with the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in Zurich. “At the organization meeting to plan the next Congress on this theme, held in Zurich in February 1931, Cornelius van Eesteren asserted that the ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweisen’ (Rational Site Planning) exhibition then travelling around Europe had shown that ‘Districts for the masses with their high population densities, suffer the consequences of incorrect development.’ [...] Therefore, he concluded, what are needed not are axial city plans, but new rational development methods that could be extended to the planning of entire cities”: Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 59.

⁶¹⁶ The terms for this meeting differ in the literature. Mumford calls this meeting a “Special Congress,” Steinmann an “aussergewöhnliche Sitzung,” whereas Daniel Weiss and Gregor Harbusch call it an “extraordinary congress.” For Mumford, see *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 59. For Steinmann, see *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 114. For Weiss and Harbusch, see “CIAM 4 Chronology,” 464.

⁶¹⁷ Kalpakci, “Making CIAM,” 331.

⁶¹⁸ See chapter 1.2.3. in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

⁶¹⁹ Kalpakci, “Making CIAM,” 332.

⁶²⁰ For the first version of the guidelines for CIAM-04, see Steinmann, *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 114ff.

meeting made it clear that CIAM-04 would follow the preceding themes of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” and “Rational Lot Development” and should mark the “culmination”⁶²¹ of these studies.

The fourth CIRPAC meeting was held in Barcelona, also the fourth venue of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development,” from 29 to 31 March 1932. Even though it was anticipated that CIAM-04 would be held in Moscow in 1932, an official invitation from the Soviet Central Council of Housing Cooperatives had yet to be received at the end of 1931. Thus CIRPAC decided to postpone CIAM-04 to 1933, and to hold another CIRPAC meeting in 1932 instead. Upon the initiative of Bourgeois, this meeting took place in Barcelona. It was the first CIRPAC meeting to be held outside of Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and France. One reason was the strong interest of young Spanish architects in CIAM's work. Another reason was the active engagement with CIAM's work by, for example, Fernando García Mercadal and Josep Lluís Sert, the Spanish CIAM representatives. Sert, together with Josep Torres Clavé, was also one of the founding members of GATCPAC (Grup d'Arquitectes i Tècnics Catalans per el Progrés de l'Arquitectura Contemporània). During the Barcelona meeting, GATCPAC was renamed GATEPAC (Grupo de Artistas y Técnicos Españoles Para el Progreso de la Arquitectura Contemporánea) and recognised as the Spanish National Group of CIAM.⁶²² The CIRPAC meetings took place in the GATCPAC office, located in the prestigious commercial avenue of Passeig de Gràcia 99.⁶²³ Only the reception of the delegates on 30 March and the official closing meeting on 31 March were held at the Saló de Cento in the Government of Catalonia headquarters.⁶²⁴ As a matter of fact, the detailed report on the Barcelona CIRPAC meeting in the Spanish journal *AC*, in which two photographs of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” [see fig. I.4.11 and fig. I.4.12] were published, puts CIAM's exhibitions – both “Rational Lot Development” and the forthcoming “Functional City” – in focus.⁶²⁵ First, the report focused on decisions taken for the next CIAM exhibition in conjunction with CIAM-04, as well as on the CIAM-03

⁶²¹ Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 65. Interestingly, even though Mumford and Steinmann both elaborate in detail on the Second Preparatory Meeting for CIAM-04, both fail to notice that “Rational Lot Development” was shown on this occasion.

⁶²² Mumford explains in detail the political context in Spain and Catalonia at this time, elaborates on ongoing local debates on urban planning ideas, and mentions Le Corbusier's participation in the creation of a new masterplan for Barcelona. Within this context, he situates the CIRPAC meeting and the role of GATCPAC and GATEPAC. See Mumford, “Application Case: Barcelona, 1932,” in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 66–73.

⁶²³ “GATCPAC opened its office and exhibition space on the most elite shopping street of Barcelona, the Passeig de Gràcia.” Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 67.

⁶²⁴ “Se celebraron las reuniones en el local de G.A.T.E.P.A.C. en Barcelona y la de clausura en el salón de sesiones de la Generalidad de Catalunya.” See “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” *AC: Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea. Publicación del G.A.T.E.P.A.C.* 5 (1932): 41, <https://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/hd/es/viewer?id=0df0acdb-b4cc-4519-8838-88435fa363ff>.

⁶²⁵ “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 38–40.

exhibition “Exposició de la Parcel·lació Racional en les Ciutats Modernes.” After providing information on who attended the Barcelona CIRPAC meeting as well as what topics were discussed on the first page of the article, the report immediately addresses the decisions taken during the meeting for the next CIAM exhibition. First, the present delegates agreed to exhibit between forty and fifty city plans at the next exhibition. Second, the delegates agreed on a unified presentation of the graphics to be exhibited. As was done for “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” and “Rational Lot Development,” a unified graphic representation would again allow a clear and easy reading on the one hand, and enable a comparison of the exhibited plans on the other. van Eesteren brought multiple plans in order to demonstrate the rules to be followed. Third, it was agreed that the exhibition material of CIAM-04 together with the key arguments of the reports would be published in a comparable format as the two preceding books, thus continuing CIAM's publication series. Finally, besides the urbanist study, it was decided that again a questionnaire would be prepared for the Moscow Congress. At the suggestion of Le Corbusier, the results of the questionnaire would also be exhibited.⁶²⁶ After just one paragraph on those CIRPAC members who at the time were working in the USSR, the report switches again to the topic of the exhibition of CIAM-04 and reports on an additional exhibition being planned:

In addition to the urbanistic study, a technical questionnaire has been prepared for Moscow on the subject of ‘structural skeletons in modern construction,’ which has been expanded at the suggestion of Le Corbusier with an exposition of various criteria on the use of modern structural skeletons in the resolution of urban planning problems.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁶ “At the Barcelona meeting, important agreements were reached on how to carry out the work for the exhibition that will take place at the same time as the next Congress. The different groups affiliated to C.I.R.P.A.C. will send material and plans, and forty to fifty cities will be represented in this exhibition.

Rules have been established to unify the presentation of these works, which will allow a clear reading of them and an easy comparative study. Mr. van Eesteren, Chairman of the Committee, presented some charts as proposed rules to be followed: these consist of two plans of the city of Amsterdam and one of the areas of influence of the same and which mark the minimum programme of work for those who wish to attend the exhibition to be held on the occasion of the Congress.

C.I.R.P.A.C. plans to publish a book summarising the exhibition and the agreements of the future Congress, thus continuing the series of books already published on minimum housing and rational subdivision (summary of the Frankfurt and Brussels congresses).” The original text in Spanish reads as follow: “En la reunión de Barcelona se han tomado importantes acuerdos respecto a la forma de llevarse a cabo los trabajos para la exposición que tendrá lugar al mismo tiempo que el próximo Congreso. Enviarán material y planos los distintos grupos afiliados al C.I.R.P.A.C. y estarán representadas en esta exposición de 40 a 50 ciudades.

Se han fijado las normas para unificar la presentación de estos trabajos lo cual permitirá una clara lectura de los mismos y un fácil estudio comparativo. El señor Eesteren, presidente del Comité, presentó unos gráficos como proposición de normas que deben seguirse: consisten éstos en dos planos de la ciudad de Amsterdam y uno de la zona de influencia de la misma y que marcan el programa mínimo de trabajo para los que quieran concurrir a la exposición que tendrá lugar con motivo del Congreso.

El C.I.R.P.A.C. proyecta la edición de un libro que resuma dicha exposición y los acuerdos del futuro Congreso continuando así la serie de los ya editados sobre la vivienda mínima y la parcelación racional (resumen de los congresos de Frankfurt y Bruselas).” See “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 39.

⁶²⁷ “Además del estudio Urbanístico, se ha preparado para Moscú un cuestionario técnico sobre el tema “Las osaturas en la construcción moderna”, ampliándose éste por sugestión de Le Corbusier con una exposición de diversos criterios sobre el empleo de las modernas osaturas en la resolución de los problemas de Urbanismo.” See “Congresos Internacionales de

After a statement concerning exclusive reporting rights for CIAM-04,⁶²⁸ decisions taken on the formation of more national groups of CIAM,⁶²⁹ as well as a table with the programme of the CIRPAC meeting and additional happenings on the occasion of the exhibition,⁶³⁰ the report then addresses the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development,” currently on display in Barcelona.⁶³¹ This paragraph reports on the support the exhibition has received within Barcelona and Catalonia, on the opening of the exhibition, and the attending authorities and visitors, as well as speeches to be given on the occasion of the exhibition by members of GATEPAC, and Madrid as the next venue for the travelling exhibition. Thus, according to the report, during the CIRPAC meeting, mainly decisions for the next CIAM decision were taken. If the subjects covered in this report mirror the subjects discussed during the CIRPAC meeting, then the exhibitions of both CIAM-03 as well as CIAM-04 were the focus of the CIRPAC members, and the third CIRPAC meeting in preparation for CIAM-04 – and in spatial proximity of the third venue of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” – unmistakably was devoted the subject of CIAM’s exhibitions.⁶³²

Similar to the three CIRPAC meetings held in preparation for CIAM-03, during which the planning of the exhibitions of CIAM-03 dominated the discussion,⁶³³ according to the article on the CIRPAC meeting in Barcelona in *AC*, the planning of the exhibition of CIAM-04 was again a predominant – if not *the* dominant – issue discussed during the CIRPAC meeting in Barcelona. However, the difference between the CIRPAC meetings for CIAM-03 and those for CIAM-04 was clearly the spatial proximity of the latter to CIAM’s last exhibition. While the CIRPAC meetings for CIAM-03 did not stand in any spatial relation with the travelling exhibition of the CIAM-02 exhibition “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” three of the five CIRPAC meetings for CIAM-04 were held at the same time and in the same city as the

Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 39.

⁶²⁸ “EN ESPAÑA Y AMÉRICA LATINA HA SIDO CONCEDIDO EL DERECHO DE PRIORIDAD DE PUBLICACIÓN A NUESTRA REVISTA ‘A. C.’” See “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 40.

⁶²⁹ “La filiación de estos grupos al C.I.R.P.A.C. les pondrá en estrecha comunicación, facilitando el intercambio de ideas, así como la publicación de revistas locales.” See “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 40.

⁶³⁰ “PROGRAMA DE LOS DISTINTOS ACTOS CELEBRADOS CON MOTIVO DE LA REUNIÓN EN BARCELONA.” See “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 41.

⁶³¹ “EXPOSICIÓN DE LA PARCELACIÓN RACIONAL EN LAS CIUDADES MODERNAS.” See “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Baues. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” 41.

⁶³² Even though Steinmann identifies an unmistakable dependency between the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich and the first CIRPAC meeting in Zurich, when he states that the CIRPAC meeting was held “on the occasion” of the travelling exhibition, he misses the connection of the second and third CIRPAC meetings and the second and third venues of the travelling exhibitions. See Steinmann, *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 114ff. Likewise, Mumford elaborates in detail on the CIRPAC meetings in Barcelona und Berlin. He gives detailed descriptions of the speeches given as well as the political aspects of the meetings, but does not mention the travelling exhibition being shown, if not on that occasion, then at least in the same city. For Berlin, see Mumford, “Application Case: Barcelona, 1932,” in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 61–65; for Barcelona, see 66–71.

⁶³³ See chapter 1.2. in “Part I. Reconstruction.

traveling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development.” Although the CIRPAC meetings were not held within the exhibition space itself, they were nevertheless in close spatial proximity to the exhibition. This spatial proximity underlines the function of CIAM’s exhibitions as a reference for planning the following exhibition. In this particular case, CIRPAC did not yet follow Le Corbusier’s claim for CIAM’s exhibitions being “une exposition savante,” as a continuous amendment with the latest work and results of CIAM, but “Rational Lot Development” rather served as reference for “une preparation savante”. If the exhibition being in close proximity to the meetings was not yet reflected in the latest results, it at least served thenceforth as a definite topic of reference.

Although the meetings of CIAM-03 were not in the end held within the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, the immediate proximity of the exhibition space and meeting space allowed the participants of CIAM-03 to visit the exhibition in between the speeches, as correspondence between CIAM delegates after CIAM-03 suggests. One month after CIAM-03, Karl Moser wrote to Sven Markelius about the, in his view, very successful meetings of CIAM-03:

I hope you are well and that your absence from the meetings which, it seems to me, were a complete success, is to be explained by your work. The discussions were far more ordered, and the exhibitions offered excellent impulses.⁶³⁴

Nonetheless, the proximity between the exhibition space and the meeting space at CIAM-03 allowed the exhibition space to at least function as a *temporary working space*. The correlation in Moser’s letter between a “more ordered discussion” and “excellent impulses offered by the exhibitions” suggests the function of CIAM’s exhibitions as – if not the actual workplace of the meetings of CIAM-03 – then at least as a *temporary* space for advancing the subsequent discussions.⁶³⁵ The CIAM-03 exhibition space's role as a working area for discussion cannot be disregarded when considering Moser's laudatory remarks, and considering the spatial proximity of the exhibition and the meeting space, as well as the

⁶³⁴ “Ich hoffe, dass es Ihnen gut geht und dass Sie durch Arbeitsfülle abgehalten waren, die Tagung mitzumachen, die, wie mir scheint, einen vollen Erfolg bedeutet hat. Es gab viel mehr Ordnung in der Diskussion und die Ausstellungen boten vorzügliche Anregungen.” Karl Moser, Letter to Sven Markelius, December 31, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-May, gta Archives.

⁶³⁵ In his dissertation, Andreas Kalpakci also touches on the change of the spatial arrangements of the exhibitions in relation to the Congresses. Contrary to the argument presented here, Kalpakci leaves out any correlation between the spatial proximity as a vehicle for the Congress’ discussion. Kalpakci bases this argument on Giedion’s opening words in *Rationelle Bauweisen*, in which he refers to the preparation process of the exhibition material, but not to its mechanisms for the Congress itself: “the placing of CIAM-03 responded more directly to that iconographic desire, by juxtaposing the congress and the exhibition in the same building. Yet it is difficult to say how far did this proximity supported the unfolding of the congress program. In the introduction to *Rationelle Bauweisen*, Giedion pointed at the process through which the materials for the plans were first instigated, then collected, and finally transformed by the Congress hosts in Brussels: but he did not speak of their use as evidence for the discussions.” Kalpakci, “Making CIAM,” 321.

critique of the discussion of CIAM-03, when we remember that the meetings and the exhibitions of CIAM-02 were held in two separate buildings across Frankfurt. In the light of the above, Andreas Kalpakci's summary of the meetings of CIAM-04, which took place in the immediate surroundings of the exhibition panels of the "Functional City," as "surreally effective"⁶³⁶ does not come as a surprise.

⁶³⁶ Kalpakci, "Making CIAM," 337.

2. CIAM's Exhibitions as PROGRAMME

The question of *space* was not the only recurrent issue during the CIRPAC meetings in preparation for CIAM-03: the question of the *programme* of CIAM-03 also dominated proceedings. During the CIRPAC meetings – and beyond – the agenda for CIAM-03 was continuously rescheduled. This continuous rescheduling can be explained with what CIRPAC learned from CIAM-02's programme: even before CIAM-02 (and after), its programme was considered “completely wrong.” The first section of this chapter traces how, during the planning of CIAM-03, the openings of the “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibitions were continuously moved forward in the agenda, until – after some last-minute adjustments just before the start of CIAM-03 – the CIAM-03 agenda reversed the order of CIAM-02. In contrast to the opening of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” at CIAM-02, the openings of “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” did not happen on the last day as the final item on the agenda, but were each the first item on the agenda on the first and second day, respectively, of CIAM-03. But there is more to it than that: not only did the opening of “Rational Lot Development” coincide with the opening of CIAM-03 as the first item on the agenda, it was even *equated* with the opening of CIAM-03, as will be demonstrated in the second section of this chapter. This is clear when comparing the different versions of the final programme for CIAM-03 as well as the different versions of the opening speech by CIAM's then President, Karl Moser.

Hence, the growing importance of CIAM's exhibitions as a working method for the Congresses is not only reflected in the growing spatial proximity of the exhibition space in relation to the meeting space from Congress to Congress, but also in continuously bringing forward the opening of the exhibitions in the agenda of CIAM-03 until, ultimately, the opening of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition *was* the opening of CIAM-03. This phenomenon will be called *temporal immediacy*. The overall aim of this chapter is to uncover the growing significance that was attributed to the opening of the exhibitions over the course of the planning as a *programme* of CIAM-03.

2.1. A Reversed Agenda: Rescheduling the Opening of the Exhibition from the Last to the First Day

At CIAM-03, the very first event on both the first and of the second day of CIAM-03 was the opening, respectively, of the exhibitions “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows.” “Rational Lot Development” was opened in the morning of the first day of CIAM-03, 27 November. “Horizontal Sliding Windows” was opened in the morning of the second day, 28 November. Considering that at CIAM-02 the opening of “The Dwelling for Minimal

Existence” exhibition happened on the last day and as very last agenda item, this switch in agenda from CIAM-02 to CIAM-03 can – besides the radical change from two locations to just one location – be regarded as another significant modification. This radical change in the agenda was introduced by Karl Moser during the second CIRPAC meeting for CIAM-03. On 20 May, Moser introduced the change with the following weighty comment: “So we thought it would be good to start with the essential thing.”⁶³⁷ According to Moser, at CIAM-02 in Frankfurt, “[...] this was done completely wrong.”⁶³⁸ By “this,” Moser was referring to the opening of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition as last agenda item of CIAM-02: “The exhibition was at the very end, when everyone was leaving.”⁶³⁹ Moser’s proposition was followed by a continuous programme change, until the openings of the exhibitions were ultimately rescheduled from the very last to the very first agenda item. All in all, it took three CIRPAC meetings as well as some last minutes adjustments until CIAM-03 started with the “essential thing.”

CIAM-02: The Opening of the Exhibition as Last Agenda Item

It was not just Moser who noticed that the opening of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” on the last day of CIAM-02 was “completely wrong” during the second CIRPAC meeting. Before CIAM-02 was opened on October 24, the programme was adapted at the eleventh hour. Initially it was not planned to allow participants to visit “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” before its official and public opening on the last day of the Congress. But four weeks prior to the opening of CIAM-02, Sigfried Giedion wrote to Werner Nosbisch, an employee at the Hochbauamt Frankfurt, and let him know that “it is necessary to make the exhibition accessible to members of the Congress on the very first day [of CIAM-02] to stimulate the discussion.”⁶⁴⁰ The reason for this decision was the low number of returned questionnaires, which should have served as the basis for discussion at CIAM-02. Thus, the exhibition material of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” was a *substitute* for the questionnaires, the basis for the discussions of CIAM-02. As a result, visiting “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” needed to be rescheduled and moved forward in the CIAM-02 agenda. Instead of visiting the exhibition for the first time at the official and public opening on the last day of CIAM-02, a first unofficial visit just for the Congress participants was added to the agenda. And so, after Ernst May’s introduction, Walter Gropius’ lecture on “The

⁶³⁷ “Me le Professeur MOSER – nous avons pensé commencer avec l’exposition et puis avec ds introductions des différents membres, voir ce que chacun peut en tirer. A Francfort, cela a été tout à fait faux. L’exposition était tout à la fin, au moment de partir. Nous avons donc pensé qu’il serait bon de commencer par la chose essentielle.” See: CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 2.

⁶³⁸ “A Francfort, cela a été tout à fait faux.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 2.

⁶³⁹ “L’exposition était tout à la fin, au moment de partir.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 2.

⁶⁴⁰ Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Werner Nosbisch, September 30, 1929, 42-K-19329-Giedion-Nosbisch, gta Archives.

Sociological Foundations of the Minimum Dwelling,” and Victor Bourgeois’ presentation of his report on “The Programme of the Minimum Dwelling,” a joint visit to the exhibition was scheduled to take place on the afternoon of the first day of CIAM-02.⁶⁴¹ As a matter of fact, however, the protocols of CIAM-02 suggest that the exhibition was not visited until the second day of the Congress. Teodor Toeplitz finally initiated the visit to the exhibition in the morning of the second day after Hans Schmidt’s lecture on “Criticism and Improvement of the Existing Building Regulations.”⁶⁴² Following this lecture, the participants of CIAM-02 left the Palmenhaus, crossed Frankfurt, and headed off to the Werkbundhaus at the exhibition grounds to visit “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition. A discussion led by Gropius and Bourgeois followed. Then, having returned to the Palmenhaus, the initial agenda of CIAM-03 was picked up again, and Pierre Jeanneret read aloud Le Corbusier’s lecture on “Criticism and Modification of Existing Building Regulations.” 26 October, the third and final day of CIAM-03, again started with a location change. The participants were asked to show up at the Saxophonsaal of the Werkbundhaus, where the public closing meeting of CIAM-02 was held with a speech by Moser. After a repetition of the key messages of the lectures given on the preceding two days for the press, “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” was officially finally opened. Nonetheless, Moser’s telling words during the second CIRPAC meeting for CIAM-03 makes it clear that despite this change in the agenda of CIAM-02, the early visit to the exhibition on the second day of CIAM-02 was still considered insufficient, and the agenda of CIAM-03 required a change.

First CIRPAC Meeting for CIAM-03

During the first CIRPAC meeting for CIAM-03, over three months before Moser declared the opening of the exhibition as “the essential thing,” the attending CIRPAC members discussed the thematic focus,⁶⁴³ the method of work,⁶⁴⁴ and the planning of the exhibitions of CIAM-03.⁶⁴⁵ They decided that CIAM-03 should take place from 2 to 4 October (it was later

⁶⁴¹ “Tagesordnung für Kongressteilnehmer [...] 10:00 ‘Die soziologischen Grundlagen der Minimalwohnung,’ Referent: W. Gropius (Berlin). 11:00 ‘Le Programme de l’habitation minimum,’ Referent: V. Bourgeois (Brüssel). [...] 13:00 Besuch der Ausstellung ‘Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum.’”

See “Tagesordnung für Kongressteilnehmer (Mitglieder und mitarbeitende Fachleute),” n.d., Magistratsakte 2634, Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt am Main.

⁶⁴² “[Toeplitz] schlägt vor, zwecks fruchtbarer Diskussion erst die Ausstellung zu besichtigen.

Dem Vorschlag wird entsprochen. [...] 25. Oktober 1929. Beginn 11 Uhr. Die Teilnehmer haben zuerst die Ausstellung besichtigt.” See “Kongress Frankfurt Protokolle,” n.d., CIAM-K-1929-2-3-1, gta Archives.

⁶⁴³ The members of the commission elaborated on the importance of land parcelling for the question of minimal housing: “M. LE CORBUSIER: [...] Il y a là une part d’urbanisme, mais en passant par l’organisation de la cellule, pour les quartiers (?) d’habitation minimum. À mon sens, l’urbanisme devra se limiter à cela par le congrès de Bruxelles, sinon, nous sommes perdus.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 3.

⁶⁴⁴ One crucial point was to agree whether to prepare resolutions beforehand and whether to ask the national groups to hand to hand in reports on the countries’ progress regarding the issue of minimal housing: “M STAM demande si le Congrès doit exclusivement comporter des résolutions ou bien s’il doit être purement instructif? [...] [il] propose de demander aux délégués de chacun des pays de remettre un rapport touchant les exigences résultant.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 14ff.

⁶⁴⁵ The planning of the exhibitions of CIAM-03 is addressed on 22–27 and 34–45. See CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1.”

postponed to 27–29 November) and that the delegates' meeting should be held prior to CIAM-03 on 1 October. The members did not yet discuss the exact programme of those three days nor when the official opening of the exhibition should take place. But they decided that the exhibition of CIAM-03 should be opened one week prior to CIAM-03, and stay open for another week after the Congress ended:

To sum it up, the plans should reach the Committee by 1 May and at the latest by 30 June. Starting from 5 July, the secretariat will be based in Brussels, at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, 10 rue Royale. The exhibition should be held from Saturday, 27 September, to Saturday, 12 October; the Congress' meetings will be held at the Palais des Beaux-Arts on 2, 3, and 4 October. The General Committee will meet on 1 October at 7 a.m. to 8 p.m. On the same day, a reception will be held to allow the Congress' participants to get in contact with each other.⁶⁴⁶

Apparently, during the first CIRPAC meeting, the attending members were so absorbed by the question of the venue for CIAM-03 that the question of when to open the exhibition almost got lost. However, the lessons from Frankfurt led to a complete turnaround in the agenda for CIAM-03. It was decided en passant that "Rational Lot Development" should be opened even before the official beginning of CIAM-03.

Second CIRPAC Meeting for CIAM-03

On 20 May, when the order of the CIAM-03 programme was under discussion, Karl Moser argued for a programme change in favour of the exhibition. It was Victor Bourgeois who started the debate about the programme of CIAM-03 by repeating what had been decided during the last CIRPAC meeting:

We have set the date for 2–4 October. We could organise it as follows: the meeting of the Committee will take place in the evening of 1 October, around 6 o'clock. Around 8:30, we could hold a reception for the delegates so that they can get to know each other. In Frankfurt, this was the weak

⁶⁴⁶ "LE PRESIDENT – En résumé, les plans devraient parvenir au Comité le 1er mai au plus tard; nous devrions recevoir les rapports le 30 juin au plus tard; A partir du 5 juillet, le secrétariat fonctionnerait à Bruxelles, au Palais des Beaux-Arts, 10 rue Royale; L'exposition aurait lieu du Samedi 27 septembre au 12 octobre; les séances du congrès se tiendraient au Palais des Beaux-Arts les 2, 3 et 4 octobre. Le Comité général se réunirait le 1er octobre à 17 heures à 20 heures, le même jour, aurait lieu la réception destinée à permettre aux congressistes de se prendre contact entre eux." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 45.

point in the organisation: people did not know each other, and never had the opportunity to get to know each other.⁶⁴⁷

Bourgeois hit the mark with this comment, and a lengthy discussion followed. First, Moser agreed with Bourgeois' assessment of the poor agenda of CIAM-02. He agreed that the impossibility of getting to know each other had indeed been the weak point of CIAM-02. But instead of accepting Bourgeois' suggestion of introducing the participants to one another on the evening of 1 October – and thus directly after the CIRPAC meeting prior to CIAM-03 – he proposed instead to begin the first day of CIAM-03 with the opening of the exhibition, and to then introduce the participants: “We have thought of beginning with the exhibition and afterwards the different members will be introduced, to see what each one can get from it. In Frankfurt, this was done completely wrong. The exhibition was at the very end, when everyone was leaving. So we thought it would be good to start with the essential thing.”⁶⁴⁸

Although Moser's proposal to start CIAM-03 with the opening of the exhibition received widespread approval at that moment, the debate then suddenly turned to the most appropriate time to start CIAM-03, and away from the scheduling of activities. Holding the opening of CIAM-03 at 9 am appeared too early for a public opening of the exhibition, as well as for inviting official guests; 10 am, however, appeared to be too late to start the first day, since,⁶⁴⁹ as Rudolf Steiger put it, CIAM needed “to set a good example”⁶⁵⁰ – which failing to start work before 10 am would not provide. It was Sigfried Giedion who suggested a compromise, which at the end of the meeting was also what was agreed on – and which did not yet comply with Moser's vision. Giedion proposed to keep the official and public opening of the exhibition separate from the unofficial and internal first visit to the exhibition. He proposed to have the official inauguration of the exhibition on the last day of CIAM-03, as was the case in Frankfurt, but nevertheless to start CIAM-03 for the participants within the exhibition. This would take place not just on the first official day of CIAM-03, 2 October, but during the delegates' meeting on 1 October:

⁶⁴⁷ “M. BOURGEOIS – Comme date, on avait fixé du 2 au 4 Octobre. Je pense que nous pourrions organiser ainsi: le 1er octobre au soir, une séance générale du Comité, vers 6 heures. Vers 8 h 1/2, nous pourrions faire une réception pour les congressistes pour qu'ils puissent faire connaissance. A Francfort, cela a été le point de faible de l'organisation. Les gens ne se connaissaient pas et n'ont jamais eu l'occasion de se connaître.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 2.

⁶⁴⁸ See footnote 657.

⁶⁴⁹ “M. BOURGEOIS – Pour l'ouverture de l'exposition, il faut commencer à 10 heures, car pour ouvrir une exposition, il faut inviter quelques autorités et on ne peut pas les faire venir à 9 heures.” Le Corbusier answered: “Disons 9 heures pour les membres du Congrès et 10 heures pour l'arrivée des autorités.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 2.

⁶⁵⁰ “M. STEIGER – Ne pourrions nous pas mettre le matin à 9 heures au lieu de 10 heures. Nous sommes obligés de travailler et nous devons donner le bon exemple et commencer à 9 heures ou 9 heures 1/2. Cela est-il possible en Belgique?” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 2.

Can't we do it this way: if we're at the exhibition, we can start working straight away, and then we'll do the inauguration three days later. The delegates will start working straight away, otherwise time will be lost. We need to have the inauguration at the end, with a big session.⁶⁵¹

Giedion's proposal was accepted, and thus during the second CIRPAC meeting it was decided to start the first day of CIAM-03 on 2 October at the exhibition at 9 am sharp – setting a good example. The public opening of the exhibition would then happen on the last day, 4 October.

Third CIRPAC Meeting for CIAM-03

The third CIRPAC meeting in preparation for CIAM-03 as well as the subsequent delegates' meeting were both dominated by the departure of Ernst May, Mart Stam, and Hans Schmidt to the USSR. At the beginning of the delegates' meeting, Giedion informed the attending delegates of the following changes to the agenda for CIAM-03. The biggest change was the rescheduling of the programme for CIAM-03. Giedion announced the decision to hold the openings of the two exhibitions, "Rational Lot Development" and "Horizontal Sliding Windows," on two different days. "Rational Lot Development" would now take place in the morning of the first day of CIAM-03, now 27 November, whereas "Horizontal Sliding Windows" would open on the afternoon of the second day, now 28 November. Thus, the decision to have the official opening of both exhibitions on the last day of CIAM-03, as agreed on 20 May, was dropped. Instead, the delegates' meeting would be the last item on the last day of CIAM-03. Changes were also made concerning the guided tours of the exhibitions. Right after the opening of "Rational Lot Development," Cornelis van Eesteren, who would succeed Mart Stam after his departure, would give a tour of the exhibition in German, while Victor Bourgeois would conduct the French counterpart.⁶⁵² After the opening and the guided tours, lectures from Eugen Kaufmann and Herbert Böhm, Le Corbusier, and Walter Gropius would follow. At the opening of "Horizontal Sliding Windows," Rudolf Steiger, who was succeeding Hans Schmidt, would give the opening speech.⁶⁵³ On the morning of 28 November, and thus before the opening of "Horizontal Sliding Windows," the discussion

⁶⁵¹ "M. le Docteur GIEDION – Ne pouvons nous pas faire ainsi: si nous sommes dans l'exposition, on peut commencer à travailler tout de suite, et puis on fera l'inauguration 3 jours plus tard. Les congressistes commenceront tout de suite, autrement, il y aura du temps de perdu. Il faut faire l'inauguration à la fin, avec une grande séance." CIRPAC, "SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU 20 MAI," 2.

⁶⁵² "Am Donnerstag, den 27. November erfolgt dann die Eröffnung der Ausstellung 'Rationelle Bebauungsweisen'. Daran schliessen sich die Referate an. Wir haben es uns so gedacht, dass die Führung durch die Ausstellung von van Eesteren (deutsch) und Bourgeois (französisch) übernommen wird." CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 1930, 2, 42-3-1-3, gta Archives.

⁶⁵³ "Mit dem Kongress ist auch noch eine zweite Ausstellung verbunden, die Ausstellung über 'horizontale Schiebefenster', die am Freitag nachmittag durch R. Steiger eröffnet wird." CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 3.

about the lectures given by Eugen Kaufmann and Herbert Böhm, Le Corbusier, and Walter Gropius would be held. This programme was also printed in the November 1930 issue of *Das Neue Frankfurt* [see fig II.2.1].⁶⁵⁴

Considering the official and definite character of such a public announcement in *Das Neue Frankfurt*, one might have thought that the programme of CIAM-03 was now finally set in stone. But there were still some changes to come.

Giedion's Last Minute Adjustments

Despite the public announcement in *Das Neue Frankfurt*, one final adjustment to the CIAM-03 was made not even two weeks before the opening of the Congress.⁶⁵⁵ It concerned the exact time of the opening of the "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibition on the second day of CIAM-03. Ultimately, the exhibition was opened on the morning of 28 November, and not in the afternoon as announced by Le Corbusier during the delegates' meeting and printed in *Das Neue Frankfurt*. Thus, similar to the opening of "Rational Lot Development" on the first day of CIAM-03, the opening of "Horizontal Sliding Windows" on the second day of CIAM-03 happened as the very first agenda item. This last-minute change can be traced back to Sigfried Giedion. On 1 November, Giedion wrote to Victor Bourgeois proposing "to reschedule Corbusier's report to Friday morning and open the exhibition on sliding windows immediately afterwards. In doing so, have all the reports together, and we can start with the discussion on Friday afternoon."⁶⁵⁶ As we know from the final programme of CIAM-03, Giedion's proposal was put into practice. Therefore, "Horizontal Sliding Windows" was opened on the morning of 28 November, right after Le Corbusier presented his questionnaire. The discussion and lectures were ultimately held in the afternoon.

2.2. Temporal Immediacy: The Opening of CIAM-03 and the Exhibitions

Besides this long path of negotiations until the openings of "Rational Lot Development" and "Horizontal Sliding Windows" finally found their place in the agenda of CIAM-03, there is another factor to stress when it comes to the significance of CIAM's exhibitions for the programme of CIAM-03. This particularity lies on the one hand in the bilingual character of

⁶⁵⁴ Another adjustment, which was not announced during the delegates' meeting but nevertheless printed in the November issue of *Das Neue Frankfurt*, concerned the exact time for the opening of CIAM-03 on 27 November. Even if the date and the time of the day for the opening of "Rational Lot Development" remained the morning of the first day of CIAM-03, the exact time changed. Apparently – and despite Steiger's concerns during the second CIRPAC meeting – the Congress participants did not need to set a "good example" regarding the working hours. The opening of CIAM-03 was ultimately re-scheduled from 9 am to 10 am, and thus apparently in favour of the official guests.

⁶⁵⁵ The gta Archives hold multiple versions of the official final invitation and programme of CIAM-03, but every version specifies the morning of 28 November as the final date and time for the opening of "Horizontal Sliding Windows."

⁶⁵⁶ "Je voudrais proposer d'accord avec vous de fixer, le rapport de Corbusier vendredi Matin et d'ouvrir l'exposition des fenêtres a coulisse tout de suite après. Nous avons alors tous les rapports ensemble et nous pouvons ouvrir la discussion vendredi apres-midi." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Victor Bourgeois, November 1, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Bourgeois, gta Archives.

CIAM's work, and on the other in the differentiation between internal and public documents. For most CIAM documents, there are four different versions: due to the bilingual character of CIAM, a German and a French version, and due to the differentiation between members and non-members, an internal and a public version. Furthermore, taking into account the numerous authors involved in the different drafts as well as the numerous revision loops, the number of variations and deviations in the different versions of one document can be sensed. Thus, when a formulation within these versions is congruent, it is not only an exception, but almost a curiosity – and tempts us to take the content literally.

The French Programme for CIAM-03: As if the Opening of “Rational Lot Development” was the First Item on the Agenda

An example of this is French programme for CIAM-03. Both the draft of the programme for members [see fig. II.2.2] as well as the final version of the programme for non-members [see fig. II.2.3] are almost identical when it comes to the programme for 27 November. Both documents stress the fact that the guided tours of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition by Cornelis van Eesteren and Victor Bourgeois will happen “immediately after” the opening. I name this observation *temporal immediacy*.

The passage in the version for CIAM members reads as follows:

thursday, nov. 27, 10 a.m.: congress opening by mr. prof.moser (zurich).
immediately afterwards, visit of the exhibition 'Rational Lot Development' led
by v. bourgeois in french and c.van eesteren in german.⁶⁵⁷

Despite some minor differences in upper- and lower-case words, punctuation, and word order, the two French versions of the programme are almost identical:

The Congress will be opened at 10 a.m. on Thursday 27 November by
Professor MOSER (Zurich). Immediately afterwards, the Rational Lot
Development Exhibition will be visited, led by V. BOURGEOIS (Brussels) in
French and G. van ESTEREN (Amsterdam) in German.⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁷ “jeudi 27 nov., 10 hrs.: l'ouverture du congrès par mr. le prof.moser (zurich). immédiatement après on visitera l'exposition du 'lotissement rationnel' sous la conduite de v. bourgeois en français et de c.van eesteren en allemand.” CIAM, “programme du 3e congrès international l'architecture moderne. bruxelles, du 27–29 novembre 1930,” n.d., 42-3-2-61F.

⁶⁵⁸ This passage, in the version for non-members who were nonetheless invited participants, reads as follows and also shows the rather unusual phrasing, “immediately after”: “L'ouverture du Congrès aura lieu, le jeudi 27 novembre à 10 heures du matin, par M. le professeur MOSER (Zurich). Immédiatement après, on visitera l'Exposition du Lotissement Rationnel, sous la conduite de V. BOURGEOIS (Bruxelles) en français et de G. van ESTEREN (Amsterdam) en allemand.” CIAM, “PROGRAMME. 3e CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL D'ARCHITECTURE MODERNE BRUXELLES. PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS, 10 RUE ROYALE DU 27 AU 29 NOVEMBRE 1930,” n.d., 42-3-2-62F, gta Archives. The same is printed on what can be considered the publication of the “Journées de l'Habitation Minimum.” See “PROGRAMME,” o.A., LA COOPÉRATION INTERANTIONALE, 1931, 42-3-9-11, gta Archives. By contrast, the German version of the programme reads as follows and does not stress the immediacy of the opening of the exhibition and the guided tours: “die eröffnung des brüsseler kongresses,

More importantly, both versions use the rather unusual expression “immediately after” for the sequence of the opening of CIAM-03 and the opening of the exhibition. This repetition leads to the assumption that the authors of the French programme for CIAM-03 wanted to emphasise just that – the immediacy of these two items on the agenda. Nothing else should happen in between the opening of the CIAM-03 and the guided tours of the exhibition. The switch from the opening of CIAM-03 by Karl Moser to the guided tours given by Bourgeois and van Eesteren should be made immediately, and happen seamlessly – as if they were *one thing*.

Similar to Victor Bourgeois' third and final planning report, which stressed the spatial immediacy of the exhibition space in relation to the meeting space,⁶⁵⁹ Sigfried Giedion's letter to Bourgeois from 1 November, which led to the last-minute rescheduling of the opening of “Horizontal Sliding Windows” from the afternoon to the morning, shows a similar dependency. In this case, however, the dependency is not in spatial terms, but a temporal sense. In Giedion's letter, the temporal immediacy of the opening of “Horizontal Sliding Windows” and the beginning of the second day of CIAM-03 again becomes apparent. When Giedion proposed moving the opening of “Horizontal Sliding Windows” from the afternoon to the morning, he stressed that the exhibition should be opened “immediately after”⁶⁶⁰ Le Corbusier had presented his questionnaire. As for “Rational Lot Development,” the opening of “Horizontal Sliding Windows” should happen “immediately after” Le Corbusier's presentation. Again, it appears that the opening of “Horizontal Sliding Windows” was the very first thing on the agenda of the second day of CIAM-03.

The formulation in the invitation was far more than just an emphasis on the immediate temporal sequence of the guided tours after the Congress' opening. This formulation was also a hidden reminder for the participants of what was expected from them: there was work to do during the three days of CIAM-03, and not too little of it. Thus, immediately after the opening, the participants were expected to continue with the tight programme of CIAM-3.

The German Programme for CIAM-03: The Opening of “Rational Lot Development” was the Opening of CIAM-03

The temporal immediacy of the opening of CIAM-03 and the opening of “Rational Lot Development” on the first day of the Congress, as well as the temporal immediacy of the

sowie der ausstellung 'rationelle bebauungsweisen' findet am 27. november, 10 uhr vormittags im palais des beaux arts, durch professor k. moser (zürich) statt. die ausstellung wird durch victor bourgeois (Brüssel) in französischer und durch c. van eesteren (amsterdam) in deutscher sprache erläutert.“ CIAM, “programm des 3. internat. kongresses für neues bauen brüssel, palais des beaux arts. 27.-29. november 1930”, n.d., 42-3-2-62D, gta Archives.

⁶⁵⁹ See 1.3. in “Part II. Analysis” for an analysis of this discussion and the underlying significance of CIAM's exhibition as space-

⁶⁶⁰ See footnote 637.

presentation of Le Corbusier's questionnaire and the opening of "Horizontal Sliding Windows" on the second day of CIAM-03, as they appear in the French programme for CIAM-03 as well as in the letter from Sigfried Giedion to Victor Bourgeois, make it seem *as if* the openings of the two exhibitions were the first things on the agenda of CIAM-03. However, the German programme of CIAM-03 implies that the opening of "Rational Lot Development" on the first day of CIAM-03 *de facto* was the opening of CIAM-03, or to put it differently: that the opening of "Rational Lot Development" was *equated* with the opening of CIAM-03. This assumption is not based on the Karl Moser's so-called "Introductory Speech" at the opening of CIAM-03, which was scheduled to be held before the opening of "Rational Lot Development" more or less at the last minute. This "Introductory Speech" was not an opening speech – neither in the proper sense of an opening speech, nor as an opening speech of CIAM-03 – but above all an introduction to the purpose of the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition.

The public announcement of the programme for CIAM-03 in the November 1930 issue of *Das Neue Frankfurt* stressed that the "opening and guided tours through the exhibition 'Rational Lot Development'"⁶⁶¹ was the very first item on the first day of CIAM-03 on 27 November [see fig II.2.1]. The same formulation is also used in the German draft of the programme [see fig. II.2.4] for CIAM members.⁶⁶² These two formulations are chosen in such a way that the opening of "Rational Lot Development" and the guided tours were the first thing to happen on 27 November. Here, the opening of CIAM-03 as a separate agenda item is not listed. Thus, these two formulations are chosen *as if* the opening of CIAM-03 *de facto* was the opening of the exhibition. Or – as written in the preceding chapter – *as if* the opening of CIAM-03 and the opening of the exhibition "Rational Lot Development" were *one thing*.

Nevertheless, both the French [see fig. II.2.2] and the German [see fig. II.2.5] final programme for CIAM members and invited participants display a different formulation, which at first glance might lead to the assumption that the opening of CIAM-03 and of the exhibition were *not the same thing*. Both – in contrast to the programme in the November 1930 issue of *DNF* – put the opening of CIAM-03 through Karl Moser's speech first, before the opening of the exhibition and the guided tours:

⁶⁶¹ "Donnerstag, 27. November: 10 Uhr Eröffnung und Führung durch die Ausstellung 'Rationelle Bebauungsweise' Deutsch: C. Van Eesteren, Amsterdam. Französisch: V. Bourgeois." See "DIE INTERNATIONALE DER ARCHITEKTEN," *Das Neue Frankfurt* 11 (1930): 241, 42-3-2-61DA, gta Archives.

⁶⁶² "Donnerstag, 27. November: 10 Uhr Eröffnung und Führung durch die Ausstellung 'Rationelle Bebauungsweisen' deutsch: C. Van Eesteren – Amsterdam. französisch: V. Bourgeois – Brüssel." CIAM, "PROGRAMM," n.d., 42-3-2-61, gta Archives.

Opening of the Congress through Moser as well as of the exhibition
'Rational Lot Development.'⁶⁶³

However, looking closely at the wording “through [Karl] Moser,” it nonetheless becomes evident that it the of “Rational Lot Development” was still the first thing on the agenda on the first day of CIAM-03. Since no date is given on either the draft or the final programme, it can also be assumed that this adjustment was made around the same time as the last-minute adjustment regarding the opening of “Horizontal Sliding Windows” by Sigfried Giedion on 17 November, just ten days before the beginning of CIAM-03. In the light of all the other things that Moser, at this moment in time still CIAM’s president, presumably needed to organise shortly before the beginning CIAM-03, ten days are definitely not a lot of time to prepare an adequate opening speech. This is one possible explanation for the very short speech – if it can be called that – that Moser gave on 27 November. Both the draft [see fig. II.2.6] and the final version [see fig. II.2.7] of his speech are most aptly titled “Introductory Speech.”⁶⁶⁴

When comparing Moser’s “Introductory Speech” with the opening speech he gave a day earlier at the delegates’ meeting,⁶⁶⁵ this title definitely appears more apt than “opening speech.” At the delegates’ meeting on 26 November, Moser gave a three-page long opening speech to open the internal start of CIAM-03. He started his speech by addressing the attending delegates and thanking them for coming – as one would expect from the president giving an opening address.⁶⁶⁶

In contrast to the official tone and chosen words Moser used for his opening speech on 26 November, he started off his “Introductory Speech” to CIAM-03 on 27 November without even addressing the attending members, delegates, invited participants, and official guests. He also neither mentions the “Third Congress” nor its “Opening.” Instead, he started by referring first to the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” – this reference alone is remarkable, given how much drama this event had caused during the preparations for CIAM-03 and would continue to cause.⁶⁶⁷ Next, he made a general remark on the aim of CIAM’s work: he explained that CIAM’s aim was to establish a unity between architecture and the ever-

⁶⁶³ The French programme reads as follows: “jeudi 27 nov., 10 hrs.: l’ouverture du congrès par mr. le prof.moser (zurich).” CIAM, “programme du 3e congrès international l’architecture moderne. bruxelles, du 27–29 novembre 1930,” n.d., 42-3-2-61F. The German programme reads: “donnerstag, 27. November: 10 Uhr Eröffnung des kongresses durch k. moser (zürich), sowie der Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweise’ [...]” See “DIE INTERNATIONALE DER ARCHITEKTEN,” *Das Neue Frankfurt* 11 (1930): 241, 42-3-2-61DA, gta Archives.

⁶⁶⁴ For the draft, see Karl Moser, “Einleitungsrede von Prof. Karl Moser (Zürich),” November 27, 1930, 42-3-4-21DV, gta Archives. For the final version, see Karl Moser, “Einleitungsrede von Prof. Karl MOSER,” November 27, 1930, 42-3-4-21D, gta Archives.

⁶⁶⁵ All in all, two delegates’ meetings were held on the occasion of CIAM-03: one on the afternoon of the first day, 26 November, and one on the morning after CIAM-03 had officially ended, on 30 November. See CIAM, “PROGRAMM.”

⁶⁶⁶ “Meine Herren und liebe Kollegen, gestatten Sie mir Sie erst zu begrüßen und Ihnen für Ihr Erscheinen am III-n Kongress hier in Brüssel zu danken.” Karl Moser, “Delegiertenversammlung,” November 26, 1930, 42-3-4-21, gta Archives.

⁶⁶⁷ See chapter 8.4 in “Part II. Analysis”.

changing circumstances regarding all “aspects of life.”⁶⁶⁸ Against this background, he said, the subject of CIAM-02 was chosen and now, at CIAM-03, continued:

At the Brussels Congress we extend [handwritten annotation by Moser] the question [of the Dwelling for Minimal Existence] into the field [handwritten annotation by Moser] of rational building methods.⁶⁶⁹

This, according to the draft of Moser’s introductory speech, was how he initially planned to end his introduction. However, the final version of the speech shows an addition – again, at the last minute – which clearly makes his “Introductory Speech” less an introduction to CIAM-03 than an *introduction the opening of the exhibition*. On 27 November, Moser ended his short and sweet introduction as follows:

Today we go one step further, to the study of rational lot developments on the basis of extensive exhibition material from all countries. Here we try to determine which form of housing (flat, medium- or high-rise buildings) best meets today’s economic, technical, and psychological requirements.⁶⁷⁰

By stressing that CIAM-03 was working “on the basis of extensive exhibition material from all countries”, Moser turned his *introductory speech to CIAM-03* into an *introduction to the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition* and its guided tours which subsequently followed.

Thus, in the end, the opening of CIAM-03 remained exactly what was announced previously in *Das Neue Frankfurt* before the last-minute adjustments to the final programme: “Opening and guided tours through the ‘Rational Lot Development’ exhibition.” Hence, the opening of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was the opening of CIAM-03.

⁶⁶⁸ “Die ‘JOURNEES DE L’HABITATION MINIMUM’ die von unserer belgischen Gruppe als Auftakt zum 3. Kongress eröffnet wurden, sind eine Veranstaltung, die dazu dient, unsere Anregungen weiteren Kreisen zugänglich und verständlich zu machen. Unsere Kongresse arbeiten daraufhin, die Einheit zwischen der Architektur und den auf allen Gebieten des Lebens auftretenden, veränderten, neuen Bedingungen herzustellen. Auf dieser Grundlage, befasste sich der letzte Kongress Frankfurt 1929 - zuerst mit der Frage der Wohnung für das Existenzminimum.” Karl Moser, “Einleitungsrede von Prof. Karl Moser (Zürich),” November 27, 1930, 42-3-4-21DV, gta Archives.

⁶⁶⁹ “Auf dem Brüsseler Kongress erweitern wir die Frage auf das Gebiet der rationellen Bebauungsweisen.” Karl Moser, “Einleitungsrede von Prof. Karl MOSER,” November 27, 1930, 42-3-4-21D, gta Archives.

⁶⁷⁰ “Heute gehen wir einen Schritt weiter, zum Studium der rationellen Bauweisen auf Grund von reichlichem Ausstellungsmaterial aus allen Ländern. Bei dieser Gelegenheit versuchen wir festzustellen, welche Wohnform (Flach-, Mittel- oder Hochbau) den heutigen wirtschaftlichen, technischen und psychologischen Forderungen am besten entspricht.” Moser, “Einleitungsrede von Prof. Karl Moser (Zürich)”.

3. CIAM's Exhibitions as FORMAT

Considering the vast amount of correspondence between the delegates on the preparation of CIAM's exhibitions, to a significant extent the planning of CIAM's exhibitions took place *within* and *on* these documents. Thus, the changing significance of the exhibitions for the Congresses can be traced *within* and *on* these documents.⁶⁷¹ And so, besides the CIRPAC meetings, during which the delegates *discussed* the exhibitions, the letters, on which they *wrote* about the exhibitions, are just as important as the meetings' protocols to understand what role CIAM's exhibitions took during the planning, as well as how their significance changed in the course of the planning and preparations.

While preparations for CIAM-03 were in full swing at the Palais des Beaux-Arts from August to November 1930, Victor Bourgeois sent three reports [see fig. II.3.1 – II.3.5] to Sigfried Giedion in Zurich. In these reports, Bourgeois, who was leading the preparations in Brussels as part of the exhibition committee, informed Giedion about the planning progress underway in the city. These reports mirror Bourgeois' changing understanding of CIAM's exhibitions during the planning progress: from an *appendix of the Congress* in the beginning to the *primary format* of the Congress. These two developments in content and form were, as will be demonstrated throughout this chapter, interdependent, and equally bear testimony to the growing significance of CIAM's exhibitions as the *format* of the Congress. With every report, a more and more prominent position was attributed to the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition – both regarding its content and meaning, the inner structure, and its layout and formal framing, in a manner of speaking the outer structure. While Bourgeois in his first report [see fig. II.3.1] summarises the ongoing preparations for both the exhibitions of CIAM-03 as well as matters regarding the general planning of the Congress in only *one section* with the heading "Congrès," in his second and third report he divides the reports into *two sections*: "Congrès" and "Exposition" [French for "Exhibition"]. However, this division into "Congrès" and "Exposition" is not – as one might assume – accompanied by a corresponding division of content. Instead, Bourgeois tellingly touches in *both sections* on the preparation of the exhibitions of CIAM-03. In his second report [see fig. II.3.2 and fig. II.3.3], under "Congrès" Bourgeois discusses the embedding of the exhibitions in the agenda of CIAM-03. In his third report [see fig. II.3.4 and fig. II.3.5], he stresses the spatial dependency of the exhibition space to the conference hall, as well discussing the general

⁶⁷¹ Here, I follow the demand of the anthropologist Matthew Hull to not only look through documents at the history of organisations, but also to look at documents in order to fully understand how organisations functioned. Here, not only the content – the meaning – of the letters, but also their form – the layout as formal framing – is of interest. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Dr. Anna-Maria Meister for her invaluable insight and guidance during our discussion on Michael Faciejew and his research on document culture, which greatly enriched the content of this thesis. I am truly appreciative of her time and expertise.

planning of the Congress, in the “Congrès” section. Besides this changing structure of the content, the layouts of the reports also change. Both the formatting of the text and the handwritten annotations equally mirror the changing and growing significance Bourgeois attributed to the exhibitions. However, it is not the quantitative shift in the reports that matters most, but the changing understanding of the exhibition as *format of the Congress*. This, as will be demonstrated below, is equally visible in the inner structure (meaning) and the outer structure (formal framing).

3.1. Victor Bourgeois' First Report: The Preparation of the “Congrès”

Bourgeois' first report [fig. II.3.1] is the only report on the preparations for CIAM-03 in Brussels in which he does not differentiate between the preparations for the exhibitions and the preparations for the congress in two different sections. Instead, he summarises all ongoing preparations under the one heading: “Congrès.”

If the address and date on the letterhead of the report are to be believed, on 6 August 1930, Bourgeois sat down in the newly erected secretariat in the Palais des Beaux-Arts and wrote his first planning report to Sigfried Giedion. The report is concise and clearly structured. The layout is clean and organised, giving the impression that everything in Brussels is under control and nothing might disturb the preparations. Two brackets with corresponding headers in the left margin of the page, one short bit of underlining in the middle, and Bourgeois' signature in the bottom centre are the only hand-drawn annotations in the otherwise uncluttered layout. The sweeping brackets structure the letter in two thematic sections, and the corresponding headers summarise their content in, first, “Congrès,” and second, “Journées Habitation Minimum.” While the section on “Journées Habitation Minimum” consists of a seven-line paragraph and takes up approximately one-quarter of the letter, the “Congrès” section stretches over six paragraphs and accounts for approximately three-quarters of the letter. These ratios neither refer to the number of written characters, nor the total number of typed lines, but to the overall space taken up on the page. Even though the “Congrès” section consists of a total of six paragraphs, neither the number nor the lengths of the paragraphs (the longest paragraph does not extend to more than three lines) are the reason for the spatial preponderance of this section, but the blank space in between them. The amount of blank space in between the paragraphs takes up almost as much space as the written words, filling the “Congrès” section not with content, but with gaping emptiness – and leaving a lot of room for interpretation. Here, the sweeping bracket with its energetic line not only structures the “Congrès” section, it also binds together the spacious and generous layout.

The handwritten headers, “Congrès” and “Journées Habitation Minimum,” prominently stand out from the typewritten letter and unmistakably announce the subject of the text on the right. While the “Journées Habitation Minimum” section solely touches on its titular subject, the “Congrès” section includes a range of different subjects – all bound together by the bracket. In contrast to the reasonable assumption that the “Congrès” section would primarily address the meetings or agenda of CIAM-03, the section is mostly devoted to the planning of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition. Even though Bourgeois touches on the agenda and administrative questions of CIAM-03, the planning of “Rational Lot Development” is the focus. In the second, third, and fourth paragraph of the “Congrès” section, Bourgeois refers to the planning of the CIAM-03 exhibitions. First, he reports that the exhibition committee has received the German text for exhibition panels, that the exhibition committee has translated the text into French, and that the panels are now being reproduced. He then reveals that the exhibition committee has also worked out the exemplary drawing for the settlement schemes, that the exemplary drawing has been sent to Mart Stam for approval, and that both the exhibition panels and the exemplary drawing will be sent to the delegates the “following day” (“demain”). The word “demain” is underlined once. Finally, in the fourth paragraph, Bourgeois reports that the meetings (“les réunions”) of CIAM-03 could perfectly be held in one of the exhibition halls of the Palais des Beaux-Arts, if there are not too many delegates attending the meetings. In the first and sixth paragraphs, Bourgeois refers to general topics, with no direct connection to either “Rational Lot Development” or the actual Congress. He starts off the letter by confirming that he has received Giedion’s letter of 27 July, and informs him that a circular in German and French with general information regarding the accommodation, directions, and the reception in Brussels is currently being designed by the exhibition committee.⁶⁷² Only in the fifth paragraph does Bourgeois touch on the planning of the actual Congress. He agrees to Giedion’s latest proposal regarding the agenda of CIAM-03, but reminds him that a delegate’s meeting has been planned for the day before the opening of CIAM-03.⁶⁷³

Thus, at this point in time, under “Congrès,” Bourgeois discusses mostly issues in relation to “Rational Lot Development,” as well as issues related to the speeches and agenda of CIAM-03, and general administrative affairs. Apparently, Bourgeois understands the interplay of all

⁶⁷² “J’ai bien reçu votre lettre du 29 juillet. Nous avons reçu les exemplaires allemands de l’exposition, nous avons traduit le texte en français et fait tirer des exemplaires français. Le plan schéma est terminé, nous avons envoyé une épreuve à Stam, nous ferons demain l’expédition. Les réunions peuvent parfaitement avoir lieu, si nous ne sommes pas trop nombreux, dans une des salles d’exposition. D’accord sur le programme général du congrès, il ne faut pas oublier la réunion des délégués le 1 octobre à 5 heures. Nous allons faire une circulaire en allemand et en français avec tous les renseignements utiles sur les hôtels, chemins de fer, réceptions etc.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, August 6, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

⁶⁷³ Since at the time of the letter CIAM-03 was not yet postponed to 27–29 November, at this point in the planning 2 October was still to be the first day of CIAM-03.

these aspects under “Congrès”: the correspondence between him and Giedion, the preparation of the exhibition panels and the drawing scheme for “Rational Lot Development,” the question as to where the meetings of CIAM-03 should be held within the Palais des Beaux-Arts, the agenda for CIAM-03, the additional delegates’ meeting before the official opening of the Congress, as well as aspects of a mere administrative nature. However, his focus is already on preparations for “Rational Lot Development” – and neither on the meetings nor the programme of CIAM-03. This observation is supported by Bourgeois’ single underlining, “demain,” when he reports on the next step regarding the planning of “Rational Lot Development,” stressing the temporal importance of this very matter.

3.2. Victor Bourgeois’ Second Report – The Preparation of the “Congrès” and “Exposition”

In his second report [see fig. II.3.2 – II.3.3], written on 30 October 1930, Victor Bourgeois for the first time differentiates between the planning of the Congress and the exhibition in two different sections: “Congrès” and “Exposition.” Despite this separation, Bourgeois does not separate the section with the respective content. Instead, in both sections he touches on planning issues regarding “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows.” In the “Exposition” section, he touches on the acquisition process of the exhibition material; in the “Congrès” section, he discusses the embedding of the exhibitions in the agenda of CIAM-03. Compared to the first report, the less-clear layout of the report and Bourgeois’ handwritten annotations mirror the rather chaotic preparations for CIAM-03 at this point.

When Bourgeois wrote his second report to Giedion, not only had seven weeks passed since his last report, but much of the order – of the preparations as well as of the layout – has disappeared. The letter bears testimony to the stress caused by the departure of Ernst May, Hans Schmidt, and Mart Stam to the USSR. The one-and-a-half-page long report is less concise and considerably less clear than its predecessor. Multiple hand-drawn annotations and corrections evoke a sense of nervousness and flux – not everything in Brussels is still under control. While the official letterhead of CIAM-03 with its bold letters was untouched in the first report, and seemed like a protective shield over the letter, it is now amended by hand. Bourgeois has crossed out the original date of CIAM-03 with a red pencil. Nevertheless, the bold and black letters of “2–4 October” still shine through the red colour, more highlighted than erased. Next to this highlighted memorial to a once-peaceful planning process and right above the date of the letter, 30 October, Bourgeois has typed the new date of CIAM-03 – 27–29 November. This juxtaposition stresses the failure even further, and also that there are not even five weeks left until the opening of CIAM-03. The structuring and

sweeping brackets from the first report are now replaced with short and abrupt red strokes, drawn with the same red pencil used in the header and repeating the gesture of erasure. Next to the strokes, the headings “Congrès” and “Exposition” summarise the content of the sections, also written in red. The “Congrès” section covers approximately two-thirds of the letter, running over seven paragraphs. The “Exposition” section covers the remaining third of the letter, running over four paragraphs. In the text, multiple paragraphs are sloppily underlined and a few words are crossed out multiple times. Bourgeois’ signature, which in his first report was prominently and confidently placed in the very centre of the page, has now shifted to the right edge of the page – less prominent and less confident. Under his signature, Bourgeois included a handwritten postscript. Where one would normally find the common initialism “P.S.,” Bourgeois simply scrawled the word “Urgent,” twice underlined and marked multiple times to the side.

Despite making the first differentiation between the “Congrès” and “Exposition,” Bourgeois nevertheless addresses the exhibitions in *both sections*. However, in contrast to his first report, the “Congrès” section solely discusses the *embedding* of the exhibitions in the agenda of CIAM-03. In the “Exposition” section, by contrast, he addresses the *acquisition* of the exhibition material. This twofold division in the sections, as well as the division of how to embed the exhibition in the agenda of CIAM-03 on the one hand, and how to acquire the material for it on the other, evidences a change in Bourgeois’ understanding of the significance of the exhibition for the Congress.

Bourgeois starts off the “Congrès” section by referring to a letter he has received from Le Corbusier regarding the outline and presentation of his questionnaire. Bourgeois asks Giedion for his preferred time for Le Corbusier’s presentation, and himself proposes the afternoon of 27 November. On the subject of the agenda of CIAM-03, Bourgeois continues to address the embedding of the exhibitions in the agenda. He proposes switching the scheduled timing of the opening of “Horizontal Sliding Windows” with the discussion of the second day of CIAM-03. Instead of having the discussion on the morning of the second day and the opening of “Horizontal Sliding Windows” in the afternoon, Bourgeois suggests the opposite arrangement. By opening “Horizontal Sliding Windows” before the discussion, he suggests, an independent discussion about the exhibited windows outside of the official discussion could take place. He is not saying thereby that “Horizontal Sliding Windows” is unnecessary for the discussion of the second day, but regardless of its significance for the discussion, he emphasises the need to also stress the exhibition as a single event which is worth discussing independently:

On the other hand, I think it would be better to schedule the guided tour of the exhibition on horizontal windows to Friday morning instead of Friday afternoon and to [reschedule] the discussion to Friday afternoon instead of Friday morning. By doing so, it will still be possible to talk about the windows outside of the discussion, and to do it properly, the report of L.C. [Le Corbusier] should be done before the discussion session.⁶⁷⁴

Bourgeois concludes the “Congrès” section by once again asking for a decision regarding the agenda and raising the issue of the delegates’ accommodation in Brussels.⁶⁷⁵ Despite this minor mention of organisational affairs, by addressing the embedding of the exhibition in the programme of CIAM-03 in the “Congrès” section, Bourgeois stresses *the use* of CIAM’s exhibition for the Congress.

Bourgeois begins the “Exposition” section with a detailed report on the current status of the acquisition of the panels for “Rational Lot Development.” He lists all panels he has received, as well as those he is still missing. He also reports on the current preparation status of “Horizontal Sliding Windows,” and informs Giedion which companies have sent requests to participate in the exhibition.⁶⁷⁶ Thus, in the “Exposition” section, Bourgeois is exclusively summarising organisational matters regarding the acquisition of material for “Rational Lot Development,” as well as possible further collaborators for “Horizontal Sliding Windows.” He is neither addressing the embedding of the exhibitions in the agenda of CIAM-03, nor is he touching on the discussion of the exhibitions. This was already dealt with in the “Congrès” section. This differentiation between the use of the exhibition under “Congrès” on the one hand, and its organisation under “Exposition” on the other, leads to the assumption that at this moment in time, Bourgeois understood CIAM’s exhibitions as the format of the Congress. The end of the report justifies this assumption:

⁶⁷⁴ “D’autre part je pense qu’il vaudrait mieux prévoir la visite guidée de l’exposition du chassis le vendredi matin au lieu du vendredi après midi et la discussion le vendredi après midi au lieu du vendredi matin. De cette façon il serait également possible de parler des chassis lors de la discussion. Pour bien faire également le rapport de L.C. devrait être fait avant la séance consacrée à la discussion.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, October 30, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

⁶⁷⁵ “La lettre de Corbusier est très importante quant au programme du congrès, il me dit qu’il fera le rapport sur son questionnaire et éventuellement sur les lotissements s’il voit les envois à temps. Comme la question des lotissements est réglée il faudrait demander à Le Corbusier de concentrer son travail sur son questionnaire. Reste à déterminer quel jour et à quelle heure L.C. fera son rapport. Il peut évidemment le faire le jeudi 27 après midi au moment primitivement fixé mais cette après midi ne sera-t-elle pas trop chargée? [...] J’attends donc de vos nouvelles concernant le programme définitif du congrès. D’accord pour Teige je vais l’inviter à loger chez moi. Dans deux ou trois jours vous recevrez les renseignements complets concernant les hôtels. Pour les délégués je m’efforce d’avoir un nombre de chambres suffisant à l’hôtel Central (Bruxelles Bourse).” Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, October 30, 1930

⁶⁷⁶ “A l’heure actuelle j’ai reçu les plans de Gropius, Riphan (Cologne), de la Hongrie, de la Finlande, du Danemark, de la Suède. Van Eesteren apportera demain les plans hollandais, Ginsburger m’annonce des plans de Guévrekian, Corbusier, Lurcat et un contre exemple dessiné par lui, il pourra peut être également envoyer un plan de Beaugé et un de la cité de Robinson. Le Corbusier m’annonce également son envoi pour l’exposition qui sera accompagné de 5 ou 6 planches annexes. J’ai fait faire à Bruxelles les plans anglais, américains et belges. Je n’ai pas encore reçu les plans suisses, les plans allemands de Forbat et es plans tchécoslovaques. Concernant l’exposition de chassis j’ai reçu une demande de renseignements de la firme Wanner de Genève (douane). L.C. m’annonce 2 chassis français et un suisse.” Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, October 30.

The preparation of the Congress is therefore proceeding normally. As soon as I have seen van Eesteren, who arrives tomorrow evening, I will write to you again.⁶⁷⁷

By equating the continuing exhibition preparations with the progress of the Congress preparation, he stresses the exhibition's constituting character for the Congress. This equation of the preparation of the exhibition with the preparation of the Congress is also used in two letters from Giedion to Hugo Häring and Walter Gropius a few weeks before the opening of CIAM-03. In both letters, Giedion starts his summary of the preparations for the exhibitions of CIAM-03 with "Preparation of the Congress." On 7 November, Giedion informs Häring about the ongoing preparations in Brussels, and summarises the preparations for "Rational Lot Development" and "Horizontal Sliding Windows":

Dear Mr. Häring, the preparations of the Congress are going smoothly. Exhibition: from Bourgeois in Brussels, who cooperates with van Eesteren, we hear that the plan exhibition is almost complete. Furthermore, if the companies keep their promises, twenty-four sliding windows will be on display at the Congress. Since various parties have already expressed their interest in the exhibition, we will probably show the exhibition in other places.⁶⁷⁸

Instead of referring to the agenda, the speeches, or administrative matters of the Congress, he elaborates on the exhibition panels he has received, the ongoing acquisition of further windows, and the great interest in "Horizontal Sliding Windows." In his letter to Walter Gropius of 17 November, Giedion repeats this narrative. The only difference in comparison to his letter of 7 November is that Giedion here only refers to "Rational Lot Development" when reporting on the preparation progress for the Congress – and not to "Horizontal Sliding Windows." The latter he mentions separately right at the beginning of the letter:

'Horizontal Sliding Windows' Exhibition: this exhibition should run smoothly. Various designers and manufacturers from Germany, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and France will personally explain their models at the

⁶⁷⁷ "La préparation du congrès marche donc normalement, dès que j'aurai vue Van Eesteren qui arrive demain soir je vous écrirai." Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, October 30, 1930.

⁶⁷⁸ "Sehr geehrter Herr Häring, Die Vorbereitungen für den Kongress gehen glatt vor sich. Ausstellung: Von Bourgeois in Brüssel, der mit Van Eesteren zusammenarbeitet, hören wir, dass die Planausstellung nahezu vollständig zusammen ist. Falls die Firmen ihre Zusagen halten, werden am Kongress 24 Schiebefensterkonstruktionen zu sehen sein. Da von verschiedenen Seiten bereits für die Ausstellung Interesse geäußert wurde, so werden wir dieselbe voraussichtlich auch noch an einigen anderen Orten zeigen." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hugo Häring, November 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Häring, gta Archives.

opening of the exhibition. Preparation of the Congress: the plans for the exhibition have arrived in Brussels, except for certain German plans.⁶⁷⁹

It is also interesting to note that Giedion only mentions “Horizontal Sliding Windows” by name: he refers to “Rational Lot Development” without giving its actual name. He also does not refer to the latter exhibition as “the plan exhibition” as he did in his letter to Häring, but simply calls it “the exhibition.” Giedion here obviously takes it for granted that the “Preparation of the Congress” and the material for “the exhibition” cannot be misinterpreted: “the exhibition” can only mean “Rational Lot Development.”

Both Bourgeois’ second report and Giedion’s two letters stress that CIAM’s exhibitions for CIAM-03 at this point in the preparations were already neither considered as material appendix, nor as a side-event of CIAM-03. Furthermore, the division of “exhibition” and “Congress” into two separate sections neither indicates a disciplinary or typological separation of the two formats, nor their autonomous function. But by touching on how to embed the exhibition in the programme of CIAM-03 in the “Congrès” section on the one hand, and summarising the acquisition of the exhibition material in the “exhibition” section as well as equating the acquisition process of the exhibition material with the welfare of the Congress preparation on the other, Bourgeois’ second report demonstrates that CIAM’s exhibitions were considered as the *form* of CIAM-03.

3.3 Victor Bourgeois’ Third Report – The Preparation of the “Exposition”

Bourgeois also divided his third report [see fig. II.3.4 – II.3.5] from 17 November 1930 into “Congrès” and “Exposition.” But, in comparison to the second report, not only has the ratio of the sections turned, but the topics of the sections have changed, mirroring another change in Bourgeois’ understanding of CIAM’s exhibitions for CIAM-03. Despite this repeated division into “Congrès” and “Exposition,” Bourgeois, as was the case in his second report, again touches on the planning of CIAM’s exhibition in the “Congrès” section. However, in contrast to his second report, in which he touched on both the embedding of CIAM’s exhibitions in the agenda of CIAM-03 as well as on the general matters regarding CIAM-03, in the third report he exclusively touches on the interdependency of the exhibition space in relation to the meeting space in the “Congrès” section. The “Exposition” section, which makes up by far the largest part of the report, is a hymn of praise to the importance of the

⁶⁷⁹ “Ausstellung der Horizontalen Schiebefenster: Diese Ausstellung dürfte zum Klappen kommen. Verschiedene Konstrukteure und Fabrikanten aus Deutschland, der Schweiz, Tschechoslowakei und Frankreich werden persönlich an der Eröffnung der Ausstellung ihre Modell erklären. Vorbereitung des Kongresses: Die Pläne für die Ausstellung sind in Brüssel eingetroffen, ausgenommen gewisse deutsche Pläne.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, November 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

exhibitions of CIAM-03. He aims to prove his great commitment to “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows,” and thus refers to the ongoing dispute between him and Giedion among others regarding the side-event of the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum.” The layout of the report is dense and cluttered, one justification chasing the other. No blank space in between the different paragraphs leaves any room for possible interpretations – or further misunderstandings. Multiple underlined keywords manifest Bourgeois’ attempt to justify and emphasise his decisions.

When Bourgeois sent his third and final report on the preparations for CIAM-03 to Giedion, just ten days before the opening of CIAM-03, the preparations were back in order: nearly all windows for “Horizontal Sliding Windows” had arrived in Brussels, the plans for “Rational Lot Development” were almost complete, and the final agenda was about to be set in stone. At this moment, Bourgeois was less worried about the preparations than a conflict between him and Giedion, Karl Moser, and Rudolf Steiger. As we know from the correspondence between Giedion and Gropius, Moser, and van Eesteren, the planning of the public side-event “Les Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” was causing internal conflicts. Giedion, Moser, and Steiger in particular accused Bourgeois of favouring the planning of the side-event over the organisation of CIAM-03. That is, they accused him specifically of prioritising the planning of “Les Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” over the planning of the exhibitions of CIAM-03.⁶⁸⁰

The rigid layout of Bourgeois’ third report resembles more closely the clarity of his first report. Nevertheless, like the second, this report also contains a considerable number of hand-drawn annotations and corrections. Again, the original date of CIAM-03 in the header of the letter is crossed out; this time, however, not with a red pencil, but with deep black ink. The original date no longer shines through the pen’s ink – the past is history. The few handwritten annotations look less hectic. Besides a handful of incidental annotations here and there, Bourgeois consciously emphasises what mattered the most to him, namely to refute Giedion’s accusations by appearing focused on CIAM-03 and reliable. Throughout the two-page report, he underlines what could prove his defence against the charges. Depending on the level of importance, he underlines his most significant arguments once, twice, or even three times. This report is again structured in different sections with corresponding headers. However, the headers here have not been subsequently added by hand and bound together with brackets or strokes. Instead, the sections and headers are properly embedded in the layout and typed – as everything was planned long beforehand – as if to say: Victor Bourgeois can be trusted to organise CIAM-03. The “Congrès” and

⁶⁸⁰ See chapter 8.4 in “Part II. Analysis”.

“Exposition” sections are followed by sections on “Invitations,” “Accommodation,” “Your speech,” and “Bookkeeping.” Whereas the last three sections each end with a full-stop, the headers “Congrès” and “Exposition” each end with a period of three full-stops, stressing how much there is to clarify. Every section, independent from its length, consists of one dense and packed paragraph, one line chasing the other. Nothing is left of the rather spacious and generous layout of previous reports; no blank space within a section leaves room for interpretation – the matter is serious and needs extensive explanation.

While the text ratio of the “Congrès” and “Exposition” sections was approximately two-thirds to one-third in Bourgeois’ second report, the weight drastically tips in his third report. While the “Congrès” section does not extend more than four lines, the “Exposition” section takes up almost the entire first page. Even if the mere quantity is not an indicator of Bourgeois’ growing awareness that CIAM’s exhibitions were a constituting format of CIAM-03, his in-depth and detailed argumentation nevertheless can be seen as an indication of his growing awareness of the significance of CIAM’s exhibitions as the format of CIAM-03. The content of the “Congrès” section is exclusively devoted to the final location for the speeches and meetings of CIAM-03. Bourgeois ultimately proposes to hold the speeches and discussions in the conference hall (“la salle de conférences”) in the Palais des Beaux-Arts – and not, as he declared in his first report to Giedion, in one of the exhibition halls.⁶⁸¹ Bourgeois’s explanation for this decision is based on the capacity of the conference hall:

For the sessions of the Congress, I think that, except for the guided tours, it will be better to meet in the conference room which is right next to the exhibition. This room can hold 300 people or more.⁶⁸²

Although the “Congrès” section lasts only four lines, Bourgeois still manages to refer twice to CIAM’s exhibitions: once by referring to the “guided tours” of the exhibitions, once by stressing the spatial disposition of the conference hall in relation to the exhibition hall. The second mention especially stands out. Instead of simply pointing out the proximity between the two different spaces, Bourgeois emphasises the *ultimate proximity* between them: the conference hall is “right next to the exhibition” – not close to it, not next to it, but “right next to” it. Additionally, by emphasising that the guided tours of the exhibitions would still take place within the exhibition space, he is stating the obvious and – in the light of the

⁶⁸¹ “Les réunions peuvent parfaitement avoir lieu, si nous ne sommes pas trop nombreux, dans une des salles d'exposition.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, August 6, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

⁶⁸² “Pour les séances du congrès je pense que, sauf pour les visites guidées, il vaudra mieux se réunir dans la salle de conférences qui se trouve toute à côté de l'exposition. Cette salle peut contenir 300 personnes et même plus.” Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

accusations – playing it safe. He justifies his preference to hold the meetings outside the exhibition space and in a different room simply with the capacity of the conference hall.

Again, as was the case in his second report, in the “Congrès” section of his third report Bourgeois emphasises the embedding of CIAM’s exhibitions in the programme of CIAM-03. But unlike in his second report, here he does not do so by referring to the agenda of CIAM-03, but by emphasising the spatial proximity between the two locations, stressing the dependence of the meeting space on the exhibition space. Thus his understanding of CIAM’s exhibition as a *working space* of the Congress also stresses the assumption that CIAM – or at least Victor Bourgeois – at this point in time understood CIAM’s exhibitions as the *format* of the Congress.

In the “Exposition” section, Bourgeois addresses the current conflict about the spatial arrangement of the “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibitions in relation to “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum,” as well as the scheduled time for the opening of the CIAM exhibitions. In this section, Bourgeois touches on five issues. First, he lets Giedion know that he has sent a new proposal for the location of “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” to Steiger. Second, he stresses that he has “never” considered “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” as appendices to the “Frankfurt Exhibition,”⁶⁸³ as he is accused of doing: “Our intention was never [underlined once by Bourgeois] to consider the exhibition of lot development and windows as an ‘annex’ of the Frankfurt exhibition.”⁶⁸⁴ Third, Bourgeois repeats that he is – contrary to Moser and Steiger’s opinion – very well aware of the importance of the “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibitions to CIAM-03. He gives several examples of his great commitment, and states that: “I give nothing less than ‘everything’ [underlined once by Bourgeois] to guarantee that [the Congress] in Brussels as well as the exhibitions will be no less than a great success.”⁶⁸⁵ Fourth, he concludes his justifications by asserting that “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” will in any case constitute “the essential part of the exhibition”⁶⁸⁶ in Brussels: “So you can reassure Prof. Moser and Steiger and tell them once again that the exhibitions of frames and plans will be presented in such a way as to constitute the essential [underlined three times

⁶⁸³ There are at least two possible interpretations of this reference to the “Frankfurt Exhibition.” First, since the “Frankfurt Exhibition” was one of the six exhibitions shown in conjunction with the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum,” it is possible that Bourgeois’ reference is representative of all exhibitions of the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum.” Second, since CIAM’s “Dwellings for Minimal Existence” was first shown in Frankfurt at CIAM-02, and was also exhibited in Brussels, Bourgeois might have meant this exhibition.

⁶⁸⁴ “Note intension n’a jamais été de considérer l’exposition de lotissements et de chassis comme une ‘annexe’ de l’exposition de francfortoise.” Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 17, 1930.

⁶⁸⁵ “Je ne fasse pas tout mon possible pour que celui [le congrès] de Bruxelles de même que l’exposition de plans de lotissement et de chassis ne soit un très grand succès.” Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 17.

⁶⁸⁶ One can assume that by “the exhibition,” Bourgeois is referring to all exhibitions shown in Brussels.

by Bourgeois] part of the exhibition.”⁶⁸⁷ He then finishes by confirming that “Rational Lot Development“ and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” will not be opened before the official opening of CIAM-03 on 27 November.

Before Bourgeois put his signature to his third and final report at the very right edge of the page – even less confidently than in his second report, and now almost extending beyond the sheet – he once more addresses the planning of “Horizontal Sliding Windows” and “Rational Lot Development.” This is the only unlabelled section, standing out not due to a header in the left margin, but by merit of a blank margin. He again reiterates his awareness of the importance of CIAM's exhibitions to CIAM-03, once more clarifying that the stipulation attached to the funding received from the city of Brussels was the only reason for hosting “Les Journées de l'Habitation Minimum.”

The paper mirrors Victor Bourgeois' changing understanding of CIAM's exhibition during the preparations in Brussels. While during the first CIRPAC meeting he had still differentiated between the Congress and the exhibition (“what we are talking about here, gentlemen, is the urbanisation exhibition, and not the Congress”),⁶⁸⁸ half a year later in the preparations he has given up this formal differentiation in his reports. In his first report, the “Exposition” was still part of the “Congrès,” but in the course of the preparations (second and third report) the “Congrès” became part of the exhibition – in content and layout. This development shows how CIAM's exhibition evolved during the preparations to the format of the “Congrès,” though under “Congrès” the assembly of delegates at the same time and at the same place was signified, not the format of addressing the theme of CIAM-03 verbally. This differentiation of the “Congrès” as a typology of assembling,⁶⁸⁹ and CIAM's exhibitions as format of addressing⁶⁹⁰ the subject of CIAM-03, as reflected in Bourgeois' reports, is crucial for the re-evaluation of CIAM's exhibitions as the *format* of the Congresses.

⁶⁸⁷ “Vous pouvez donc encore une fois rassurer le Prof. Moser et Steiger et leur dire que l'exposition de chassis et de plans de lotissement sera présentée de façon à constituer la partie essentielle [underlines three times by Bourgeois] de l'exposition.” In this context it can be assumed that by saying “will constitute the essential part of the exhibition,” Bourgeois refers to all exhibitions shown in Brussels and summarises them as one. Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion,” November 17, 1930.

⁶⁸⁸ “Il s'agit ici, Messieurs, de l'exposition d'urbanisation et non pas du congrès. Si vous me le permettez, afin de mieux préciser les idées, voici comment nous avons conçu à Bruxelles, l'organisation administrative. On vient d'édifier un palais contenant de grandes et de petites salles de réunion, avec des salles d'exposition. Je n'attends plus que votre approbation pour signer le projet de contrat préparé à cet égard. Ce projet est avantageux pour nous en ce sens que notre équipement sera repris par le palais des Beaux Arts. Nous disposerons d'une grande salle de réunions, de locaux pour le secrétariat et d'un restaurant. Tout sera donc centralisé, ce qui est très important, au point de vue pratique.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 23.

⁶⁸⁹ [German: “Versammlungsformat”]

⁶⁹⁰ [German: “Auseinandersetzungsformat”]

4. CIAM's Exhibitions as THEME

Raphaël Verwilghen's first outline of the exhibition of CIAM-03, which Victor Bourgeois read aloud at the beginning of the first meeting, not only served as the starting point for the discussions about the exhibitions, but as a reference for the discussion about the lectures and questionnaires for CIAM-03.⁶⁹¹ After Bourgeois had read Verwilghen's outline aloud, he stressed that what he had just read – and, according to him, what should be discussed in the following meeting – should address the exhibition, and just the exhibition:

What we are talking about here, gentlemen, is the urbanisation exhibition, and not the Congress.⁶⁹²

However, despite Bourgeois' wish to stress the difference between the exhibition and the topic of the lectures, Verwilghen's outline nonetheless continuously served as a reference during subsequent discussions. Whether the subject under discussion was related to the planning of the exhibitions or to the *thematic focus* of CIAM-03, the CIRPAC members kept referring to the exhibition's first outline. In the following chapter, it is first argued that the focus of the lectures given at CIAM-03 emerged through discussing the exhibitions of CIAM-03, as well as that, second, the focus of the exhibition of CIAM-03 *limited* the thematic scope of the questionnaires for CIAM-03. The following chapter aims to trace this reciprocal influence of decisions taken for the exhibitions and the thematic focus of CIAM-03.

Throughout the two sections of this chapter, it is argued that the topic of the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition defined the *theme* of CIAM-03, both in the sense that the focus of CIAM-03 was found through the planning of the exhibitions of CIAM-03, and that the thematic scope of the questionnaires was determined by the exhibition's topic. Finally, it is shown that this influence ultimately resulted in the lectures given at CIAM-03 being perceived by CIAM members themselves as a thematic addition to the exhibitions of CIAM-03.

⁶⁹¹ See chapter 1.2.1 in "Part I. Reconstruction".

⁶⁹² "Il s'agit ici, Messieurs, de l'exposition d'urbanisation et non pas du congrès." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 23.

4.1. Identifying the Focus of CIAM-03 through the Planning of the Exhibitions

That the thematic focus of the lectures given at CIAM-03 was found through discussing the exhibitions of CIAM-03 is apparent from the minutes of the first CIRPAC meeting for the Congress.⁶⁹³ During this meeting, one preoccupation of the present CIRPAC members was to find the thematic focus of CIAM-03, namely "Rational Lot Development."⁶⁹⁴ The minutes of this meeting reveal that the focus of the lectures given for CIAM-03 was found *through discussing and planning the exhibition* of CIAM-03. The CIRPAC members agreed that the exhibition of CIAM-03 should continue and expand the exhibition of CIAM-02. But how this continuation could be reached and what it looked like needed some discussion. Through these discussions, not only was the focus of the exhibition found, but the thematic focus of CIAM-03.

Right after the first CIRPAC meeting, a press release was published which announced the focus of CIAM-03. It stated that CIAM-03 would pick up the question of minimal housing from CIAM-02 in Frankfurt in 1929, this time focussing on the implications that minimal housing had on site planning:

On the third of February at Le Corbusier in Paris met the commission charged with the elaboration of the programme for the Third International Congress for new building. [...] It was decided that the Third Congress should take place in Brussels at the Palais des Beaux-Arts from 2 to 4 October 1930. It will continue and extend the theme of the Frankfurt Congress, 'The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,' of 1929. In particular, it will take into account the consequences that a fruitful solution to this problem will have for land parcelling. As in Frankfurt, an exhibition in Brussels will also explain the theme of the Congress in more detail.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹³ See chapter 1.2.1 in "Part I. Reconstruction".

⁶⁹⁴ Mumford explains the choice of this theme as follows: "It was agreed that the focus of the next Congress to be held in Bourgeois's Brussels, would be 'Rational Site Planning', reflecting the importance May and Stam gave to the need to 'rationalize' some planning along Zeilenbau lines, to reduce costs and facilitate (or at least represent) mass production." See Mumford, "Le Corbusier, the Green City, and His 'Response to Moscow,'" in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 44–48.

⁶⁹⁵ "Am dritten Februar tagte bei Le Corbusier/ Paris die Kommission, die mit der Ausarbeitung des Programmes für den dritten, internationalen Kongress für neues Bauen betraut war [...]. Es wurde beschlossen, dass der dritte Kongress in Brüssel im Palais des Beaux Arts vom 2. bis 4. Oktober 1930 stattfinden solle. Er wird das Thema des Frankfurter Kongresses 1929 'Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum' fortführen und erweitern. Vor allem wird er die Folgerungen berücksichtigen, die eine fruchtbare Lösung dieses Problems auf die Bodenparzellierung nach sich zieht. Wie in Frankfurt, so wird auch in Brüssel eine Ausstellung das Thema des Kongresses näher erläutern." CIAM, "Pressecommuniqué," n.d., 42-3-1-13D, gta Archives. For a summary of this meeting, see also Steinmann, "3. Kongress, Brüssel, November 1930: Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum," in *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 74.

Even though it was announced that the exhibition would again “explain the theme of the Congress in more detail,” the thematic focus was yet to be declared, but only the working title:

In addition to the exhibition of floorplans of dwellings for minimal existence from Frankfurt and according to the extended theme, a presentation on ‘Rational Lot Development Methods’ will be given.⁶⁹⁶

Both the formulation as well as the order of the information given in the press release – first the topic of CIAM-03, and only then the mention of the exhibition – could suggest that the topic of the exhibition resulted from the topic chosen for CIAM-03. However, when looking closely at the minutes of the first CIRPAC meeting, it becomes clear that quite the opposite was the case: the focus of CIAM-03 emerged from discussing what to exhibit at CIAM-03. First, it was decided how to continue and complete the exhibition of CIAM-02 at CIAM-03 and what to exhibit. Only then, based on this decision, was the focus of CIAM-03 decided. Thus, it was the exhibition that set the thematic focus of the speeches given at CIAM-03 and thus of CIAM-03 itself – and not the other way around. In the following, based upon the protocol of the first CIRPAC meeting, this order in the decision making is traced.

The discussion of the CIRPAC meeting on 3 February was long-drawn-out and largely unstructured.⁶⁹⁷ The attending members jumped from subject to subject, and the questions raised were repetitive. The planning of the exhibitions of CIAM-03 was also touched on several times during the meeting. Despite the continuous subject change, the planning of the exhibitions nonetheless dominated the meeting. Besides continuously touching on open questions regarding the exhibition of CIAM-03, the discussion explicitly focused on this very subject – less unstructured and with fewer interruptions – twice during the meeting: for the first time right at the beginning, and for the second time once more at the end of the meeting. While the topic of the exhibition of CIAM-03 was mainly discussed at the beginning, mostly organisational issues were raised at the end. Before the attending CIRPAC members addressed the organisation of CIAM's exhibitions, they debated how to lead the discussions of CIAM-03 as well as what “special questions” should be addressed in the speeches. At this point in time, due to the continuous back and forth in the discussion, the protocol bears witness that the members' sentiments were fragile and everyone's nerves were on edge. In particular, Sigfried Giedion was afraid of stumbling discussions during the meetings of

⁶⁹⁶ “Ausser der in Frankfurt bereits gezeigten Grundrissaussstellung der Wohnung für das Existenzminimum, wird entsprechend dem erweiterten Thema eine Darstellung ‘Rationeller Geländeerschliessungsmethoden’ gegeben werden.” CIAM, “Pressecommuniqué.”

⁶⁹⁷ See chapter 1.2.3 in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

CIAM-03. He feared a repeated criticism of the work and approach of CIAM, as was the case after CIAM-02.⁶⁹⁸ Then, criticism and doubts were raised in the press about the Congress' productivity, as well as the chosen format of lectures as a means of discussing the questions raised by CIAM, including from CIAM members.⁶⁹⁹ So besides Giedion's frustration about the unstructured discussion during the CIRPAC meeting, his concerns about repeated criticism of CIAM's work was presumably another reason for his impatience. According to the minutes of the CIRPAC meeting he was highly concerned about "how to give life to the Congress."⁷⁰⁰ So when the CIRPAC members addressed the question of how to lead the discussions of CIAM-03 and what "special questions" needed to be treated in the lectures, Giedion for a moment lost his patience. In response to a protracted exchange between him, Victor Bourgeois, and Le Corbusier on whether one should treat "special questions" in the lectures held, he stated that "the only question that still interests me is how we proceed." He continued as follows: "To what has been said, I add following question: don't you think that special questions should be treated?"⁷⁰¹ To which Le Corbusier then replied: "I'll say this: The Congress will deal with minimum housing and its impact on land parcelling. To achieve satisfactory results, the discussion will focus on two areas."⁷⁰² At this very moment in time, the discussion took a turn. The two areas on which the discussion should focus, as in the following proposed by Le Corbusier, were basically a repetition of what was previously decided on as the focus of the exhibition. In essence, the discussion about "how to give life to the Congress" was a repetition of the discussion of the focus of the exhibition of CIAM-03. Le Corbusier proposed the following two topics – both as discussion drivers, as well as the focus of CIAM-03. First, he proposed to discuss propositions for settlement schemes designed beyond the existing building regulations of the different countries. Second, he proposed to discuss the importance of technical innovations for advancing the question of minimal housing:

⁶⁹⁸ He thereby referred to the criticism regarding CIAM-02 in Frankfurt. For example, one point of criticism conceded the missing resolution of the Congress: "M. GIEDION. – Nous avons constaté la faute que nous avons commise à Frankfort, de ne préparer aucun texte de résolution." See CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 35.

⁶⁹⁹ "May bezeichnete die Ergebnisse des Kongresses an der Sitzung vom 25. Oktober als gering und schwierig und verschwiegen diese Meinung auch im Heft der Zeitschrift 'Das Neue Frankfurt' nicht, dass diesem gewidmet war." See Steinmann, "2. Kongress, Frankfurt, 1929: Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum," in *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928–1939*, 47.

⁷⁰⁰ "M. GIEDION. – Je me demande si l'on pourrait pas traiter des questions de ce genre, pour donner plus d'animation au congrès [...] ne croyez-vous pas que l'on devra traiter des questions spéciales?" CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 35.

⁷⁰¹ "Giedion: – La seule question qui m'intéresse est celle de savoir comment vous pensez que l'on pourra précéder. A ce qui a été dit, j'ajoute cette question: ne croyez-vous pas que l'on deva traiter des questions spéciales?" CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 34.

⁷⁰² "Le Corbusier: – Je dirais ceci: Le Congrès s'occupera de l'habitation minium et ses reactions sur le parcellement du terrain. Par arriver à des résultats satisfaisantes, la discussion portera sur deux ordres de choses." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 35ff.

What I [Le Corbusier] say is the following: the Congress will address [...] 1 the proposals of the various countries, relating to the modifications to be made to the legislations or regulations; 2 technical innovations likely to advance the solution of the question of the minimum housing.⁷⁰³

These two proposals for the thematic focus of the speeches already sounded familiar to the present CIRPAC members, since Le Corbusier had proposed this very focus earlier in the meeting when the topic of the exhibitions for CIAM-03 was addressed:

I would be very happy if, in addition to these documents, we could complete this exhibition with innovation graphics presented by the authors of the reports. To sum up, I would propose: [...] 3 an exhibition of innovation graphics; 4 proposals for minimal housing, completely schematic, free of any regulations, to be requested from Congress members who have ideas to submit in this regard.⁷⁰⁴

That the thematic focus of the exhibition of CIAM-03, which was previously and in great detail discussed and agreed, was then considered a discussion-driver for the speeches of CIAM-03, a focus also chosen for the “special questions” of the speeches of CIAM-03, demonstrates how the focus of the exhibition of CIAM-03 set the *thematic focus* of CIAM-03.

4.2. The Exhibitions Limiting the Thematic Scope of the Questionnaire for CIAM-03

Not only did the focus of the lectures of CIAM-03 emerge through discussing the exhibitions of CIAM-03, but the focus of the exhibition of CIAM-03 also *limited* the thematic scope of the questionnaires for CIAM-03. This is apparent in Hans Schmidt’s letter to Rudolf Steiger of 22 April 1930. In this letter, Schmidt updates Steiger on his ongoing work for an additional questionnaire for CIAM-03. He explains that he has “limited” the subject of questionnaire according to the thematic scope of the exhibition of CIAM-03, which was agreed on during the first CIRPAC meeting. The wording in Schmidt’s letter stresses how, even after the CIRPAC members had decided on the focus of CIAM-03, the thematic focus of the exhibition

⁷⁰³ “M. LE CORBUSIER. – Je dirais ceci: Le Congrès s'occupera de l'habitation minimum et de ses réactions sur le parcellement du terrain. Pour arriver à des résultats satisfaisants, la discussion portera sur deux ordres de choses: 1° sur les propositions des divers pays, relatives aux modifications à apporter aux législations ou réglementations; 2° sur des innovations techniques susceptibles d'avancer la solution de la question de l'habitation minimum.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 35ff.

⁷⁰⁴ “M. LE CORBUSIER. – Je serais très heureux si l'on pouvait, en dehors de ces documents, compléter cette exposition par des graphiques d'innovations, présentés par les auteurs des rapports. En résumé, je proposerai: [...] 3° exposition de graphiques d'innovations; 4° propositions d'habitations minima, tout à fait schématiques, hors de toute réglementation à demander aux membres de congrès qui auraient des idées à soumettre à cet égard.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1,” 25.

further narrowed down the thematic scope of the questionnaires and thus the thematic scope of the discussions at CIAM-03.

While the first CIRPAC meeting was devoted to the thematic focus of CIAM-03, the first session of the second CIRPAC meeting on 17 May was devoted to the questionnaires for CIAM-03. At this moment in time, three questionnaires were currently being designed.⁷⁰⁵ First, the questionnaire by Mart Stam, which would collect numerical information for the exhibition of CIAM-03. Second, a questionnaire by Hans Schmidt, which would collect statistical information on the different cities, and how these cities were planned according to their functions and transportation. The final questionnaire, by Le Corbusier, would focus on technical innovations. While the guidelines listed the material which needed to be handed in for the exhibition, the questionnaires served to collect numerical information, mainly as the basis for the discussions held and reports given at CIAM-03.

Besides this main item on the agenda of 17 May, the two sessions of the second CIRPAC meeting were characterised by the absence of Victor Bourgeois, Mart Stam, and Hans Schmidt, who all were highly involved in the planning and preparations for the exhibitions of CIAM-03. Their absence also led to general confusion regarding the questionnaires for CIAM-03. The session on 17 May centred around two main subjects. First, Schmidt's questionnaire for CIAM-03, and second the method of work of the Congress. Even though the focus of the exhibition of CIAM-03 as well as the focus of the lectures of CIAM-03 had been agreed during the first CIRPAC meeting, the issue of the questionnaires was not completely solved. Thus, on 17 May, Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion, Karl Moser, Marcel Breuer, Walter Gropius, and Rudolf Steiger did not – as initially planned – discuss the ongoing preparations for CIAM-03 by the exhibition committee in Brussels, but focused on the questionnaires under preparation as well as on the “architectural problems” of the Congress. Moser opened the meeting as follows:

Mr. Bourgeois should have chaired this meeting, in particular to report on the work done so far for the Brussels Congress. It was also Mr Bourgeois who should have informed us about the work to be done by the local committee in Brussels. I don't know why Mr Bourgeois did not come.⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰⁵ See chapter 1.2.2. in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

⁷⁰⁶ “Moser: – C'est M. BOURGEOIS qui aurait dû présider cette séance, pour nous donner notamment le compte-rendu des rapports des travaux faits jusqu'à maintenant, pour le Congrès de Bruxelles. En raison de son absence, nous allons laisser le compte rendu du Président de la Commission. C'est M. Bourgeois également qui devait nous informer de la question des travaux à accomplis par le Comité local à Bruxelles. Je ne sais pas pourquoi M. Bourgeois n'est pas venu. Nous avons à discuter: A – Complément du communiqué du questionnaire de l'Exposition prévue dans la séance du 2 février. B – la question des problèmes architecturaux du congrès.” CIRPAC, “COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI,” 1930, 1, 42-3-1-21F, gta Archives.

Bourgeois' no-show was not the only surprise for the CIRPAC members, but also the number of questionnaires currently being prepared for CIAM-03. All three questionnaires were discussed. Since Schmidt was also absent from the meeting, Steiger presented Schmidt's proposal on his behalf. Schmidt's questionnaire picked up the decision taken during the first CIRPAC meeting to also show graphics at CIAM-03, which would illustrate the different national reports. He was working on a graphical approach which would allow a comparison between the different cities' developments. Whereas Le Corbusier was working on his questionnaire devoted to technical innovations, and Stam was creating a questionnaire on housing settlements, Schmidt was convinced that only "a comparative basis from country to country" would allow a thorough international comparison of the different developments. During the meeting on 17 May, Steiger declared that this could only be achieved through unification:

It will only be possible to compare the development of different cities if this development is expressed using similar methods of representation from city to city. To begin with, we wanted to compare the three Swiss cities of Geneva, Zurich, and Basel. To try out this method, the basics are as follows [...].⁷⁰⁷

Steiger at this point was already aware of Schmidt's proposed approach. In a letter from 22 April, Schmidt had informed Steiger about his ongoing work on the questionnaire, sending the latter his current draft along with the following explanations:

Enclosed I am sending you my proposal for the development of the Brussels task. I have limited the subject to the highest-used residential area, from which the exhibition also starts, i.e., Zone I for Basel and a closed development for Zurich. I have justified this in more detail in the introduction. For the different plans, it is probably best to photograph the best available city plan of each city and then enlarge it uniformly to 1:10,000. For the residential density of Basel, there is a plan of the statistical office of 1920,

⁷⁰⁷ "I y a Messieurs, une proposition de M. SCHMID pour compléter les propositions qu'a élaborées la commission du 2 février à Paris. On a vu au congrès de Francfort qu'on ne peut comparer les problèmes entre eux que sur le chemin international, ou mieux, les se comparer et être soumis à l'analyse que s'ils sont établis sur une base comparative de pays à pays. Pour comparer les différents résultats, il est nécessaire de chercher une base commune dans les différents pays et pour cela M. SCHMID a fait des propositions fondamentales. Pour arriver au résultat souhaité, il faudrait typiser la manière d'exprimer les projets qui sont, soumis à l'examen, parce qu'il ne sera possible de comparer le développement des diverses villes que si ce développement est exprimé par des méthodes de représentation analogue de ville à ville. Pour commencer, on a voulu comparer les trois villes Suisses, Genève, Zurich, Bâle. Pour faire l'expérience de cette méthode, les bases sont les suivantes: (A partir de ce moment, la traduction n'est plus donnée)." CIRPAC, "COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI," 1.

which is very instructive (each 100 inhabitants represented by a dot).

Something similar must also exist for Zurich.⁷⁰⁸

Even though Schmidt's plan to exhibit these city schemes at CIAM-03 was ultimately postponed to CIAM-04, the passage, "I have limited the subject to the highest-used residential area, from which the exhibition also starts," nevertheless shows how the *focus of the exhibition of CIAM-03* was narrowing down the *thematic scope of the questionnaires*. So not only did the focus of the speeches emerge from the focus of the exhibition, it also limited the thematic scope of the questionnaires.

Schmidt, according to his correspondence, put a lot of time into his questionnaire. He also sent a copy of this letter to Moser, and similar letters to Giedion and Stam, all making sure that his work on the questionnaire was being noticed.⁷⁰⁹ Nevertheless, Schmidt already expressed his scepticism as to whether such laborious work on an international basis could be realised in just a couple of months before the beginning of CIAM-03:

I still have doubts about the feasibility of the idea of bringing the same material together in a uniform way for the whole exhibition. Given the remaining time, and learning from Frankfurt, we can consider ourselves lucky if we get the Swiss material together. I will also send my suggestions to Giedion and Stam and ask what they think of it.⁷¹⁰

In the end, Schmidt's concerns regarding the feasibility proved to be justified. On the last day of June 1930, shortly after the Swiss CIAM group had held a meeting in Zurich, Schmidt informed Giedion that he had agreed to postpone his questionnaire to CIAM-04, and from now on to focus on Stam's more pragmatic questionnaire:

I am attaching the minutes of the Swiss group meeting from 28.VI.30. We have all come to the conclusion that only when we concentrate on the

⁷⁰⁸ "Ich sende dir in der beilage meinen vorschlag für die ausarbeitung der brüsseler aufgabe. ich habe das thema auf das höchstausgenutzte wohnviertel, von dem auch die ausstellung ausgeht, beschränkt, also auf die basler zone I und für zürich auf die geschlossene bebauung. ich habe dies in der einleitung näher begründet. für die pläne mit den verschiedenen eintragungen ist es wohl das beste, von jeder stadt den besten stadtplan zu fotografieren und dann einheitlich auf 1: 10'000 so zu vergrößern. über die wohnlichte gibt es für basel einen plan des statistischen amtes von 1920, der sehr instruktiv ist (je 100 Einwohner durch einen Punkt dargestellt). etwas ähnliches muss auch für zürich existieren (evtl. anfragen bei carl brüschweiler, zürich)." Hans Schmidt, Letter to Rudolf Steiger, April 22, 1930, 42-K-1930-Schmidt-Hans, gta Archives.

⁷⁰⁹ "Ich bin endlich soweit, Ihnen meinen Vorschlag für das Brüsseler Material senden zu können. Ich nehme an, dass Sie sich mit Steiger deswegen in Verbindung setzen, dem ich Näheres über die Ausführung geschrieben habe. Ebenso werde ich den Vorschlag an Stam senden". Hans Schmidt, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, April 22, 1930, 42-K-1930-Schmidt-Hans, gta Archives.

⁷¹⁰ "Ich zweifle noch an der durchführbarkeit der idee, für die ganze ausstellung dasselbe material einheitlich zusammenzubringen. in anbetracht der zeit und der frankfurter erfahrungen müssen wir froh sein, wenn wir die schweiz zusammen kriegen. ich werde den vorschlag auch an giedion und stam senden und fragen was sie davon denken." Hans Schmidt, Letter to Rudolf Steiger, April 22, 1930, 42-K-1930-Schmidt-Hans, gta Archives.

simplest and most obvious will it be possible to present material for the Congress. Therefore, we have dropped my proposal.⁷¹¹

Schmidt then refers to the second CIRPAC meeting, and blames the confusion regarding the different questionnaires not on his own absence, but on the absence of Stam from the meeting.⁷¹² Despite the postponement of Schmidt's questionnaire to CIAM-04, his work on it nevertheless shows how the focus of the exhibition not only specified the focus of the lectures of CIAM-03, but also limited the scope of the questionnaires for CIAM-03. It was the topic of the exhibition which would have "limited the thematic scope" of Schmidt's questionnaire, which in turn would have served as the basis for the discussion.

4.3. The Perception of the Speeches of CIAM-03 as Add-on to the Exhibition

Bearing in mind that the focus of the lectures given at CIAM-03 emerged from discussing the Congress' exhibition, and that the exhibition limited the thematic scope of the questionnaires which served as basis for the discussion of CIAM-03, the following formulation in a report on CIAM-03 by Ernst Kaufmann in *Zentralblatt* is hardly surprising – and still remarkable:

The theme of the exhibition was also covered in a series of speeches.⁷¹³

The wording stresses how the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition was perceived in comparison to the given speeches: it was the focus of the exhibition that "was *also* covered" in the speeches. This formulation suggests that the speeches were perceived as an *add-on*, a mere *addition* to the exhibitions; they touched on the topic of the exhibition and thus supplemented the exhibition – not the other way around. Thus, Kaufmann's wording suggests that "Rational Lot Development" was seen as the main thematic body of CIAM-03, whereas the speeches given were rather its thematic extension. Against the background that

⁷¹¹ "Ich übersende ihnen in der beilage das protokoll der schweizer gruppensitzung v. 28.VI.30. wir sind alle zur einsicht gekommen, dass nur die konzentration auf das einfachste und nächstliegendste noch einige möglichkeit bietet, für den kongress noch ein präsentables material zu erhalten, wir haben deshalb meinen vorschlag fallen gelassen. die verwirrung kommt daher, dass stam, der sein schema schon lange bereit hat, in paris nicht anwesend war, stam wird nun mit bourgeois selbst sprechen. er steht ebenso wie ich zu ihrer verfügung, auf jeden fall muss jetzt alles eingesetzt werden." Hans Schmidt, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, June 31, 1930, 42-K-1930-Schmidt-Hans, gta Archives.

⁷¹² "Ich übersende ihnen in der beilage das protokoll der schweizer gruppensitzung v. 28.VI.30. wir sind alle zur einsicht gekommen, dass nur die konzentration auf das einfachste und nächstliegendste noch einige möglichkeit bietet, für den kongress noch ein präsentables material zu erhalten, wir haben deshalb meinen vorschlag fallen gelassen. die verwirrung kommt daher, dass stam, der sein schema schon lange bereit hat, in paris nicht anwesend war, stam wird nun mit bourgeois selbst sprechen. er steht ebenso wie ich zu ihrer verfügung, auf jeden fall muss jetzt alles eingesetzt werden." Hans Schmidt, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, June 31, 1930. In another letter to Giedion in mid-July he once again picks up the topic of the postponed questionnaire: "Das Dringendste bleibt allerdings der Weg, wie die Ausstellung der Bebauungspläne nun zusammengebracht wird. Ich hoffe Stam hat dafür einen einen konkreten Vorschlag gemacht, der ohne Verzug durchgeführt werden kann. Der Vorschlag, die Frage der Stadtschemata in Brüssel als einen Bestandteil des nächsten Kongresses vorzulegen, ist gut. Sie werden sich erinnern, dass ich bereits in Frankfurt der Meinung war, das Thema des nächsten Kongresses müsse eben auf dem vorhergehenden Kongress durch das Plenum festgestellt werden. Man hat nun mit dem Städtebau einfach zu früh losgeschossen." Hans Schmidt, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, July 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Schmidt-Hans, gta Archives.

⁷¹³ "Dieses Thema der Ausstellung wurde auch in einer Reihe von Referaten eingehend behandelt." Ernst Kaufmann, "III. INTERNATIONALER KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN," *Zentralblatt* 1 (1931), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

the topic of the speeches emerged from the topic of the exhibition, as well as that the thematic scope of the questionnaires was limited by the topic of the exhibition, this wording is hardly surprising.

A report by Joseph Gantner in the newspaper *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* supports this assumption. In mid-December 1930, after the exhibitions of CIAM-03 had been closed in Brussels, Gantner praised the range of exhibition material of "Rational Lot Development" and concluded that it was "enhanced" by the speeches:

All in all: a very rich study material, which was greatly enhanced by the lectures given at the Congress, aiming to enhance a new building.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹⁴ "Alles in allem: ein sehr reichliches Studienmaterial, welches durch die Vorträge des Kongresses in seinem Werte für die Bemühungen um eine neue Bauform wesentlich gesteigert wurde." Joseph Gantner, "Internationaler Kongress für neues Bauen," *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* (December 13, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

5. CIAM's Exhibitions as MATERIAL

Sigfried Giedion's introduction to the publication of "Rational Lot Development" is remarkable for several reasons.⁷¹⁵ Above all, it reads less as an introduction than a testimony in a criminal prosecution. In this testimony, Giedion describes the work carried out by CIAM for CIAM-02 as "record[ing] the facts of the case." This was done by "placing floorplans [...] next to each other," similar to a confrontation between the witness and possible suspects. In this case, the visitor to the exhibition was the witness, and the plans were the suspects. The securing of evidence, if you will, was then continued at CIAM-03: the "factual material" in Brussels was the exhibition panels showing the different settlements.

After we had established the common basis at La Sarraz in 1928, we dealt with the individual living cell (Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum) in Frankfurt in 1929. We recorded the facts of the case by placing floorplans from eighteen countries and at the same scale next to each other to see what was actually available. Even then, we knew that the living cell was the just starting point, and real clarity could only be gained by examining the different lot developments and comparing their efficiency.

Therefore, the III. Congress (Brussels 27–29 November 1930) dealt with the subject of 'Rational building methods.' The basis was again the available factual material, which was arranged by the different national groups under certain criteria. In addition, projects which were designed outside of existing building regulation were also presented. This material was collected and then uniformly redrawn in Brussels. The result formed the travelling exhibition 'Rational Lot Development' which was uniformly mounted on aluminium plates like last year's. Its material was treated book-wise and is presented in the second part of this publication. Brief explanations of the plans facilitate the book's use for laymen.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹⁵ Sigfried Giedion, "Einleitung," in *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen. Ergebnisse des 3. Internationalen Kongresses für Neues Bauen*, ed. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen (Frankfurt am Main: Englert und Schlosser, 1931), 5–9.

⁷¹⁶ "Wir haben, nachdem wir 1928 auf Schoß La Sarraz die gemeinsame Plattform festgelegt hatten, in Frankfurt 1929 die einzelne Wohnzelle (Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum) behandelt. Wir haben den Tatbestand aufgenommen, indem wir Grundrisse aus 18 Ländern in einheitlichem Maßstab nebeneinander legten um Aufschluß zu bekommen: was ist eigentlich vorhanden? Schon damals war klar, daß die Wohnzelle wohl den Ausgangspunkt bilde, aber wirkliche Klarheit nur zu gewinnen sei, wenn man die verschiedenen Bebauungsweisen untersuchte und ihre Leistungsfähigkeit miteinander vergliche. Deshalb behandelte der III. Kongreß (Brüssel 27.–29. November 1930) den Fragenkomplex: "Rationelle Bebauungsweisen". Grundlage bildete wieder das vorhandene Tatsachenmaterial, dessen Sammlung von den einzelnen Landesgruppen unter bestimmten Gesichtswinkel übernommen wurde. Dazu kamen die Projekte, die ohne Rücksicht auf die bestehende Bauordnung entworfen waren. Dieses Material wurde gesammelt und in Brüssel einer einheitlichen Behandlung unterworfen. Das Resultat bildete die Wanderausstellung 'Rationelle Bebauungsweisen,' die, wie die letztjährige, einheitlich auf Aluminiumplatten aufgezogen wurde. Ihr Material wurde buchmäßig behandelt und im zweiten Teil dieser Publikation zur Darstellung gebracht. Kurze Erläuterungen der Pläne sollen dem Laien den Gebrauch des Buches erleichtern." Giedion, "Einleitung," 5ff.

Following this storyline of a crime case, the truth and accuracy of Giedion's testimony must be checked. Then, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter, Giedion's introduction indicates that the exhibition material served as CIAM's *material*. The first section aims to demonstrate that it was *through the exhibition material* that CIAM could redeem their claims, respectively their aims⁷¹⁷ of "completeness," "comparability," and "comprehensibility," as well as "visual evidence" (German: "Anschaulichkeit"). The realisation of these claims took place directly on and through the material objects of the exhibition. In the second section it will be demonstrated that the exhibition material served as material compensation for the insufficiency of the inappropriate means for a verbal discussion of the topic of "Rational Lot Development," as well as graphic completion and illustration of the reports. Furthermore, only long and thoroughly -planned preparation of the exhibition material was equated with a well-founded Congress. Hence, the second section aims to trace the significance of the exhibition panels as the *material condition of success* of the Congresses. Furthermore, as will be demonstrated in the third section, the exhibition material also served as the *material body* of CIAM's publications, quantitatively speaking.⁷¹⁸ The aim of the chapter is to stress the material significance of CIAM's exhibitions.

⁷¹⁷ The German term "Zielanspruch" combines these two meanings in one word and seems more adequate here.

⁷¹⁸ See chapter 6. in "Part II. Analysis".

5.1. CIAM's Exhibitions as Material and Immediate Realisation of CIAM's Claims

The saying “a picture speaks a thousand words” explains the material approach of CIAM's exhibitions. Through the material objects of the exhibitions, CIAM's aims and claims of “completeness,” “comparability,” and “comprehensibility” could be reached better than through verbal examination.

5.1.1. Claim of Completeness: “Is there anything available at all?”

Shortly before the begin of CIAM-03, Joseph Gantner published an announcement in *Das Neue Frankfurt* that informed the reader about the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition. In this article, Gantner stresses CIAM's claim that its work is complete:

The Comité International pour la Résolution des Problèmes d'Architecture Contemporaine (CIRPAC) has decided to show and discuss certain detailed problems in as complete a manner as possible at each of the Congresses. This year, on the occasion of the III. International Congress of New Construction (Brussels, 27–29 November), a collection of horizontal sliding windows from various countries will be exhibited. The preparation for the exhibition is well advanced, and models from the north (Finland) to the south (southern France) will be on display.⁷¹⁹

Gantner emphasises this first claim in a threefold manner, as if he wanted to make sure it cannot be overlooked: the selection of the exhibited material will be “as complete as [...] as possible,” and not only a variety of different countries will participate, but “various countries” from “the north” to “the south.” In his guided tour through the exhibition on the second day of CIAM-02, Rudolf Steiger confirmed this announcement by declaring that “all available common systems”⁷²⁰ for horizontal sliding windows were on display in the exhibition.

This claim of *completeness* also applies to the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition. In an advertisement for the adjoining publication printed in “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence”

⁷¹⁹ “Der internationale Ausschluß für neues Bauen hat beschlossen, an den Kongressen jeweils bestimmte Detailprobleme in möglichster Vollständigkeit zu zeigen und zur Diskussion zu stellen. In diesem Jahr findet gelegentlich des III. Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen (Brüssel 27.–29. November) eine Zusammenstellung horizontaler Schiebefenster der verschiedenen Länder statt [...] Die Vorbereitung für die Ausstellung ist weitgehend fortgeschritten, und schon heute sind Modelle horizontaler Schiebefenster von nördlichen (Finnland) bis zu südlichen (Südfrankreich) Gegenden angemeldet.” Joseph Gantner, “Internationale Ausstellung horizontaler Schiebefenster in Brüssel,” *Das Neue Frankfurt* 11 (1930): 241, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

⁷²⁰ “Die Ausstellung umfasst alle gebräuchlichen Systeme, zum grösste [sic] Teil in Modellen in natürlicher Grösse. Diese sind von den Konstrukteure [sic] unter beträchtlichen Zuwand [sic] an Kosten für diese Ausstellung hergestellt worden.” CIAM, “FÜHRUNG DURCH DIE AUSSTELLUNG DER SCHIEBFENSTER durch die Herren Architekten R. STEIGER (Zurich) und P. BARBE (Paris),” n.d., 42-3-4-26D, gta Archives.

publication, it is pronounced that “[t]he book shows all possibilities for the development of residential neighbourhoods and their possible building heights in a uniform treatment.”⁷²¹

One way of justifying this claim through the material objects of the exhibitions was that they provided the possibility of exploring what was out there. According to correspondence from Sigfried Giedion to Gerrit Rietveld, Walter Gropius, and Le Corbusier, the former – to whom the focus of the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition can be ascribed⁷²² – did not seem to have any idea how many models of horizontal sliding windows were available – even though he had already decided on the focus of the exhibition. Phrases in Giedion’s letters such as “are there any designs [of horizontal sliding windows] available at all in Germany?”⁷²³ and “[c]ertainly we will have more than eight to ten models all over the world”⁷²⁴ reveal his ignorance at the time of the topic that had been chosen. Hence, the acquisition process resembled more an *explorative study* with the aim to find out how many models de facto were actually available from “the north” to “the south.”

5.1.2. Claim of Comparability: The Necessity of the Same Scale and Homogeneity

The advertisement for the “Rational Lot Development” publication states another claim of CIAM’s work, *comparability* reached through “uniform treatment.”⁷²⁵ In the introduction to CIAM’s publication, *A Decade of New Architecture*,⁷²⁶ Giedion also specifies *comparability* as one of CIAM’s aims:

These meetings – from the First Congress at La Sarraz in Switzerland (1928) to the Seventh Congress at Bergamo in Italy (1949) have never been taken up with a discussion of personal achievements or discoveries, but have always been concerned with comparative studies of the problems of contemporary architecture and town planning. The preparation of

⁷²¹ “Das Buch zeigt in einheitlicher Bearbeitung alle Möglichkeiten der Aufschließung und Bauhöhen für Wohnviertel.” See “Verlagsanzeigen,” in *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum. Auf Grund der Ergebnisse des II. Internationalen Kongresses für Neues Bauen, sowie der vom Städtische Hochbauamt in Frankfurt am Main veranstalteten Wanderausstellung*, ed. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen Zürich, 3rd edn. (Frankfurt am Main: Englert und Schlosser, 1931).

⁷²² See chapter 2.2.1 in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

⁷²³ “Wir möchten mit dem Brüsseler Kongress eine kleine Ausstellung von Fenstermodellen, aber auf internationaler Basis, verbinden und zwar ausschliesslich horizontale Schiebefenster. Gibt es dafür in Deutschland überhaupt schon Konstruktionen?” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, March 26, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives. Similar wording can be found in a letter to Gerrit Rietveld: “Wir haben die Absicht, in Brüssel in naturgrossen Modellen eine Internationale Sammlung von Horizontalschiebefenstern zu machen. Gibt es in Holland Firmen, die diese Horizontalschiebefenster (wenn möglich aus Eisen) überhaupt herstellen? Wir wären dankbar, wenn Sie uns die Namen dieser Firmen mitteilten oder sie veranlassen könnten, uns vorläufig Pläne zu senden.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Gerrit Rietveld, May 5, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Rietveld, gta Archives.

⁷²⁴ “Certainement on aura plus que huit à dix modèles dans tout le monde.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Le Corbusier, April 8, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Le Corbusier, gta Archives.

⁷²⁵ See: “Verlagsanzeigen,” in *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*, ed. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen Zürich. See chapter 6.4 in “Part II. Analysis”.

⁷²⁶ Sigfried Giedion, ed., *A Decade of New Architecture = Dix Ans D’Architecture Contemporaine* (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1951; 1979). This CIAM publication aimed to give an overview of CIAM’s work accomplished during the past twenty-three years as well as an overview of modern architecture being built and accomplished between 1937 and 1947.

comparative material for study at these Congresses has been a significant feature.⁷²⁷

It was during the second CIRPAC meeting that the question of comparability for CIAM-03 was discussed in detail, and for the first time among the CIRPAC members. Rudolf Steiger stressed the importance of establishing an “analogous method of representation” when he presented Hans Schmidt’s draft for his questionnaire:

It was seen at the Frankfurt Congress that problems can only be compared with each other on an international basis, or rather, the various problems can only be compared and analysed if they are established on a comparative basis from country to country. In order to compare the different results, it is necessary to seek a common basis in the different countries and for this Mr. SCHMID [sic] made some fundamental proposals. In order to achieve the desired result, it would be necessary to standardise the way of expressing the projects that are submitted for examination, because it will only be possible to compare the development of the various cities if this development is expressed by an analogous method of representation from city to city.⁷²⁸

CIAM’s approach to reach this “comparative basis” was that of presenting the material at the same scale as well as in a homogeneous graphic. Shortly after Steiger had expressed these thoughts during the meeting, the question of uniform scale and presentation was again raised. Karl Moser and Le Corbusier argued in favour of Steiger’s proposition. According to Moser, a uniform scale was absolutely essential to enable and reach an “objective comparison” of the different projects on display. He even claimed that this was “matériellement nécessaire.”⁷²⁹ Le Corbusier replied: “We need to unify methods of representation, the scale as well as the graphic illustration. To achieve this, every section from the questionnaire should include a graphic template, that is compulsory for

⁷²⁷ Sigfried Giedion, Introduction to *A Decade of New Architecture = Dix Ans D'architecture Contemporaine*, 1.

⁷²⁸ “M. STEIGER – [...] On a vu au congrès de Francfort qu'on ne peut comparer les problèmes entre eux que sur le chemin international, ou mieux, les divers problèmes ne peuvent se comparer et être soumis à l'analyse que s'ils sont établis sur une base comparative de pays à pays. Pour comparer les différents résultats, il est nécessaire de chercher une base commune dans les différents pays et pour cela M. SCHMID a fait des propositions fondamentales. Pour arriver au résultat souhaité, il faudrait typiser la manière d'exprimer les projets qui sont soumis à l'examen, parce qu'il ne sera possible de comparer le développement des diverses villes que si ce développement est exprimé par des méthodes de représentation analogue de ville à ville.” CIRPAC, “COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI,” 1.

⁷²⁹ The original quote in French is given here on purpose, because it underlines the importance of the *material* for the realisation of this claim: “M. Le Professeur MOSER – [...] l'échelle doit être fixée pour que tous les dessins qui seront exposés aient la même échelle, afin de pouvoir être comparés. C'est matériellement nécessaire.” CIRPAC, “COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI,” 3.

everyone.”⁷³⁰ Thus, after Schmidt had been working out his questionnaire including a graphic template, Giedion wrote to Le Corbusier and insisted that he should adapt his work according to Schmidt’s proposal, well aware that “I’m bothering you too much with my requests, but I believe it’s the only way to get satisfactory results.”⁷³¹

However, not everyone agreed with the uniformity of CIAM’s graphic language. After having received the guidelines for the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, Farkas Molnár expressed his concerns about the presentation of the exhibition, and regretted that even if this “collective” style allowed comparisons between the exhibited projects, it undermined a lot of information:

With great interest I have studied the instructions, and yet some points seem unclear to me. It is not entirely clear to me how you envision the exhibition and what material you need for it. We did not take everything we had with us to Frankfurt, nor do we have yet all the plans that refer to ideal housing. Even though we have material on this question, it is not yet prepared. Moreover, I also have an aversion to the kind of presentation which was used in Frankfurt: even if it is collective and allows comparisons, a lot of information gets lost because of its poster-like nature.⁷³²

5.1.3. Claim of Comprehensibility and “Visual Evidence”: Understand Functions through Processed Materials, and Typologies through Drawings

In order to understand how the exhibits function, CIAM advocated only exhibiting *processed* and *un-isolated* building materials. In a letter to the Swiss Aluminum-Industrie A.G Neuhausen, the sponsor of the aluminium panels for the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, Giedion distanced himself from exhibiting unprocessed building materials, e.g., light metals such as aluminium, in isolation. He explained that the isolated presentation of any material would hardly have any impact on the building industry, whereas the presentation of newly developed components or technical details executed in these

⁷³⁰ “LE CORBUSIER – Il faut l’unification des méthodes de représentation, échelles et genres du graphique. Il faudrait alors pour cela que son questionnaire soit accompagné à chaque question d’un exemple, de graphique type qui sera obligatoire pour tout le monde.” CIRPAC, “COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI,” 3.

⁷³¹ “Schmidt m’ déjà envoyé son questionnaire. [...] Si nous voulons obtenir des résultats du travail international, il me semble nécessaire que chaque point soit répondu d’une manière homogène. Je sais que je vous dérange trop par mes demandes, mais je crois que c’est le seul moyen d’obtenir des résultats satisfaisants.” Giedion, Letter to Le Corbusier, n.d., 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Le Corbusier, gta Archives.

⁷³² “Mit grossem interesse habe ich wegleitungen durchstudiert doch bin ich in einigen punkten unklar. Ich kann nicht genügend vorstellen wie sie die ausstellung vorstellen und was für material dazu brauchen. nach frankfurt hatten wir auch nicht alles, was mit hatten mitgenommen, besonders die pläne, welche auf ideel aufgefasste wohnweise beziehen. wir haben material zu dieser frage, nur das ausarbeiten fehlt, ich habe auch gewissen abneigung von der art der darstellung, wie es in frankfurt gewesen ist, es ist kollektiv und zu vergleichen günstig, aber wegen der plakatmässigkeit sehr viel geht verloren.” Farkas Molnar, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, March 20, 1930, 42-K-1930-Molnar-Farkas, gta Archives.

materials would have a great effect.⁷³³ In this way Giedion also distanced himself from other building exhibitions, which pursued the aim of simply presenting new materials. However, according to Giedion these exhibitions with an isolated presentation had an “extremely low impact.”⁷³⁴ One example for his great aversion to these presentations was the *Deutsche Bauausstellung*, the second venue of the traveling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development.”⁷³⁵ In a letter to Walter Gropius, who had already started the preparations for the travelling exhibition, he states:

Yesterday we received an official letter from the Berlin Building Exhibition requesting the Congress to hold the meeting during the exhibition in Berlin. But the early date alone makes it impossible to respond to this request. The publication enclosed confirmed my scepticism about this event. As far as I can tell from the vague programme, this exhibition will once again bring confusion to the public. I think it is not honest to mask a sales fair as research. I will publicly criticise this in Switzerland and also in Berlin, and will name the fair in Leipzig as a counter example. It [the building exhibition] seems to be as similarly artificial as the ‘Gesolei.’ The Congress cannot take a public stand against it, since the Ring⁷³⁶ is involved, but personally I would like to point out that such events, which solve everything and nothing, have an extremely damaging effect nowadays. Nevertheless, I would like to inform you that we can only rate this happening as negative. In my opinion, one must not let such things happen without criticism.⁷³⁷

⁷³³ See chapter 8.5 in “Part II. Analysis”.

⁷³⁴ “Sehr geehrte Herren! [...] Wir gestatten uns, Ihnen beiliegend einen Protokoll-Auszug unserer Pariser-Zusammenkunft zuzusenden, aus dem Sie ersehen werden, dass wir Baumaterialien (also z.B. Leichtmetalle) für sich allein nicht zur Ausstellung bringen werden, da es sich erfahrungsmässig gezeigt hat, dass die Wirkung einer isolierten Darbietung von Material gewöhnlich äusserst gering ist. Hingegen beabsichtigen wir, wie Sie aus dem beigelegten Protokoll-Auszug ersehen, eine Internationale Ausstellung, von horizontalen Schiebefenstern zu machen, die in naher Zukunft einen grossen Einfluss auf den Baumarkt gewinnen dürften.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Aluminium Industrie Neuhausen, June 12, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Aluminium-Industrie, gta Archives.

⁷³⁵ See chapter 4.2 in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

⁷³⁶ The Ring was founded in 1924 and promoted the Neues Bauen (the “New Building”). Founding members were inter alia Peter Behrens, Hugo Häring, Bruno Taut, and Erich Mendelsohn. For a more detailed description see Mumford, “CIAM, 1929–1930,” in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 10, footnote 6.

⁷³⁷ “Wir erhielten gestern ein offizielles Schreiben der Berliner Bauausstellung worin Sie den Kongress ersucht, die Tagung während der Ausstellung in Berlin zu halten. Aber schon allein des frühen Datums wegen ist es ja unmöglich, der Aufforderung nachzukommen. Die Veröffentlichung, die beigelegt wurde zeigt mir, dass meine bisherige Skepsis gegenüber diesem Unternehmen leider sehr begründet war, soweit ich aus dem verschwommenen Programm etwas ersehen kann, wird diese Ausstellung erneuerte Verwirrungen ins Publikum bringen. Ich finde es unehrlich, eine Verkaufsmesse als eine Angelegenheit der Forschung zu kostümieren und werde sowohl in der Schweiz wie auch in Berlin dazu öffentlich Stellung nehmen, und im Gegensatz dazu die Leipziger Messe anführen. Es scheint sich um ein ähnlich künstlich erweitertes Unternehmen zu handeln, wie die “Gesolei”. Der Kongress kann gegen die Sache nicht öffentlich Stellung nehmen, da ja der Ring beteiligt ist aber persönlich möchte ich doch darauf hinweisen, dass Veranstaltungen dieser Art, die alles und nichts lösen, heute äusserst schädlich wirken. Trotzdem möchte ich Sie verständigen, denn wir können hier den Sinn des Unternehmens nur negativ beurteilen. Man darf glaube ich, derartige Dinge nicht kritiklos passieren lassen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, March 20, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives. Most likely, Giedion refers here to the “Leipziger Mustermesse” of 1928, which was considered an “international and universal world fair.” See “Weltmesse Leipzig,” *Deutsches Online Museum für Public Relations*, accessed November 16, 2022, <https://pr-museum.de/organisationen/institutionen/messe-leipzig-der-zwischenkriegszeit/>. With GeSoLei, he refers to the “Exhibition for Gesundheitspflege, soziale Fürsorge und Leibesübungen” in

CIAM's decision to display plans exclusively at their exhibitions only applied to their exhibitions on architectural and urban planning questions – and not their exhibitions on technical details.⁷³⁸ Furthermore, these plans, besides generating “comprehensible schemes,” would also allow “extremely fast” work. During the second CIRPAC meeting, Rudolf Steiger shared his observation that “too vague work is asked from the members of the Congresses and that a method of work and international collaboration based on extremely fast and comprehensible diagrams should be established.”⁷³⁹

CIAM's understanding that plans were the only appropriate medium to exhibit architecture and urban planning ideas did not apply to “Horizontal Sliding Windows.” Here, the opposite was the case. If plans were the only appropriate way for addressing the subject of minimal housing, they were considered woefully inadequate for addressing the question of building components, at least according to a letter from Giedion to Max Cetto during the acquisition process for “Horizontal Sliding Windows.” The reason for this differentiation is to be found in stressing the *function* as well as the usage of the exhibited windows and not, as was the case for “Rational Lot Development,” different typologies and categories. The *function*, and thus their usage, could only be represented through models which could be tested, but in no case through plans:

What a pity it is that you won't be able to exhibit a model of your sliding window, because you can't get a proper understanding of how the window works just from drawings. Nevertheless, I ask you to send your drawings anyway.⁷⁴⁰

5.1.4. Focus as Condition and to Avoid Fragmentation

However, it was not enough to comply with these requirements to meet CIAM's claims and aims. All other exhibition material needed to be either eliminated or at least at the greatest

Düsseldorf in 1928. See: Große Ausstellung für Gesundheitspflege, Soziale Fürsorge und Leibesübungen, ed., *Amtlicher Katalog. Düsseldorf 1926*, 2nd edn. (Düsseldorf, 1926).

⁷³⁸ CIAM's claim to only show plans with drawings in architectural exhibitions was first articulated for “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition in Frankfurt in 1929. According to the press, this change was considered remarkable. Inter alia, Joseph Ganter, in the newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung*, wrote: “So sehr treten in diesem heute brennendsten Problem der Architektur alle Fragen der Aesthetik zurück, daß es möglich ist, die Ausstellung bloß mit Grundrissen und Schnitten zu bestreiten. Wie sehr hat sich auch hier die Basis aller Beurteilung verschoben.” Joseph Gantner, “Der II. Internationale Kongress für Neues Bauen. Zu seiner Frankfurter Tagung und den kommenden Frankfurter Ausstellungen,” *Frankfurter Zeitung* (October 21, 1929), 42-3-2-6-1/2, gta Archives. This observation is also discussed in detail in my master's thesis, in particular in the chapter “Interpretation der Ausstellung.” See Clara Teresa Pollak, “Die Ausstellungskonzeption der CIAM. Eine Analyse anhand der Ausstellung ‘Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum’” (master's thesis, TU München, 2019), 32ff.

⁷³⁹ “M. STEIGER – On a observé qu'on demande un travail trop vaste et trop vague aux membres des congrès et qu'on devrait instaurer une méthode de travail et de collaboration internationale basée sur des schémas extrêmement rapides, et compréhensibles.” CIRPAC, “COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI,” 3.

⁷⁴⁰ “Schade, dass Sie kein Modell Ihres Schiebefensters zeigen können, da man aus Zeichnungen nicht über das wirkliche Funktionieren Aufschluss erhalten kann, trotzdem bitte ich Sie die Zeichnungen zu senden.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Max Cetto, November 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Cetto, gta Archives.

distance possible. Otherwise, CIAM feared, there was a risk that their exhibitions would be fragmented.

During the delegates' meeting in Frankfurt in September 1930, the attending CIRPAC members and CIAM delegates discussed another urgent and polarising topic. Karl Moser caused a great stir when he informed the attendees that Le Corbusier was working on additional material to exhibit at CIAM-03. Rudolf Steiger was especially critical of Le Corbusier's solo-run, since during the second CIRPAC meeting it had been decided to postpone any urban planning issues to CIAM-04. Walter Gropius agreed with Steiger's determined opinion on Le Corbusier's project. He emphasised that Le Corbusier was acting against the decisions taken during the CIRPAC meetings in Paris and was concerned that, "if Le Corbusier treated a special topic, he then would tear apart the entire exhibition ['Rational Lot Development']."⁷⁴¹ Despite this unmistakable rejection of Le Corbusier's plan, he nonetheless ultimately exhibited his material in his exhibition, "La Ville Radieuse" [see fig. II.5.1], at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels in parallel to CIAM-03. But, according to the detailed article on CIAM-03 by Hans Bernoulli, he did so in a separate exhibition hall independently from "Rational Lot Development," "Horizontal Sliding Windows," and "Une Exposition de l'Habitation."⁷⁴² Le Corbusier's sixteen exhibition panels filled an entire exhibition hall on their own and were, by contrast to the panels of "Rational Lot Development" and "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," drawn in colour and described as a vivid expression of his urban planning ideas.⁷⁴³ However, CIRPAC's fear of a fragmentation caused by Le Corbusier's solo-run – his drawings were anything but black-and-white schemes, nor were they drawn at the same scale or on panels with the same measurements – might serve as an explanation why Le Corbusier's exhibition was in the end exhibited not in spatial immediacy with the other exhibitions, but at the greatest possible distance.⁷⁴⁴

But it was not only Le Corbusier's exhibition that posed the risk of "tearing apart" CIAM's exhibitions. During the delegates' meeting in Frankfurt, Walter Gropius asked about Hans

⁷⁴¹ "Professor GROPIUS wendet sich dagegen, indem er sagt, dass man ja die ganze Ausstellung zerreiße, wenn Le Corbusier etwa ein Sonderthema bringen wolle." CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 9.

⁷⁴² Hans Bernoulli, "Vom III. Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen," *Baseler Nachrichten* (November, date unreadable, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

⁷⁴³ "Besonders eindrucksvoll die Darstellung der Cité-Werte von Le Corbusier (Paris), einen ganzen Saal füllend [...] Der Generalverkehrsplan einer Stadt mit sinnreich verschlungenen, blau und roten Verkehrslinien [...] Da das Geschäftsquartier, die einzelnen Geschäftshäuser, Hochbauten ersten Ranges, vollständig isoliert aufgestellt, rings um jeden Bau, auf Plattformen im Grünen, die Autoparks, in jedem Geschoß Raum bietend für 1000 Wagen, zwischen diesen Einheiten durchführend die kreuzungsfreien Straßen, mit ihren Schleifen und Kehren in das grün der weiten Abstände eingebettet. Die Wohnquartiere, vierzehngeschoßige, langausgezogene Flügel, mäanderartig, die teichbesetzten Parks durchsetzend. Die Fabriken und Werkstätten in ein Netz eingebaut, ebenso hoch und ebenso weit auseinandergerückt, Raum freilassend für große Hofe und Lagerplätze. Eine ganz neue Welt von reicher Erfindungskraft ist geschaffen." Bernoulli, "Vom III. Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen."

⁷⁴⁴ This fear might also explain why hardly any documents on marginal exhibitions are stored in the gta Archives. See chapter A.1.2 in "Part A. Introduction".

Schmidt's ambition to also exhibit city and traffic schemes at CIAM-03. Asked whether "this plan was swept under the table," Giedion replied that this contribution would "splinter" "Rational Lot Development," and that "in no case at all [would] any subsections"⁷⁴⁵ to this exhibition be created. A thematic focus was absolutely necessary.

If all of these requirements to the exhibition material were fulfilled, and no fragmentation of CIAM's exhibitions was to be feared – or at least avoided through spatial distance – CIAM's exhibitions were the *material realisation* of CIAM's claims. And this realisation was even *immediate*, as the following assessment of Le Corbusier demonstrates:

Big cities don't have statistics. They have no means of visualising their situation, [...] what Schmidt's idea could achieve is to create means of visualisation, diagrams that give a flash, sudden, immediate expression of a situation whatsoever it may be.⁷⁴⁶

Hence CIAM's exhibitions allowed the immediate and material realisation of CIAM's claims.

5.2. The Exhibitions as Material Basis of the Congress: "You can't always just listen; you also have to see."

Hans Bernoulli, a practising architect in Basel, published a detailed report on "Rational Lot Development" and CIAM-03 in the Swiss newspaper *Baseler Nachrichten*. In this report, Bernoulli summed up the challenge that lies in the nature of any congress. A challenge that is not only feared by those who organise the congress, but also by those who attend it: having to listen to speeches, lectures, and presentations – you name it – from morning till night. Given the oft-lengthy nature of congresses, every media change is always welcome. This was appropriately summed up by Bernoulli:

In keeping with good practice, the Congress was accompanied by an exhibition. You can't always just listen; you also have to see.⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴⁵ "Professor Gropius bemerkt, dass in Paris auch noch beschlossen worden sei, einfache Schemata der heutigen Städte in Bezug auf Verkehrsdichte und die Verkehrslinien zu liefern, wenn auch nur ganz skizzenhaft. Dieser Beschluss schein unter den Tisch gefallen zu sein. Generalsekretär Dr. Giedion bemerkt demgegenüber, dass dieser Entschluss keineswegs unter den Tisch gefallen sei, dass man aber gesehen habe, dass das Thema "Rationelle Bebauungsweisen" schon derart umfassend sei, dass man sich keinesfalls zersplittern dürfe und auch keinesfalls noch irgendwelche Unterabteilungen hinzunehmen dürfe." CIAM, "DELEGIERTENVERSAMMLUNG des Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen am 25. September 1930 im Palmengarten zu Frankfurt a/M," 9ff.

⁷⁴⁶ "M. LE CORBUSIER – [...] Les grandes villes n'ont pas de statistiques. Elles n'ont aucun moyen de visualisation de leur situation, et en somme ce que l'idée de SCHMIDT pourrait rencontrer comme idées venant d'autre part ce serait de créer des moyens de visualisation, des schémas qui donnent l'expression en éclair, subite, instantanée d'une situation quelle qu'elle soit." CIRPAC, "COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI," 4.

⁷⁴⁷ "Einer guten Übung gemäß war die Tagung begleitet von einer Ausstellung. Man kann nicht immer nur hören, man muß auch sehen." Bernoulli, "Vom III. Internationalen Kongreß für Neues Bauen."

But what was it exactly that the participants of CIAM-03 saw when they were not listening?

5.2.1. The Insufficiency of a Verbal Examination: The Exhibition as Graphic Completion and Illustration of the Speeches and Reports

The CIRPAC members, too, were aware of the challenge of a verbal examination of the subject of “Rational Lot Development”; less because of the lengthy nature of speeches, as indicated in Bernoulli’s report after CIAM-03, but rather because of the insufficiency of a verbal examination of the exhibition’s titular subject. Doubts about the speeches as a means for discussing the subject of “Rational Lot Development” were raised right at the beginning of the first CIRPAC meeting for CIAM-03. Raphaël Verwilghen ended his outline of “Rational Lot Development” by stating that a “conférence-promenade” within the exhibition of CIAM-03 would mitigate the insufficiency of a verbal examination of this very subject:

This first-time preoccupation of town planning does not lend itself well to being addressed verbally, but may give rise to a *conférence-promenade* in the exhibition.⁷⁴⁸

Besides the need of the exhibition as a *space* of the Congress,⁷⁴⁹ Verwilghen’s quote also stresses the need of the exhibition as material for CIAM-03, the need for something you could see while walking around in the exhibition space, something you could *look at*. Furthermore, besides the necessity of visual material, according to Verwilghen, the theme of CIAM-03 alone provided grounds for a “graphic presentation”:

As to the part of the Congress devoted to urban planning, we could very well, as you have proposed, deal with the grouping of minimum housing. This question provides grounds for a graphic presentation.⁷⁵⁰

Hence, the “graphic presentation” of the subject of “Rational Lot Development,” or “the grouping of minimum housing” as the CIRPAC members called the subject of the exhibition at that time, could compensate for the insufficiency of a mere verbal examination. This understanding of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition as a “graphic presentation” to circumvent the methodical insufficiency of speeches is also evident in Victor Bourgeois’ reaction to Verwilghen’s letter. After having it read aloud, Bourgeois first agreed with Verwilghen’s assessment of speeches as inappropriate for addressing the subject as well as

⁷⁴⁸ “Cette première question d’urbanisme se prête peu à un exposé verbal (rapport) mais pourrait donner lieu à une *conférence-promenade* dans l’exposition.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 23.

⁷⁴⁹ See chapter 1. in “Part II. Analysis”.

⁷⁵⁰ “LE PRESIDENT. – [citing Verwilghen] [...] En ce qui concerne la partie du Congrès consacrée à l’urbanisme, l’on pourrait fort bien, comme vous l’avez proposé, s’occuper du groupement des logements minima. Cette question donnerait lieu à une exposé graphique.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 22.

his proposal of taking a “conférence-promenade” within the exhibition. Then, Bourgeois took Verwilghen’s understanding even further and declared the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition as the *completion* and *illustration* of the reports:

If it was considered necessary to complete some of the reports with graphics, there will be a compartment of the exhibition dedicated to this special category of graphics, intended to illustrate the reports.⁷⁵¹

Thus, instead of simply summarising and agreeing to Verwilghen’s assessment of the exhibition as space, material, and the possibility of a graphic presentation, Bourgeois assigns an even greater significance to the exhibition, namely completing and illustrating the speeches and reports given. Hereby, the exhibition material is credited with the ability to compensate for the methodological insufficiency of speeches to elaborate on an urban planning issue.

5.2.2. A long-planned Exhibition for a well-founded Congress

But it mattered not only that the exhibition material served as compensation, illustration, and completion of the verbal examination of the subject, “Rational Lot Development,” but also *how* (for *how long*) the material was prepared beforehand – and this, moreover, was considered as a condition of success of the Congress. Correspondence between Sigfried Giedion and Hans Schmidt reveals that a *long-term preparation of the exhibition material* was equated with *well-founded* and *systematic congress preparation*.

From February to June 1930, Schmidt was working on a graphic typification that would allow the comparison of different cities’ developments and traffic systems, initially anticipated to be exhibited at CIAM-03 [See Reko Chapter XX]. However, after a meeting of the Swiss CIAM Group at the end of June 1930, it was decided to postpone this examination to CIAM-04. As a matter of fact, despite this postponement, Schmidt’s work would neither be put on hold, nor his preparations be postponed. Shortly after the Swiss CIAM group had decided to exhibit the city schemes only at CIAM-04 – at this time still scheduled for just one year after CIAM-03 – Giedion got in touch with Schmidt and urged him, despite this postponement, to nevertheless – or better: because of this postponement – continue his work on the schemes. This encouragement was not only to move his work forward, but more importantly because Giedion wanted Schmidt to present his finalised drawing scheme at CIAM-03. In a letter from 9 July, Giedion asked him “to report in detail at the end of the Congress in Brussels on the

⁷⁵¹ “LE PRESIDENT: [...] Si l'on estimait nécessaire de compléter certains rapports par un tableau graphique, il y aurait un compartiment de l'exposition consacré à cette catégorie spéciale de graphiques, destinés à illustrer les rapports.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 25.

work and the difficulties you have found in working out your city schemes.”⁷⁵² Giedion's main objective was not simply to inform the participants of CIAM-03 about the challenges Schmidt had faced in working out the scheme, but to make the members start working *right away* on city schemes for CIAM-04, immediately after CIAM-03 had come to an end. Therefore, he encouraged Schmidt to not only present the final drawing scheme, but also the finalised guidelines for “The Functional City” exhibition: “If possible, do it in such a way that the guidelines for 1931 can already be given to the people at the Congress in Brussels.”⁷⁵³ According to Giedion, only this timely disclosure of the guidelines for the next exhibition and thus the long-term preparation of the city schemes to be exhibited at CIAM-04 could ensure a profound *Congress* preparation – not just a profound *exhibition* preparation:

To us [CIRPAC], this seems to be the only possible way for a really well-founded Congress preparation, because by doing so the people have about nine months' time.⁷⁵⁴

Giedion repeated the fundamentality of long-term preparation of the exhibition material to “well-founded Congress preparation” in a letter to Walter Gropius:

However, we have the intention to have Schmidt present the results of his effort on the compilation of city schemes during the second part of the Congress and to give the material for 1931 immediately to the members, so that there will finally be enough time for a systematic preparation.⁷⁵⁵

In the end, Schmidt did not present his city schemes at CIAM-03, nor were the final guidelines given to the attending CIAM members. This was only carried out at the second CIRPAC meeting in Berlin in 1931, held on the occasion of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” opening at the Berlin Building Exhibition. Nonetheless, these two letters show how the preparation of the exhibition material far in advance was deemed fundamental for well-founded and systematic Congress preparation.

⁷⁵² “Wir haben nunmehr die Absicht, Sie zu bitten am Ende des Brüsseler Kongresses über die Arbeit und die Schwierigkeiten die Sie bei der Ausführung Ihrer Stadtschemata gefunden haben ausführlich zu berichten und es womöglich so zu machen, dass man den Leuten bereits am Brüssler Kongress die nötigen Direktiven für 1931 geben kann. Nur auf diese Weise scheint es uns möglich eine wirklich fundierte Kongress Vorbereitung zu erhalten, denn auf dieser Weise haben die Leute ungefähr 9 Monate Zeit.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hans Schmidt, July 9, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Schmidt, gta Archives.

⁷⁵³ “Wir haben nunmehr die Absicht, Sie zu bitten am Ende des Brüsseler Kongresses über die Arbeit und die Schwierigkeiten die Sie bei der Ausführung Ihrer Stadtschemata gefunden haben ausführlich zu berichten und es womöglich so zu machen, dass man den Leuten bereits am Brüssler Kongress die nötigen Direktiven für 1931 geben kann.” Giedion, Letter to Hans Schmidt, July 9, 1930.

⁷⁵⁴ “Nur auf diese Weise scheint es uns möglich eine wirklich fundierte Kongress Vorbereitung zu erhalten, denn auf dieser Weise haben die Leute ungefähr 9 Monate Zeit.” Giedion, Letter to Hans Schmidt, July 9, 1930.

⁷⁵⁵ “Wir haben aber die Absicht Schmidt zu veranlassen im zweiten Teil des Kongresses die Resultate seiner Bemühungen über die Zusammenstellung der Stadtschemata dem Kongress vorzutragen und den einzelnen Mitgliedern das Material für 1931 sogleich auf die Weise mitzugeben, damit wird endlich einmal Zeit genug zu einer systematischen Vorbereitung vorhanden sein.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, July 10, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

When Giedion in his testimony – in other words, in his introduction – to the “Rational Lot Development” publication testified that for CIAM-03, “[t]he basis was again the available factual material, which was collected by the different national groups under certain criteria,”⁷⁵⁶ was this the truth? Can the witness be believed? Were the exhibition panels of CIAM-03 – “the available factual material” – de facto the material basis for CIAM-03? When compared with other evidence, Giedion’s testimony appears to be true.

During the first session of the second CIRPAC Meeting, when Le Corbusier and Rudolf Steiger discussed what material to exhibit at CIAM-03, Steiger emphasised that the “active exchange” of the participants of CIAM-03 and the aim of raising big questions were “living on the basis of the material”:

We never intended to postpone the significant fundamental issues regarding the material. [...] the main objective of the Congress must be to have an active exchange, living on the basis of the material, because [for CIAM] to distinguish itself from other congresses that do not come up with solutions, it is not a question of solving the big questions, but of raising them.⁷⁵⁷

Bearing in mind the preceding evidence that first, the material of the exhibition served as compensation for the insufficiency of a verbal examination, and that it served as completion and illustration of the reports, and second, that only the timely and systematic preparation of material could ensure well-founded Congress preparation, the testimony that the material of the exhibition was de facto “the basis” for an active exchange during CIAM-03 is to be believed.

Furthermore, a report on CIAM-03 by Giedion was published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* four weeks after the Congress ended. In this article, Giedion declared the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition as the “basis” of CIAM-03: “The basis of the Brussels Congress is the exhibition ‘Rational Lot Development.’ An overview was missing until today.”⁷⁵⁸ The fact that Giedion for the first time assessed the significance of the exhibition material for the Third Congress as so important four weeks after the end of CIAM-03, and thus almost a year

⁷⁵⁶ “Grundlage bildete wieder das vorhandene Tatsachenmaterial, dessen Sammlung von den einzelnen Landesgruppen unter bestimmten Gesichtswinkel übernommen wurde. Dazu kamen die Projekte, die ohne Rücksicht auf die bestehende Bauordnung entworfen waren. Dieses Material wurde gesammelt und in Brüssel einer einheitlichen Behandlung unterworfen.” Giedion, “Einleitung,” 6.

⁷⁵⁷ “M. STEIGER – Cela n'est pas du tout en contradiction avec M. LE CORBUSIER et on n'a jamais eu l'intention de remettre les grandes questions matérielles fondamentales. [...] le but véritable du Congrès doit consister dans l'échange actif, vivant sur la fondation du matériel, parce que pour se distinguer des autres congrès qui n'arrivent pas à des solutions, il ne s'agit pas de résoudre les grands problèmes, mais de les évoquer.” CIRPAC, “COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI,” 8.

⁷⁵⁸ “Die Grundlage des Brüsseler Kongresses bildet die Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweisen.’ Ein Überblick fehlte bis heute.” See Sigfried Giedion, “III. Internationaler Kongress für neues Bauen,” *Frankfurter Zeitung* (December 16, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

before he repeated this assessment in his introduction to the “Rational Lot Development” publication, testifies to the credibility of the witness. Presentation of evidence complete; case closed for the time being.

Furthermore, against this background, the last paragraph of Giedion’s introduction, in which he describes the exhibition panels as the “result [which] formed the traveling exhibition ‘Rational Lot Development,’” also now appears sound. If it seemed irritating at first that Giedion referred to the traveling exhibition as the “result” and not the exhibition in Brussels, this formulation is now clear in view of the significance of the exhibition material as the *material basis* of the Congress: in Brussels, the panels did not form the exhibition. They formed the *material* of the Congress.

5.3. CIAM’s Exhibitions as Material Body of the Publications

CIAM’s publications take up a major role in the association’s literary canon. They also provide the most leads for the way CIAM is historicised today, and are regarded more as testimony of the lectures given and conclusions drawn – and less as testimony of the exhibitions. This is surprising, given that the main part of CIAM’s publications consists of the exhibition material – and not of the lectures given at the Congresses. Only a small part of the publications comprises the often modified and shortened speeches from the meetings as well as general introductions. One explanation for this loss of the significance of CIAM’s exhibition as material body of the CIAM’s publications might again lie in the way CIAM themselves described their work.⁷⁵⁹ Like the obscuring of the role of CIAM’s exhibitions as an integral part of the Congresses due to CIAM in everyday speech and words not differentiating between “the meetings” and “the exhibitions” of their Congresses, a similar misunderstanding characterises the modern reception of their publications. Before and during the preparations for their publications as well as after their release, CIAM mostly referred to their publications as “Congress publications.” Again, as was the case for the format of the event, also here the use of “Congress” has shaped the way CIAM is historicised and perceived today.

In Giedion’s introduction to the “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” book, he states that “[t]oday, we put the main emphasis on the publication of the exhibition connected with the Congress, ‘The Dwelling for Minimal Existence.’”⁷⁶⁰ This wording allows a twofold

⁷⁵⁹ See chapter 1.2.2 in “Part A. Introduction”.

⁷⁶⁰ “Das Hauptgewicht legen wir heute auf die Veröffentlichung der mit dem Kongress verbundenen ‘Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum’ Die Ausstellung wurde in der Basler Delegiertenversammlung vom 2. Februar 1929 beschlossen. Herr Stadtrat May und seine Frankfurter Mitarbeiter übernahmen die Verwirklichung.” Sigfried Giedion, “Die Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauen,” in *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum.*, ed. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen Zürich, 5.

interpretation. First, that the exhibition material provides the *main part* of the publication. Or second, that the main objective of the book is that of *publicising* the exhibition material. In either case, the integral component of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” publication was the exhibition material. This observation accords also with Giedion’s introduction to “A Decade of New Architecture”:

All CIAM publications – from ‘Dwellings for the lower Income Classes’ (Stuttgart 1930) to ‘Can Our Cities Survive’ (Harvard University Press 1941) – have been based upon material displayed at Congresses. This has been produced from very many countries, but always in an agreed format – to the same scale, employing the same symbols, colours, etc.⁷⁶¹

When Giedion states that the “second part of this publication” is devoted to the exhibition material in his introduction to “Rational Lot Development,” he was thus not referring to the division of the book. Even though the formulation “second part” might indicate that the book is split in two perhaps equal parts, such is not the case. Instead, the book is almost divided in thirds, with the last two-thirds devoted to the exhibition material.⁷⁶² This superiority of the exhibition material in CIAM’s publications is even clearer in “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence.”⁷⁶³ Here, four-fifths of the book displays the exhibition material from CIAM’s first exhibitions.

CIAM’s Exhibitions as Galley Proof for the Publication

Since the exhibition material was the main body of the publication, can the exhibition then be regarded as the publication’s galley proof? Recalling once more the photograph of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in Amsterdam [see fig. I.4.16], and this time focussing not on the panels on the wall, but on the visitor in front of them, another function of CIAM’s exhibitions becomes apparent. In direct connection with the exhibition material serving as the main body of CIAM’s exhibitions, it can be understood that the exhibitions were the testing ground for the publication to follow. The visitor at the travelling exhibition in Amsterdam has his hands on his hips – almost combative, and definitely ready

⁷⁶¹ “Toutes les publications des CIAM – depuis ‘Logements minimum’ (Stuttgart 1930) à ‘Nos cités peuvent-elles survivre?’ (Harvard University Press 1941) – se basent sur un matériel exposé aux congrès.” Giedion, Introduction to *A Decade of New Architecture = Dix Ans D’architecture Contemporaine*, 1..

⁷⁶² The first part of the book, “I. Teil: Allgemeines,” comprises excerpts from the lectures by Eugen Kaufmann and Herbert Böhm, Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, Richard Neutra, and Karel Teige, spread over the first seventy-five pages. The second part, “II. Teil: Abbildungen, Lagepläne, Grundrisse, Schnitte,” takes up the remaining 140 pages. See Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, ed., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*.

⁷⁶³ The first forty-five pages comprise an introduction by Sigfried Giedion followed by summaries of the speeches given by Ernst May, Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, Victor Bourgeois, and Hans Schmidt. Afterwards, the 207 ground-floor plans follow. See Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen Zürich, ed., *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum. Auf Grund der Ergebnisse des II. Internationalen Kongresses für Neues Bauen, sowie der vom Städtische Hochbauamt in Frankfurt am Main veranstalteten Wanderausstellung*, 3rd edn. (Stuttgart: Julius Hoffmann Verlag, 1933).

for work. He is slightly bent forward, his posture suggesting his concentration on what he sees in front of him. The L-shaped table in the middle of the room gives the impression of an improvised office: an improvised *editorial* office to be more precise. The books on display might even have been laid out as reference for the upcoming publication yet to be designed.

That an editorial office was de facto necessary becomes apparent from correspondence between Sigfried Giedion and Cornelis van Eesteren. After “Rational Lot Development” was on display in Brussels, and before it could travel to the next destination, not a few errors on the plans needed to be corrected. As was the case before CIAM-03, communication between Giedion and Bourgeois was again tedious. At this point in time, even if Giedion no longer needed to worry about the spatial arrangement of the exhibition, he still feared the “completion and fate” of it, specifically the corrections of the exhibition panels yet to be made as well as the printing plates yet to be prepared for the publication. After two months of tedious communication – or, rather, lack of communication – Giedion hired an employee for the revision of the plans, since “none of us could justify it if the exhibition was shown in another place before [the revision], or even if the publication came out with all the errors.”⁷⁶⁴ The revision of the panels was completed at the end of March 1931, and the plans were then sent to Rudolf Steiger.⁷⁶⁵ He was responsible for organising the production of the printing plates for the publication on the basis of the corrected panels.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶⁴ “Wir haben die Ausstellung genau durchgesehen und sind auf verschiedene Fehler gekommen, besonders auf rechnerischem Gebiet. Wir haben eine Kraft angestellt, denn keiner von uns könnte es verantworten, wenn die Ausstellung vorher an einem anderen Ort gezeigt würde oder gar die Publikation mit den Fehlern herauskäme.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, February 2, 1931, 42-K-1931-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives. The date of the letter suggests that the plans were exhibited in Zurich unrevised.

⁷⁶⁵ “Die überarbeiteten pläne sind nun an steiger zurückgeschickt worden.” Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, March 24, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives.

⁷⁶⁶ The plates were printed by Klischieranstalt F. Guhl & Co in Frankfurt, before the travelling exhibition was opened at the German Building Exhibition in Berlin: “ch kann Ihrem Wunsche, die Pläne sofort abzusenden, leider nicht entsprechen, denn diese befinden sich noch in der Klischieranstalt (Guhl & Co.), wo noch an den fotografischen Aufnahmen gearbeitet wird. [...] Nach dem Bescheid, der mir von der Klischeefabrik wird, werden die Pläne etwa noch 14 Tage benötigt, bevor sämtliche Aufnahmen gemacht worden sind. Ich werde selbstverständlich alle Hebel in Bewegung setzen um die Fertigstellung zu beschleunigen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Oberbaurat Koeppen, Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau- und Wohnungswesen, April 30, 1931, 42-1931-Museen-Behoerden-Vereinigungen, gta Archives.

6. CIAM's Publications as TESTIMONY

When Giedion, in his introduction to the “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” publication, states that “[t]oday, we put the main emphasis on the publication of the exhibition connected with the Congress, ‘The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,’”⁷⁶⁷ he is stressing that the primary objective of the publication is *publicising the exhibition*. The “main emphasis” here seems not to stress the ratio of the book – although the expression applies to that, too – but rather the *act of publishing* the panels. If the main emphasis of the book was to publicise the exhibition material, and bearing in mind that the exhibition panels were the material basis of CIAM's Congresses, as well as that – as argued throughout this thesis – CIAM's exhibitions as the “method of work” of the Congress were the *space, programme, format, and material* of CIAM's Congresses, can CIAM's publications then be considered as *testimony of the exhibitions*? An announcement in *Das Neue Frankfurt* by Joseph Gantner certainly implies that the publication was regarded more as publication *of the exhibition*, and less as a publication about the speeches given. In this announcement, the emphasis is unmistakably on the “publication also about this” in reference to the exhibition panels mentioned immediately beforehand.

THE EXHIBITIONS prepared by the Congress were opened on the 28th.

Most importantly, the section on development plans, comprising about sixty uniformly drawn plans. They are presented in the same manner as the plans of ‘The Dwelling for Minimal Existence’ and will travel together with them in the future. (A publication also about this is in preparation in the publishing house Englert and Schlosser; we will come back to it.)⁷⁶⁸

Merely glancing at the announcements of the publications as well as their table of contents, it becomes clear that CIAM's publications can be regarded as more a testimony of their exhibitions, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter – and less a documentation of the speeches and lectures given at the Congresses.

The primary function of an exhibition catalogue is to mirror the “context and structure” of the adjoining exhibition: the exhibits on display are to be reproduced as exactly as possible, brought in line with each other, as well as explained with some background information. The

⁷⁶⁷ “Das Hauptgewicht legen wir heute auf die Veröffentlichung der mit dem Kongress verbundenen ‘Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum’ Die Ausstellung wurde in der Basler Delegiertenversammlung vom 2. Februar 1929 beschlossen. Herr Stadtrat May Sund seine Frankfurter Mitarbeiter übernahmen die Verwirklichung.” Giedion, “Die Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauen,” 5.

⁷⁶⁸ “DIE AUSSTELLUNGEN, die der Kongress vorbereitet hatte, wurden am 28. eröffnet. Wichtig vor allem die etwa 60 einheitlich gezeichnete Blätter umfassende Abteilung der Aufschliessungspläne. Sie sind in derselben Weise dargestellt wie die Blätter des ‘Existenzminimums’ und werden in Zukunft mit jenen zusammen wandern. (Eine Publikation auch hierüber ist im Verlag Englert und Schlosser in Vorbereitung; wir kommen noch darauf zurück.)” Joseph Gantner, “2. Der Kongreß für Neues Bauen,” *Das Neue Frankfurt* 12 (1930): 261, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

underlying subject of all exhibits connects the printed exhibits, and the explanatory texts put them into context and perspective.⁷⁶⁹ All of this also applies to the “Rational Lot Development” publication – but there is more to it than that. In the following chapter, it will be demonstrated that the “Rational Lot Development” publication above all bears witness to the logic of presentation and perception, as well as to its usage and target group. Thus, the “Rational Lot Development” publication above all *bears testimony of the exhibition as a working method* of CIAM. Of relevance, therefore, is not the quantity of the exhibition material in the publication – as was the case in Chapter 5.3 – but the way the exhibition material was treated and presented in the publication, as well as how the publication was advertised.

Véronique Patteeuw and Léa-Catherine Szacka explains the difficulty of “studying, grasping and remembering” exhibitions as “transient and fleeing objects” with one phenomenon, which combines two challenges. First, in most of the cases, the only available trace of exhibitions are their catalogues, which – and this bears the second challenge – is in most cases produced before the exhibition was opened or even finalised:

As exhibitions and periodicals are transient and fleeing objects, how can one study them? Exhibitions are difficult to grasp and to remember; the only widely accessible traces of their existence are the exhibition catalogues, which are generally produced before the opening of the exhibition and therefore rarely constitute an accurate testimony of the event.⁷⁷⁰

In the case of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition and the adjoining publication, the opposite is the case. The chapter aims to demonstrate that the “Rational Lot Development” publication can indeed be regarded as an accurate testimony of the exhibition of the same name, in five different ways with four underlying aims. This is because both the layout of the exhibition panels as well as the layout of the material from the exhibition panels in the publication share the *same logic of presentation*, the *same logic of intended perception of the visitor and the reader*, as well as the *same logic of usage*. As a result, the publication is

⁷⁶⁹ “Die Funktion von Ausstellungskatalogen ist aus Kontext und Struktur ablesbar: Es obliegt ihnen, die auf einer Ausstellung gezeigten (Kunst-)Gegenstände, welche zuvor nach einem (ausstellungs-)kuratorischem Konzept zusammengetragen und der Öffentlichkeit zugänglich gemacht wurden, möglichst originalgetreu zu reproduzieren, zu systematisieren und mit verlässlichen Hintergrundinformationen zu versehen. Dabei gewährleistet das durch die Sammlungsobjekte vorgegebene Thema (z.B. das Werk eines Künstlers) die intratextuelle Verknüpfung der Katalogelemente, während das spezielle Fachwissen der Katalogautoren (Historiker, Theoretiker, Kritiker etc.), deren Darstellungsinteressen sich häufig in einem charakteristischen Sprachstil spiegeln, die thematisierten Gegenstände perspektiviert und in intertextuelle Bezüge stellt.” Rahel Ziethen, “Textsorte Ausstellungskatalog,” in *Handbuch Sprache in der Kunstkommunikation*, ed. Heiko Hausendorf and Marcus Müller, Handbücher Sprachwissen 16 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 402, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110296273-019>.

⁷⁷⁰ Véronique Patteeuw and Léa-Catherine Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” in *Mediated Messages. Periodicals, Exhibitions and the Shaping of Postmodern Architecture*, ed. Patteeuw and Szacka (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 9.

advertised as if it was the exhibition, and as if it had the same target group. Therefore, CIAM's publications are more than a simple documentation of the material shown at the exhibitions, but a testimony of the exhibitions as a method of work. In the first section of this chapter, it is demonstrated that the layout of the publication showed the same logic as the layout of the exhibition panels. The second chapter aims to show that the intended perception of both the settlements on display on the walls within the exhibition as well as on the pages of the books was that of what will be called "sequential comparison." The third section aims to show that the usage of the publication as a means of enhancing the public debate equates to the intended usage of the exhibition as discussion driver for the participants. Thus, both the publication as well as the exhibition can be regarded as a working tool. As a result of the shared presentation, perception, and usage, the publication was advertised *as if it was* the exhibition. This will be demonstrated in the fourth section. Finally, the fifth section aims to demonstrate that even though the publication was promoted for both a trained and an untrained audience, like the exhibition it was *effectively* more accessible to the former target group.

6.1. From One Panel to Two Pages: Rearranging the Layout and Keeping the Logic of Presentation

The first reason the “Rational Lot Development” publication can be seen as testimony of the exhibition of the same name is because despite the rearrangement of the graphic elements, the down scaling, and the logic of the black-and-white plans and images, the density is basically the same as on the panels. The logic of the publication also follows that of the “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition.

In his introduction to the “Rational Lot Development” publication, Giedion informs the reader that the exhibition material was “treated book-wise”⁷⁷¹ for the publication. Since the material was neither significantly amended or reduced, did not undergo major graphic changes, and the order of the panels little changed, we must ask what Giedion most likely meant. Besides resolving the identified errors on the panels and down scaling in order to make the material fit on the pages of the publication, he most likely meant the *rearrangement* of the different graphic elements from the panels. While, in the exhibition, the plan of the settlement scheme, the numbers, and the additional graphic material were arranged on *one* panel, the material in the publication was redistributed across *two* pages. However, despite this layout change from *one panel* to *two pages*, the *logic* of the arrangement of the numbers and the black-and-white plans and images was basically *the same* as on the exhibition panels.

The layout of the exhibition panels was divided horizontally in more or less two equal halves.⁷⁷² The upper half displayed the settlement scheme, the lower half the figures and additional illustrations. This horizontal division was adapted for the publication. The plan of the settlement scheme was brought from the upper half to the upper two-thirds of the right page, the key figures from the left side of the lower half are given on the lower half of the left page, and the additional images were brought from the right side of the lower half to the left pages. The right page of the double spread layout in the publication was split in two-thirds to one-third. The settlement scheme was placed in the upper two-thirds of the page and clearly dominated the layout. The scheme was scaled down from 1:200 to 1:3,000 scale. Where

⁷⁷¹ “hr Material wurde buchmäßig behandelt und im zweiten Teil dieser Publikation zur Darstellung gebracht. Kurze Erläuterungen der Pläne sollen dem Laien den Gebrauch des Buches erleichtern.” Giedion, “Einleitung,” 6. A similar and equally outstanding formulation is used in a report on CIAM-03, mostly likely by Fred Forbat: “Für die breitere Oeffentlichkeit werden die Ergebnisse erst sichtbar werden, nachdem das Material der Länderberichte ausgewertet und zugänglich gemacht wird. Ebenso ist in der – nach erfolgter Auswertung in Buchform – zu publizierenden Ausstellung: ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweisen’ sehr interessantes Material gesammelt worden, lehrreich nicht nur durch die selbstverständliche gemeinsame städtebauliche Grundtendenz in allen europäischen Staaten, sondern gerade in der mannigfaltigen Divergenz, die in der verschiedenartigen sozialen Schichtung und auch in der verschiedenen Tradition ihren Ursprung hat.” See: “FLACH-, MITTEL-, UND HOCHBAU. DER III. INTERNATIONALE KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN IN BRÜSSEL,” *Wohnungswirtschaft* (1930), 491ff., 42-3-6-2, gta Archives. Since the wording in this article is almost identical to an article by Fred Forbat, it can be assumed that he also wrote the article cited here. See Fred Forbat, “FLACH-, MITTEL-, UND HOCHBAU. Der III. Internationale Kongress für neues Bauen in Brüssel,” *Die Baugilde* 1 (1930): 54–56, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

⁷⁷² See chapter 1.1.2 in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

given, the additional zoom-in of the scheme was scaled down to either 1:750 or 1:400. Like the exhibition panels, underneath the settlement schemes a schematic section of the development is given in the publication, indicating the number of storeys and spacing of the different buildings. In the upper right corner of the page, the name of the city and – if built – the year of construction as well as the continuous numbering is printed. The lower one-third of the page shows all five key facts from the exhibition panels: “social status,” “type of dwelling,” “traffic,” “exposure,” “general remarks,” as well as all the numeric information.⁷⁷³ While these numbers on the exhibition panels were given in the middle of the upper half, in the publication they are placed across the entire width of the page. This layout of the right page is used for all fifty-six plans throughout the book. In contrast to the continuity of the right page, the left page shows more variations. Both the material, its distribution, as well as the size of the different images and illustrations differ. The only continuous element – both in terms of content and position on the page – is a table giving the figures for the “Building Type – number of floors – m² – number of beds.” Besides insignificant deviations, the table is always placed on the lower third of the layout and in line with the five key facts from the right page, clearly creating the impression that these numbers belong to other key figures given on the right page, but no longer fitting the space of the page. Depending on the number of different building types of the settlement, the chart shows between one (panel 44) and eight lines (panel 52). The other graphic elements on the left page (schematic sections or floorplans, photographs, axonometric drawings) differ, both in comparison to the material given on the exhibition panels as well as among the panels in the book. For example, project no. 32 (Stockholm) in the publication [see fig. II.6.1] shows only one photograph of the settlement. The corresponding exhibition panel, however, shows three photographs [see fig. I.4.8] Here, graphic material which was on display in Brussels was partially excluded from the publication. Project no. 46 (Amsterdam, Indische Buurt) in the publication [fig. II.6.2] shows one additional photograph absent on the corresponding exhibition panel [see fig. I.4.16]. Furthermore, the proportions of the individual graphic elements to each other are also different. For example, while the schematic floorplans of project no. 47 (Sosnowiec, Polen) in the publication [see fig. II.6.3] are smaller than the axonometric drawing of the settlement, the floorplans on the exhibition panel were proportionally significantly larger [see fig. I.4.16].

Despite the rearrangement of the graphic material and the heterogeneity of where the graphics were placed on the page, in which size, and how much space was left blank in

⁷⁷³ “Gesamt-Strassenland,” “Bauland,” “Wohnungszahl pr. ha.,” “Netto-Wohnfläche pr. ha.,” “Bodenpreis für unaufgeschlossenes Gelände in Mauerstunden pr. m²,” as well as the “Bodenpreis für aufgeschlossenes Gelände in Mauerstunden pr. m²”).

between the different graphic elements, the logic of the layout nevertheless is the same: the coherence of the plan of the settlement scheme with its explanatory figures is repeated in the publication, whereas the inconsistency of the additional graphic material underlines exactly how these graphics were considered: both in the exhibition as well as in the publication, they were considered supplementary. During the first CIRPAC meeting, when Victor Bourgeois read aloud which key figures and drawings Raphaël Verwilghen considered mandatory exhibition material, he also let the attending CIRPAC members know that, in Verwilghen's "opinion, there would be no disadvantage if this [material] is supplemented by general plans, models, etc. not directly related to the Congress agenda, e.g., plans and models of the Frankfurt cities, of our Belgian achievements, etc. – as long there is enough space."⁷⁷⁴ On the left page of the publication, there was enough blank space on which all supplementary material irrespective of a rigid and uniform layout could be placed.

And yet, this difference in layout between the exhibition panels and the publication was a novelty for CIAM. In contrast to "Rational Lot Development," the layout of the material of the exhibition panels and the layout of the pages of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" publication were the same. For the publication, the exhibition panels were simply scaled down, and neither redistributed nor amended [see fig. II.6.4 – II.6.6]. The only difference between the exhibition panels and the scaled down panels in the publication is the numbering of the floorplans in the publication. In the publication, the continuous numbering is placed in the lower left corner of every plan and to the left of the logo of the city of Frankfurt. A comparison between the exhibition panels and the plans in the publication shows that the numbering was even placed outside the edge of the exhibition panels. Not even this addition in the publication interfered with the original layout of the exhibition panels. What was new in the publication were the written explanations on the left page of the book. They described what the plan on the right side depicted. As for the layout of the "Rational Lot Development" publication, the left page of the layout of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" also showed explanations not necessarily needed, but nonetheless helpful. Thus, the logic of the layout of the "Rational Lot Development" publication followed the logic of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" publication.

⁷⁷⁴ "Il n'y aurait pas d'inconvénient, à mon avis, que celle-ci soit complétée, s'il y a de la place, par des plans d'ensemble, maquettes etc. ne se rattachant pas directement à l'ordre du jour du Congrès, soit par exemples par des plans et des maquettes des cités de Francfort, de nos réalisations belges, etc." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 23.

6.2. A Sequential Comparison: Sharing the Logic of Perceptual Control

Exhibitions are perceived differently from their adjoining publications. Arthur Drexler, in his introduction to the exhibition catalogue, *Transformations in Modern Architecture*, names *immediacy* and *perspective* as reason for the different perception. Within the exhibition space, the different exhibits can be observed and compared “simultaneously” and the number of objects to be observed are only limited by the maximum number of objects the human eye can grasp at the same time (10–12 images maximum) – and not by the format and pages of the publication. Furthermore, this number can potentially be expanded by the different viewing points within the exhibition space. The opposite is the case for the exhibition material published in a book. There, the book allows only the study and (immediate) comparison of those projects which are printed on the same double-page of a book.⁷⁷⁵

While this observation of a different perception might very well be applicable for the exhibition and publication of *Transformations in Modern Architecture*, it does not seem applicable for the exhibitions and publications of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” and “Rational Lot Development.” Here, the logic of the intended perception of the exhibition material seemed to be *same*. The following section aims to demonstrate exactly that: the exhibitions and the publications of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” and “Rational Lot Development” shared the *same method of perceptual control* – and as a consequence, the publications of CIAM’s first two exhibitions served as testimony of a perception, which I name “comparison in a sequence.”

6.2.1. The Arrangement of the Exhibitions: One Panel at a Time

The spatial arrangement of the exhibitions “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” in Zurich and “Rational Lot Development” in Brussels aimed to make visitors focus on only one exhibition panel at a same time. A *simultaneous* comparison between more than one panel at a time was not intended, despite the freedom to take a “conference-promenade.” In the

⁷⁷⁵ “In einer Ausstellung können die Variationen über eine Thema annähernd zugleich dargestellt werden, während die Zahl der unmittelbaren Vergleichsmöglichkeiten hauptsächlich durch die zehn oder zwölf Bilder begrenzt wird, die das Auge auf einmal aufnehmen kann – erweitert allerdings durch die in einer Galerie möglichen Perspektiven. In einem Buch ist die Zahl der direkten Vergleiche auf die Abbildungen beschränkt, die man auf gegenüberliegenden Seiten unterbringen kann. Die Vergleiche gewinnen dann leicht eine übertriebene Bedeutung. Das Wort muß erklärend dazukommen, schwächt freilich auch die Kraft des visuellen Eindrucks. Daher wurde die in der Ausstellung möglichen Gruppierungen hier im Buch mit ihrem wesentlichen Inhalt beibehalten, doch in der Anzahl verringert und gelegentlich abgeändert. Das Ergebnis umfasst immerhin 362 von 406 Abbildungen der Ausstellung.” Arthur Drexler. *Transformationen in der modernen Architektur* (Düsseldorf: Beton-Verlag, 1984), 13. Drexler’s original text in English reads as follows: “In an exhibition, variations on a theme can be presented almost simultaneously, the number of direct comparisons being limited chiefly by the 10 or 12 images the eye can take in at once – but expanded by the perspectives possible in a gallery. In a book the number of direct comparisons is limited to the image that can be accommodated on facing pages [...] Thus the groupings feasible in the exhibition, although here substantially retained, have been reduced in quantity and occasionally modified. The results nevertheless include 362 of the exhibition’s 402 images.” Patteeuw and Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” 77.

case of the arrangement of the exhibition panels in Frankfurt in 1929 [see fig. II.1.9 and fig. II.1.10], the flag-like arrangement intended to force the visitor to focus on a single panel. This arrangement was repeated in Brussels through the zigzag installation [see fig. I.3.2, fig. I.3.4, fig. I.3.5]. Even though no photographs of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition in Brussels are available, which would allow a clearer assertion of the arrangement and its intended perception, the photograph of the traveling exhibition in Amsterdam [see fig. I.4.16] nonetheless supports this assertion. Here, the visitor stands in front of one panel, just far enough away to be able to read the numbers on it, but not far enough to allow a simultaneous reading of the other panels to his left and right. Furthermore, hanging the panels in a row side by side did not allow the simultaneous reading described by Drexler. If the visitor wished to read the figures on the panels next to him, he needed to take a step to the right or the left and to then stand in front of it. Both in the case of the zigzag arrangement of the panels of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” in Zurich and Brussels, as well as the hanging of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition panels in Amsterdam required the visitor to move from one panel to the next in order to allow the comparability of the exhibited floorplans or settlement schemes – this is what I mean by “comparison in a sequence.”

6.2.2. The Layout of the Publications: One Double-Page at a Time

The same logic of perception applies for both publications of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” and “Rational Lot Development.” Both layouts allow only the studying of either one ground-floor plan or one settlement scheme at a time. In the case of the ground-floor plans of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” the exhibition panels were simply scaled down and published in the publications just as they were on display in Zurich. In the case of the exhibition “Rational Lot Development,” on the other hand, the different graphic and numeric material per settlement scheme was rearranged in the same logic on the double-spread of the publication. So, despite this rearrangement, the double-spread again only showed one settlement project on the mirroring pages. Thus, this layout likewise only allowed one project at a time to be studied; like the exhibition itself, an immediate comparison of more than one project at the same time was not possible. If the reader of the publication wanted to study the next settlement, again motion was required – in this case not moving from one panel to the next, but turning the page.

This inconvenient arrangement was most likely intentional. Since the material of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was treated and amended, it easily could have been redistributed and rearranged differently. But like the exhibition and publication of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” the exhibition and publication of “Rational Lot Development”

did not intend to allow an immediate comparison of two or more projects simultaneously, but an in-depth study of only one project at a time. The intended perceptual control of the panels in the exhibition space was mirrored by the printing of the same plans on the publication's pages. I call this "comparison in a sequence": the comparison of the different projects either on the wall within the exhibition space or the on the pages of the publication, not simultaneously, but one after the other.

6.3. "No Show Piece": The Exhibition and Publication as Working Tool

The "Rational Lot Development" publication was published one year after the exhibition closed in Brussels. This is – according to Léa-Catherine Szacka's observation that exhibition catalogues are usually published with the opening of the exhibition⁷⁷⁶ – rather unusual. A further exceptional feature is that only the reports printed in the publications are significantly changed in comparison to the reports given at CIAM-03. By contrast, the material displayed in the exhibition in Brussels is – not regarding the layout, but the chosen projects – more or less identical with the material included in the publication.⁷⁷⁷ The reason for this becomes apparent in a letter from Giedion to Walter Gropius, in which Giedion discusses the planned procedure for the publication. In contrast to the texts, which have been amended and changed, the exhibition material was, besides the corrections and the rearrangement of the different graphic material, neither changed nor largely modified. According to Giedion, this was so that the "Congress body" would stand out:

I have taken full responsibility for the publication. You can be sure that we will not let the 'stuff go sour.' The tasks are precisely distributed. [van] Eesteren and Bourgeois are responsible for the correcting of the exhibition material. [...] The book should be published as soon as possible, but not hastily and carelessly like the last one. The essays and the summary of the Congress should not exceed four sheets (sixty-four) pages. We will ask each speaker to condense his lecture, and what has already been published elsewhere shall only touched upon and the reference to the other journal or

⁷⁷⁶ Patteeuw and Szacka, "Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction," 8.

⁷⁷⁷ The work on the texts in the adjoining publication after the exhibition was shown is, according to Barry Bergdoll, also an exception: "How many of us visiting an exhibition for which we have written a catalogue essay have not wished that we might have been allowed to wait until the show had opened to complete our final draft? How many curators have not wished that text in galleys was as movable as framed drawings in the hours leading up to the public opening? In an ideal world, perhaps an exhibition would precede rather than accompany its scholarly catalogue?" Barry Bergdoll, "Curating History," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 57, no. 3 (1998): 257–366. Accessed April 22, 2023. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/991345>.

book given. As I said, this time we must take into account the Congress body itself, and let it [the Congress body] speak for itself.”⁷⁷⁸

Another reason for, and also very possibly the consequence of, this original and unchanged material can be found in Cornelis van Eesteren's introduction to the exhibition brochure of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in Zurich. In his six-page-long explanation about the exhibition, van Eesteren begins by comparing this travelling exhibition with that of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” which was shown in Zurich one year earlier. van Eesteren explains that the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition – just like “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” – is anything but “a showpiece, even though this years' drawings [annotation my own: already in the exhibition, not just on the panels] are often amended with explanatory photos.”⁷⁷⁹ If the exhibitions were not “showpieces,” and thus anything but a collection which is mainly put on display because it either serves as an outstanding example, or something that attracts attention or admiration, what were they? On the one hand, they were testimony of what was on display at CIAM-03 in Brussels. On the other hand – more precisely – they were used as material for CIAM-03 to reach a lively and active discussion. This conclusion can be drawn when comparing the introduction to the “Rational Lot Development” publication with a discussion between Rudolf Steiger and Le Corbusier during the second CIRPAC meeting regarding the working method of CIAM. When the attending CIRPAC members discussed what to display at CIAM-03, Steiger reminded the members of the general aim of CIAM to engender a debate about what was discussed on the occasion of CIAM's Congresses, as well as “the working method of the Congress.” He admonished Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Karl Moser, Sigfried Giedion, and Marcel Breuer that:

it's above all the working method of the Congress as well as its main aim to name and flag the problems and put them up for discussion, with proposals that may sometimes be a little wrong but which can provoke useful and indicative reactions from scientific and economic circles. And the real aim of the Congress must be that of an active, lively exchange on the foundation of

⁷⁷⁸ “Ich habe fuer die Publikation volle Verantwortung unternommen. Sie duerfen sicher sein, dass wir den ‘Stoff nicht sauer werden lassen.’ Die Aufgaben sind genau verteilt. Eesteren mit Bourgeois sind fuer die Richtigkeit des Ausstellungsmaterials verantwortlich. [...] Die Publikation soll so schnell als moeglich heraus, aber doch nicht uebereilt und sorglos wie die letzte. Die Aufsaeetze und der Hergang des Kongresses soll moeglicht nicht mehr als vier Bogen (64) Seiten umfassen. Wir werden jeden Referenten bitten seinen Vortrag nochmals zu kondensieren und zwar in der der Weise, dass die Dinge die der Referent schon anderswo geäußert hat nur gestreift werden und der Referent die Zeitschrift oder das Buch notiert wo er die Dinge nacher ausgefuehrt hat. Wir muessen wie gesagt diesmal auf den Kongresskoerper selbst Ruecksicht nehmen und ihn zu Worte kommen lassen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, December 14, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

⁷⁷⁹ “Wie die Ausstellung ‘Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum’, die vor einem Jahr gezeigt wurde, ist auch diese Ausstellung kein Schaustück. Selbst wenn im Gegensatz zu der erstgenannten diesmal die Zeichnungen oft durch erklärende Photos erläutert sind.” Cornelis van Eesteren, “Rationelle Bebauungsweisen,” in *Ausstellungen Walter Gropius. Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, ed. Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich (Zurich: Kunstgewerbemuseum, 1931), 19.

the material, because to distinguish itself from other congresses that don't come up with solutions, it's not a question of solving the big problems, but of evoking them.⁷⁸⁰

Even if Steiger and Le Corbusier were not always on the same page when it came to the planning of the exhibition, Le Corbusier at this point agreed with Steiger's proposal. He exhorted the members

to fill the mailboxes of the Congress' members with material documentation that allows us not to express ideas for old statistics but propositions regarding these statistics. And Mr. Steiger said something exciting when he said: 'We might be wrong, but at least we'll provoke instructive reactions, we'll stir up the masses.'⁷⁸¹

This very claim of providing the members (as well as the public) with material documentation to enhance "active lively exchange" was put into practice through the publication, which, as is written in the introduction, was "not a passive collection of material, but an evaluation under continuous, common points of view."⁷⁸² So just as the material of "Rational Lot Development" in the exhibition space of the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels at CIAM-03 guaranteed an "active, lively exchange," so too the barely-amended exhibition material in the publication continued this very aim of CIAM.

This assumption is reinforced by one crucial difference between the "Rational Lot Development" publication and the planned – though unpublished – publication for the "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibition. As we know from the preparations for this publication,⁷⁸³ the material envisioned to be published did not need to be identical to what had been on display in the exhibition. Giedion kept asking for additional material to be published shortly before the exhibition opened in Brussels and stressed that some material was solely meant for the publication, not the exhibition. In a letter to Hugo Häring in October 1930, Giedion asks about horizontal sliding windows from the Balkans, which "we would like

⁷⁸⁰ "C'est plutôt la méthode de travail du congrès et le but principale c'est plutôt de nommer, de poser les problèmes et de le mettre en discussion, par des propositions peut être quelquefois un peu erronées, mais qui pourraient provoquer des réactions très utiles et indicatives de la part des milieux scientifiques et économiques et que le but véritable du congrès doit consister dans l'échange actif, vivant sur la fondation du matériel, parce que pour se distinguer des autres congrès qui n'arrivent pas à des solutions, il ne s'agit pas de résoudre les grands problèmes, mais de les évoquer." CIRPAC, "COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI," 8.

⁷⁸¹ "Je voudrais que nous remplissions les boîtes à lettres de la commission du congrès d'une documentation matérielle qui permettrait d'exprimer, non pas des idées de vieilles statistiques, mais des propositions à ces statistiques et M. STEIGER a dit une phrase très intéressante lorsqu'il a dit: 'nous pouvons nous tromper, mais au moins nous provoquerons des réactions instructives, nous remuerons la masse.'" CIRPAC, "COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI," 9.

⁷⁸² "Dieses Buch ist das Ergebnis internationaler Zusammenarbeit. Es handelt sich nicht um eine passive Materialsammlung, sondern um eine Auswertung unter durchgehenden, gemeinsamen Gesichtspunkten." Giedion, "Einleitung," 5.

⁷⁸³ See chapter 2.1.7 in "Part I. Reconstruction".

to have [...] only for the publication, so there is enough time to provide them in the course of the following weeks.”⁷⁸⁴

This difference between the “Rational Lot Development” publication and the planned publication for “Horizontal Sliding Windows” further stresses that the former did not pursue the aim of being completed or amended, but of bearing witness to the exhibition as a tool for enhancing the lively and active exchange at CIAM-03, and thus bearing witness to the exhibition as a working zone. Just as the exhibitions were no “showpieces” in terms of collections of glittering exhibits, so too the publications were no “showpieces” in terms of high-gloss publications, but a testimony of the exhibition as material of lively and active discussion that enabled these discussions in the first place. The very last remark in the introduction to the plans in the publication also stresses that this publication was a working tool:

The layout was made as to allow successive additions by gluing in further material.⁷⁸⁵

Even if the exhibition material was not amended for the publication by CIAM, it can nevertheless be amended by the reader, or rather the user of the book. In this way, the aim for no passive collection, but an active work, is once again stressed.

6.4. Promoting the Publication as if it was the Exhibition

The third edition of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” publication contains a five-page publisher’s advertisement at the end of the book, promoting twelve other publications on the subject of housing by the publishing house Julius Hoffmann Verlag Stuttgart.⁷⁸⁶ On the fifth page, Otto Völckers’ book, *Wohnbaufibel*, with a one-page long summary, is promoted. On the preceding double page, ten further books on minimal housing are promoted, each with a three-line summary. On the first double page of the publisher’s advertisement, CIAM’s “Rational Lot Development” publication is promoted in both text and image [see fig. II.6.7]. The promotion for this publication takes up by far the most space. But it is not just the amount of space that makes this advertisement stand out from the others, but also the image printed on the right page. Only this advertisement offers a glimpse into the promoted book by showing a sample page – to be precise, the right half of the sample page – of the original publication. However, when looking more closely at the advertisement, it is not

⁷⁸⁴ “Schiebefenster Ausstellung: Die Schiebefenster aus den Balkan hätten wir nur gerne für die Veröffentlichung, sodass genügend Zeit ist, diese im Laufe der folgenden Wochen zu verschaffen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hugo Häring, November 18, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Häring, gta Archives.

⁷⁸⁵ “Die Anordnung ist so getroffen, daß eine sukzessive Ergänzung durch Einkleben von weiterem Material möglich ist.” See “Erläuterung des Planmaterials,” in *Rationelle Bauweisen*, ed. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, 79.

⁷⁸⁶ “Verlagsanzeigen,” in *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*, ed. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen Zürich.

primarily the publication that is promoted, but first and foremost the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition.

The left page of the advertisement, from top to bottom, first gives a brief explanation of the publications by CIAM, a header, some technical facts, as well as a summary of the content and structure of the publication. The header on the top of the left page announces that the “Rational Lot Development” publication can be regarded as a “continuation of the book ‘The Dwelling for Minimal Existence.’”⁷⁸⁷ The summary of the contents explains the theme as well as the structure of the book. Interestingly, the summary exclusively addresses the plans in the publication, and not, as one might assume, the plans *and* the printed lectures. The lectures are only mentioned once in passing during the brief explanation in between the header and the summary.⁷⁸⁸ The summary, however, explains the uniform appearance of the plans, the information and figures given on each plan, their order with the adjoining categories, as well as the general aim of the plans. It begins with the bold claim that “[t]he book shows all possibilities for the development of residential neighbourhoods and their possible building heights in a uniform treatment.”⁷⁸⁹ Further, the structure of the book, with the four categories “Low-, Middle-, High-, and Mixed-rise,” is described, and the figures and plans given for every settlement.⁷⁹⁰ The summary ends with a brief instruction on how to use the material, also explaining what has been done with the exhibition material: “The book provides the processing and comparison of the fifty-six most important examples of today's development methods.”⁷⁹¹ This summary again picks up what was stressed in the preceding two sections of this chapter, namely, that the exhibition and the publication were meant to be *perceived* and *used* in the same manner – again, the intended one-to-one comparison (only *one settlement plan* is shown) is advertised, and its usage (hereby stressing that the publication is a *working tool*) described.

Equally as interesting is the right page of the advertisement which, from top to bottom, reproduces plan no. 54 (Spandau, Haselhorst). It shows not the double-spread layout of the Haselhorst settlement, but only the right half of the double-page followed by a three-line

⁷⁸⁷ “Als Fortsetzung des Buches ‘Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum’ erschien, herausgegeben von den Internationalen Kongressen für Neues Bauen, Zürich: RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN.” See “Verlagsanzeigen.”

⁷⁸⁸ “56 doppelseitige Pläne mit Abbildungen, Schlitten und Grundrissen, und 100 Seiten Text von Böhm-Kaufmann, Giedion, Gropius, Le Corbusier, Neutra und Teige. 210 Seiten, groß-8, kartoniert, RM.8.50.” See “Verlagsanzeigen.”

⁷⁸⁹ “Das Buch zeigt in einheitlicher Bearbeitung alle Möglichkeiten der Aufschließung und Bauhöhen für Wohnviertel.” See “Verlagsanzeigen.”

⁷⁹⁰ “Das Material gliedert sich in vier Teile: Flachbau, Mittelhochbau, Hochbau und gemischte Bauweise. Sämtliche Pläne sind in gleichem Maßstab veröffentlicht, bei allen Beispielen sind der prozentuale Straßenanteil, die Wohnungszahl, Kopfzahl und Wohnfläche pro Hektar und die Aufschließungskosten angegeben. Meistens werden auch die Wohnungsgrundrisse gezeigt.” See “Verlagsanzeigen.”

⁷⁹¹ “Das Buch bietet die Verarbeitung und Vergleichung der 56 wichtigsten Beispiele heutiger Bebauungsmethoden.” See “Verlagsanzeigen.”

summary on the cut off left page, making up for the missing left page of the double-spread layout. The three lines read as follows:

Scaled-down sample page from 'Rational Lot Development.' The neighbouring page also shows building views, street sections, floorplans of the various types of apartments, and an overview of apartment sizes and number of beds from the same settlement.⁷⁹²

The right half of the double-spread meets the requirements of a well-designed exhibition panel, at least according to Sigfried Giedion. How much information should be given on one exhibition panel, as well as what graphic material should be given in addition to the figures, was discussed during the first CIRPAC meeting for CIAM-03. When the attending CIRPAC members discussed what to display at CIAM-03 and what to show on the exhibition panels, Giedion called for only “three numbers” per panel. He warned the attending members not to overcrowd the panels with too much information and too many numbers. He stated that “[w]e’ve seen in various exhibitions that if the public sees too many figures, they don’t read anything at all. In Frankfurt, there were only three numbers, and that was fine.”⁷⁹³ The publication as well as the photographs from the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” prove that, in the end, the panels of “Rational Lot Development” did not only show three numbers per panel, as had been the case for “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence.” Depending on the settlement scheme, between at least twice and at most eight-times more numbers than Gideon recommended were included on each panel. In the case of exhibition panel no. 54 (Spandau, Haselhorst), a total of twenty-four numbers were given [see fig. II.6.8]. However, its one-sided sample page in the advertisement with the rearranged layout only gives seven numbers; not quite the three numbers requested by Giedion, but a lot closer than some. Thus, this part of the exhibition panel in the advertisement comes much closer to Giedion's belief in the importance of a limited number of figures on an exhibition panel than the actual exhibition panels did. Promoting the publication of the exhibition with material that is more “exhibit-able” than the actual exhibition material – at least according to Giedion’s claim – strongly implies that the publication was promoted as if it was an exhibition. Thus, the advertisement provided an opportunity to revise the exhibition material – at least plan no. 54 – once again, following its first correction before being shown as a travelling exhibition, and to erase what Giedion considered “too

⁷⁹² “Die Nachbarseite zeigt von der gleichen Siedlung noch Gebäudeansichten, Straßenschnitte, Grundrisse der verschiedenen Wohnungstypen und eine Übersicht der Wohnungsgrößen und Bettenzahl.” See “Verlagsanzeigen.”

⁷⁹³ “M.GIEDION. – Nous avons pu constater, dans diverses expositions, que si le public voit trop de chiffres, il ne lit rien du tout. A Frankfurt, il n’y avait que trois chiffres, et c’était fort bien.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 43.

many figures.” Furthermore, with the left half of the double-spread cut off, the plan in the advertisement resembles more the exhibition panels of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” and less the publication of “Rational Lot Development.”

Hence, both the left page of the advertisement, on which the intended perception and usage of the exhibition is summarised, as well as its right page, on which Giedion’s ideal image of how much information should be given on an exhibition panel is mirrored, promote the “Rational Lot Development” publication as if it was an exhibition.

These blurring boundaries between the exhibition and the publication are also apparent in the brochure for the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” published by the Gewerbemuseum Basel.⁷⁹⁴ Again, here the material on display in the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in the Gewerbemuseum Basel is promoted as if it was the publication. The introductory text in the brochure on how to read the exhibition material is lifted from the “Rational Lot Development” publication. As a matter of fact, the text was not edited to correspond to the exhibition material on display in Basel, and thus the reading instructions given for the exhibition material are structured according to the layout of the publication, referring to “right page”⁷⁹⁵ and “left page.”⁷⁹⁶ Furthermore, the explanation in the brochures ends with an invitation to the exhibition visitor to try “gluing in further material,”⁷⁹⁷ just as in the publication. The explanation in the brochure is thus less an explanation about the exhibition material on display in the Gewerbemuseum Basel than a reading instruction for the publication.

6.5. Sharing Effectively the Same Target Group

CIAM differentiated between two main target groups. On the one hand, CIAM members; on the other, the public as well as authorities.⁷⁹⁸ However, CIAM did not consider whether the general public or the authorities were familiar with either the vocabulary or visual language of trained and practising architects. This may also explain why CIAM was well aware of the

⁷⁹⁴ See chapter 4.3 in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

⁷⁹⁵ “Auf dem rechten Blatt is oben der Name der Stadt (eventuell Land) angegeben. Nur bei ausgeführten Beispielen befindet sich die Jahreszahl. Plan im Massstab 1:3000, Schnitt sowie Angabe des Nordpfeils. [...] Unterhalb des Planes: Kurze Bemerkungen hinsichtlich sozialer Bestimmungen, Wohnelement, Orientierung, Verkehr und Allgemeines.” See “Erläuterung des Planmaterials,” 17ff.

⁷⁹⁶ “Linkes Blatt: Das linke Blatt enthält Detailangaben: Photos, Perspektiven, Vogelschau-Aufnahmen. Strassenprofile mit Lichteinfallswinkel, Detailschnitte, Begründung der in Bezug auf die Sonne gewählten Orientierung, Verkehrsschemata. Grundrisse der Wohnungstypen.” See “Erläuterung des Planmaterials,” 18.

⁷⁹⁷ “Die Anordnung is so getroffen, daß eine sukzessive Ergänzung durch Einkleben von weiterem Material möglich ist.” See “Erläuterung des Planmaterials,” 79.

⁷⁹⁸ “Le Président: Etant donné le double but que nous poursuivons - intéresser les congressistes, d'une part, et les autorités ainsi que le grand public, d'autre part.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 38. This quote is also used in chapter 8.5 in “Part II. Analysis”.

fact that the reports and exhibitions were not as well received by the second target group as they were by CIAM members and the Congress participants. This is evident from Karl Moser's remark during the first CIRPAC meeting on the need to organise the "Journées de l'Habitation Minimum" to give a "greater importance to the meetings [of CIAM] from the public's point of view."⁷⁹⁹ A letter from Moser to Giedion from the beginning of 1930 also stresses that the publications as well as the travelling exhibitions in particular were regarded as a panacea for the unsuitability of the Congresses for the general and broader public:

With this [the lectures given on the occasion of CIAM-03] we would instruct each other, and at the same time the instruction of the public would go hand in hand through the corresponding traveling exhibition and through a carefully prepared publication. This publication would have to be carefully worked on already in the course of the spring.⁸⁰⁰

However, the question arises whether this aim was effectively true, and whether this can be traced in the publications.

In his introduction to the "Rational Lot Development" book, Sigfried Giedion explains that "brief explanations of the plans facilitate the book's use for laymen."⁸⁰¹ This sounds a little like an admission of guilt that the plans in the exhibition, for which no explanations were given, were not easy for an untrained audience to understand. However, the introduction in the advertisement for the publication in the third edition of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" might put this admission into perspective.⁸⁰² The last sentence in the summary of the content of this book states that "[t]he book offers a comparison of the processed fifty-six most important examples of today's development methods. Such summarising evaluations have been missing for the architect and urban planner until today."⁸⁰³ Having in mind Le Corbusier's comment regarding the aim of the CIAM "to fill the mailboxes of the Congress'

⁷⁹⁹ "LE PRESIDENT. – [...] Afin de donner à ces réunions une plus grande importance, aux yeux du public, nous avons songé à les compléter par un sorte de semaine de l'Architecture moderne. Nous demanderions à chacun des congressistes susceptibles de le faire d'une façon intéressante, de donner une conférence destinée au grand public ou aux élèves des écoles, de l'Académie des Beaux Arts, des sociétés d'habitations à bon marché, des fonctionnaires, etc." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 24.

⁸⁰⁰ "Oder wir ändern das Programm in der Weise, dass wir uns Vorträge über das in Frage stehende problem von Leuten halten lassen, wie wir bestimmen, ebenso wie die Themen, über die sie zu reden haben. Damit [also die Vorträge des Kongresses in Brüssel]würden wir uns gegenseitig instruieren und gleichzeitig ginge die Instruktion der Oeffentlichkeit durch die entsprechenden Wanderausstellung und durch eine sorgfältig erarbeitete Publikation Hand in Hand. An dieser Publikation müsste schon im Verlauf des Frühjahres sorgfältig gearbeitet werden." Karl Moser, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, 1930, 42-K-1930-Moser-Karl, gta Archives. Since Moser here refers to a letter he has received from Giedion at the end of December 1929, we can deduce the letter cited here is from early 1930.

⁸⁰¹ "Kurze Erläuterungen der Pläne sollen dem Laien den Gebrauch des Buches erleichtern": Giedion, "Einleitung," 5ff.

⁸⁰² See chapter 6.4 in "Part II. Analysis".

⁸⁰³ "Das Buch bietet die Verarbeitung und Vergleichung der 56 wichtigsten Beispiele heutiger Bebauungsmethoden. Solche zusammenfassenden Auswertungen haben dem Architekten und Städtebauer bisher gefehlt." See "Verlagsanzeigen."

members with material documentation,” as well as that of “stir[ring] up the masses,”⁸⁰⁴ the primary target group of the publication also becomes evident. This slight discrepancy in the effective target group is clearer in “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” publication. The “Preface” to the floorplans explains that the exhibition material was slightly amended for the publication, as well as that the amendment of the material limited the target group of the exhibitions to architects rather than laymen:

The following Ground-Plan schemes illustrate almost completely the material of the Exhibition entitled: “HOMES FOR MINIMUM INCOMES,” which is at present touring through a succession of European cities. In this selection, only such Ground-plans have been omitted as bear a similarity to those already contained in it, and also all contrasting examples, which are of interest to the general public and therefore an important part of the Exhibition itself, but which may be dispensed with in this publication.⁸⁰⁵

“The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” publication thus enabled, if not a complete change of the true target group, then at least its sharpening, namely that of architects. And so, although both the exhibitions and the publications were made for both a trained (CIAM members) as well as an untrained (laymen) audience, the exhibition as well as the publication were *effectively* more accessible to architects.

⁸⁰⁴ “Je voudrais que nous remplissions les boîtes à lettres de la commission du congrès d'une documentation matérielle qui permettrait d'exprimer, non pas des idées de vieilles statistiques, mais des propositions à ces statistiques et M. STEIGER a dit une phrase très intéressante lorsqu'il a dit: 'nous pouvons nous tromper, mais au moins nous provoquerons des réactions instructives, nous remuerons la masse.'” CIRPAC, “COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 17 MAI,” 9. See chapter 6.3 in “Part II. Analysis”.

⁸⁰⁵ This text is written in English, French, and German in the publication. See Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen Zürich, eds., *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*, 45ff. The German text reads as follows: “Die nachfolgenden Grundrisslösungen geben das Material der Ausstellung ‘Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum,’ die zur Zeit als Wanderausstellung in einer Reihe von europäischen Städten gezeigt wird, fast vollständig wieder. Es sind nur solche Grundrisse ausgeschieden worden, die ähnliche Lösungen wie die ausgewählten Blätter brachten, ebenso sämtliche Gegenbeispiele, die mehr für das Laienpublikum bestimmt sind und deshalb für die Ausstellung selbst von Bedeutung, für eine Publikation aber entbehrlich sind.”

7. CIAM's Exhibitions as SEQUENCE

Véronique Patteeuw and Léa-Catherine Szacka, in their introduction to *Mediated Messages: Periodicals, Exhibitions and the Shaping of Postmodern Architecture*,⁸⁰⁶ describe the “possibility of a sequence” as a distinguishing feature of exhibitions and periodicals. According to Patteeuw and Szacka, the occurrence of an exhibition or periodical issue offers the chance of repeating the chosen approach in a slightly adapted way either during the next exhibition show or next issue. In particular, they stress the possibility of showing exhibitions as travelling exhibitions in different venues as a distinguishing feature of *exhibitions as sequence*. Every subsequent venue of the travelling exhibition offers the chance to adapt and amend the approach or material used at the preceding venue:

Another intrinsic characteristic of exhibitions and periodicals is the possibility of a sequence. Both media have the potential to expand beyond the singular occurrence of one event or one issue. It is the very idea of the repetition of the same approach throughout time or space that renders exhibitions and periodicals more effective than other media, allowing them to react, to explore, to test and to reiterate. While an exhibition can travel and be presented in a more-or-less adapted form at different venues, the periodical can repeat the same theme within a series of consecutive issues.⁸⁰⁷

Likewise in the case of CIAM's two exhibitions “Horizontal Sliding Windows” and “Rational Lot Development,” the distinguishing criteria of an exhibition as a sequence can also be observed and traced, as the following chapter will demonstrate. The first section aims to demonstrate that Le Corbusier's wish to consider and plan CIAM's exhibitions as “une exposition savante” corresponds to Patteeuw and Szacka's idea of exhibitions as a sequence, with the specification – and in contrast to the definition used here – that it was not the travelling exhibitions that realised this ambition, but the exhibitions shown at CIAM's Congresses. The purpose of the second section is to show that repetition as one criterion for exhibitions as a sequence can also be traced in the self-referencing of CIAM's exhibitions. The third section aims to demonstrate that – despite the change of media – CIAM's publications can also be regarded as a sequence of the respective exhibitions.

7.1. “Une Exposition Savante” – CIAM's Take on “Sequence”

That CIAM's exhibitions correspond to the idea of a *sequence* is clear as early as the first CIRPAC Meeting for CIAM-02. Then, even though CIAM's first exhibition, “The Dwelling for

⁸⁰⁶ Patteeuw and Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” 1–22.

⁸⁰⁷ Patteeuw and Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” 8.

Minimal Existence,” was not yet even in preparation, Le Corbusier shared his thoughts for the exhibition of CIAM-03, making clear which requirements it should meet. In the middle of the meeting, Le Corbusier suggested organising another exhibition after CIAM-02, which would complete the first with the latest findings of CIAM:

[I] would like to suggest to make an ‘exposition savante’ after 1930 that complements the results of the Congress.⁸⁰⁸

Le Corbusier’s idea of an “exposition savante,” adds to what has previously been shown to go hand in hand with Patteeuw and Szacka’s definition of *exhibitions as sequence*, as an occurrence which reacts to what previously had been on display, and explores, tests, and reiterates it. Thus, the picture of an exhibition which Le Corbusier is painting here shows that, even before CIAM’s first exhibition opened in October 1929 in Frankfurt, CIAM’s exhibitions were – at this moment, at least by him – understood as a *sequence*. Further evidence comes from the first CIRPAC Meeting for CIAM-03 on 3 February 1930 – almost one year to the day after Le Corbusier’s proposition. We know that Hans Schmidt first picked up the subject of organising another exhibition at CIAM-03 during this CIRPAC Meeting.⁸⁰⁹ Victor Bourgeois immediately jumped on this bandwagon, and nuanced Schmidt’s proposal with the following specification:

In Frankfurt, there was an exhibition of plans related to minimum housing; they [the plans] will be exhibited again in Brussels in September. We thought that we could complete this work, a report about the minimum apartment [literally, ‘living-cell’], by an analogous work related to lot development.⁸¹⁰

Bourgeois not only picked up Le Corbusier’s proposal from February 1929, he took it further. Not only should the next exhibition be a completion of the CIAM-02 exhibition, but more specifically “an analogous work.” What could Bourgeois have meant when he recalled Le Corbusier’s suggestion of the previous year? In order for something to be “analogous,” it

⁸⁰⁸ “Corbuser [sic]: [...] möchte aber vorschlagen, dass man nach 1930 eine “exposition savante” macht, welche die Resultate des Kongresses ergänzt.” CIAM, “Sitzung der Delegierten vom 2. Februar 1929 im Hotel Krafft in Basel. Protokoll,” n.d., 42-2-2-1, gta Archives.

⁸⁰⁹ “M. Schmidt. – Nous avons proposé, d’autre part, d’organiser une exposition, comme à Frankfort, pour faire connaître les propositions des architectes, avec des études sur l’aménagement rationnel des quartiers urbains.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 22. See chapter 1.2.1 in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

⁸¹⁰ “LE PRESIDENT. – [...] A Frankfort, il y a eu une expositions [sic] de plans relatifs à l’habitation minimum; ils seront exposés à Bruxelles, de nouveau, au mois de septembre. On avait pensé que l’on pourrait compléter ce travail, fait rapport à la cellule, par un travail analogue, relatif aux lotissements.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 22, 42-3-1-11F, gta Archives. On the next page of the protocol, Raphaël Verwilghen also mentions the idea of “complementing” the exhibition of CIAM-02 in Brussels in his outline: “Ce serait d’ailleurs un complément de l’exposé qui précède.”

needs to “have similar features to another thing and therefore able to be compared with it.”⁸¹¹ As we know from the guidelines of the “Rational Lot Development” and “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibitions,⁸¹² the main aim of the exhibitions was comparability. In the guidelines for “Rational Lot Development,” it is stated that the building possibilities that could be realised under the existing building regulations of the respective countries should be given in “a comparative manner”.⁸¹³ According to Bourgeois’ demand that “Rational Lot Development” should be “analogous” – and thus also comparable to “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” – CIAM not only pursued the aim to allow the comparison of the exhibition panels of just *one* exhibition with each other, but also to allow the comparison of the panels with those from the previous exhibition.

Certainly, Bourgeois could have understood “analogous” in the sense of “the same methodical proceeding.” But what seems most likely in this context is that by “analogous,” Bourgeois meant the graphic representation of the exhibited examples. One reason for this assumption is that the outline for the graphic language of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was similar to the outline for the graphic language described in the guidelines for “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence.” Similarly, in a letter to Ernst May, Giedion asks May to work out a drawing template for the exhibition material for CIAM-03.⁸¹⁴ Assuming that by “analogous” Bourgeois was referring to the graphic representation of the exhibited examples, the question which arises is how to reach this very uniform graphic language for two different exhibitions. Either one had clear guidelines for the graphic language of the material to be exhibited, or the team already working on the material of the previous exhibition was also working on the material for the new exhibition; or one would have a proper drawing template, ideally again worked out by the same team. Since the “Zeichenbüro”⁸¹⁵ for CIAM-03 was set up in the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, and the people who were in charge for the exhibition material for CIAM-02 were sitting in the

⁸¹¹ Cambridge Dictionary, “analogous,” accessed May 5, 2022, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/de/worterbuch/englisch/analogous>.

⁸¹² For the guidelines for the “Rational Lot Development” Exhibition, see CIAM, “WEGLEITUNG FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG: ‘RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME,’” March 1930, 2, 42-3-2-11, gta Archives. For the guidelines for “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition, see CIAM, “MITTEILUNG betreffend die AUSSTELLUNG ‘DIW WOHNUNG FÜR DAS EXISTENZMINIMUM’ anlässlich der TAGUNG des 2. INTERNATIONALEN KONGRESSES FÜR NEUES BAUEN vom 24.-27. Oktober in Frankfurt a.M.,” n.d., 42-2-2-21D, gta Archives.

⁸¹³ “Die Ausstellung beabsichtigt: 1. Die Bebauungsmöglichkeiten innerhalb des Rahmens der vorhandenen Gesetzgebung der verschiedenen Länder vergleichend darzustellen.” CIAM, “WEGLEITUNG FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG: ‘RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME,’” March 1930, 2, 42-3-2-11, gta Archives.

⁸¹⁴ Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Ernst May, August 8, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-May, gta Archives.

⁸¹⁵ “Auch in Frankreich ist die Angelegenheit Rationelle Bauweisen gleichfalls geregelt und falls das Zeichenbüro in Brüssel uns nicht im Stich lässt, so wird die Ausstellung voraussichtlich funktionieren. Die 3 Stück Pläne wurden bereits vor 14 Tagen von Steiger an Nosbisch geschickt. Ihr Vorschlag im Ausstellungsraum, die Voraussetzungen und Richtlinien der Ausstellung anzuschlagen – wir werden Sie auch im Klichée bringen bei der Veröffentlichung - ist sehr wichtig. Ich würde vorschlagen, dass man nicht nur eine Gebrauchsanweisung formuliert, sondern auch falls dies möglich ist, die Vorschläge für Richtlinien festlegt. Ich werde gern versuchen Ihnen eine Skizze für die Formulierung der Gebrauchsanweisung einzusenden.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, October 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

Hochbauamt Frankfurt, the possibility of the same team working out the panels for CIAM-03 was unlikely. Thus, the only remaining option to reach an “analogous” graphic language was to have a proper drawing template in the “Zeichenbüro” in Brussels which could serve as a reference for those working there. And so, on 8 August, “for the sake of continuity” Giedion wrote to May and urged him to send the perfectly worked out settlement schemes from Frankfurt to Brussels:

Finally, we would like to ask you for the Brussels Congress to collect the material for it in the Frankfurt building construction office as soon as possible. Last year, you worked on the material so excellently in your building department that, if only for the sake of continuity, it would be important for you to send your Frankfurt examples to Brussels ready for exhibition (i.e., at the right scale and laid out), so that a template is available there at all points. Stam, after all, has suggested all the details, and he will certainly be able to take the lead from you if you do not have time.⁸¹⁶

This procedure corresponds to Patteeuw and Szacka’s idea of the “repetition of the same approach”: for the exhibition panels of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” and “Rational Lot Development,” the same – the analogous – approach was also used. However, unlike Patteeuw and Szacka’s stressing of the different venues of a travelling exhibitions as a sequence, CIAM did not regard the travelling exhibitions as a sequence, but first and foremost the exhibitions shown at the Congresses. This becomes apparent from Moser’s letter to Giedion in January 1930, in which he updates Giedion on the success of the travelling exhibition of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence”: “[t]he exhibition in Basel and Zurich has been received with extraordinary interest and has spread much stimulation.”⁸¹⁷ Moser states that CIAM should capitalise on this success: “This year, the exhibition in Brussels should be extended by projects of groups and settlements.”⁸¹⁸ This formulation leads to the idea that the completion of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” would occur with the *next* exhibition, namely “Rational Lot Development.” Since the material of the travelling exhibition of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” could also have been adapted, changed, or supplemented, it was only the main exhibitions which should be a sequence.

⁸¹⁶ “Schliesslich möchten wir Sie für den Brüsseler Kongress noch darum bitten, das Material dafür im Frankfurter Hochbauamt sobald als möglich zu sammeln. Sie haben im letzten Jahr in Ihrem Hochbauamt das Material so ausgezeichnet bearbeitet, dass schon um der Kontinuität willen es wichtig wäre, dass Sie Ihre Frankfurter Beispiele ausstellungsfertig (also ausgezogen und angelegt) nach Brüssel schicken, damit dort in allen Punkten ein Vorbild vorhanden ist. Stam hat ja alle Einzelheiten vorgeschlagen und er wird Ihnen sicher die Leitung abnehmen können, falls Ihnen keine Zeit bleibt.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Ernst May, August 8, 1930.

⁸¹⁷ “Die Plan-Ausstellung ist in Basel u. Zurich mit ausserordentlichem Interesse aufgenommen worden, u. hat viel Anregung verbreitet.” Karl Moser, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, January 27, 1930, 42-K-1930-Moser-Karl, gta Archives.

⁸¹⁸ “Die diesjährige Ausstellung in Brüssel sollte erweitert werden durch Projekte von Gruppen u. Siedlungen.” Moser, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, January 27, 1930.

This fine line between Patteeuw and Szacka's idea on the one hand, and CIAM's understanding on the other, stresses that only the happening of the main exhibitions – and not the different venues to which CIAM's exhibitions travelled after the Congresses – were considered as an opportunity “to react, to explore, to test and to reiterate” the exhibition material.

CIAM-03 in Brussels was the first and only time that both “Horizontal Sliding Windows” and “Rational Lot Development” were exhibited at the same time – under the same roof, if not in the same room. Even though it was planned to show CIAM's first two main exhibitions together again in Milan, at this point in the research it must be assumed that this never took place.⁸¹⁹ Even though, in the end, the material of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition was not exactly edited or changed, it was reiterated insofar as the topic was *resumed*. CIAM-03 thus met Le Corbusier's request for an “exposition savante” in the sense that both “Horizontal Sliding Windows” and “Rational Lot Development” were on display at the same time. The panels of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition mirrored the continuation of the examination of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence,” and thus complemented the preoccupation – or results, so to speak – of CIAM. Furthermore, the graphic language, too, was uniform, and the panels were again mounted on aluminium panels. Thus, the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition can be regarded as sequence of the “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition as well as an analogous work.

7.2. CIAM's Exhibitions as Self-Reference, or: How the “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” Exhibition established a Standard

The planning process of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition reveals another interesting phenomenon: the concept of self-reference. During these preparations, the CIRPAC members never once drew a comparison to any exhibition besides the one they were planning.

When Patteeuw and Szacka specify the “idea of the repetition of the same approach” as a criterion in their understanding of *sequence*, do they thereby understand the repetition of the same idiosyncratic approach as self-referential in terms of repeating, reacting to, exploring, testing, and reiterating what is already there, without looking at what else might exist? One could assume so. But when looking at the planning process for the exhibition of CIAM-03, one could also arrive at this assumption based on the references drawn by the CIRPAC members.

⁸¹⁹ See chapter 4.7 in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

As a matter of fact, even though planning CIAM's exhibitions took up a major part of the CIRPAC meetings and the correspondence between members, no other non-CIAM (architecture) exhibition was mentioned in the extensive discussions held or the numerous reports and letters written on the exhibitions. The only exception is a general note Giedion makes to "various other exhibitions" during the first CIRPAC meeting, when the attending members discussed the amount of information given per exhibition panel:

We've seen at various other exhibitions that if the public sees too many figures, they don't read anything at all.⁸²⁰

But neither in positive nor negative terms, the CIRPAC members never made reference to any other specific exhibition. The only reference to another exhibition, which was continuously made during the planning of "Rational Lot Development," was to CIAM's own exhibitions. For example, when Schmidt picked up the topic of organising another exhibition for CIAM-03 in Brussels during the first CIRPAC meeting, he said:

On the other hand, we proposed to organise an exhibition, as in Frankfurt, to make known the architects' proposals for their work on the rational planning of urban districts.⁸²¹

His reference to CIAM's first exhibition, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," is interesting for two reasons. First, by proposing to organise an exhibition as it was done in Frankfurt in 1929, he indicates his intention to "repeat" what had been done in Frankfurt, corresponding to Patteeuw and Szacka's criterion of "the very idea of repetition."⁸²² Second, this reference also introduces the idea of self-reference: CIAM's next exhibition should be organised in an identical manner to *CIAM's Exhibition in Frankfurt*.

Later in the meeting, when the CIRPAC members discussed how much information should be given on each exhibition panel, as briefly mentioned above, Giedion first of all distanced himself from "the various other exhibitions" displaying too many numbers, and second, also refers to the Frankfurt exhibition. While most "other" exhibitions displayed "too many numbers" so that the visitor lost interest, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" in Frankfurt avoided such overburdening: "In Frankfurt, there were only three figures, and that was very

⁸²⁰ "M.GIEDION. – Nous avons pu constater, dans diverses expositions, que si le public voit trop de chiffres, il ne lit rien du tout. A Frankfort, il n'y avait que trois chiffres, et c'était fort bien." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 43.

⁸²¹ "M. Schmidt. – Nous avons proposé, d'autre part, d'organiser une exposition, comme à Frankfort, pour faire connaître les propositions des architectes, avec des études sur l'aménagement rationnel des quartiers urbains." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1," 22.

⁸²² Patteeuw and Szacka, "Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction," 8.

good.”⁸²³ Again, Giedion is using the *Frankfurt exhibition* as a reference point for the organisation of the Brussels exhibition. Interestingly, during this meeting, the CIRPAC members refer to the *Frankfurt exhibition* as if it was already an established and self-explanatory concept with no need for elaboration. Both Schmidt and Giedion describe not *how* it was done in Frankfurt, but simply that how it was done was sound. They neither give explanations nor make concrete comparisons. When Schmidt opened the discussion about the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition by stating that the Brussels exhibition should be organised “like [its predecessor] in Frankfurt,”⁸²⁴ he does not specify whether he is referring to the planning process, the size of the exhibition, or the spatial arrangement of the panels. Victor Bourgeois also tellingly ended the debate about the name of the exhibition by simply stating that “we will make it as in Frankfurt”⁸²⁵ – without explaining *how* the name of the exhibition in Brussels would be connected with the name of the Frankfurt exhibition. Shortly after, Schmidt repeated this reference. Asked what else to exhibit in Brussels, Schmidt simply replied “another material in the same manner.”⁸²⁶

Giedion's introduction to the “Rational Lot Development” publication provides another example of how CIAM referred to their exhibitions as if the Frankfurt exhibition had set the standard for all CIAM exhibitions to follow, without further explanation: he states that the panels of the “travelling exhibition ‘Rational Lot Development’ [were] uniformly mounted on aluminium plates like last year’s.”⁸²⁷

7.3. Despite the Change of Media: The Publication as Sequence of the Exhibition

According to Patteuw and Szacka, travelling exhibitions fall into their idea of a *sequence* since they can “be presented in a more-or-less adapted form at different venues,” just as periodicals “can repeat the same theme within series of consecutive issues.”⁸²⁸ In both cases, the traveling exhibitions and the periodical stay “within their media.” Thus the “the

⁸²³ “M.GIEDION. – Nous avons pu constater, dans diverses expositions, que si le public voit trop de chiffres, il ne lit rien du tout. A Frankfort, il n’y avait que trois chiffres, et c’était fort bien.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 43.

⁸²⁴ “M. SCHMIDT. – Nous avons proposé, d’autre part, d’organiser une exposition, comme à Frankfort, pour faire connaître les propositions des architectes,” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 22.

⁸²⁵ In the preceding debate, Giedion addressed the pending question of the name of the second exhibition. Le Corbusier's suggestion of “The rational use of space, according to hygienic, social, and financial requirements (land parcelling)” met with everyone's approval: “LE CORBUSIER. – On pourrait dire: ‘L’utilisation rationnelle de l’espace, en fonction des exigences hygiéniques, sociales et financières (parcelllement du sol).’ (adhésion). LE PRESIDENT. – Nous ferons comme à Frankfor.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 38.

⁸²⁶ “M. SCHMIDT. – Si l’on a le matériel de Frankfort, donner encore un matériel dans le même sens.” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 40.

⁸²⁷ “Das Resultat bildete die Wanderausstellung ‘Rationelle Bauweisen,’ die, wie die letztjährige, einheitlich auf Aluminiumplatten aufgezogen wurde.” Giedion, “Einleitung,” 5ff.

⁸²⁸ Patteuw and Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” 8.

repetition of the same approach throughout time or space”⁸²⁹ needs to happen within the same media: for the sequence of a travelling exhibition, the same curatorial approach is used for the next travelling exhibition; the media exhibition does not change. The same applies for the periodical: the next issue offers the possibility of a sequence for the periodical; again, the media does not change. Looking at the publications of CIAM's exhibitions, one particularity stands out. Since the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was “presented in a more-or-less adapted form”⁸³⁰ in the publication, despite the media change, Patteeuw and Szacka's definition still applies here. The “same approach” was used in both media. The “Rational Lot Development” publication can be regarded as a sequence of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, since it repeated “the same approach.” This repetition furthermore was made “throughout time”⁸³¹ – the book was published one year after the exhibition closed in Brussels. It was also made “throughout [...] space”⁸³² – the exhibition panels were brought from the walls of the Palais des Beaux-Arts to the bookshelf in the architect's home. Despite the media change, the same approach was nonetheless used both on the aluminium panels within the exhibition space and on the pages of the book of the publication.

The preparations for the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition and for the publication of the same name did not occur simultaneously. To put it another way, they did not work “in tandem,” a formulation used by Barry Bergdoll in his description of the growing simultaneity of exhibition- and publication-making in the 1930s:

Exhibitions and the periodical press, as time-bound and ephemeral media, always had a symbiotic relationship; but it was one that grew dramatically with the advances in the closing years of the nineteenth century of the ability to reproduce photographs inexpensively as an integral part of a printed newspaper or magazine. Curatorial and editorial practices began to work in tandem.⁸³³

In the case of the “Rational Lot Development” publication, the material for the exhibition was first acquired, then prepared, and third exhibited. Only afterwards, in a separate process, did the exhibition material undergo another – and independent – editing process. Thus, in the case of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition and the publication, the “curatorial and

⁸²⁹ Patteeuw and Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” 8.

⁸³⁰ Patteeuw and Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” 8.

⁸³¹ Patteeuw and Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” 8.

⁸³² Patteeuw and Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” 8.

⁸³³ Barry Bergdoll, Preface to *Mediated Messages*, ed. Patteeuw and Szacka, xi.

editorial practices” of the exhibition and the publication *did not* occur at once.⁸³⁴ This fulfils Patteeuw and Szacka’s criterion of using “the same approach throughout time,”⁸³⁵ and thus one event *after* another.

Interestingly, this only applies to the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition, and not “Horizontal Sliding Windows” and its proposed publication. In the case of the planned, but unexecuted, “Horizontal Sliding Windows” publication, the work and preparations for the exhibition and the book happened *at the same time*. This is evident from a letter from Giedion to Hugo Häring. Ten days before CIAM-03, Giedion reached out to Häring and reminded him to send further material on horizontal sliding windows to the secretariat in Zurich – not for the exhibition, but for the publication, which was supposed to show additional models of windows which were not displayed in the exhibition:

Dear Mr. Häring, [...] the Bauwelt Musterschau got in contact with us regarding taking over the window exhibition [...] On the exhibition on horizontal sliding windows: since we only want to have the sliding windows from the Balkans for our publication, there is enough time to produce this material in the course of the following weeks.⁸³⁶

Thus, at the *same* time, different material for the exhibition and the publication of “Horizontal Sliding Windows” was acquired. Not only was material acquired for the publication in tandem with the acquisition of material for the exhibition, but also the additional material for the publication. Giedion’s handwritten notes for the planned publication [see fig. 1.2.7] reveal that he had anticipated complementing the exhibited material with additional models not shown during the actual exhibition in Brussels, and also essays written solely for the publication. By contrast, the essays printed in the “Rational Lot Development” publication, as well as the settlement schemes, were – despite minor differences – the same as the lectures given and the panels exhibited beforehand in Brussels.

The curatorial and editorial processes happened independently and one after another for the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition and publication. The material was more or less the same, just – corresponding to Patteeuw and Szacka’s definition – slightly reiterated. The material was near identical due to “the repetition of the same approach throughout [...]

⁸³⁴ Yet even though the acquisition process for the exhibition material of “Rational Lot Development” was simultaneously the acquisition process for the publication of the same name, it is the curatorial and editorial practice that matters in this regard. These were not done at the same time, but one after another.

⁸³⁵ Patteeuw and Szacka, “Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction,” 8.

⁸³⁶ “Sehr geehrter Herr Häring, [...] die Bauwelt Musterschau hat sich zwecks Uebernahme der Fenster Ausstellung an uns gewandt, und dafür eine persönliche Karte für Herrn Dr. Lion gefordert. [...] Schiebefenster Ausstellung: Die Schiebefenster aus den Balkan hätten wir nur gerne für die Veröffentlichung, sodass genügend Zeit ist, diese im Laufe der folgenden Wochen zu verschaffen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hugo Häring, November 18, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Häring, gta Archives.

space,⁸³⁷ despite Giedion's differentiation of *material for an exhibition* and *material for a publication*.

During the first CIRPAC meeting on 3 February 1930, Giedion made it clear that he had a different understanding of what material he considered suitable for an exhibition and what material he considered suitable for a publication. During the first CIRPAC meeting, when it came to the discussion of whether to devote one section of the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition to solely historical examples, as proposed by Raphaël Verwilghen in his first outline, Giedion raised concerns.⁸³⁸ Verwilghen proposed to show the development of settlements of minimal housing to the present day, whereas Giedion did not consider a historic section as suited for an exhibition. Giedion explained:

I have been working on this [historic] material for two months, but I don't know if one should work with it during a conference; I can see it in a book, but [not] in an exhibition.⁸³⁹

Even if Giedion had worked on this material for some time, in the end it was neither printed in the publication nor displayed at the exhibition. Bearing in mind that the exhibition material was revised and slightly adapted after Brussels, there would have been enough time also to have Giedion's material on the historical development worked out and printed for inclusion in the publication. Despite the fact that Giedion clearly differentiated between what was suitable for the walls within the exhibition space, and what was suitable for the publication of the exhibition, in the end only what was put on the walls within the exhibition space was included in the pages of the publication of the exhibition. The reason for this is simple: since the *publication was the sequence of the exhibition*, the additional material on the historic development – which was suited for a book, but not for an exhibition – was of course accordingly not printed in the "Rational Lot Development" publication.

Thus, looking at the "Rational Lot Development" publication from this point of view, the publication can not only be seen as testimony of the exhibition,⁸⁴⁰ but also as its sequence. Furthermore, considering that "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" and "Rational Lot Development" exhibitions were seen as a sequence, it is not surprising that the "Rational Lot Development" publication was also seen as a sequence of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" publication. Indeed, the advertisement for the "Rational Lot Development"

⁸³⁷ Patteeuw and Szacka, "Postmodern Architecture and the Media: An Introduction," 8.

⁸³⁸ See chapter 1.2.1 in "Part I. Reconstruction".

⁸³⁹ "M. GIEDION. [...] Depuis deux mois, je travaille sur ce matériel, mais je ne sais pas si l'on doit faire cela dans un congrès; je le vois bien dans un livre, mais dans une exposition." CIRPAC, "Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemplaire No 1," 42.

⁸⁴⁰ See chapter 6. in "Part II. Analysis".

publication on the penultimate page of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” book [see fig. II.6.7] explicitly begins with the note that the former was the “continuation”⁸⁴¹ of the latter.

⁸⁴¹ “Die Fortsetzung des Buches ‘Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum’ erschien, herausgegeben von den Internationalen Kongressen für Neues Bauen, Zürich: Rationelle Bebauungsweisen.” See “Verlagsanzeigen.”

8. CIAM's Exhibitions as STRATEGIC INSTRUMENT FOR POLICY MAKING

Sigfried Giedion's text, "The Role of the International Congresses for Modern Architecture,"⁸⁴² printed in the brochure of the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" in the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich, reveals the explicit aim CIAM pursued by bringing the travelling exhibitions of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" and "Rational Lot Development" to Zurich; namely, to exert influence on "authoritative bodies" in Switzerland.

At the Brussels Congress, it was pointed out in detail that the results of the previous year's exhibition ('The Dwelling for Minimal Existence') in Zurich were without any influence on the decisions of the authoritative bodies. We would like to hope that this time the work of the Congress can also have an effect in Switzerland.⁸⁴³

But who exactly were these authorities? The following chapter aims to identify them. Furthermore, it aims to demonstrate that CIAM's exhibitions served as a strategic instrument for the internal and external development of CIAM as an interest-driven association. This function is what the notion of CIAM's exhibitions as *policy making* in this regard describes. The first section of this chapter traces how the exhibitions, in particular the acquisition and preparation of the exhibition material, created the possibility of activating the members and delegates as well as demanding their collaboration. The second and third section of the chapter examine whether CIAM's exhibitions were a collective responsibility or subject to individual accountability. It is demonstrated that CIAM's exhibitions were regarded as *collective work*, and that it was through the exhibitions that the claim of the La Sarraz Declaration could be met, whereas the planning of the travelling exhibitions was an individual responsibility, allowing more individual freedom for the arrangement of the exhibition panels. The fourth section aims to trace how CIAM's exhibitions served as an instrument for the personnel policy within CIRPAC. The members' commitment to CIAM's exhibitions served as a decision-making tool for making personnel choices, including the election of CIAM's president. The final section explores how CIAM's exhibitions also served as an instrument to exercise influence outside their immediate sphere.

⁸⁴² Sigfried Giedion, "Die Funktion der Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauens," in *Ausstellungen Walter Gropius. Rationelle Bauweisen*, ed. Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich (Zurich: Kunstgewerbemuseum, 1931), 10–16.

⁸⁴³ "Auf dem Brüsseler Kongreß wurde ausführlich hervorgehoben, daß die Resultate der vorjährigen Ausstellung ('Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum') in Zürich auf die Entschlüsse der maßgeblichen Stellen ohne jeden Einfluß waren. Wir möchten gerne hoffen, dass diesmal die Arbeit der Kongresses auch in der Schweiz zur Auswirkung gelangen kann." Giedion, "Die Funktion der Internationalen Kongresse für Neues Bauens," 15ff.

8.1. CIAM's Exhibitions as Instrument for Activation and Commitment

The active participation of CIAM members in the association's work was from the beginning considered difficult and meriting improvement. Already during CIAM-02 and CIAM-03, complaints were raised within CIAM regarding the lack of collaboration and engagement of the members, and that the engagement of the different members and country groups was not balanced:

One important aspect that arose from the events of CIAM-02 and CIAM-03 motivated CIAM to take an important shift in its division of work in preparation to the fourth congress. This consisted in the fact that the response of national groups to the call for work of CIRPAC had been very asymmetric: many groups did not prepare complete reports, did not respond to the questionnaires.⁸⁴⁴

As we have seen in the reconstruction of the acquisition process of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," "Rational Lot Development," and "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibitions, collecting the exhibition material was time-consuming and tedious work for Sigfried Giedion.⁸⁴⁵ The communication with CIAM members also tested his patience. Thus, at the CIRPAC meeting at the German Building Exhibition in Berlin 1931 after CIAM-03, the issue of the members' engagement – or, rather, lack of engagement – was for the first time addressed. However, it took another sixteen years until this issue was ultimately resolved. According to Andreas Kalpakci, the introduction of the CIAM Grille d'Urbanisme (grille) in 1947 "was used as the single response for multiple questions touching virtually all aspects of CIAM activity," and "served within CIAM the purpose of relating many aspects of the organization to one another: from recruitment, to accounting, from exhibitions, to books, from discourse, to practice," since, "given the recurrent problem of members' activation first discussed at the 1931 special congress of Berlin, the grille substituted tacit rules with an explicit grammar of engagement."⁸⁴⁶ And so, at CIAM-07 in Bergamo in 1947, Josep Lluís Sert stated that "CIAM does not accept passive members [...] the title should be acquired through work."⁸⁴⁷

8.1.1. CIAM's Exhibitions as Means for an "Active Collaboration"

But even before Sert's blunt statement regarding the rejection of passive members, and even before the members' engagement was for the first time officially addressed during the

⁸⁴⁴ Kalpakci, "Making CIAM," 337.

⁸⁴⁵ See chapter 1.3 in "Part I. Reconstruction".

⁸⁴⁶ Kalpakci, "Making CIAM," 394.

⁸⁴⁷ Sert (1949) quoted in Kalpakci, "Making CIAM," 394.

Berlin CIRPAC meeting in 1931, during the acquisition of the exhibition material for CIAM-03 in 1930, CIRPAC was very well aware of the connection between an active membership and the engagement of the members for CIAM's exhibitions. Or, to phrase it differently: according to CIRPAC, an active membership could only be obtained through engaging the members for CIAM's exhibitions.

This becomes apparent in a letter from Sigfried Giedion to Ernest Weissmann.⁸⁴⁸ During the final push to acquire material for the "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibition and its planned publication, Giedion asked Weissmann whether he could expect exhibition material from the United States. This letter makes it clear that an "active collaboration" for CIAM's exhibitions was what differentiated a "passive member" from an "active member." The letter's tone alternates between humour and frustration, mirroring the laborious and time-consuming communication with the members regarding the acquisition of the exhibition material. Giedion reminds Weissmann that neither the delegates' mere attendance at the Congresses nor empty promises will be enough when it comes to collecting the material for CIAM's exhibitions and publications. Instead of merely attendance, "active collaboration" is all it took – and all that was lacking at that moment in time:

However, we do not only need the appearance, but also active collaboration. How is it with that? Your colleague Mr. Rice spoke to me about folding windows in America and he even promised to collect the material. Did this actually happen or was this a mere promise? I hope the former. To turn to more serious matters, please ask Mr. Rice to collect material in this regard, as we need it very badly for our publication on horizontal sliding windows.⁸⁴⁹

This passage shows how the status of being an active member was equated with the commitment to acquire the exhibition material.

8.1.2. "For the Sake of Continuity" – CIAM's Exhibitions as Means for Lasting Commitment

However, one must not think that a one-time collaboration made one an "active member" for life, but quite the contrary. Once a member had proven to be of great assistance for

⁸⁴⁸ "The Ernest Weissmann Archive," *The Hollis Archives*, accessed October 15, 2023, <https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/7/resources/6832>.

⁸⁴⁹ "Wir brauchen aber nicht nur die Erscheinung, sondern auch die aktive Mitarbeit. Wie steht es damit? Ihr Kollege Herr Rice sprach mir von Faltpfenstern in Amerika, ja er versprach mir sogar das Material zu sammeln. Ist dies geschehen oder nur versprochen worden? Ich hoffe das erstere. Aber ganz im Ernst gesprochen, bitte ersuchen Sie Herrn Rice, diesbezügliches Material zu sammeln, da wir für unsere Publikation über horizontale Schiebefenster sehr dringend brauchen." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Ernest Weissmann, November 5, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Weissmann, gta Archives.

preparing the exhibitions, there was little chance for them to back out of that commitment. Previous involvement in the exhibition-making process served as a benchmark for future involvement.

Ernst May, who was highly involved in the preparation of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition, was expected to contribute likewise to “Rational Lot Development.” In August 1930, just before May announced his departure to the USSR, Giedion approached him and demanded his commitment to the exhibition “Rational Lot Development.” In his letter to May, Giedion justified his plea for May’s repeated participation in collecting and working out the material with the words: “if only for the sake of continuity.” Giedion hereby referred to the valuable work carried out by May and his employees at the Hochbauamt Frankfurt for “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” in 1929:

Finally, we would like to ask you to collect the exhibition material for the Brussels Congress as soon as possible in the Hochbauamt Frankfurt. Last year, you prepared the material so excellently in your building department that, if only for the sake of continuity, it would be important for you to send your Frankfurt examples ready for the exhibition (i.e., at the right scale and completely laid out), so that a model is available there in all respects. Stam, after all, has suggested the details, and he will certainly be able to take the lead from you if you do not have time.⁸⁵⁰

This quote demonstrates how the members’ engagement CIAM’s exhibitions was *continuously* demanded. and how this *continuous collaboration* was justified precisely with the need for continuity. And there was no excuse for not delivering the material and thus proving one’s active collaboration. In his response to a letter from Hugo Häring, in which he tried to oppose the expectations due to the short time before the exhibition’s opening, Giedion unmistakably made clear that the time between the exhibition and the publishing of the adjoining book served as another possibility to prove one’s engagement – if not for the exhibition, then at least for the adjoining publication: “There is enough time to procure this material in the course of the following weeks.”⁸⁵¹

⁸⁵⁰ “Schliesslich möchten wir Sie für den Brüsseler Kongress noch darum bitten, das Material dafür im Frankfurter Hochbauamt sobald als möglich zu sammeln. Sie haben im letzten Jahr in Ihrem Hochbauamt das Material so ausgezeichnet bearbeitet, dass schon um der Kontinuität willen es wichtig wäre, dass Sie Ihre Frankfurter Beispiele ausstellungsfertig (also ausgezogen und angelegt) nach Brüssel schickten, damit dort in allen Punkten ein Vorbild vorhanden ist. Stam hat ja alle Einzelheiten vorgeschlagen und er wird Ihnen sicher die Leitung abnehmen können, falls Ihnen keine Zeit bleibt.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Ernst May, August 8, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-May, gta Archives.

⁸⁵¹ “Sodass genügend Zeit ist, diese im Laufe der folgenden Wochen zu verschaffen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Hugo Häring, November 18, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Häring, gta Archives.

8.2. CIAM's Exhibitions as Collective Work

One possible explanation for the lack of engagement from the delegates is found in the CIAM statutes (“La déclaration de La Sarraz”), the constitutive document of CIAM. Ulrich Conrads, in his famous “Programme und Manifeste zur Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts,” introduces the statutes by briefly summarising the La Sarraz Declaration as the “viewpoints and working methods” of CIAM.⁸⁵² However, this is not quite true. In the declaration, it is written that the members of CIAM share a “fundamental agreement” when it comes to their “conception of building” and their “obligations towards society,” and that they will “support each other” in their shared objectives and actions. But, as Andreas Kalpakci points out in his dissertation, it is not specified *how* these obligations will be executed or *how* this support is to be shown. Hence, “working methods,” to once again quote Ulrich Conrads, are not precisely given. Kalpakci thus concludes that:

[T]he CIAM statutes did not prescribe any particular solution on how to deal with this internal problem, or how to arrange national groups beyond the two delegates, and the La Sarraz Declaration, although it indicated that the signatories agreed in distancing themselves from the methods of work of the past, it did not prescribe any particular solution for how to improve the participation of members. In other words, the solution to the question of member activation had to be found through discussion. Thus the steps taken after CIAM-03 were not only in regards to the question of the functional city, but most pressingly, on the question of the activity of the groups: more than organizational competency at this moment, CIAM's maintenance as an international association was more at stake.⁸⁵³

He goes on to state that CIAM must have been very well aware of this limitation when it came to the question of *how* to live up to this claim. He explains this assessment with the following observation: the declaration was reprinted in the publication of “Rational Lot Development” with one small, but crucial, amendment. Although the content and wording of the declaration printed in “Rational Lot Development” is identical to the declaration from 1928,⁸⁵⁴ a footnote is added right after the header, in which CIAM stresses that even though

⁸⁵² “Ein Jahr nach der Weißenhof-Ausstellung in Stuttgart versammelt sich vom 26. bis 28. Juni 1928 eine Gruppe von Architekten — Delegierte verschiedener nationaler Gruppen — auf Schloß Sarraz in der Schweiz. Gegenstand des Treffens ist ein in Paris erarbeitetes Programm der Problemstellungen des neuen Bauens. Man einigt sich, wenn auch nicht ohne Widerspruch, auf die von Le Corbusier und Giedion vorgeschlagenen Standpunkte und Arbeitsmethoden. Mit einer abschließenden offiziellen Erklärung gelten die CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) als gegründet.” Ulrich Conrads and Peter Neitzke, eds., *Programme und Manifeste zur Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Bauverlag, 2001), 103.

⁸⁵³ Kalpakci, “Making CIAM. The Organizational Techniques of the Moderns, 1928–1959,” 331.

⁸⁵⁴ See CIAM, “Erklärung von La Sarraz,” in *Programme und Manifeste zur Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ulrich Conrads (Berlin: Ullstein Verlag), 103–06.

the declaration was written over three years ago, it contained the programme that CIAM since its founding has been trying to develop “on the basis of international collective work.”⁸⁵⁵

However, the formulation “on the basis of international collective work” is not used for the first time in the publication. Already in the introduction to the “Rational Lot Development” publication, Giedion uses it, or a similar formulation, no fewer than three times. Giedion starts off the introduction by stating that the “book is the result of international collaboration. It is not a passive collection of material, but an evaluation from a continuous, common point of view.”⁸⁵⁶ A little later, like the footnote of the reprinted declaration, he refers to the work done by CIAM since its founding in 1928: not in terms of *what* has been achieved since 1928, but *how*. He writes:

Within the past three years of our work, we have at least learned one thing: nowadays collective work on an international basis cannot be done without difficulties because, educationally, this work is almost completely neglected today. At best, one is used to exchanging results today, but it needs a whole new kind of discipline *to form* [Giedion's emphases] these results first through collective work on an international basis!⁸⁵⁷

In the following, it is demonstrated that it was CIAM's exhibitions that were regarded as precisely *this collective work* on an international basis, and that they should be enforced through an “educational” and “new kind of discipline.”

8.2.1. “A Collaboration of Creative Forces”

On 18 October 1930, Giedion wrote a letter to Gregor Paulsson, secretary of the Swiss Werkbund, which shows that working collectively was even seen as an obligation for participating in CIAM:

As you know, we start from the dwelling for minimal existence and now look at further problems step by step. This year, it will be ‘the rational building

⁸⁵⁵ The footnote reads as follows: “Bei der Gründung der Internationalen Kongress für neues Bauen in La Saraz (25. bis 29. Juni 1928) wurden die Resultate der ersten Zusammenkunft in den oben genannten Artikeln festgelegt. Da diese Richtlinien in der ursprünglichen Ausgabe vergriffen sind, geben wir sie an dieser Stelle wieder. Dies scheint uns umso mehr gerechtfertigt, da in Ihnen da Programm der Kongress, das wir seitdem auf der Basis internationaler Kollektivarbeit zu lösen versuchen, bereits im Kern enthalten ist.” Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, 206. For Kalpakci's interpretation, see “Making CIAM. The Organizational Techniques of the Moderns, 1928–1959,” 331ff.

⁸⁵⁶ “Dieses Buch ist das Ergebnis internationale Zusammenarbeit. Es handelt sich nicht um eine passive Materialsammlung, sondern um eine Auswertung unter durchgehenden, gemeinsamen Gesichtspunkten.” Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, 5.

⁸⁵⁷ “Wir haben in dreijähriger Arbeit immerhin eine Erfahrung gemacht: heute ist kollektive Arbeit auf internationaler Basis nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten zu leisten, denn erziehungsgemäß wird diese Arbeit bis heute fast ganz vernachlässigt. Bestenfalls ist man heute gewohnt, Resultate auszutauschen, aber es braucht eine ganz neue Art von Disziplin, um durch kollektive Arbeit auf internationaler Basis diese Resultate erst zu *bilden!*” Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, 5.

methods.' It was not easy to seat the different leaders, from Le Corbusier to Mart Stam, around the same table and commit the different temperaments and views to a collective work in order to participate. On the other hand, an unusual intensity resulted from this collaboration of creative forces.⁸⁵⁸

This passage suggests that the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was seen as more a collaboration, and less a collection of different projects, by single authors – or architects. “Rational Lot Development” was not considered a work of individuals, but a work of collective effort. Of course, Giedion was well aware of the inevitable challenges of such collective work – especially bearing in the mind the oft-controversial opinions within CIAM. This challenge required a “new kind of discipline.” One month later, shortly before CIAM-03 was opened, and when the dispute about the spatial arrangement of the exhibition panels of “Rational Lot Development” and “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” was at its peak, Giedion wrote to Cornelis van Eesteren and asked him to enforce some sort of order on the ongoing chaos in Brussels. Interestingly, Giedion stressed the risk that, due to the spatial arrangement proposed by Victor Bourgeois, the work of the participants of CIAM-03 might be undermined and hence offensive to its authors. This must be avoided at all costs:

Bourgeois has taken infinite trouble with the whole work. We also do not want to confuse his Semaine de l’habitation minimum. On the other hand, keeping the current arrangement during the Congress is almost impossible and will be justifiably felt by the Congress participants as an affront to their work.⁸⁵⁹

The formulation “as an affront to their [the participants’] work” stresses that the exhibition at this moment in time was seen, at least by Giedion, as a *collective effort* of the participants – and not as the work of just the exhibition committee in Brussels.

8.2.2. Collective Responsibility vs. Individual Accountability

That CIAM’s exhibitions were regarded as a collective work is also apparent in the fact that, despite a certain division of work and responsibilities, neither a curator nor a small group of responsible members is named for the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition. Shortly after

⁸⁵⁸ “Wie Sie wissen gehen wir von der Wohnung für das Existenzminimum aus und behandeln abschnittsweise die weiteren Probleme. Dieses Jahr sind es: ‘die rationellen Bebauungsweisen.’ Es war nicht leicht die verschiedenen Führer von Le Corbusier bis Mart Stam immer wieder um einen Tisch zu setzen und die Temperamente und Anschauungen zu einer kollektiven Arbeit zu verpflichten, um teilzunehmen. Andererseits resultierte aus dieser Zusammenarbeit schöpferischer Kräfte eine ungewöhnliche Intensität.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Gregor Paulsson, October 18, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-May, gta Archives.

⁸⁵⁹ “Bourgeois hat mit der ganzen Arbeit unendlich viel Mühe auf sich geladen. Wir möchten auch seine Semaine de l’habitation minimum nicht in Verwirrung bringen, andererseits ist die Beibehaltung der jetzigen Anordnung während der Kongressdauer fast unmöglich und wird bei den Kongressteilnehmern mit Berechtigung als eine Zurücksetzung Ihrer Arbeit empfunden werden.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, November 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van Eesteren, gta Archives.

“Rational Lot Development” closed in Brussels, Joseph Gantner published an article entitled “Brüsseler Architektur-Tage” in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. In this article, it is important to note that Rudolf Steiger is named as the “organiser” of the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition, but neither an organisation nor a curator is given for “Rational Lot Development”:

The exhibition ‘Rational Lot Development’ will be shown together with the second Congress exhibition, ‘Horizontal Sliding Windows,’ organised by Rudolf Steiger, at the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich in February.⁸⁶⁰

However, there was nonetheless a certain division of responsibilities and accountabilities for “Rational Lot Development.” But according to the protocol of the second CIRPAC meeting, responsibilities were not given to one delegate or the other, but rather to cities representing individual characters, apparently to avoid individual contributions. During the second CIRPAC meeting, Karl Moser stated that “[w]hen it comes to the organisation of this exhibition, it is Brussels which is the centre. We will give you all the documents and addresses of the other countries. The office in Zurich will do this. We will give the documents to the centre of the exhibition.”⁸⁶¹

Despite the large number of different opinions and interests within CIRPAC, Le Corbusier agreed to this clear division of *local* responsibilities and accountabilities as proposed by Moser. In the following, Le Corbusier specifies further the role of “Zurich and Brussels”:

The Congress secretariat in Zurich should call the different manufacturers and give them the address in Brussels. You should have labels printed to stick on the shipments. The secretariat should call and invite the manufacturers for this matter. It will give them models explaining the reasons for this exhibition. It will specify how the exhibition will be made and what is expected from them: essential photographs to be joined with the model of presentation of the photographs, patents to be joined. And it will give, upon request, a set of five or six printed labels, comprising the exact address of the addressee in Brussels so that all goes to the same place. It is

⁸⁶⁰ “Die Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweise’ wird zusammen mit der von Rudolf Steiger organisierten zweiten Kongress-Ausstellung ‘Horizontale Schiebefenster’ im Februar im Zürcher Kunstgewerbemuseum gezeigt werden.” Joseph Gantner, “Brüsseler Architektur-Tage. I.,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (December 17, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

⁸⁶¹ “M. LE PROFESSEUR MOSER: Pour l’organisation de cette exposition, c’est Bruxelles qui est le centre. Nous vous donnons tous les documents, les adresses des autres pays. C’est le bureau de Zurich qui fera cela. Nous donnerons les documents au centre de l’exposition.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,”.6.

necessary to act in the same way as the shipping companies give you labels when you take your ticket.⁸⁶²

So even though there was a strict and clear division of work, the division was solely executed first on a local level (Brussels vs. Zurich), and second with the respective delegates – but not on an individual level. It was not about a single person being in charge of executing the instructions individually, it was about working collectively. Nevertheless, although Giedion once pays tribute to Victor Bourgeois' commitment, he does so subtly and not without mentioning the local contribution. In the introduction to the "Rational Lot Development" publication, he stresses the function of the exhibition as the material basis of the Congress, and subsequently thanks Bourgeois, but only in a footnote, and in his role as part of the Brussels team:

The basis was again the available factual material, which was collected by the different national groups under certain criteria. In addition to that, projects were also shown which have been designed outside existing building regulations. This material was collected and treated in a uniform manner in Brussels [...] Victor Bourgeois (Brussels) and the Belgian group did this work at great personal sacrifice.⁸⁶³

CIAM besides seemed to have an unconventional understanding of "organisational dominance." That Rudolf Steiger was named as the organiser of the "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibition is rather surprising. At the second CIRPAC meeting, when "Horizontal Sliding Windows" was first discussed, Bourgeois named Giedion as the originator of the idea. In the subsequent discussion, Le Corbusier led the debates, and made the decisions regarding the deliverables. This seems particularly interesting given that even though Steiger attended this meeting, he did not comment once on the planning process. He was also little involved in the acquisition of the plans. Nonetheless, he was closely involved in the execution of the exhibition preparations such as working on the graphic language of the exhibitions, its installation, and the last-minute tasks to be solved at the Palais des Beaux-

⁸⁶² "M. LE CORBUSIER – C'est le secrétariat du congrès à Zurich qui doit faire l'appel des différents fabricants, en donnant l'adresse de Bruxelles. Vous devriez faire imprimer des étiquettes à coller sur les envois. C'est le secrétariat qui doit convoquer et inviter les industriels pour cette affaire. Il leur donnera des modèles expliquant les raisons de cette exposition. Il leur précise de quelle manière l'exposition sera faite et ce qu'on attend d'eux: photographies indispensables à joindre avec le modèle de présentation des photos, brevets à joindre, et puis il joint, à sa demande un jeu de 5 ou 6 étiquettes imprimées, comportant l'adresse exacte du destinataire à Bruxelles pour que tout aille bien au même endroit. Il faut agir de la même façon que les compagnies de navigation gut vous remettent des étiquettes lorsque vous prenez votre billet." CIRPAC, "SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI," 6.

⁸⁶³ "Grundlage bildete wieder das vorhandene Tatsachenmaterial, dessen Sammlung von den einzelnen Landesgruppen unter bestimmten Gesichtswinkel übernommen wurde. Dazu kamen die Projekte, die ohne Rücksicht auf die bestehende Bauordnung entworfen waren. Dieses Material wurde gesammelt und in Brüssel einer einheitlichen Behandlung unterworfen [...] Victor Bourgeois (Brüssel) und die belgische Gruppe leistete diese Arbeit unter großen persönlichen Opfern." Giedion, "Einleitung," 6.

Arts.⁸⁶⁴ Together with Pierre Barbe, he also gave the guided tours of the exhibition right after its opening. Apparently, his personal responsibility for the execution on site was the decisive argument for assigning at least organisational authorship to Steiger, and less the preparations in the lead-up.

8.2.3. No Curatorship – No Authorship

Just as the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition did not have a curator, so, too, the projects on display did not have authors. No plan showed the architect’s name on the different settlements. The decision to display the plans anonymously was made during the first CIRPAC meeting for CIAM-03, for two reasons. First and foremost, the missing names of the architects stressed the idea of the exhibition being a collective construct and not a collection of individual contributions. Second, the decision resulted from a legal dispute between Anton Brenner and Ernst May, which arose after “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” exhibition was on display in Frankfurt in 1929. Brenner, accused May of having misappropriated his authorship in several projects on display at the exhibition.⁸⁶⁵ Despite the general assumption in the relevant literature⁸⁶⁶ – that the panels of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” did not name the projects’ architects – correspondence between Sigfried Giedion, Walter Gropius, Anton Brenner, and Mart Stam suggests the opposite.⁸⁶⁷ Besides, a list of the architects involved in the exhibition was published in the accompanying brochure of the

⁸⁶⁴ See chapter 2.1.4 in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

⁸⁶⁵ “Lieber Stam, Da Sie gemeinsam mit dem Hochbauamt in der Publikation bei Englert & Schlosser die Einführung für die Ausstellung übernommen haben, bitte ich Sie, von einer an uns gerichteten Klage des Architekten Anton Brenner Kenntnis zu nehmen und sich mit ihm auseinanderzusetzen. Er schreibt: ‘Erstens finde ich meine Einliegerwohnung, die ich bei dem sozialen Unverständnis von Stadtrat May und Kaufmann mit vieler Mühe durchkämpfte und die zu einem ausserordentlichen Erfolg führte, in dieser Ausstellung als Entwurf von Stadtrat May und Baurat Kaufmann veröffentlicht. Da die Arbeiten anderer Angestellter des Hochbauamtes unter deren Namen ausgestellt sind, bestehe ich unter gleichem Recht für alle, dass für diesen Entwurf ich mit meinem Namen zeichne. Zweitens finde ich einen Entwurf, den ich als Privatarchitekt zur wirtschaftlichen Rettung der Plattenbauweise als ebenerdigen Siedlungstyp Stadtrat May einreichte (wie er auch in ‘Moderne Bauformen,’ Heft 1 und 2, 1928 veröffentlicht ist), gänzlich unabgeändert, nur mit vorgeseztem Gang als Ganghaustyp als Entwerfer Stadtrat May und Baurat Kaufmann ausgestellt. Drittens wurde von meinen drei eingereichten Arbeiten u.z. das Haus Rauchfangkehrergasse Wien, Brennerblock Praunheim, und Versuchsbau Berlin, nur der Grundrisstyp Wien und Berlin ausgestellt. Meine Frankfurter Arbeit wurde von der Jury gestrichen, obwohl dieser Block über allen Zweifel als der beste Wohnblock Frankfurts gilt. Garnicht wiederzugeben ist aber das Vorgehen, das der berliner Grundriss den ich sogar in Berlin im Büro meines Auftraggebers, der Firma Richter & Schüdel, im stündigen Kampf um Anpassung an die Situation, entworfen und gezeichnet habe, und der damals gleich von Paulsen im Heft 22 der Bauwelt abgebildet wurde, von der Ausstellungsleitung, der ich diesen Entwurf als meine Arbeit eingereicht habe, im Katalog mit dem Namen: ‘Blank-Brenner’ bezeichnet wurde. Diese liebliche Ueberraschung, dass eine Arbeit von mir, von mir eingereicht, ohne weitere Verständigung einen andern Namen trägt, wurde mir erst am Eröffnungstag der Ausstellung zuteil..!’ Ich bitte Sie nochmals, dafür zu sorgen, dass die Beschriftungen ordnungsgemäss gemacht werden, da wir keinerlei Stellung zu obigen Ausführungen nehmen können.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Mart Stam, January 18, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Stam, gta Archives.

⁸⁶⁶ “Locations were indicated by city only to allow comparisons of costs in relation to local wage levels, and the architects’ names were not given.” Mumford, “CIAM 2, Frankfurt, 1929: The *Existenzminimum*,” in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, 42.

⁸⁶⁷ For example, after the legal dispute between Brenner and May had started, Sigfried Giedion expressed his sympathy for Brenner’s fury about the wrong names appearing on the plans: “Es ist natürlich nicht angenehm, dass Pläne anders beschriftet sind als sie sein sollen. Ich persönlich oder der Kongress können natürlich nicht einspringen, sondern müssen die Auseinandersetzung den beiden Parteien überlassen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Anton Brenner, January 1, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Brenner, gta Archives. The following letter indicates that the names were printed on the exhibition panels: “meine Haltung in dieser Angelegenheit ist Folgende. 1. Brenner hat May-Kaufmann wegen dieser Angelegenheit verklagt. Durch das Beschreiten des gerichtlichen Weges hat das Resultat dieser Klage, d.h. die Aussprache des Gerichtes darüber zu entscheiden, ob May-Kaufmann eine Abänderung im Ausstellungsmaterial vorzunehmen haben.” Mart Stam, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, January 22, 1930, 42-K-1930-Stam-Mart, gta Archives.

travelling version of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” in Zurich, in the “List of Exhibitors” section.⁸⁶⁸ However, this last remnant of authorship or individual achievement was deliberately omitted in “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” publication, as a letter from Giedion to Gropius reveals. As motivation for the “removal of the architects’ names,” Giedion names both “internal and external reasons.”⁸⁶⁹ From what we have seen so far, by “internal reasons” he most likely referred to CIAM’s claim of collectiveness instead of individual achievement, and by “external reasons” to legal affairs.

As a matter of fact, even though the work behind the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition was viewed as collective work, and collective work was also expected from individual members, the correspondence documenting Giedion’s frustration about the tedious acquisition of the exhibition material nonetheless conveys a different picture. Stills from Lázsló Mohly-Nagy’s film, “The Architects’ Congress,” documenting CIAM-04, show the idea of CIAM’s exhibitions as a collective work. The pictured participants of CIAM-04 are collectively on the *Patris II* [see fig. II.8.1], unpacking, preparing, arranging, and mounting the panels on the deck. Ultimately, the question of collective responsibility vs. individual contribution was a fiercely contested field of discourse, as becomes apparent from the following letter from Giedion to Gropius: “Of course, however, we are counting on you for the penultimate week of September. I have the feeling that Stamm thinks that the Congress cannot exist without him. We will show him that this is quite impossible.”⁸⁷⁰

The opening speech of Cornelis van Eesteren at CIAM-06 addresses this conflict and bears witness to the claim of collectiveness – despite internal conflicts and personal preferences:

CIAM is the result of a common outlook based upon general agreement as to the social task of the architect. Mutual confidence and friendship is [sic] the foundation of our combined action and teamwork. [...] CIAM is the expression of an idea. An idea that must be developed and furthered collectively! Co-operation and teamwork are essential characteristics of our

⁸⁶⁸ See “Verzeichnis der Aussteller, in *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*, ed. Gewerbemuseum Basel (Basel: Gewerbemuseum, 1929), 12f.

⁸⁶⁹ “Am peinlichsten ist mir, dass Ganter trotz meiner dringenden Reklamation, die ich ihm, sowie Corbusier gegenüber vorgebracht habe, das Referat von Corbusier zum grossen Teil abgedruckt hat. Auch sonst wurden die Dinge nicht so behandelt wie wir es gewünscht haben, denn mit Ausnahme der englischen Sumaries wurden keinerlei Uebersetzungen ins Französische oder ins Deutsche gegeben. Allein der Nachdruck liegt ja auf den hundert Blättern deren Grundrisse, die ja ihre Wirkung nicht verfehlen werden. Wie Sie wissen, existieren gewisse Autorstreitigkeiten zwischen Brenner und May. Wir haben in Paris beschlossen sämtliche Architektennamen zu streichen, aus inneren und äusseren Gründen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, January 27, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

⁸⁷⁰ “Selbstverständlich aber rechnen wir mit Ihnen selbst für die vorletzte Septemberwoche. Ich habe das Gefühl, dass Stamm [sic] meint, der Kongress könne ohne ihn nicht existieren. Wir werden ihm zeigen, dass dies durchaus möglich ist”. Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, August 11, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

congress [...] In our circle of progressive architects, there are always considerable dangers of atomising [...] of breaking up into isolated groups or individuals. [...] A CIAM congress can only succeed and achieve results if it works as a 'community' – it can never succeed if each man follows his own independent live [sic].⁸⁷¹

8.3. The Travelling Exhibitions as Individual Responsibility

The claim of working collectively and being responsible collectively was valid for CIAM's exhibitions shown on the occasion of the Congresses, but less so for the subsequent travelling exhibitions. This becomes apparent both in the preparation for the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" at the German Building Exhibition in Berlin in 1931, as well as after the travelling exhibition of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" was shown in Warsaw in 1930.

8.3.1. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" in Berlin: A Series of Unpleasant Surprises

From the very beginning of the planning for the travelling exhibition of "Rational Lot Development" to be shown in Berlin at the Deutsche Bauausstellung, communication between Gropius and Giedion was slow. Gropius also acted as link between Giedion and the management of the Deutsche Bauausstellung,⁸⁷² which made communication between Berlin and Zurich even more complicated. An example of the laboured communication between Gropius and Giedion concerned the necessary wall space for the exhibition panels. In retrospect, this can be seen as a harbinger of many more disasters to follow, all of which evidence that the planning of the travelling exhibitions was not a collective work anymore, but the responsibility of a single person. Gropius' attempts to find out how much wall space was needed for the panels remained unanswered by Giedion. Already in January 1931, at the very beginning of the planning process, Gropius asked Giedion for the first time "how much space is needed. I will then negotiate everything else as to how much would be claimed in rent for the entire duration."⁸⁷³ Two weeks later, he needed to repeat the

⁸⁷¹ Cornelis van Eesteren, "From the Opening Address of the President C. Van Eesteren," in *A Decade of New Architecture = Dix Ans D'architecture Contemporaine*, ed. Giedion, 7.

⁸⁷² Inter alia, Gropius was the link between Giedion and the Bauwelt and in this way led negotiations about a possible publication from CIAM: "lion rief mich wiederum händeringend an, er erhalte gar keine antwort von ihnen. ich möchte doch den dringenden rat geben die verbindung mit der bauwelt aufzunehmen im sinne meines letzten briefes. lion zeigt scheint so eine art prestigefrage für sich selbst darin zu sehen, und ich bin überzeugt, dass sie alles von ihm erreichen, was sie wollen. bessere verhältnisse für solche veröffentlichungen werden wir in deutschland vorläufig nicht finden können." Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, January 24, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives.

⁸⁷³ "Bitte geben sie mir doch gleich bescheid, auch wieviel raum benötigt wird. ich werde dann alles weitere verhandeln wieviel würde für die ganze zeit der dauer an miete beansprucht werden." Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, January 14, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives.

enquiry.⁸⁷⁴ At this point in time, Gropius planned to show the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” within a section of the “Städtebauausstellung” (“Urban Planning Exhibition”).⁸⁷⁵ However, by the time his question about the space needed was finally answered, the anticipated walls in the “Städtebauausstellung” were already taken:

Yesterday, I was asked once again to go to the Bauausstellung to hold a meeting about the plan exhibition [‘Rational Lot Development’]. The costs have been approved, the necessary space has also been made available to me, but it was a little too late, since all the good spaces have been given away. I tried to move things around and got a reasonable space on the perimeter of one of the halls. I would have liked to incorporate this exhibition of plans directly in the urban planning department, but there was no more space left. Now our plans will hang next to the exhibitions of the technical colleges of Germany in five booths. The space is not ideal, but since it seems hopeless to get a better space, I accepted. I am attaching the original letter that arrived this morning with the application form, and I am asking you to complete the formalities. I am happy to supervise the hanging of the panels.⁸⁷⁶

Much to his surprise, Gropius was nonetheless offered walls in the “Städtebauausstellung,”⁸⁷⁷ but in the exhibition section dedicated to the “German Housing Sector” (“Deutsche Abteilung für Wohnungswesen”).⁸⁷⁸ Less surprising to the people

⁸⁷⁴ “Ich drahtete ihnen heute: [...] wieviel raum benötigt unsere ausstellung?” Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, January 24, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives.

⁸⁷⁵ “Die bauausstellung hat erst wegen kosten abgesagt. daraufhin bin ich zum generalsekretär dr. wischeck gegangen, der sich nun sehr dafür erwärmt und mir einen guten platz in der städtebauausstellung ausgesucht hat. ich bekommen in den nächsten tagen endgültigen bescheid, der, wie ich den eindruck habe, zusagend sein wird.” Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, February 28, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives.

⁸⁷⁶ “Gestern wurde ich noch einmal zur bauausstellung gebeten, um wegen der planausstellung mit den herren dort eine besprechung abzuhalten. die kosten sind bewilligt, auch der nötige raum ist mir zur verfügung gestellt, aber es ist etwas spät gewesen, denn die wirklich guten plätze sind alle vergeben. ich habe noch verschiebungen versucht und habe einen leidlichen platz auf dem umgang einer der hallen bekommen. ich hätte gern direkt in der städtebau-abteilung diese planausstellung eingegliedert, dort war aber an platz nichts mehr zu machen. jetzt hängen unsere pläne neben den ausstellungen der technischen hochschulen deutschlands in 5 kochen. also ich betone, ideal ist die räumlichkeit nicht, aber ich glaubte doch, nachdem es aussichtslos erscheint, einen besseren platz zu bekommen, zusagen zu sollen. ich schicke ihnen das originalschreiben, das heute morgen eintraf mit den anmeldebogen und bitte sie, die formalitäten zu vollziehen. ich bin gern bereit, dann die aufhängung der platten hier zu überwachen.” Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, March 13, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives.

⁸⁷⁷ “Heute bekomme ich von der bauausstellung die angenehme nachricht, dass unserer ausstellung nunmehr doch ein hervorragender platz in der abteilung ‘städtebau’ eingeräumt wird, sodass sie ganz bedeutend besser präsentiert werden wird, ich habe in den nächsten tagen nochmals besprechung mit den herren, um die art der aufhängung der tafeln festzustellen und werde ihnen danach nochmals mitteilung machen.” Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, March 20, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives. A few days later, Gropius wrote: “die räumlichkeit für unsere planausstellung auf der bauausstellung ist wirklich sehr schön. sie steht nun an hervorragender stelle. ich werde selbst für eine hervorragende aufstellung bemüht sein.” Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, March 24, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives.

⁸⁷⁸ “Eigentlich außerhalb dieser Abteilung [‘Deutsche Abteilung für Wohnungswesen’] sei noch eine sehr interessante Folge von Bebauungsplänen, ‘rationelle Bebauungsweisen’ erwähnt, ausgestellt von den internationalen Kongressen für neues Bauen, eine Sammlung von 58 Siedlungsplänen aus den verschiedensten Teilen der Welt.” Fred Forbat, “Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen,” *Wohnungswirtschaft* 11/12, 8. Jg. (June 15, 1931): 203–05. Another article reads as follows: “Die Abteilung [‘Deutsche Ausstellung für Wohnungswesen’] schließt mit einer Ausstellung des internationalen Kongresses für

involved, this offer ultimately could not be accepted since the exhibition panels did not arrive on time, as the printing plates for the “Rational Lot Development” publication were at this time still being produced.⁸⁷⁹ Gropius believed the farce was in direct connection to organising the travelling exhibition’s Berlin instalment all on his own. Just a couple of days before the exhibition opened, he addressed Giedion in anger, and let him know that “the matter with the building exhibition is terrible, and I regret that I have received so little support.”⁸⁸⁰ Gropius considered the entire planning “as a personal embarrassment,” and “hopeless.”⁸⁸¹ As feared and foreseen by him, on 9 May the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” was opened with only twenty of the fifty-eight exhibition panels. The missing thirty-eight panels were still not on display weeks later.⁸⁸² Furthermore, an improvised solution needed to be found for the hanging of the exhibition panels. Gropius, who was – all on his own – in charge of deciding on the mounting mechanism of the exhibition panels in Berlin, originally planned to have the panels framed. But since, as he complained in another letter to Giedion, the measurements of the panels given to him did not match the actual size of the panels, the fabricated frames were the wrong size and could not be used. Thus, in contrast to the initial plan, the exhibition panels in the end were simply mounted side by side. Gropius was anything but content with the display:

The whole affair was very annoying for me; I just got barely twenty sheets in, but due to this incompleteness, the exhibition management has ruthlessly pushed us half out of the room, so that the whole story looks rather impromptu. According to the measurements given to me (1.05 x 2.05 [metres]), I had frames made, on which the panels were to be screwed.

neues Bauen. Diese Sammlung von Planmaterial über rationelle Bauweisen ist der Beginn einer bis heute noch fehlenden internationalen Statistik über die Leistungsfähigkeit von Siedlungsplanungen. Sie soll helfen, die Frage der rationellsten und leistungsfähigsten Aufschließungsweisen zu klären, wobei unter rationell ein Optimum in soziologischer, psychologischer, hygienischer, wirtschaftlicher und ökonomischer Hinsicht zu verstehen ist.” See “Die Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin 1931,” *Zeitschrift für Kommunalwirtschaft* 11, 21. Jg. (June 10, 1931): 596–607.

⁸⁷⁹ “Ich kann Ihrem Wunsche, die Pläne sofort abzusenden, leider nicht entsprechen, denn diese befinden sich noch in der Klischerianstalt (Guhl & Co.), wo noch an den fotografischen Aufnahmen gearbeitet wird. [...] Nach dem Bescheid, der mir von der Klischeefabrik wird, werden die Pläne etwa noch 14 Tage benötigt, bevor sämtliche Aufnahmen gemacht worden sind. Ich werde selbstverständlich alle Hebel in Bewegung setzen um die Fertigstellung zu beschleunigen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Oberbaurat Koeppen, Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau- und Wohnungswesen, April 30, 1931, 42-1931-Museen-Beherden-Vereinigungen, gta Archives.

⁸⁸⁰ “Die angelegenheit mit der bauausstellung ist furchtbar, und ich bedauere, dass ich so wenig unterstützt worden bin.” Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, May 5, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives.

⁸⁸¹ “Habe heute morgen telefonisch mit engler u.schlosser, frankfurt gesprochen, die es für unmöglich erklären, die pläne rechtzeitig zur bauausstellung zu schicken, andererseits ist die leitung der ausstellung vom vertrag zurückgetreten, wenn die pläne nicht rechtzeitig vor eröffnung eintreffen. engler u.schlosser geben an, dass ihnen überhaupt kein termin zur absendung der pläne nach berlin von ihnen angegeben und dass erst in der vorigen woche die hälfte der pläne bei ihnen eingetroffen sei, ich bin nun in verzweiflung. was soll geschehen? es ist auch für mich persönlich eine blamage, wenn das eintreffen der pläne nicht gelingt, da mir wirklich ein ganz hervorragender platz inmitten der städtebauabteilung zugewiesen worden ist, aber nach meinem telefongespräch sehe ich die sache für aussichtslos an.” Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, May 5, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives.

⁸⁸² “Eigentlich außerhalb dieser Abteilung [‘Deutsche Abteilung für Wohnungswesen’] sei noch eine sehr interessante Folge von Bebauungsplänen, ‘rationelle Bebauungsweisen’ erwähnt, ausgestellt von den internationalen Kongressen für neues Bauen, eine Sammlung von 58 Siedlungsplänen aus den verschiedensten Teilen der Welt.” Forbat, “Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen,” 203–05.

When they arrived, however, it turned out that the measurements were not correct, and they must now be hung much tighter. The rest of the plans don't leave Frankfurt until 16 May; until then, yawning emptiness on the walls.⁸⁸³

As if these circumstances were not enough, the only page-long catalogue entry for "Rational Lot Development" in the official publication of the Deutsche Bauausstellung caused drama of its own. The Deutsche Bauausstellung published a catalogue comprising information on the different exhibition areas and material on display.⁸⁸⁴ In the catalogue entry, Gropius is – besides the mention of CIAM in a significantly smaller font – named as the exhibitor of "Rational Lot Development." Furthermore, a portrait of him is printed on the page, underlining this alleged authorship even further.⁸⁸⁵ Shortly after the opening of the exhibition, Gropius expressed his embarrassment about the incident:

Another mistake happened, which is personally very unpleasant for me. Contrary to my very clear statements, my name and a portrait have been printed in conjunction with the catalogue entry on the exhibition of the Congress. I immediately wrote to the exhibition management, as attached. I ask you to take note of this.⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁸³ "Die sache war für mich sehr ärgerlich, ich habe nun mit mühe und not 20 blatt hereinbekommen, aber die ausstellungsleitung hat auf grund der unvollständigkeit uns rücksichtslos halb aus dem raum herausgedrängt, sodass die ganze geschichte kompromisslerisch aussieht. ich hatte nun nach dem mir von ihnen angegebenen mass 1,05 x 2,05 rahmen machen lassen, auf die die blätter aufzuschrauben waren. als sie ankamen, stellte sich aber heraus, dass das mass nicht stimmte und sie nunmehr viel dichter gehängt werden müssen. – die restlichen pläne gehen erst am 16.d.mts, von frankfurt ab. bis dahin gähnen die leeren wände." Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, May 13, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives.

⁸⁸⁴ Ausstellungs-, Messe- und Fremdenverkehrs-Amt der Stadt Berlin, eds., *Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin 1931. Amtlicher Katalog und Führer* (Berlin: Bauwelt-Verlag/Ullsteinhaus, 1931).

⁸⁸⁵ Besides this one-page catalogue entry, the "Rational Lot Development" exhibition is not mentioned anywhere else in the catalogue. Besides the portrait of Gropius and the heading "Rationelle Bebauungsweisen. Ausgestellt durch: 'Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen.' Von Prof. Walter Gropius," the catalogue entry contains a short text on the exhibition, the four sorting categories, as well as a brief description of the information given on each panel. See "Deutsche Abteilung für Wohnungswesen: Raum 31-42 und 100," in *Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin 1931.*, ed. Ausstellungs-, Messe- und Fremdenverkehrs-Amt der Stadt Berlin, 145.

The programme of the Bauausstellung does not even mention "Rational Lot Development," even in the section on the "Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen," where it was located. See Deutsche Bauausstellung, ed., *Programm der Deutschen Bauausstellung Berlin 1931. 9. Mai – 9. August. Amtlicher Katalog und Führer* (Berlin: n.p., 1931). See especially the chapter entitled "Abteilung A: Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen."

⁸⁸⁶ "Dazu kommt noch ein malheur, das mir persönlich sehr unangenehm ist. so ist im Katalog entgegen meinen ganz klaren angaben bei der ausstellung des kongresses mein name und ein bild von mir beige druckt. ich habe sofort wie anliegend an die ausstellungsleitung geschrieben. ich bitte sie, davon kennntnis nehmen." Walter Gropius, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, May 13, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Giedion, gta Archives. Before Gropius reported this mistake to Giedion, he sent a detailed letter to Walter Koeppen, the building officer in Berlin and management director of the Deutsche Bauausstellung, in which he recapitulated what had happened to prove his innocence: "mit schrecken sehe ich, dass in dem katalog ein peinlicher fehler unterlaufen ist, indem entgegen den gegebenen unterlagen bei der ausstellung der internationalen kongresse, raum 100, mein portrait und mein name hinzugesetzt ist. In unserer korrespondenz war kein zweifel darüber gelassen, dass nicht ich der aussteller bin, sondern die 'internationalen kongresse für neues bauen.' ich schrieb in meinem Brief vom 13.3. lediglich dass ich bereit sei, das hängen der tafeln zu beaufsichtigen. die anmeldung ist vorschriftsmässig vom generalsekretariat in zürich erfolgt, die ausstellung selbst übersandte mir die bestätigung vom 17.3.31. am 22.4. übersandte ich, da das sekretariat in zürich nicht rechtzeitig schickte, den katalog-text mit der überschrift "rationelle bebauungsweisen", ausgestellt durch: 'internationale kongresse für neues bauen.' von meiner seite ist also alles geschehen um die angelegenheit richtig klarzustellen, das portraiffoto hätte bei meiner ausstellung gebracht werden können, aber nicht an dieser stelle." Walter Gropius, Letter to Oberbaurat Koeppen, Deutsche Bauausstellung, May 5, 1931, 42-K-1931-Gropius-Koeppen, gta Archives.

Contrary to Giedion's repeated demands for collective work in the preparation of the exhibition, Gropius criticised precisely the lack of support – especially from Giedion himself – as well as the lack of collective work during the preparations in Berlin. Between the lines of his letters, one clearly recognises the reproach to Giedion that the preparations would have been different and better with support, for example, from Zurich.

Besides the idea of travelling exhibitions being the responsibility of a single person or national group, there might be an additional reason why Giedion, at least according to the archival material, did not – as Gropius complained – engage much in the preparation of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development.” There was great reluctance to be involved in these kind of building exhibitions, which Giedion dismissed as “sale fairs.”⁸⁸⁷ These remarks might offer another possible explanation why this venue of the travelling exhibition is hardly mentioned in any of Giedion's other writings and letters. They also suggest that Gropius' complaints about not having any support in the organisation of the exhibition at the Deutsche Bauausstellung were most likely justified. Gropius' great commitment for the traveling exhibition in Berlin, however, is not surprising, given that he not only curated the “Die Wohnung unserer Zeit” exhibition at the Deutsche Bauausstellung, but was also part of the expert committee (“Fachausschuss”) for the section “Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen,”⁸⁸⁸ where the exhibition was ultimately shown.

8.3.2. The Travelling Exhibition of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” in Warsaw: A Question of Indifference or Ignorance

The travelling exhibition of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” in Warsaw shows that not only were the persons in charge not supported, but no communication beforehand was considered necessary. Giedion's letter to Szymon Syrkus from 15 March 1930, which on the one hand testifies that CIAM aimed to create an archive for their exhibitions,⁸⁸⁹ reveals another interesting phenomenon. After “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” was shown in Warsaw, Giedion approached Syrkus and asked for a documentation of how the exhibition had been shown in Warsaw, about which Giedion was ignorant:

⁸⁸⁷ “Ich finde es unehrlich, eine Verkaufsmesse als eine Angelegenheit der Forschung zu kostümieren und werde sowohl in der Schweiz wie auch in Berlin dazu öffentlich Stellung nehmen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, March 20, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives. See chapter 5.1. in “Part II. Analysis”.

⁸⁸⁸ “FACHAUSSCHUSS*) der Abteilung A: Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen [...] GROPIUS, Professor.” See “Internationale Ausstellung für Städtebau und Wohnungswesen,” in *Programm der Deutschen Bauausstellung Berlin 1931. 9. Mai – 9. August. Amtlicher Katalog und Führer*, ed. Deutsche Bauausstellung, A1.

⁸⁸⁹ See chapter 1.2.1 in “A. Introduction”.

Since we unfortunately do not understand your language, we would be grateful if you could give us a short communiqué about the way you organised the exhibition. We intend to create an archive on how the exhibition was shown in the different places.⁸⁹⁰

Even though such a request is not necessarily unusual, in the light of the claim of homogeneity and continuity when it came to the presentation of the exhibition material this ignorance of – and in the case of the of the Berlin Bauausstellung, one might even say this indifference to – how the travelling exhibitions were displayed is surprising. Giedion's request suggests that there was no communication in advance between the Secretary General and, in this case, the Polish National Group regarding the conditions for taking over the exhibition and how to present it. The installation of the panels in Warsaw also supports this assumption. They were hung in metal frames with minimal spacing between them, making it impossible to look at the different floor plans [see fig. II.8.2]. The assumption that the national groups were given every freedom in how to present the exhibition material from CIAM's Congresses is striking considering the control and rigid communication in the creation of the exhibition beforehand. Another outstanding example of this apparently unnecessary communication regarding the arrangement of the exhibition panels at the different venues of the travelling exhibitions is the fifth venue of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" traveling exhibition at the Kunsthalle in Magdeburg in 1930.⁸⁹¹ There, eight of the 109 panels were used for a sculpture in the middle of the exhibition space, partly bent and partly with the reverse side facing the space, making it at the very least difficult to study them [see fig. II.8.3].

Apparently, the idea that CIAM's exhibitions were seen as a collective work only applied to those of CIAM's exhibitions which were shown on the occasion of CIAM's Congresses. By contrast, the responsibility for the travelling exhibitions was given to either individuals or CIAM's National Groups, in some cases with no support for their preparation or execution. In the case of the travelling exhibition of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" in Warsaw, it was the national group's sole responsibility to decide what to do with the former collective work.

⁸⁹⁰ "Da wir leider Ihre Sprache nicht verstehen, wären wir dankbar, wenn Sie uns ein kurzes Communiqué über die Art, wie Sie die Ausstellung veranstaltet haben geben könnten. Wir haben die Absicht, ein Archiv anzulegen, das die Art, wie die Ausstellung an verschiedenen Orten gemacht wurde, zusammenfassen soll." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Szymon Syrkus, March 15, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Syrkus, gta Archives.

⁸⁹¹ For a detailed reconstruction of this exhibition, see my master's thesis, in particular Clara Teresa Pollak, "Die Rekonstruktion der Ausstellung in Magdeburg," in *Die Ausstellungskonzeption der CIAM. Eine Analyse anhand der Ausstellung 'Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum'* (München: TU München, 2019), 108–128.

8.4. CIAM's Exhibitions as Instrument for Crucial Personnel Decisions

The planning and organisation of CIAM's exhibitions, or more specifically, whether the planning and organisation of CIAM's exhibitions were regarded as successful, served as a criterion for making personnel decisions inside CIAM. This will be demonstrated in the following using the non-election of Victor Bourgeois as CIAM's president.

During the general assembly of CIAM-03, the delegates present elected the successor of the then-CIAM President, Karl Moser. To the amazement of those in attendance, Walter Gropius did not suggest Victor Bourgeois as Moser's successor, but Cornelis van Eesteren. Afterwards, Gropius explained this decision by saying that van Eesteren, with years of experience as an urban designer, was best suited to the theme of CIAM-04, which was devoted to the theme of the functional city. van Eesteren's involvement in the "De Stijl" movement as well as Gropius' fear of a French-speaking alliance were additional reasons for Gropius' surprising proposal.⁸⁹² However, a closer look at primary sources in the gta Archives reveals another reason that contributed to van Eesteren's victory over Bourgeois, one directly related to Bourgeois' planning and organisation of the exhibitions of CIAM-03.

As soon as the planning secretariat in the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels was opened under the leadership of Bourgeois in August 1930, the correspondence on the planning of CIAM-03 grew more and more heated. The cause of this written dissent was the planning of the public side event, "Journées de l'Habitation Minimum," and more specifically the planning of the exhibitions of the "Journées." The side event of the "Journées" was planned by the Belgian CIAM Section with the aim to obtain financial aid from the city of Brussels for CIAM-03. During the First Preparatory Meeting for CIAM-03 on 3 February at Le Corbusier, the delegates agreed to hold the "Journées" as a side-event on the condition that it was held independently of CIAM-03. But soon after the planning for CIAM-03 started in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Bourgeois was accused of not complying with this agreement. According to the correspondence between Giedion and Gropius, Moser, and van Eesteren, Bourgeois was accused of favouring the planning of the exhibitions of the "Journées" over the planning of the exhibitions of CIAM-03. Bourgeois was accused of a variety of failures. First, he was accused of disregarding the bespoken temporal separation of the two events. Second, he was accused of assigning the best exhibition space within the Palais to the exhibitions of the "Journées" and not to the exhibitions of CIAM-03. Finally, he was accused of causing total chaos and the fragmentation and shattering of CIAM-03 by merging these two events both in temporal as well as spatial terms. As will be demonstrated in the following, these

⁸⁹² For example, see Franziska Bollerey, "C.I.A.M.: 'Rien de Nouveau?,'" in *Cornelis van Eesteren. Urbanismus zwischen 'de Stijl' und C.I.A.M.* (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1999), 166.

accusations – which Giedion in retrospect summarised as “Bourgeois’ organisational failure” – ultimately contributed to the non-election of Bourgeois as CIAM’s president.

8.4.1. The Fear of “Complete Chaos and Fragmentation”

If Giedion had believed what is said about Friday the Thirteenth, he probably would not have been astonished if 13 November 1930 had fallen on a Friday. However, since that date fell on a Thursday, Bourgeois alone was to blame for the unrest in Brussels, not bad luck.

Regardless of what day of the week 13 November was, according to Giedion’s correspondence it must have been an exceedingly stressful day for the Secretary General. That day, he complained to van Eesteren and Gropius in great detail and with great agitation about how Bourgeois was causing total chaos, fragmentation, and disruption in Brussels with his organisation of the “Journées.”

Giedion was especially dissatisfied with the way Bourgeois handled the preparations for, and the execution of, the exhibitions of CIAM-03 and the “Journées.” He was upset by the spatial configuration of these two independent exhibitions as well as by the “Journées” and CIAM-03’s overlapping agenda. “However, we haven’t truly cleared the finish line yet,” he complained in a letter to Gropius two weeks prior to the planned opening of the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition: “Given how the rooms are configured and utilised in Brussels, we hope to be able to overcome this as well as some of Bourgeois’ proposals that have surprised us.”⁸⁹³

Even if Giedion was still in control in his letter to Gropius, he was overly emotional in his letter to van Eesteren. Since the two events of the “Journées” and CIAM-03 were not kept separate in time and place as had been agreed during the First Preparatory Meeting on 3 February, Giedion “fear[ed] the worst”⁸⁹⁴ for CIAM-03. He informed van Eesteren that Bourgeois had planned to open the exhibitions of CIAM-03 on the same day as the exhibitions of the “Journées,” and thus five days before the opening of CIAM-03 on 27 November: “Bourgeois wrote to Moser and me that the exhibitions ‘Rational Lot Development’ as well as ‘Horizontal Sliding Windows’ should be opened on the 22nd. Moser immediately telegraphed Bourgeois to inform him that these two exhibitions must not be opened prior to the start of the Congress and that under no circumstances may the press or

⁸⁹³ “Allerdings ganz über den Berg sind wir noch keineswegs, denn zu unserem Erstaunen ist die Anordnung der Räume und ihre Verwendung in Brüssel enttäuschend, doch hoffen wir dies, ebenso wie einige Vorschläge Bourgeois, die uns erstaunt haben, überwinden zu können.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, November 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

⁸⁹⁴ “Ich erhalte soeben einen Plan von Bourgeois, der mich für den Kongress wirklich Schlimmes befürchten lässt. Es sind verschiedene Ausstellungen in den Vordergrund gestellt und der Kongress erhält einen schlauchförmigen 5m breiten und 18m langen Saal, sowie einen 6 eckigen Annexe. In dem schlauchförmigen Saal soll getagt werden. Das ist, nach den Erfahrungen von Frankfurt, völlig unglücklich.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, November 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van-Eesteren, gta Archives.

general public see them.”⁸⁹⁵ “The local people and local press cannot under any circumstances be given access to the exhibitions five days in advance out of respect for the CIAM members and the international press. You know how the international press would respond to anything like that, and in this instance, we really can't understand Bourgeois in this regard. I don't want Bourgeois to think that we intend to impede his objectives, but on the other hand, the Congress must not be shattered by regional concerns in any case.”⁸⁹⁶

In addition to his ire over Bourgeois' planned overlapping opening of the exhibitions of the “Journées” and of those of CIAM-03, Giedion was also enraged by Bourgeois' envisioned spatial shattering. Bourgeois had given the exhibitions of “Journées” the bigger and – in Giedion's outraged opinion – better exhibition area. “I just received a plan from Bourgeois and I fear the worst,”⁸⁹⁷ Giedion said, before informing van Eesteren of how Bourgeois planned to hang the exhibition materials and urging him to take urgent action: “The focus is on the numerous exhibitions [from the “Journées de l'Habitation Minimum”] and the Congress will have a pencil-thin space measuring 5 metres wide by 19 metres long in addition to a six-cornered annexe. The pencil-thin room will be used for the meetings. This is not a possibility at all after what happened in Frankfurt.”⁸⁹⁸

As an alternative to Bourgeois' suggestion for where to hang the exhibitions' materials, Giedion proposed the following. He suggested rehangng the exhibitions after the opening of the “Journées” and before the opening of CIAM-03, as well as removing some of the “Journées” exhibition material altogether.

Practically, I ask you to try the following in Brussels: in order not to interfere with the ongoing planning of the ‘Journées de l'Habitation Minimum,’ which will open on the 22nd, the first two rooms can be shown as intended. Only after [the ‘Journées de l'Habitation Minimum’], the hanging must be rearranged. Then, the first two rooms will be assigned to the Congress’

⁸⁹⁵ “Bourgeois hat an Moser und mich auch geschrieben, dass am 22. auch die Ausstellung ‘Rationelle Bebauungsweisen’ sowie die Fensterausstellung eröffnet werden soll, Moser hat sofort telegraphiert und geschrieben, dass diese beiden Ausstellungen auf keinen Fall vor Kongressbeginn eröffnet werden dürfen, und niemand von Seiten der Presse und Öffentlichkeit dieselben besichtigen dürfe.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, November 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van-Eesteren, gta Archives.

⁸⁹⁶ “Wir können es den Kongressmitgliedern, ebenso wenig wie der ausländischen Presse zumuten, dass die Ausstellungen dem lokalen Publikum und der lokalen Presse 5 Tage vorher zugänglich gemacht wird. Sie wissen selbst, wie die internationale Presse auf derartiges reagieren würde und wir haben Bourgeois in diesem Falle wirklich nicht verstanden. Ich möchte nicht, dass bei Bourgeois der Eindruck entsünde, wir sollten seine Pläne durchkreuzen, andererseits darf der Kongress durch lokale Absichten nicht erschüttert werden.” Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, November 13, 1930.

⁸⁹⁷ “Ich erhalte soeben einen Plan von Bourgeois, der mich für den Kongress wirklich Schlimmes befürchten lässt.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, November 13, 1930.

⁸⁹⁸ “Es sind verschiedene Ausstellungen in den Vordergrund gestellt und der Kongress erhält einen schlauchförmigen 5m breiten und 18m langen Saal, sowie einen 6 eckigen Annexe. In dem schlauchförmigen Saal soll getagt werden. Das ist, nach den Erfahrungen von Frankfurt, völlig unglücklich.” Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, November 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van-Eesteren, gta Archives.

exhibitions 'Rational Lot Development' and 'Horizontal Sliding Windows.' In the last two halls, the material of the city of Frankfurt as well as the plans from 'The Dwelling for Minimal Existence' can be shown, but all the other exhibition material needs to be eliminated. Please give immediate notice whether the hall (Salle du Congrès), which will reportedly be used to display the material of the exhibition 'Ville de Francfort,' won't be ideal for hosting the Congress' meetings (Salle du Congrès).⁸⁹⁹

Not only was Giedion dissatisfied with the "unfavourable and insufficient" use of the exhibition space, he was also worried about "bad blood" among the delegates:

You can imagine that if Frankfurt is granted the largest hall, there will be 'bad blood' among the Congress members, especially with May's absence and given that the Congress was allocated the least desirable and most insufficient halls in terms of space. This demonstrates a complete misunderstanding of the 'Journées de l'Habitation Minimum' event's original goal. Of course, one cannot derive ultimate intentions from a floorplan, but we ask you, as a neutral representative of the Congress in Brussels, to search for a solution we can all accept.⁹⁰⁰

At this point, Giedion's irritation and tension had been building for three months. In a letter to Moser at the beginning of August, Giedion had already voiced his concerns about the ongoing organisation in Brussels. In this letter, Giedion informed Moser of Bourgeois' intentions for the "Journées," noting that they did not line up with the agreements reached during the First Preparatory Meeting for CIAM-03. Even though, at this point in time, Giedion was only aware of the temporal overlap of the "Journées" and CIAM-03, he already anticipated that the organisation of the "Journées" would cause "total chaos and a fragmentation" of CIAM-03. He pleaded with Moser to do everything in his power to prevent

⁸⁹⁹ "Praktisch ersuche ich Sie, in Brüssel folgendes zu versuchen: um die Semaine de l'habitation minimum nicht in Verwirrung zu bringen, die am 22. eröffnet werden soll, kann man die ersten zwei Säle, wie beabsichtigt ist zeigen und nachher eine Umhängung vornehmen, sodass dem Kongress für seine Fenster und Planausstellung die ersten beiden Säle und unter Ausscheidung verschiedenen Materials für die Stadt Frankfurt und die Existenzminimalausstellung die letzten beiden Säle gegeben werden. Bitte geben Sie unumgehend Nachricht, ob nicht der jetzige Saal der 'Ville de Francfort' für die Kongresstagung (Salle du Congrès) am günstigsten wäre." Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, November 13, 1930. Since no sketch of Bourgeois' intended hanging was attached to the letter, and no sketch matching the description of Giedion was found in the gta Archives, it remains unclear which rooms Giedion refers to by "the first two halls." It can be assumed, however, that he refers to the main exhibition space ("Salle d'Exposition", BILD ABC), which easily could have been divided into several rooms following the structure of the columns.

⁹⁰⁰ "Sie können sich denken was für böses Blut es unter den Kongressteilnehmern erregen wird wenn man der Stadt Frankfurt noch dazu ohne die Anwesenheit May's den grössten Saal anbietet und dem Kongress die ungünstigsten und dem Platz nach auch nicht ausreichenden Säle überlasst. Wir sehen darin eine Verkennung des Zweckes der Brüsseler Veranstaltung. Man kann natürlich von einem Grundriss nicht endgültige Ansichten ableiten. Wir bitten Sie als neutraler Vertreter des Kongresses in Brüssel einen Ausweg zu suchen, den wir alle verantworten können." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, November 13, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van-Eesteren, gta Archives.

CIAM-03 from being “disrupted” by Bourgeois' side-event, and relied on Moser's ability to “swing the Congress over a hurdle.”⁹⁰¹ He continues as follows:

Bourgeois has already had the invitation for 'Les Journées de l'Habitation Minimum' printed, dating from 3 October through 8 October, and providing very little information about the event's substance. It features May and Stam as speakers. I'm absolutely shocked that he has already made public such information without first notifying us and, more importantly, without first taking into account whether the Congress can even take place on the specified date. But most importantly, I do not comprehend why Bourgeois is holding 'Les Journées de l'Habitation Minimum' concurrently with the Congress. We clearly requested that he arrange this event after the Congress, which he, according to what he told me in Paris, needs to do for financial reasons. I believe that the two events' concurrence will result in complete chaos and fragmentation. Perhaps you too can speak with Bourgeois about our shared viewpoint. We cannot allow ourselves to disrupt the Congress.⁹⁰²

8.4.2. “An Organisational Failure” – No Mercy for Victor Bourgeois

Victor Bourgeois responded to this strong criticism from multiple directions in his third report on the preparations for CIAM-03 to Giedion. In this letter, Bourgeois takes offence at the claims, and justifies his great commitment to the planning of the “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibitions:

I have only recently learned the precise significance of the exhibition of the Congress, and not all of the designs for rational lot development have yet been delivered. Therefore, you can reassure [underlined once by Bourgeois] both Moser and Steiger that both the window frame exhibition and the lot development plans will be presented in such a way as the constitute most essential [underlined three times by Bourgeois] part of the exhibition. As Mr.

⁹⁰¹ “Sie haben uns schon aus mancher gefährlichen Situation gerettet und ich bin überzeugt, dass Sie auch diesmal die Mittel finden werden, den Kongress einmal mehr über ein Hindernis zu schaukeln.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Karl Moser, August 8, 1930, 42-K-1930-Moser-Kart, gta Archives.

⁹⁰² “Bourgeois hat bereits eine Einladung drucken lassen für 'Les Journées de l'Habitation Minimum' vom 3.– 8. Oktober, allerdings sehr unbestimmten Inhalts. May und Stam fungieren als Redner darin. Mich wundert eigentlich, dass er derartige Dinge bereits herausgehen lässt, ohne uns vorher zu verständigen und vor allem ohne vorher die Durchführbarkeit des Kongresses zu dem angegebenen Termin erwogen zu haben. Vor allem aber verstehe ich nicht, dass Bourgeois die Journées de l'Habitation Minimum gleichzeitig mit dem Kongress veranstaltet. Wir haben ihn ausdrücklich gebeten, diese Veranstaltung, die er, wie er mir in Paris sagte, aus finanziellen Gründen machen muss, nach dem Kongress zu legen. Meiner Ansicht nach gibt die Coincidenz beider Dinge ein völliges Durcheinander und eine Zersplitterung. Vielleicht setzen auch Sie sich mit Bezugnahme auf unsere gemeinsamen Schritte umgebend mit Bourgeois in Verbindung. Wir dürfen es nicht darauf ankommen lassen, dass wir den Kongress stören.” Giedion, Letter to Karl Moser, August 8, 1930.

Moser has probably informed you, we fully agree that the window exhibition and the exhibition on the plans won't be opened before Thursday by the Congress.⁹⁰³

Further, Bourgeois emphasises that: "Our intention was never [underlined once by Bourgeois] to consider the exhibitions of lot development and windows as an 'appendix' of the Frankfurt exhibition."⁹⁰⁴ The "Rational Lot Development" and "Horizontal Sliding Windows" exhibitions are crucial for CIAM-03, Bourgeois reiterates, and confirms that he is, contrary to Moser and Steiger's opinions, fully aware of this. In order to prove his commitment "to ensure that [the Congress] in Brussels and the exhibitions will be nothing less than a great success," he cites a number of instances of his tremendous effort over the previous weeks, and says: "I contribute nothing less than everything [underlined once by Bourgeois]."⁹⁰⁵

Despite Bourgeois' attempts at persuasion, Giedion, among others, was unimpressed by his side of the story. This attitude is clear from a letter Giedion sent to Ernst May on 31 December, one month after CIAM-03. In this letter, it appears that Bourgeois' failure to successfully organise CIAM-03 and its exhibitions in Brussels was the reason Bourgeois was not elected as the next president of CIAM. Instead, van Eesteren, who – as we know from Giedion's letter of 13 November – was in charge of averting the total chaos caused by Bourgeois, was elected president:

There were similar surprises in the presidential election. It was widely believed that Bourgeois, who is highly regarded both architecturally and personally, would win the presidency. But Gropius then proposed van Eesteren at the meeting, who won the upper hand because Bourgeois had failed organisationally in Brussels. We had endless trouble to keep Bourgeois on track, who always wanted to mix our Congresses with his popular event, 'Journées d'Habitation Minimum.' I believe that if van

⁹⁰³ "Je ne connais l'importance exacte de l'exposition du congrès que depuis quelques jours et quant aux plans de lotissement ils ne sont pas encore tous rentrés. Vous pouvez donc encore une fois rassurer le Prof. Moser et Steiger et leur dire que l'exposition de chassiss et de plans de lotissement sera présentée de façon à constituer la partie essentielle [handschriftlich drei-fach unterstrichen] de l'exposition. Comme M. Moser vous l'aura dit nous sommes tout à fait d'accord pour que l'exposition des chassiss et des plans de lotissement ne soit ouverte que le jeudi par le congrès." Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 17, 1930, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

⁹⁰⁴ "Note intension n'a jamais été de considérer l'exposition de lotissements et de chassiss comme une 'annexe' de l'exposition de francfortoise." Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 17, 1930. There are at least two possible interpretations of this reference to the "Frankfurt Exhibition." First, since the "Frankfurt Exhibition" was one of the six exhibitions shown in conjunction with the "Journées de l'Habitation Minimum," it is possible that Bourgeois is referring to all exhibitions of the "Journées." Second, since CIAM's exhibition, "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence," was first shown in Frankfurt at CIAM-02, and was again exhibited in Brussels, Bourgeois might have also been referring to it.

⁹⁰⁵ "Je ne fasse pas tout mon possible pour que celui [le congrès] de Bruxelles de même que l'exposition de plans de lotissement et de chassiss ne soit un très grand succès." Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 17, 1930.

Eesteren had not taken the trouble to check on Brussels a few times from Amsterdam, the exhibitions would not have been opened until long after the Congress had ended.⁹⁰⁶

The claim that van Eesteren won “the upper hand because Bourgeois had failed organisationally in Brussels” shows how the calamitous planning of the exhibitions of CIAM-03 contributed to Bourgeois’ failure to be elected CIAM president. Besides this failure, Bourgeois’ misunderstanding of the importance of the exhibitions of CIAM-03 was also a factor. Or, to view the issue from the reverse side, the election of van Eesteren as CIAM’s president is linked to his last-minute efforts at turning things around in Brussels. This connection between the planning and execution of CIAM’s exhibitions – or, to be more precise, their precedence over all other considerations – and the presidential election demonstrates how the planning of CIAM’s exhibitions served as a vehicle for CIAM’s personnel strategy. When it came to the planning of CIAM’s exhibitions, no error – no matter how small or insignificant – could be overlooked; no failure could be forgiven.

According to the images of CIAM-03 as well as the floorplan of the Palais des Beaux-Arts stored in the gta Archives, it can be assumed that “Rational Lot Development” was in the end displayed in the “pencil-thin room” and the “six-cornered annexe,” as planned by Bourgeois and opposed by Giedion, Gropius, van Eesteren, and Moser. It can also be assumed that “Horizontal Sliding Windows” was shown in the “better-suited exhibition room” together with the exhibitions of the “Journées,” again as planned by Bourgeois and opposed by Giedion, Gropius, van Eesteren, and Moser. According to the official agenda of CIAM-03, only the openings of “Rational Lot Development” and “Horizontal Sliding Windows” were held independently from the opening of the “Journées” on 27 and 28 November, as requested by Giedion, Gropius, van Eesteren, and Moser.

8.4.3. The Brochure of the “Journées” documenting Bourgeois’ “Organisational Failure”

What may be considered the official poster or brochure of the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” comprises the majority of the historical data on the exhibitions of the “Journées de l’Habitation Minimum”. Besides serving as an important archival source for the

⁹⁰⁶ Even though the letter is not signed, it can be assumed that it was written by Giedion. “Bei der Präsidentenwahl gab es ähnliche Ueberraschungen. Man hatte im allgemeinen angenommen, dass Bourgeois, der architektonisch und menschlich allseitig geschätzt wird, zum Präsidenten gewählt würde. Gropius hat denn an der Sitzung van Eesteren vorgeschlagen der die Oberhand gewann, weil Bourgeois organisatorisch in Brüssel versagt hatte. Wir hatten eine unendliche Mühe Bourgeois auf dem Geleise zu erhalten, der stets unsere Kongresse mit seiner volkstümlichen Veranstaltung ‘Journée d’habitation minimum’ vermischen wollte. Ich glaube wenn Eesteren sich nicht die Mühe genommen hätte, von Amsterdam aus einige Male in Brüssel nach dem rechten zu sehen, so wären die Ausstellungen erst lange nach Ablauf des Kongresses eröffnet worden.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Ernst May, December 31, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

reconstruction of the “Journées,” the brochure also documents what Giedion described as “Bourgeois’ organisational failure” in his letter to Gropius of 31 December, as well confirming Giedion’s’ fear of the “mixing”⁹⁰⁷ of the “Journées” with CIAM-03.

The brochure's general layout itself is confusing:⁹⁰⁸ there is no distinct front and back, the format is a bespoke size somewhere between an A4 and A3, and the assumption that it served as the official brochure of the “Journées” is more of a guess than a certainty. Both sides of the poster have multiple bold headings with capital letters, and most headings are written in different fonts and inconsistent sizes. The biggest headline – which may indicate that this is the front of the poster – reads “LA COOPÉRATION,” a term that does not come up again.

Under the heading, “UN CONGRÈS: LES JOURNÉES DE L'HABITATION MINIMUM,” the programme of both the “Journées” and CIAM-03 is printed. This manifests the mixing of the two events already implied in the title composed of both events. Where do the “Journées” end and CIAM-03 begin? Under the heading, “UN CONGRÈS: LES JOURNÉES DE L'HABITATION MINIMUM,” the subheading “PROGRAMME DES CONFÉRENCES ET DÉBATES” suggests a register of speeches and discussions. What follows, however, is a very detailed listing of openings, speeches, agendas, presentations, conferences, guided tours – and exhibition openings and guided tours through the exhibitions of both the “Journées” and CIAM-03. Even though the opening of the exhibitions of the “Journées” and the opening of the exhibitions of CIAM-03 are announced as taking place on different days, the openings are nonetheless listed together under the confusing heading of “UN CONGRÈS: LES JOURNÉES DE L'HABITATION MINIMUM,” confirming Giedion’s’ fear of Bourgeois “mixing” the “Journées” and CIAM-03 into one undistinguishable event.

The listing under the header “UNE EXPOSITION DE L'HABITATION DONT VOICI LE PANORAMA” also confirms Giedion’s’ fears. The listing of all exhibitions shown at the Palais does not differentiate between the exhibitions of the “Journées” and the exhibitions of CIAM-03. The overview of all exhibitions on show at the Palais des Beaux-Arts does not indicate that some of the exhibitions listed are part of the “Journées” and some are part of CIAM-03. The continuous numbering of the exhibitions of the “Journées” (I–VI) and of the exhibitions of CIAM-03 (VII–VIII) under the header “UNE EXPOSITION DE L'HABITATION DONT VOICI LE PANORAMA” not only gives *no* distinct separation, but the header suggests that

⁹⁰⁷ “Bourgeois auf dem Geleise zu erhalten, der stets unsere Kongresse mit seiner volkstümlichen Veranstaltung ‘Journée d’habitation minimum’ vermischen wollte.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Ernst May, December 31, 1930.

⁹⁰⁸ “PROGRAMME DES CONFÉRENCES ET DÉBATS.” See “UN CONGRÈS: LES JOURNÉES DE L'HABITATION MINIMUM,” LA COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE, 1930, 42-3-9-11, gta Archives.

there *is* no separation. Instead, the continuous numbering suggests that the all exhibitions on display at the Palais des Beaux-Arts are part of the “Exposition de l’Habitation” of the “Journées.”⁹⁰⁹

Similar confusion imbues the twelve-page article about CIAM-03 by Karel Teige in the journal *Stavba*. Teige here “mixes” the exhibitions of the “Journées” and those of CIAM-03, indicating a common confusion about the two events and their exhibitions. To give just one example, the caption of one of Bourgeois’ photographs of “Les Journées de l’Habitation Minimum” reads “Palais de Beaux Arts, Bruxelles. Exhibition of the Third Congress of Modern Architecture,”⁹¹⁰ even though the image depicts neither “Rational Lot Development” nor “Horizontal Sliding Windows,” but the exhibitions of the “Journées.”

8.5. Making the Exhibition an “Official Affair”

CIAM’s exhibitions also served as an instrument for exercising influence outside the immediate sphere of CIAM on public and official decision makers. This is explicit in Karl Moser’s comment during the first CIRPAC meeting:

Given the dual aim we are pursuing – to interest Congress participants on the one hand, and authorities as well as the general public, on the other hand [...].⁹¹¹

Correspondence, mainly to and from Sigfried Giedion, reveals that by “authorities,” three different target groups were meant. The first target group was public pressure groups, such as the Swiss Werkbund or the Swiss Society of Engineers and Architects (Schweizerische Ingenieur- und Architektenverein, or SIA). The second target group was political decision makers, such as political parties or jurors of architectural competitions. The third target group was the building industry, such as firms for building components like horizontal sliding windows.

8.5.1. Influencing Public Pressure Groups

Giedion’s text in the brochure of the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zurich reveals that the aim of exercising influence over “authoritative bodies” was not fulfilled in the aftermath of the

⁹⁰⁹ Note the continuous numbering of all exhibitions from “Une Exposition de l’Habitation” and CIAM-03 under “UNE EXPOSITION DE L’HABITATION DONT VOICI LE PANORAMA.” See “UN CONGRÈS: LES JOURNÉES DE L’HABITATION MINIMUM.”

⁹¹⁰ “Palais de Beaux Arts, Bruxelles. Vystava 3. kongresu moderní architektury v Bruselu. Exposition du 3e Congrès International d’architecture moderne à Bruxelles. Ausstellung des 3. Kongresses für neues Bauen in Brüssel.” Karel Teige, “3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu,” *Stavba* 9 (1930–31): 106, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

⁹¹¹ “Le Président: Etant donné le double but que nous poursuivons - intéresser les congressistes, d’une part, et les autorités ainsi que le grand public, d’autre part [...].” CIRPAC, “Compte-rendu de la réunion tenue à Paris, le 3 février 1930. Exemple No 1,” 38.

travelling exhibition of “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” being shown in Zurich in 1930. As a result, the form of the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” was adjusted accordingly. This time, more attention in particular was given to the opening of “Rational Lot Development” in Zurich. The envisioned efforts and changes to fulfil CIAM’s aim with this travelling exhibition become apparent in two letters from Giedion to Cornelis van Eesteren and Rudolf Steiger. In these letters, he expresses his thoughts on the opening of “Rational Lot Development” in Zurich, on whom to invite, as well as how to unfold the programme around the exhibition. In his letter to van Eesteren, Giedion emphasises the need to “make the opening in Zurich an official affair.”⁹¹² He goes on to state that the ambition of making the opening an “official affair” can be achieved by, on the one hand, inviting prominent players of the *Neues Bauen* to the opening, and on the other by working closely in cooperation with public pressure groups like the Swiss Werkbund and the Swiss Society of Engineers and Architects:

Gropius will be present and we would be delighted if you were there as well. I have talked to the Werkbund and the Swiss Society of Engineers and Architects. They want to guarantee that three lectures will be given in Switzerland and that you don’t have any costs. On 15 February, however, we would ask you to give a tour of the exhibition for us. What will you charge for the Swiss lectures? Will it be enough if you were reimbursed for travel and expenses? How much would that be?⁹¹³

Giedion stresses his ambition to give a greater significance to the travelling exhibition of “Rational Lot Development” in comparison to “The Dwelling for Minimal Existence” in his letter to Steiger:

I have spoken with Prof. Moser. This year, we want to give the exhibition a greater emphasis than last year and possibly also invite Eesteren. Mr. Häfeli Sr. told me that ‘under certain circumstances’ there might be a free slot for a lecture by Eesteren at the SIA. I would ask you to get in contact with Mr.

⁹¹² “Wir werden die Eröffnung in Zürich zu einer offiziellen Sache ausbauen Gropius wird anwesend sein und wir würden es sehr begrüßen, falls auch Du hier sein könntest. Ich habe sowohl mit dem Werkbund, wie mit dem Schweizer Ingenieur- und Architektenverein gesprochen. Sie wollen die drei Vorträge in der Schweiz garantieren, sodass Du keinerlei Kosten hast. Am 15. Februar würden wir Dich allerdings bitten, die Führung durch die Ausstellung für uns zu übernehmen. Was verlangst Du für die Schweizer Vorträge? Würde es Dir genügen, wenn man Dir die Reise und die Unkosten ersetzt? Wie hoch beliefe sich das?” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, December 30, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-van Eesteren, gta Archives.

⁹¹³ “Wir werden die Eröffnung in Zürich zu einer offiziellen Sache ausbauen Gropius wird anwesend sein und wir würden es sehr begrüßen, falls auch Du hier sein könntest. Ich habe sowohl mit dem Werkbund, wie mit dem Schweizer Ingenieur- und Architektenverein gesprochen. Sie wollen die drei Vorträge in der Schweiz garantieren, sodass Du keinerlei Kosten hast. Am 15. Februar würden wir Dich allerdings bitten, die Führung durch die Ausstellung für uns zu übernehmen. Was verlangst Du für die Schweizer Vorträge? Würde es Dir genügen, wenn man Dir die Reise und die Unkosten ersetzt? Wie hoch beliefe sich das?” Giedion, Letter to van Eesteren, December 30, 1930.

Häfeli; nevertheless, I think it would be better for us if a lecture by Eesteren could take place at the Werkbund as soon as possible after 15 February.⁹¹⁴

8.5.2. Influencing Political Decision Makers

Giedion continues this letter with the suggestion to also invite politicians to the opening:

The president of the Freisinnige Partei in Bern, Dr. J. Kehrli, called me the other day and asked for a Congress report. I invited him [to the opening] on the 15th and asked him to bring an official representative as well. Couldn't Höchel also be officially invited? As well as the manufacturers? In any case, I will invite Klöti and Baumann already on 25 January, and four weeks before the opening so that they will be available on 15 February.⁹¹⁵

The importance of having politicians as well as political representatives, like the town president of Zurich, Emil Klöti, and Baumann, the commissioner of the Building Department of Zurich, attending the opening is evident in Giedion's plan to invite them early enough before the opening to make sure they can attend. Besides having political players attending the opening, another letter from Giedion to Moser suggests that the hosting of CIAM's exhibitions also provided the possibility of exercising power over ongoing architectural competitions through influencing the manning of architectural juries. In this letter, Giedion asks about the invited guests to the opening of the travelling exhibition of "The Dwelling of Minimal Existence" in Zurich, and promptly stresses the importance of having an impact on the manning of the jury for the upcoming competition for the new cantonal hospital. He asks Moser about any connections he might have to the cantonal construction director, and stresses his strong desire to have the Neues Bauen represented in juries:

I hope that Mr. Altherr, the director, has invited you to the opening of the exhibition in the Museum of Decorative Arts. For us, this might be the first step in taking influence in the manning of the jury for the new Canton Hospital [of Zurich]. Have you ever spoken to the Cantonal Construction Director? Who is this actually? It might be important to prepare our request

⁹¹⁴ "Ich habe mit Prof. Moser gesprochen. Wir wollen diesmal der Ausstellung einen grösseren Nachdruck geben als der letztjährigen, und zur Eröffnung womöglich auch Eesteren bitten. Herr Häfeli sen. sagte mir, dass im S.I.A. am 28. Februar 'unter Umständen' noch ein Termin für einen Vortrag für Eesteren frei sei. Ich würde Sie bitten, mit Herrn Häfeli nochmals Fühlung zu nehmen, aber ich glaube, für uns wäre es besser, wenn möglichst rasch nach dem 15. Februar ein Vortrag von Eesteren im Werkbund stattfinden könnte." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Rudolf Steiger, December 30, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Steiger, gta Archives.

⁹¹⁵ "Der Präsident der Freisinnigen Partei in Bern, Dr. J. Kehrli, telephonierte mir dieser Tage wegen eines Kongressberichtes. Ich lud ihn gleichzeitig zum 15. ein, und bat ihn, auch einen offiziellen Vertreter mitzubringen. Konnte man nicht auch Höchel offiziell bitten? Und auch die Fabrikanten veranlassen, am 15. in der Ausstellung zu sein. Ich werde jedenfalls Klöti und Baumann am 15. Jan. einladen, damit sie 4 Wochen Zeit haben, um am 15. Februar nicht vergeben zu sein." Giedion, Letter to Rudolf Steiger, December 30, 1930.

of having the Neues Bauen – as an international affair – represented in local juries through a preceding personal encounter, as you suggested. Maybe we should hide our full ambition of giving the Neues Bauen a more prominent voice with regard to architectural decisions during the first visit, but nevertheless cautiously indicate our wish.⁹¹⁶

Multiple letters from Giedion to Emil Klöti as well as to Baumann reveal that these authorities ultimately attended the opening of “Rational Lot Development” in the Kunstgewerbemuseum. These letters also reveal that the aim of influencing juries in Zurich was successful. On 8 April 1931, Giedion sent another letter to Klöti and included a list of architects who, in the eyes of CIAM, were regarded as worth considering for the jury of future competitions [see fig. II.8.4 and fig. II.8.5]:

Dear Mr. Town President, with reference to our meeting and the exhibition 'Rational Building Methods,' we take the liberty of enclosing a list of possible international experts. The list is arranged according to building tasks in such a way that only names that have already excelled in the particular task are listed in the relevant section. To the best of our knowledge, none of the names suggested by us has been represented in any Swiss jury to date. In recent years, it has become apparent that in Swiss competitions almost always the same personalities or those of the same opinion have been called in to judge the projects, which can lead to uniform results. In particular, the use of truly leading international names has been largely avoided. In accordance with the tasks incumbent upon our organisation, we therefore take the liberty of suggesting that in future competitions, in the interest of the great building tasks still to come, internationally recognised experts should also be considered and appointed, in addition to Swiss experts.⁹¹⁷

⁹¹⁶ "Ich hoffe, dass Herr Direktor Altherr Sie zur Begrüssung der Ausstellung im Kunstgewerbemuseum eingeladen hat, da uns das als Vorgang für den ersten Schritt, bezüglich Besetzung einer Preisrichterstelle beim neuen Kantonspital sehr nötig ist. Haben Sie einmal mit dem kantonalen Baudirektor gesprochen? Wer ist das eigentlich? Es wäre vielleicht wichtig unseren Antrag, das neue Bauen als internationale Angelegenheit auch bei lokalen Wettbewerben im Preisgericht vertreten zu haben, durch persönliche Fühlungnahme vorzubereiten, so wie Sie es vorschlugen. Vielleicht sollte man beim ersten Besuch noch nicht mit der eigentlichen Forderung herausrücken sondern nur den Wunsch andeuten, dass das neue Bauen in irgendeiner Form mehr als bisher Mitspracherecht an den baulichen Entscheidungen fordert." Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Karl Moser, January 7, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Moser, gta Archives.

⁹¹⁷ "Sehr geehrter Herr Stadtpräsident, bezugnehmend auf unsere Besprechung und die Ausstellung 'Rationelle Bebauungsweisen' gestatten wir uns, Ihnen beiliegend eine Liste von in Frage kommenden internationalen Fachleuten zu übersenden. Die Liste ist nach Bauaufgaben angeordnet und zwar so, dass in der betreffenden Rubrik nur Namen angeführt sind, die in der bestimmten Aufgabe sich bereits hervorgetan haben. Unseres Wissens ist bis heute in keinem schweizerischen Preisgericht einer, der von einer vorgeschlagenen Namen vertreten gewesen. Es hat sich in den letzten Jahren herausgestellt, dass in schweizerischen Wettbewerben zur Beurteilung der Projekte fast stets dieselben Persönlichkeiten oder solche gleicher Auffassung zugezogen wurden, was zu einheitlichen Resultaten führen kann. Insbesondere wurde von der Heranziehung

Most of the names on the list have been mentioned over the course of this thesis: Alvar Aalto is recommended as juror for competitions on halls, hospitals, and “Gewerkschaftsbauten”; for competitions on settlements, inter alia Otto Haesler, Walter Gropius, and Anton Brenner are recommended; for buildings of exhibitions, Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier are proposed.⁹¹⁸ Giedion’s connection between mentioning the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition and the recommendation of suitable architects unmistakably makes it clear that CIAM used their exhibitions as political occasions and means of exercising influence on architectural competitions.

8.5.3. Influencing the Building Industry

The third target group which CIAM wanted to influence was the building industry. By nature, the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition stood in close connection to this group. The aim associated with this exhibition was to enhance the technical developments of these windows to make them also affordable for minimal housing projects through heating up “a constructive race between the different countries.”⁹¹⁹

An article in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* reporting on the acquisition of a Swiss window patent by an English window manufacturer illustrates how these aims were – at least in this instance – achieved:

Finally, we would like to take this opportunity to publicly express our gratitude to the Swiss industry, which participated to an outstanding degree in our ‘Horizontal Sliding Windows’ exhibition. Models from Basel, Geneva, Glarus, and Zurich were present in Brussels, and the quality of their execution attracted great attention. We are pleased to announce that the patent of one of the Swiss models has been purchased away from the Congress by the largest English metal window company. Through the exhibition, the Congress hopes to have given an impetus to the horizontal sliding window, which offers significant space saving and utilization possibilities, from a luxury item to an integral part of people's homes.⁹²⁰

wirklich führender, internationaler Namen weitgehend Abstand genommen. Entsprechend den Aufgaben, die unserer Organisation obliegen, erlauben wir uns daher, die Anregung zu machen, bei nächsten Wettbewerben neben schweizerischen auch international anerkannte Fachleute, im Interesse der grossen Bauaufgaben, die noch bevorstehen, mitzuberücksichtigen und zu berufen.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Emil Klöti, April 8, 1931, 42-1.Periode-II-K-1932, gta Archives.

⁹¹⁸ See CIAM, “Vorschläge für Internationale Preisrichter mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer speziellen Tätigkeit,” March 3, 1931, 42-1.Periode-K-1932, gta Archives.

⁹¹⁹ “Ich freue mich auf das konstruktive Wettrennen der verschiedenen Länder.” Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Walter Gropius, October 25, 1930, 42-K-1930-Giedion-Gropius, gta Archives.

⁹²⁰ “Gestatten Sie uns schliesslich an dieser Stelle öffentlich unseren Dank gegenüber der Schweizer Industrie auszusprechen, die sich im hervorragendem Maße an unserer Ausstellung ‘Horizontale Schiebefenster’ beteiligt hat. Es waren Modelle aus Basel, Genf, Glarus und Zürich in Brüssel vorhanden, die durch die Güte der Ausführung eindringliche Betrachtung fanden. Es ist uns eine Freude, mitteilen zu können, daß das Patent eines der Schweizer Modelle von der größten englischen

The following quote shows how CIAM was, indeed, very well aware of the impact this exhibition had. Only one week before the public announcement of the trade between the Swiss manufacturer and the English window company, a review of the exhibition by Giedion was published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, in which he confidently announced the impact of this exhibition on the development of the window industry: “Obviously, the presence of the various designers and manufacturers stimulated an all-round fruitful exchange, which will not be without influence on the development of this issue.”⁹²¹

In his report on “Horizontal Sliding Windows” in *Das Neue Frankfurt*, Joseph Gantner stresses the aim of this exhibition was influencing the industry to pay more attention to this window type:

With this exhibition the Congress does not want to declare that the horizontal sliding window deserves to be emphasised above all other window solutions, but it hopes to achieve, besides a personal enlightenment, that the industry turns more than before to the window problem.⁹²²

Interestingly, Gantner simultaneously tries to take the wind out of the sails of any possible criticism regarding the choice of the window type before the exhibition even opened. He most likely refers here to the disputes during the Second Preparatory Meeting over whether the Congress would take a personal position by focusing only on horizontal sliding windows.⁹²³

As can be seen from the above, CIAM's exhibitions served as leverage to exercise influence on different decision makers in the public and political sphere, as well as in the industrial sector. And this, according to a report in the journal *Das Wohnen*, seemed to be successful. This article explicitly attributes the significance of CIAM's work to their exhibitions:

These Congresses gain their importance for the public first of all through orienting exhibitions, which illustrate in a uniform way the surveys

Metallfensterfirma vom Kongreß weg angekauft wurde. Der Kongreß hofft durch die Ausstellung einen Anstoß gegeben zu haben, daß das horizontale Schiebefenster, das bedeutende Raumersparnis und Raumausnutzungsmöglichkeiten bietet, aus einem Luxusgegenstand zu einem Bestandteil der Volkswohnung wird.” See “Kleine Chronik. Zu den Brüsseler Brüsseler Architekturtagen,” *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (December 23, 1930), 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

⁹²¹ “Natürlich wurde durch die Anwesenheit durch die verschiedenen Konstrukteure und Fabrikanten ein allseitiger, fruchtbarer Austausch angeregt, der nicht ohne Einfluß auf die Entwicklung dieser Frage sein wird.” Giedion, “III. Internationaler Kongress für neues Bauen.”

⁹²² “Der Kongreß will mit dieser Ausstellung durchaus nicht bekunden, daß das horizontale Schiebefenster eine Betonung vor allen andern Fensterlösungen verdient, aber er hofft, neben einer persönlichen Aufklärung auch zu erreichen, daß die Industrie mehr als bisher sich dem Fensterproblem zuwendet.” Gantner, “Internationale Ausstellung horizontaler Schiebefenster in Brüssel,” 241. See chapter 1.1 in “Part II. Analysis”.

⁹²³ It was above all Le Corbusier who considered it a “personal preference”: “M. LE CORBUSIER – [...] Je ne sais pas si nous avons le droit ou tout, simplement intérêt à diviser la fenêtre an longueur. Cela est une question d'ordre personnel.” CIRPAC, “SÉANCE DE LA COMMISSION DU SAMEDI 20 MAI,” 5. See chapter 1.2.2 in “Part I. Reconstruction”.

conducted in all countries. This is the best propaganda work for a contemporary way of building and living.⁹²⁴

⁹²⁴ "Diese Kongresse erhalten ihre Bedeutung für die Öffentlichkeit vorerst durch orientierende Ausstellungen, die in einheitlicher Weise die in allen Ländern gemachten Erhebungen veranschaulichen. Dies ist beste Propaganda-Arbeit für ein zeitgemäßes Bauen und Wohnen." See E. Briner, "Rationelle Bebauungsweise," *Das Wohnen* 3 (1931): 34, 42-3-7-3, gta Archives.

B. Conclusion

The objective of this dissertation was first to trace, and second describe, the functions of CIAM's exhibitions in order to understand the significance of CIAM's exhibitions for CIAM, in terms of the association of architects itself as well as for the CIAM's Congresses, the events of this very association. If CIAM's exhibitions, which were first shown at the corresponding Congresses and then subsequently as travelling exhibitions at numerous venues, were not a mere material appendix to the Congresses, nor a mere adjunction to the speeches – what where they? And which functions and which significance justified the vast amount of work required to plan and prepare these exhibitions as well as to organise the travelling exhibitions? These were the underlying questions of this dissertation. The hypothesis of this dissertation was that CIAM's exhibitions served as – if not the primary, then at least a central – method of work of the Congresses and for CIAM. The contribution of this twofold examination is to propose a new and alternative framing to and of CIAM's work which, in contrast to the canonical view in the historiography of CIAM, no longer centres around the discourse of CIAM's Congresses, but around and through their exhibitions. Therefore, CIAM's work needs to be understood through the lens of their exhibitions. The conclusion of this study is that CIAM's exhibitions need to be regarded as a method of work of CIAM. This is because it was through their exhibitions that CIAM could methodologically realise the thematic and strategic aims that CIAM associated with their Congresses. This new understanding of CIAM's method of work challenges the canonical view of CIAM built upon the Congresses and key figures of CIAM, and calls for the cautious, yet crucial, re-evaluation and re-writing of CIAM's history.

The research question regarding the functions and significance of CIAM's exhibitions, as well as the objective to, first, trace and describe the functions, and second, to understand their significance, were addressed through a two-pronged approach. In eight analytic categories, the functions and, above all, the significance of the exhibition were examined.

First, through an in-depth reconstruction of the exhibitions of CIAM-03, and of their planning and preparation process, hitherto unavailable in this level of detail, the functions of CIAM's exhibitions could be traced. Therewith, the reconstruction led to a research-based understanding of their significance (B.1.). Second, in the analysis part, this initial understanding was nuanced by the examination and description of the multifaceted functions of CIAM's exhibitions in eight analytical categories, which stemmed from the reconstruction on the one hand, and from literature on architecture exhibitions on the other. The analysis is based primarily on the exhibitions of CIAM-03, but whenever and wherever needed,

references to mostly other pre-war CIAM exhibitions were made (B.2.). This analysis resulted in understanding the significance of CIAM's exhibitions as the *method of work*. Therewith, the hypothesis of this dissertation was confirmed.

B.1. Reconstructing the Exhibitions of CIAM-03:

Gaining an Initial Understanding of their Significance

The reconstruction of the exhibitions of CIAM-03 is more than a sheer collection of facts about the material objects, their spatial arrangement according to different categories and the different venues of the travelling exhibition, as well as the persona involved in making the planning and preparations as complete and coherent as possible – even though, meeting the dissertation's claim of a comprehensive archival and historical reconstruction, this was also achieved. It is also more than a chronological listing of the different meetings, decisions taken, and visions and views that prevailed – even though these developments needed to be traced for a transparent and comprehensible narrative. The reconstruction is grounded almost exclusively on primary and, to a significant extent, hitherto unexamined and unpublished archival documents, mainly from the gta Archives. Herewith, the reconstruction not only comprehensively fills the historiographical lacuna in regard to fundamental research on the exhibitions of CIAM-03, but also contributes to the investigation of the gta Archives, which due to the often innumerable copies, versions, and drafts for one single document, might be complex to investigate. Nevertheless, in this complexity of the CIAM Archive lies also the chance and possibility of tracing the development of an idea or vision through what at first glance might appear trivial, but instead offers a nuanced understanding through marginalia.

The first conclusion drawn from this reconstruction was that the exhibitions took up a major part in the preparatory meetings for the Congresses, as well as that the planning of the Congresses *evolved around and through* the planning of CIAM's exhibitions. On the basis of the minutes of the preparatory meetings, as well as correspondence in which decisions taken during the meetings were once again reiterated or discussed, the functions and analytic categories could be traced in a first step. Herewith, the reconstruction led to an initial understanding of the growing significance of CIAM's exhibitions in the course of the preparations, which was crucial for a coherent examination and description of the functions in the eight analytic categories in the subsequent analysis. Hence, only this in-depth study and reading of the available historical archival material permitted a deeper understanding of the functions of CIAM's exhibitions.

B.2. Analysing CIAM's Exhibitions:

Understanding their Significance as *Method of Work*

In the analysis chapter of this dissertation, based on the understanding gained within and from the reconstruction, the multifaceted functions of CIAM's exhibitions were first examined and then described in eight analytic categories. Under the analytic categories of *space*, *programme*, *format*, *theme*, *material*, and *sequence*, the significance of the exhibitions as a method of work, as well as how the exhibition was seen as a condition of success for the Congresses, was determined. Under the category of *publications as testimony*, it is described how CIAM's publications bear witness to the exhibitions as a method of work of the Congress. Within the analytic category of *CIAM's exhibitions as strategic instrument for policy making*, the function of the exhibitions for CIAM itself is described, and their significance understood. While the analytic categories of *space*, *programme*, and *material* as such were used by CIAM itself in the course of the planning and preparation, and traced in the reconstruction, the other five analytical categories are common terms in the academic discourse on architecture exhibitions.

In the analytic category of *space*, the spatial dependency of CIAM's Congresses to the exhibition space was examined, both in literal and metaphorical terms. It was the exhibition space that was considered the working environment, and a fundamental condition for a productive atmosphere, at the Congresses. This became on the one hand apparent in the continuously growing proximity between the exhibition and the meeting space, and on the other culminated in the fact that the exhibition panels ultimately formed a *space of their own*. But already during the planning of CIAM-03, the exhibition as a *space of thought* served as a means of discussing not only the exhibition itself, but also, among others, the speeches of the Congress. In the analytic category of *space*, the *spatial immediacy* of the meetings and the exhibition was examined as one condition of success. A similar function was examined in the analytic category of *programme*. During the planning of the exhibitions of CIAM-03, the awareness of the significance of the exhibitions of CIAM-03 as a means of realising the claims and aims of CIAM continuously grew, and this importance was mirrored in the continuously moved forward opening of the exhibition in the Congress' programme; ultimately, the opening was not only moved from the last agenda item to the very first, but the opening of the exhibition was even *equated* with the opening of CIAM-03. Herewith, in the analytical category of *programme*, *temporal immediacy* was described as another condition of success for the Congresses. Furthermore, besides the spatial and temporal significance of the exhibitions, the exhibition material was considered as *immediate* – and in this case neither spatial nor temporal, but the *material realisation* of CIAM's claims of

comparability and completeness. Under the analytical category of *material*, the exhibition's significance as material substitute for the insufficient and inadequate method of addressing CIAM's preoccupation solely verbally (as traced in the reconstruction) was described. In the analytic category of *format*, the changing and, more importantly, continuously growing understanding about the equally growing significance of CIAM's exhibitions as the formal and constituting framework for the Congresses was described. Through the exhibition as a *space of thought* – not only during the meetings held in preparation for the Congress, but also within the correspondence and reports written *on* the Congress – the constituting function of the exhibition for the Congress was understood. Within the analytic category of *theme*, the significance of CIAM's exhibitions as a means of defining, specifying, and limiting the thematic scope of the Congresses is described. It was through the discussions about the exhibitions that the theme of the speeches and reports given at the Congresses was found. Furthermore, in the analytic category of *sequence*, the notion of CIAM's exhibitions serving as the *space, programme, theme, and format* of the Congresses is combined: CIAM's exhibitions allowed the repetition of a similar approach over space and time with small modifications. In this way, they expanded their significance beyond a singular occurrence. This significance and characteristic were summarised by CIAM under the term *une exposition savante*. However, the significance expanded beyond its own media: CIAM's publications also bear witness to the functions and, moreover, the significance of CIAM's exhibitions. They show the same logic of layout, the same logic of perception, as well as the same logic of usage. Hence, CIAM's publications must be regarded as the *testimony of CIAM's exhibitions*.

Contributions of the Research

The results of this dissertation contribute to the debate about the necessity of re-evaluating and re-writing the way modernism was – and therefore continuously and repeatedly is – historicised. The dissertation introduces a different theoretical and methodological approach towards CIAM's work, and hereby proposes a different framing of the canonical histories mainly built upon the Congresses and one-show protagonists. Instead of continuing to understand CIAM's work through their Congresses – in the sense of a verbal examination of CIAM's preoccupations – the dissertation instead suggests understanding CIAM's work based on their exhibitions and the accompanying processes, and no longer sees the Congress as a viable approach to address the debates of CIAM, but rather as the mere place and time of the meetings. Herewith, the dissertation on the one hand adds new research-based findings to the existing research and literature on CIAM in two ways. First, the dissertation closes a significant research gap concerning the planning and preparation

process of the exhibitions, the event as such, as well as regarding its functions and significance. Second, having scrutinised the crucial functions and constituting significance of CIAM's exhibitions, the dissertation challenges existing research insofar as the canonical view unfolding around the debates needs to be re-examined, re-adjusted, and possibly revised. This in particular addresses the works of Martin Steinmann and Eric Paul Mumford, which are justifiably considered as reference literature on CIAM. Nonetheless, it is crucial to expand – and possibly revise – their brief mentions of CIAM's exhibitions in such a way that the exhibitions cannot be considered a mere adjunction, as depicted in their work, but rather as integral to CIAM's work and their Congresses.

Limitations of Research

The results of this dissertation underscore the necessity for a re-evaluation of CIAM's work and their Congresses based on, and through, their exhibitions. Nonetheless, since the reconstruction and analysis were primarily conducted on the basis of the exhibitions of CIAM-03, the findings offer an imperfect understanding. In order to *comprehensively* re-evaluate CIAM's exhibitions as the general method of work of the Congress, future research must further examine other CIAM exhibitions, for example the CIRPAC exhibition at the Triennale in Milan in 1933, or the "The New School" Exhibition in Zurich in 1932, in depth, but under the now proven hypothesis of CIAM's exhibitions as a method of work. Thereby, it might be necessary to modify and refine the eight analytical categories used here, or to introduce additional categories. Only then can the narrative of CIAM in the canonical literature be comprehensively revised.

Prospects for Further Research

The results of this dissertation also serve as starting point for further research on CIAM's exhibitions in a threefold way.

First, for this dissertation, the focus of the research question, topic, and objective lies primarily on examining and understanding CIAM's exhibitions as method of work *within* CIAM, as well as *within* the Congresses. Future research might further investigate the influence of the exhibitions outside their immediate sphere. Even though one described function of CIAM's exhibitions was that of serving as a strategic instrument of exercising influence on authorities outside CIAM's immediate sphere (see Chapter 8.X.), it still needs to be examined whether these attempts were de facto fruitful, and – if so – how and insofar this influence can be traced. Besides, the influence of "other" (non-CIAM) exhibitions on the work of CIAM also needs to be examined. Even though "other" exhibitions had no role during the planning of CIAM's own exhibition (see Chapter "Self-Reference" X.XX), the members' visits

to non-CIAM exhibitions might have well been significant – if not for the planning of their own exhibitions, then possibly for their debates. For example, on the occasion of the CIRPAC meeting in preparation for CIAM's Sixth Congress (CIAM-06) in Bridgwater in 1947, the CIRPAC members visited the Swiss National Exposition in Zurich.⁹²⁵

Second, since the “Rational Lot Development” exhibition served in this dissertation as the main exemplary case study for understanding the significance of CIAM's pre-war exhibitions as a method of work, future research needs to investigate whether CIAM's post-war exhibitions not only mirror the thematical shift of CIAM's pre-war preoccupations – namely, that of minimum housing, rational site planning, industrialised construction, low-, medium, or high-rise building, and that of “functional town planning” – to CIAM's post-war preoccupations – less based on rationalisation and functionality, but rather emerging from the importance of social, political, and cultural aspects, and evolving around questions of habitat – but also whether they were accompanied by a methodological and functional change. Future researchers of this topic, however, must bear in mind that the logic of presentation of CIAM's post-war exhibitions (CIAM Grid, see chapter X.XX) was a different one than that used for the pre-war exhibitions. Third, further investigations need to be conducted in the realm of architecture exhibitions, in particular on modern architecture. One finding of this dissertation was that CIAM's exhibitions served as the format of CIAM's Congresses (see Chapter X.XX), not in a typological understanding, but in understanding CIAM's exhibitions as the formal and constituting framework of the Congress. However, a comparison between CIAM's exhibitions and non-CIAM exhibitions would not only further sharpen the understanding of CIAM's exhibitions, but also investigate whether CIAM's exhibitions, with their specific planning and preparation approach, as well as their, among others, characteristic significance as a *working environment* (see Chapter X.XX) as well as the possibility of a *sequential comparison* (see Chapter X.XX), nonetheless constitute a typology of their own.

Exhibiting as “raison d'être”

Recalling once again Beatriz Colomina's proposition of re-examining the history of architecture through an “intra-canonical” outlook⁹²⁶ – and thus to undermine the canonical view to let another emerge – it can be stated that CIAM's exhibitions from now on need to be

⁹²⁵ Eric Paul Mumford, “CIAM 7, Bergamo, Italy, 1949,” in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 192.

⁹²⁶ “I am interested in the idea of the 'Intra-Canonical' outlook. I think that's exactly what defines me – going to what is the most canonical and undermine it so that another view can emerge.” Evangelos Kotsioris, “The Queering of Architecture History Has Yet to Happen”: The Intra-Canonical Outlook of Beatriz Colomina,” *Architectural Histories*8, no. 1 (2020): 7, <http://doi.org/10.5334/ah.547>.

considered as a crucial and constituting method of CIAM's work, since through their exhibitions CIAM methodologically realised the thematic and strategic aims of their work. This new understanding of CIAM's method of work, and the different approach towards it, challenges what to date has been the most common canonical approach: focusing on CIAM's debates and discourse at and through their Congresses and by their key-figures. In the light of this conclusion, Sigfried Giedion's letter to the Northern CIAM Groups, quoted in the preface to the introduction (see Chapter XX.XX), in which Giedion unmistakably stressed CIAM's exhibitions as the only method of achieving and maintaining the "viability" of CIAM, no longer raises any questions. Instead, as has been demonstrated, since CIAM's exhibitions were the method of work – and not the Congresses – it was through the exhibitions, and *only* through them, that CIAM could achieve its main goals, ensure its very survival as a group, and exert its influence.

D. Apparatus

D.1. Bibliographie

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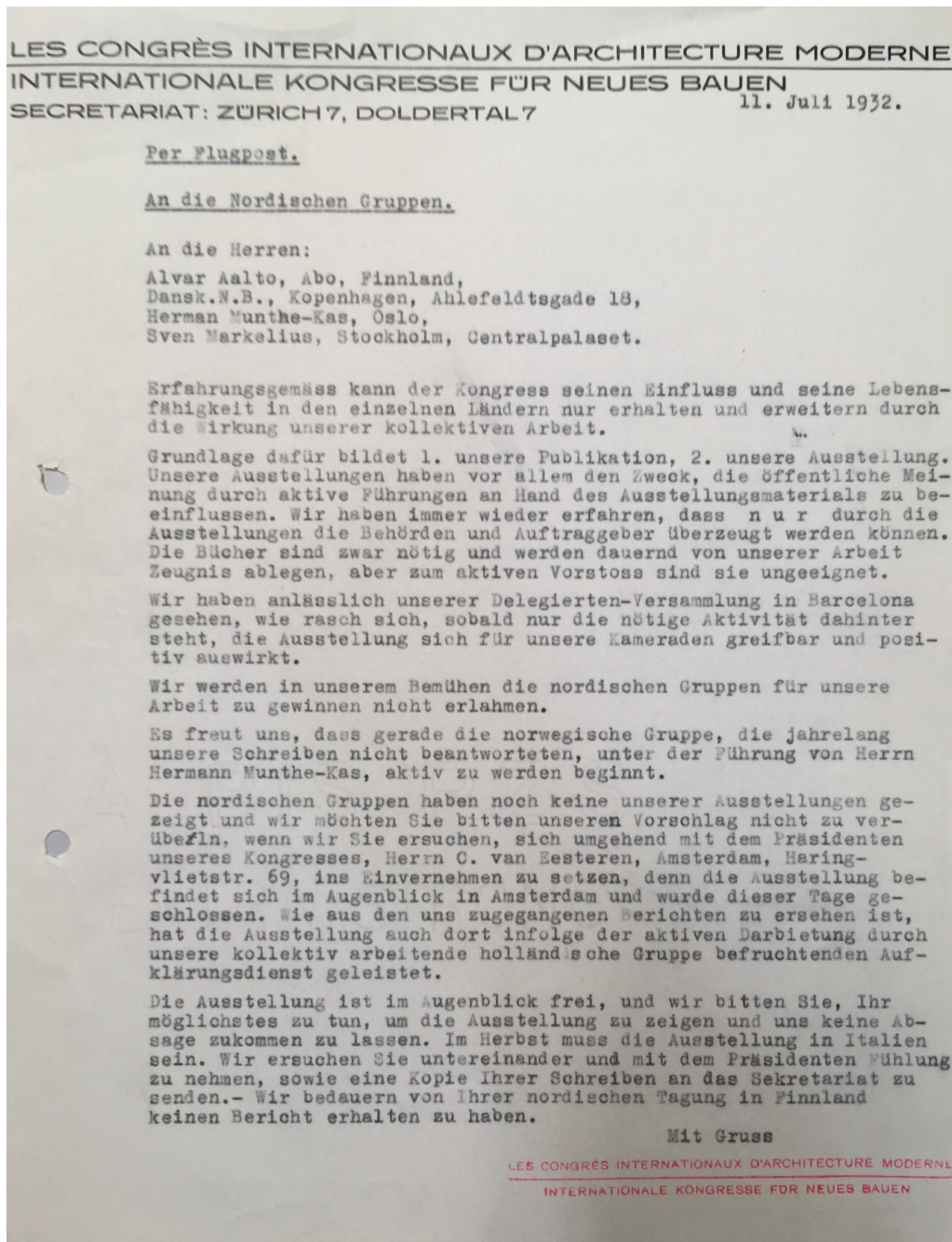
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D.3. Images

Images A. Introduction

Preface: A Forgotten Chapter in the Historiography of CIAM

Fig. A.1

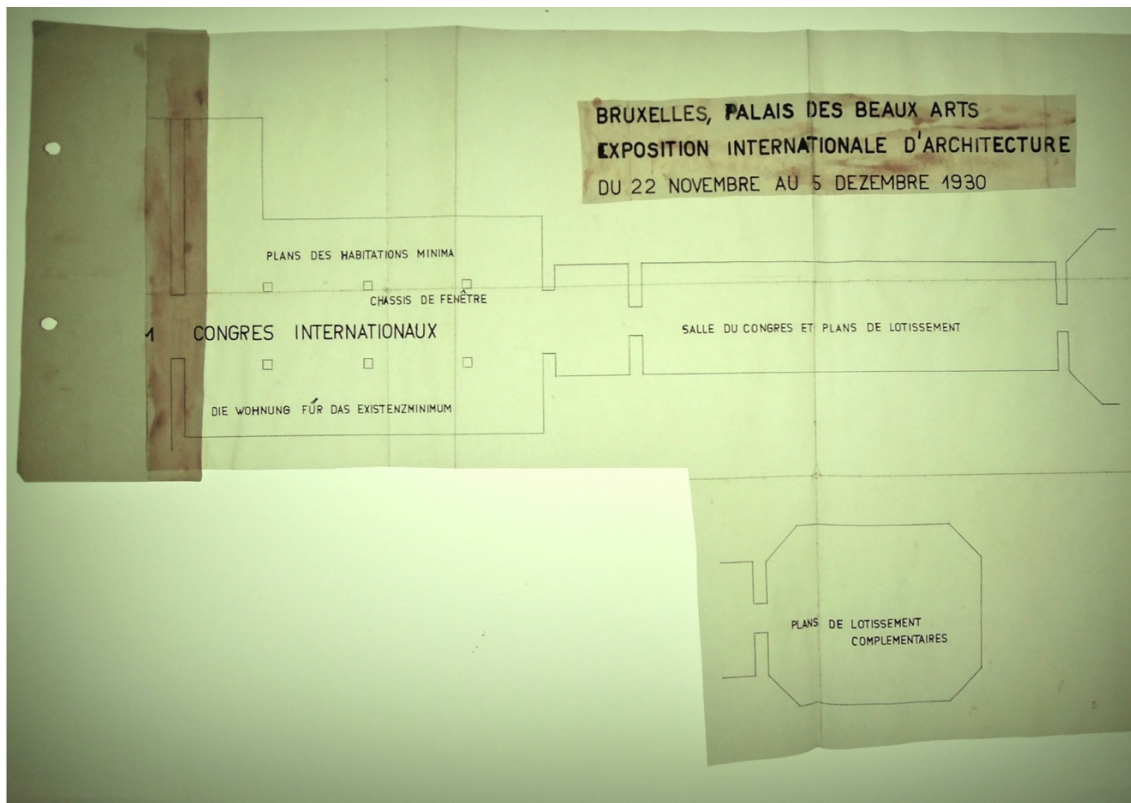


Source: Sigfried Giedion, *Letter to the Northern CIAM Groups, July 11, 1932*, 42-K-1932-Giedion-Aalto, gta Archives.

Images Part I. The Reconstruction

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

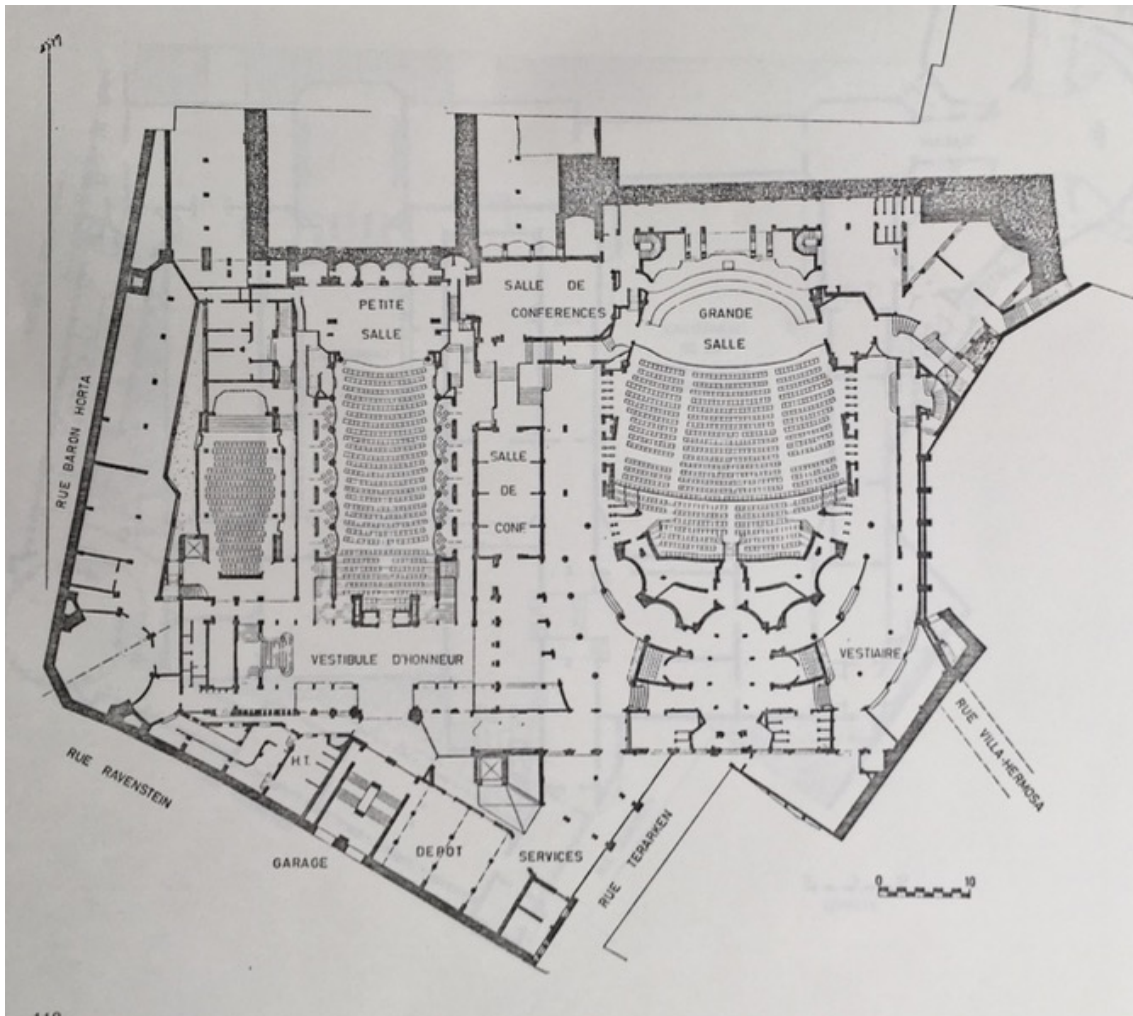
Fig. I.1.1



Floorplan from the Palais des Beaux-Arts. "Exposition Internationale D'Architecture Du 22 Novembre au Dezembre 1930," from the gta Archives (uncatalogued). Source: Andreas Kalpakci, "Making CIAM. The Organizational Techniques of the Moderns, 1928–1959," PhD dissertation, ETH Zurich, 2017. Accessed April 25, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-b-000183653>.

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

Fig. I.1.2



Source: Copy of "Le Palais des Beaux-Arts," Franco Borsi and Paolo Portoghesi, Victor Horta, n.d., 119, 42-3-3-2, gta Archives.

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

Fig. I.1.3

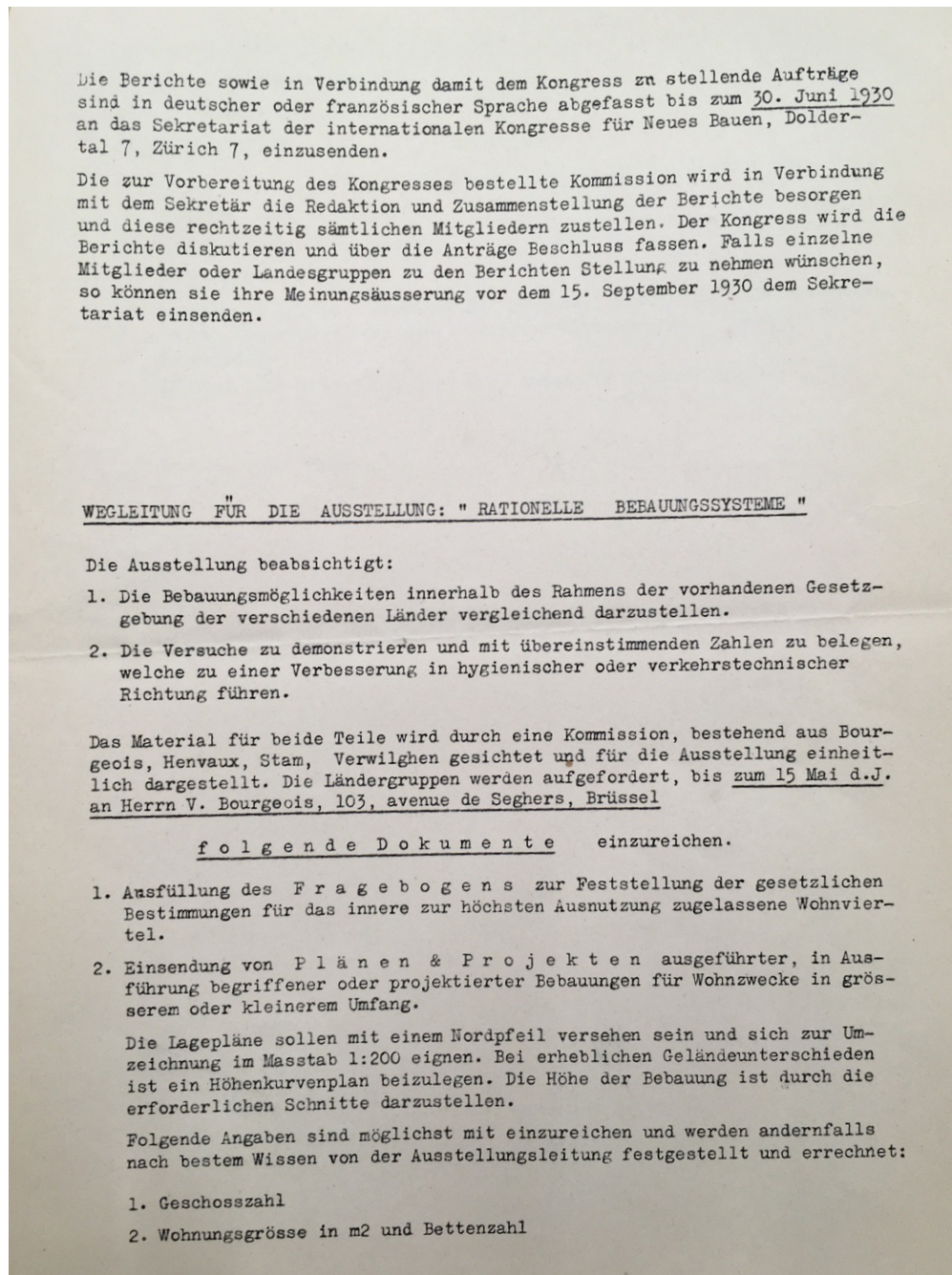
Srovnávací tabulka, vypracovaná na základě plánů, došlých na výstavu racionálních regulací obytných čtvrtí (systèmes de lotissements rationnels), již organisoval CIRPAC
Lotissements rationnels — Rationelle Bauweisen

Jméno města, okresu, země Nom Name	plocha ulic superficie totale des rues Gesamtstrassenland		plocha stavebního pozemku superficie bâtie überbaute Fläche		počet by- tů na 1 ha Nombre de logements par Ha Anzahl der Wohnungen auf 1 ha	počet obyvatel na 1 ha Nombre d'habitants par Ha Kopfzahl auf Ha	na 1 ha případá obytné plochy (netto) v m ² Surface habitable par Ha en m ² Netto Wohnfläche	pracovní hodina zed- níka (respekt. mzda) vzata za jednot. ceny: 1 hod. zedníka = H. M. En heures de travail de maçon Bodenpreis für aufgeschlos- senes Gelände ausgedrückt in Mäurerstunden	
	v m ² en m ² in m ²	% %	v m ² en m ² in m ²	% %				cena 1 m ² ne- připrav. pozem. prix du terrain avant prépar. par m ² Vor d. Vorberei- tung für d. Bau	cena 1 m ² po- připrav. pozem. pro stavbu prix du terrain préparé par m ² Nach d. Vorberei- tung f. d. Bau
Nizké stavby — Construction basse — Flachbau									
Rotterdam-Kiefhoek	6.414	20.0%	27.409-2	80.0%	86	521	3.477	1 H. M.	9 H. M.
Rotterdam-Rappeveld	24.160	20.6%	92.840	79.4%	14	60	1.400	1.43	8.5
Rotterdam	21.300	22.0%	75.518	78.0%	51	230	3.000	2.5	5.3
Amsterdam-Buiksloot	53.695	30.5%	122.354	69.5%	53	251	3.816		
Utrecht	3.304	33.0%	9.010	67.0%	90	450	4.410	7. —	20. —
Haarlem 1919	9.395	27.6%	24.644	72.4%	41	249	3.355		
Kolín nad Rynem (Köln a. R.)	23.300	12.6%	185.000	87.4%	86.4	280.8	3.421	2.97	7.1
Dánsko (Danmark)	9.648	10.4%	83.120	89.0%	37	141	2.340		
Finsko (Finland)	3.035	13.7%	19.115	86.3%	65	105.125	1.556		
Finsko-Purku	4.825	22.2%	16.910	87.8%					
Finsko-Purku (Finland)	10.000	31.7%	21.500	68.3%	13				
U. S. A.-Radburn	9.095	19.7%	46.155	80.3%	20				
Letchworth	10.915	13.0%	73.585	87.0%	74	445	5.610		
Stockholm	2.180	13.5%	14.020	86.5%	60	420	5.160	6.2	11.6
Basilej-Schwenmatten (Basel)	2.366	15.6%	12.744	84.4%	302	190	2.703	2. —	5.3
Basilej Im Vogelsang (Basel)	5.804	23.6%	18.731	76.4%					
Paříž (Paris)	2.300								
Střední stavby — Construction moyenne — Mittelhoch									
Amsterdam, dnešní stav	26.380	36.4%	46.092	63.6%	113	533	6.220		
Frankfurt a. M.	5.831	27.6%	15.325	72.4%	94	374	5.399		
Stockholm	27.400	40.3%	40.600	59.7%	148	840	6.950		
Gosnowice-Polsko (Pologne)	3.709	17.5%	17.470	82.5%	210	841	7.920	2.5	7.5
Varšava (Varsovie)	2.200	21.5%	8.038	78.5%	240	480/960	7.920	5. —	
Schwiza	13.124	36.7%	23.627	63.3%	129	627	12.738		2.7
Wiesbaden Dotzheimstz	6.735	30.7%	15.115	69.3%	111	473	5.560	4.5	9.75
Vysoké stavby — Construction haute — Hochbau									
Rotterdam 1930	2.635	32.5%	5.470	67.5%	482	1930	19.578		
Holandsko (Holland)	13.000	30.0%	30.333	70.0%	133	540	5.000		
Holandsko		30.0%		70.0%	258	792	5.589		
Budapešť (projekt) (Budapest)	130.000	18.3%	58.000	81.7%	128	466	7.550	5.6	10. —
Praha (projekt) (Prague)	39.290	29.3%	94.740	70.7%	85	110	2.550	13. —	65. —
Paříž (projekt) (Paris)	6.144	36.5%	10.670	63.5%	967	3861	45.105		
Türde Eismanhof	2.590	15.0%	14.670	85.0%	118	580	715	18.4	
Praha (projekt) (Koldom) Prague	6.891	52.6%	6.174	47.4%	378	777	11.640	15. —	65. —
Smišené systémy — Construction mixte — Gemischt									
Brusel „Cité Moderne“ (Bruxelles)	12.400	23.0%	41.278	77.0%	51	204	3.5	13. —	
Amsterdam Franswalburch	23.393	37.0%	39.831	63.0%	117	385	5.271	9. —	33.47
Amsterdam	6.372	39.0%	9.628	61.0%	117.5	577.5	6.984		
Amsterdam (projekt)	23.528	32.5%	48.681	67.5%	95.3	496.5	5.718		
Projekt Spandau-Haselhorst u Ber.	53.625	14.3%	320.979	85.7%	97.2	381	5.187	4.47	9.68
Grossiedlung 1929 (projekt)	273.136	18.0%	14.450.000	98.2%	11.8	40	973		
Karlsruhe-„Dammerstock“	31.418	21.5%	114.501	78.5%	52.4				
Budapešť Rakosfalva	222.000	24.4%	687.000	75.6%	27.8	140	1.580	5.2	22. —
New York (projekt)	52.183	32.0%	111.033	68.0%					
New York dnešní stav	55.152	33.6%	108.064	66.4%					
Zürich Neubühl	9.650	19.8%	39.350	80.2%	38	177	2.935	5. —	11.5
Plesses Robinson	9.450	12.6%	64.550	87.2%	72.6	272	3.355		
Frankfurt-Hellerhof	25.089	18.1%	113.161	81.9%	96	396	4.940	6. —	12.8

Source: Karel Teige, "3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu," *Stavba IX (1930–31)*: 114, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

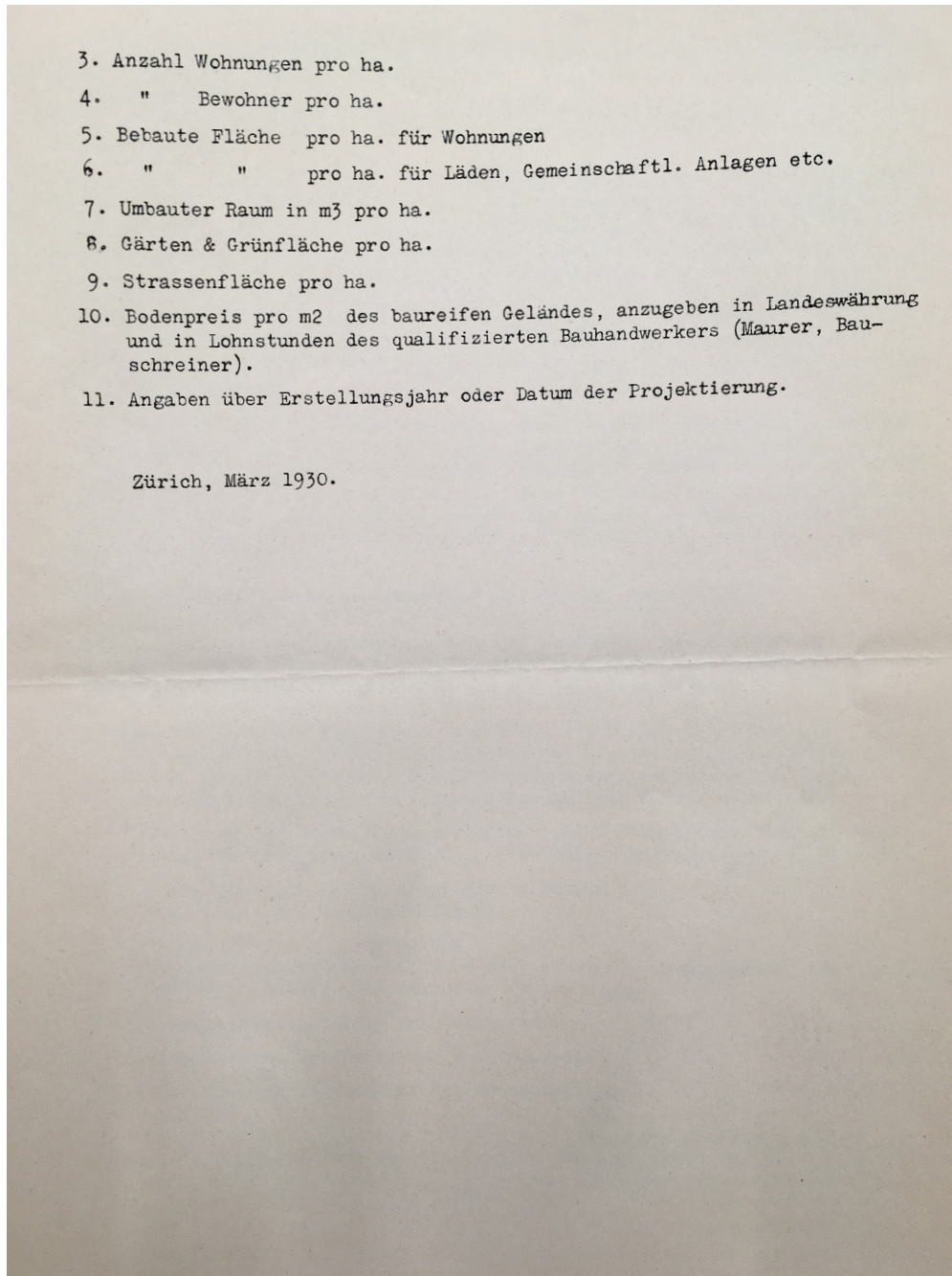
Fig. I.1.4



Source: CIAM, "WEGLEITUNG FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG: 'RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME,'" March 1930, 2, 42-3-2-11, gta Archives.

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

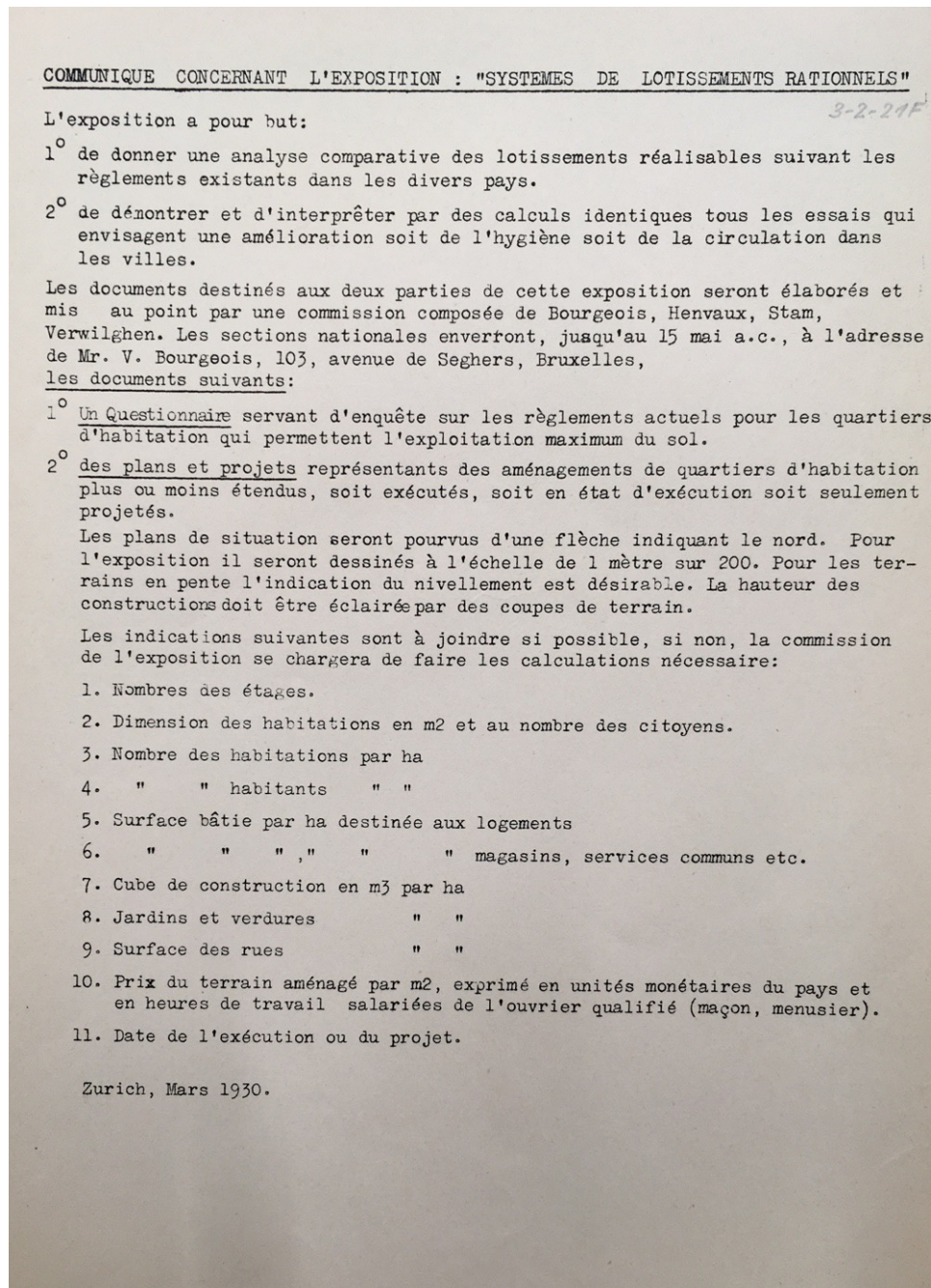
Fig. I.1.5



Source: CIAM, "WEGLEITUNG FÜR DIE AUSSTELLUNG: 'RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSSYSTEME,'" March 1930, 3, 42-3-2-11, gta Archives.

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

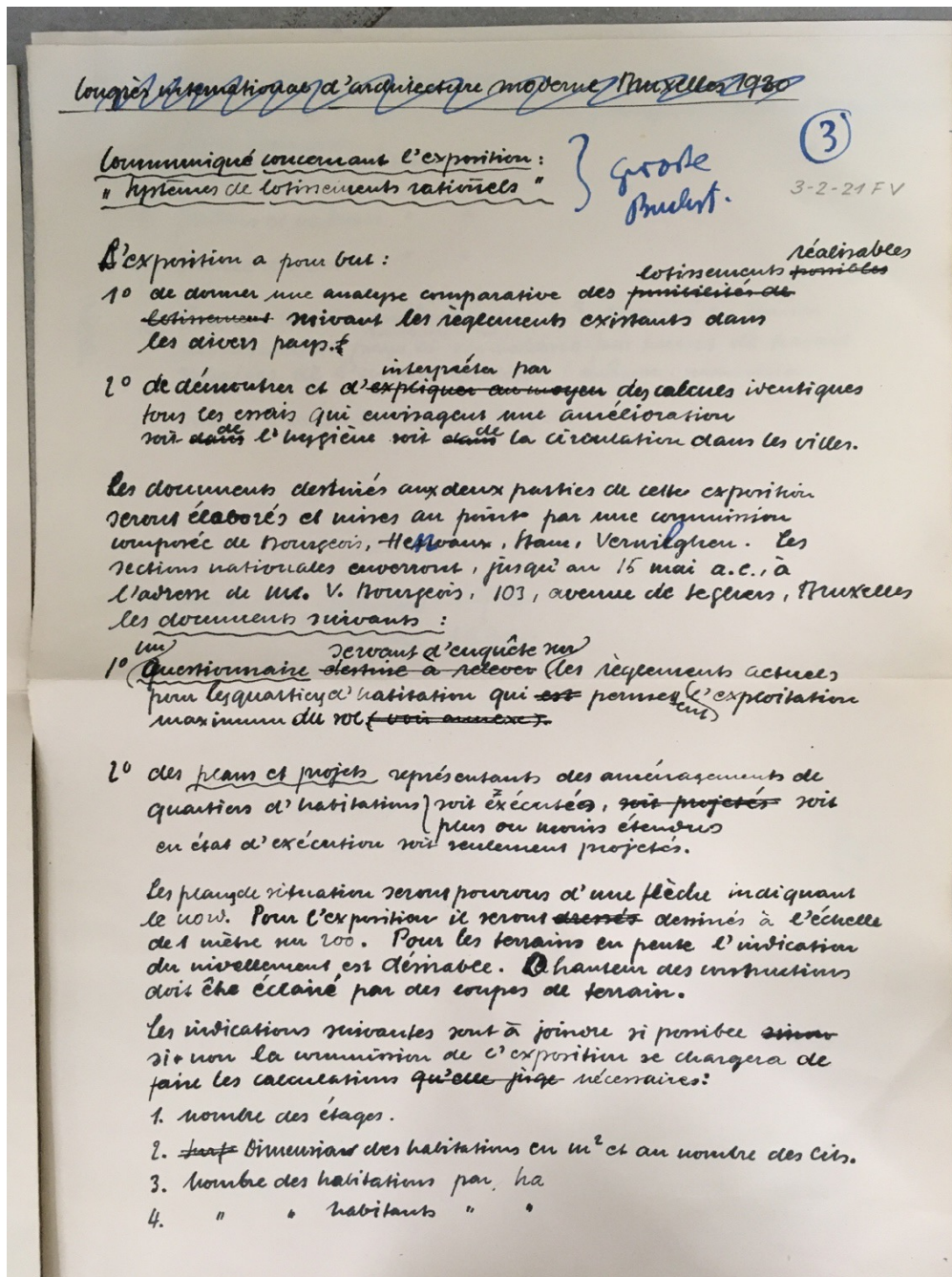
Fig. I.1.6



Source: CIAM, "COMMUNIQUE CONCERNANT L'EXPOSITION: 'SYSTEMES DE LOTISSEMENTS RATIONNELS,'" 42-3-2-21F, gta Archives.

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

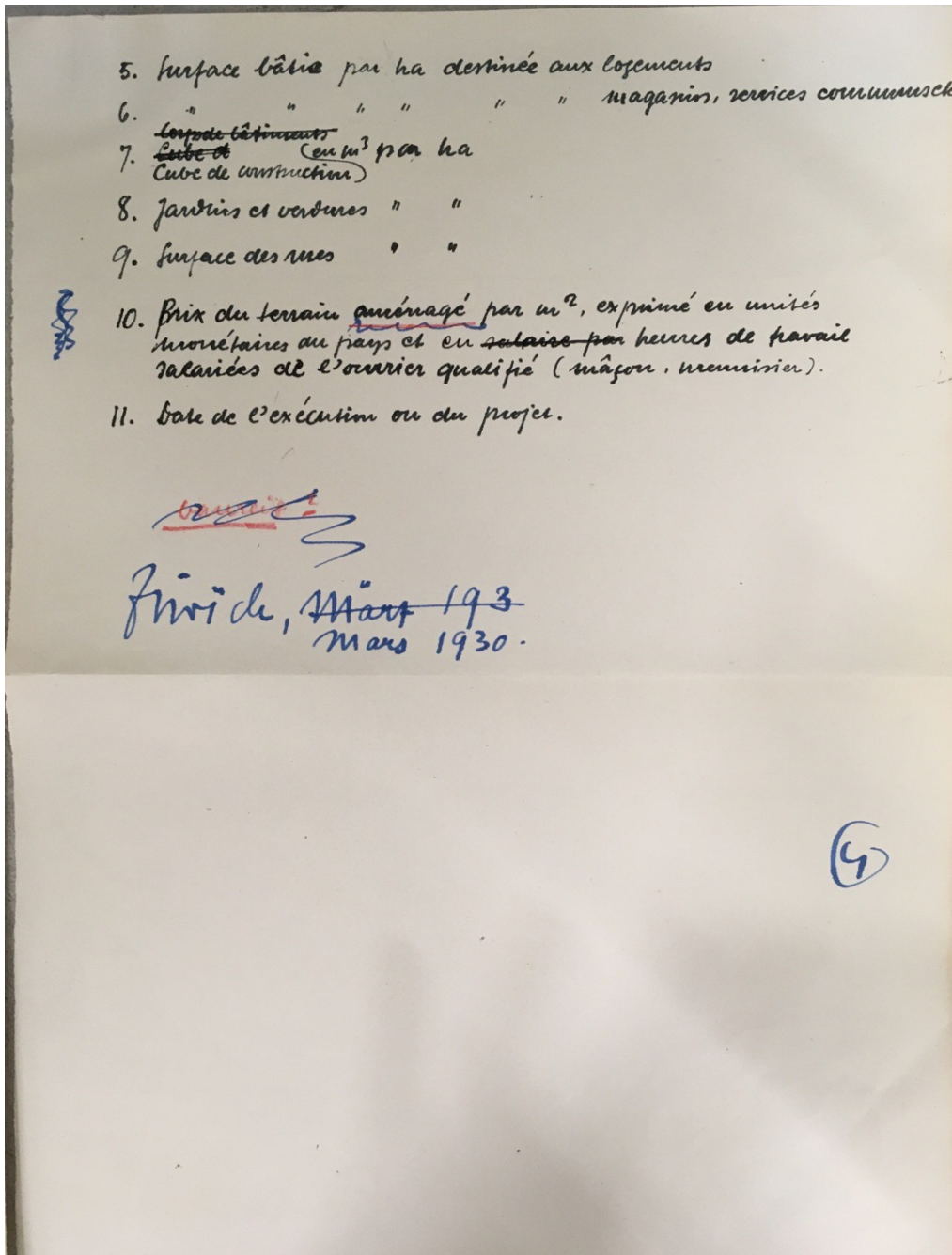
Fig. I.1.7



Source: CIAM, "Communiqué concernant l'exposition: Systèmes de lotissements rationnels," 1, 42-3-2-21FV, gta Archives.

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

Fig. I.1.8



Source: CIAM, "Communiqué concernant l'exposition: Systèmes de lotissements rationnels," 1, 42-3-2-21FV, gta Archives.

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

Fig. I.1.10

3-2-31F

IIIe. CONGRES INTERNATIONAL D'ARCHITECTURE MODERNE BRUXELLES 1930

QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNANT L'EXPOSITION: "SYSTEMES DE LOTISSEMENTS RATIONNELS"

Pays: _____ Ville: _____

A. Enquête sur les règlements actuels en vigueur pour les quartiers d'habitation exploités au maximum.

1° Quelle est la hauteur minimale des étages qui est admise dans les quartiers indiqués dessus ? m

2° Quel nombre d'étages est admis au maximum ?

3° Quelle profondeur de bâtiment est admise au maximum ? m

4° Quelle largeur de rue " " " minimum m

5° Quelle proportion entre la largeur de la rue et la hauteur des constructions est prescrite au minimum ?
 rue m
 constructions m

6° Quelle distance des façades est prescrite comme minimum pour les cours?

7° Quelle proportion entre la largeur des cours et la hauteur des constructions est prescrite au minimum? cours m
 construction m

8° Quelles autres prescriptions sont en vigueur pour les distances sur les cours (angle d'incidence de la lumière, surface bâtie limitée) ?

9° Quel est le cube maximal de construction admissible par 100 m² de terrain? m³

10° Quelle est la surface bâtie admissible au maximum par 100 m² de terrain? m²

11° Quel est le pourcentage moyen du terrain non bâtie suivant les prescriptions?
 surface des rues env. %
 " " cours " %
 " des verdure " %

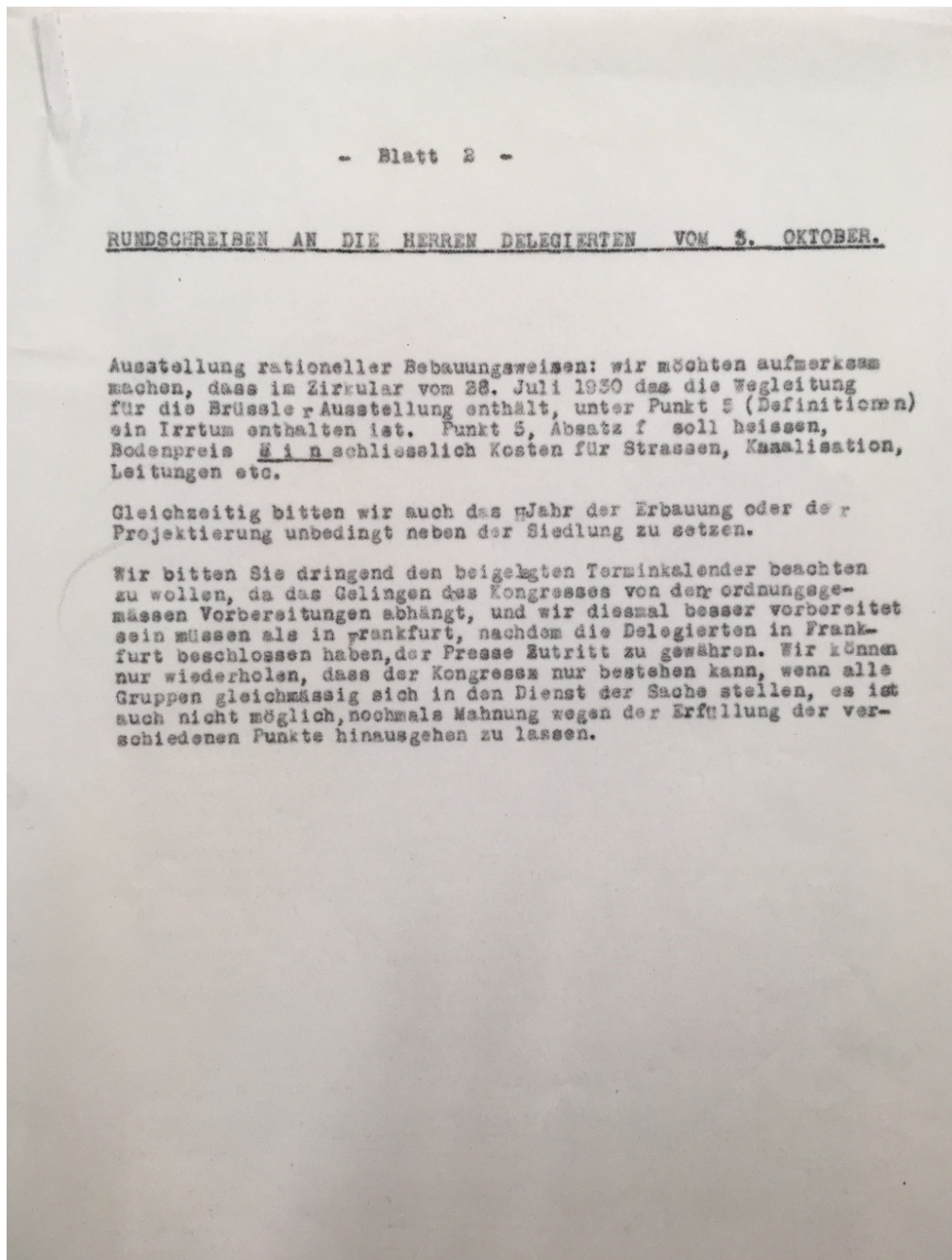
 total env. %

12° Quelle est théorétiquement l'exploitation admissible du terrain suivant les prescriptions et exprimée par:
 m³ de construction / ha
 m² de surface habitée / ha
 habitants / ha

Source: CIAM, "QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNANT L'EXPOSITION 'SYSTEMES DE LOTISSEMENTS RATIONNELS,'" n.d., 42-3-2-31F, gta Archives.

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

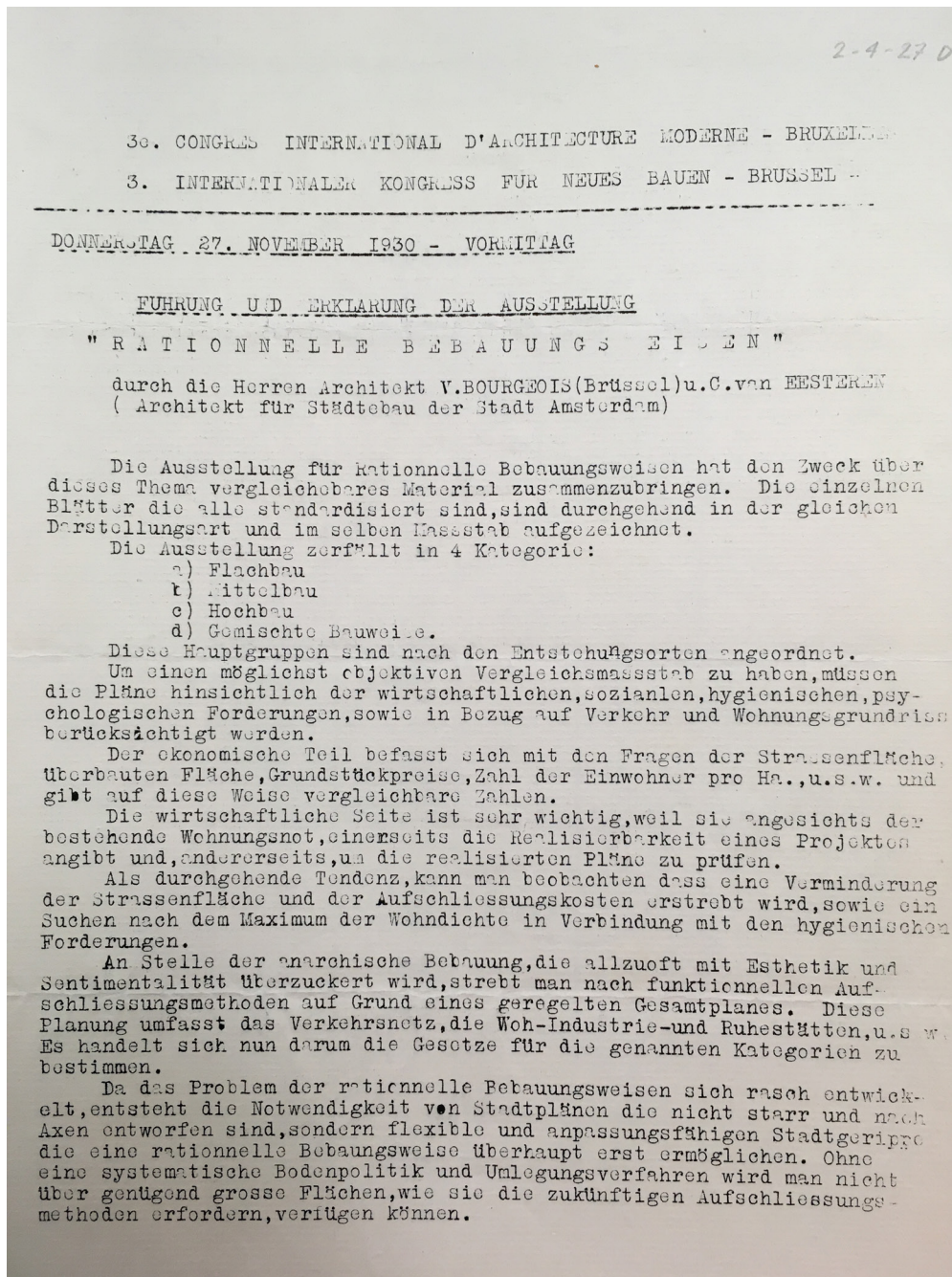
Fig. I.1.11



Source: CIAM, "RUNDSCHREIBEN AN DIE HERREN DELEGIERTEN," October 3, 1930, 42-3-2-41D, gta Archives.

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

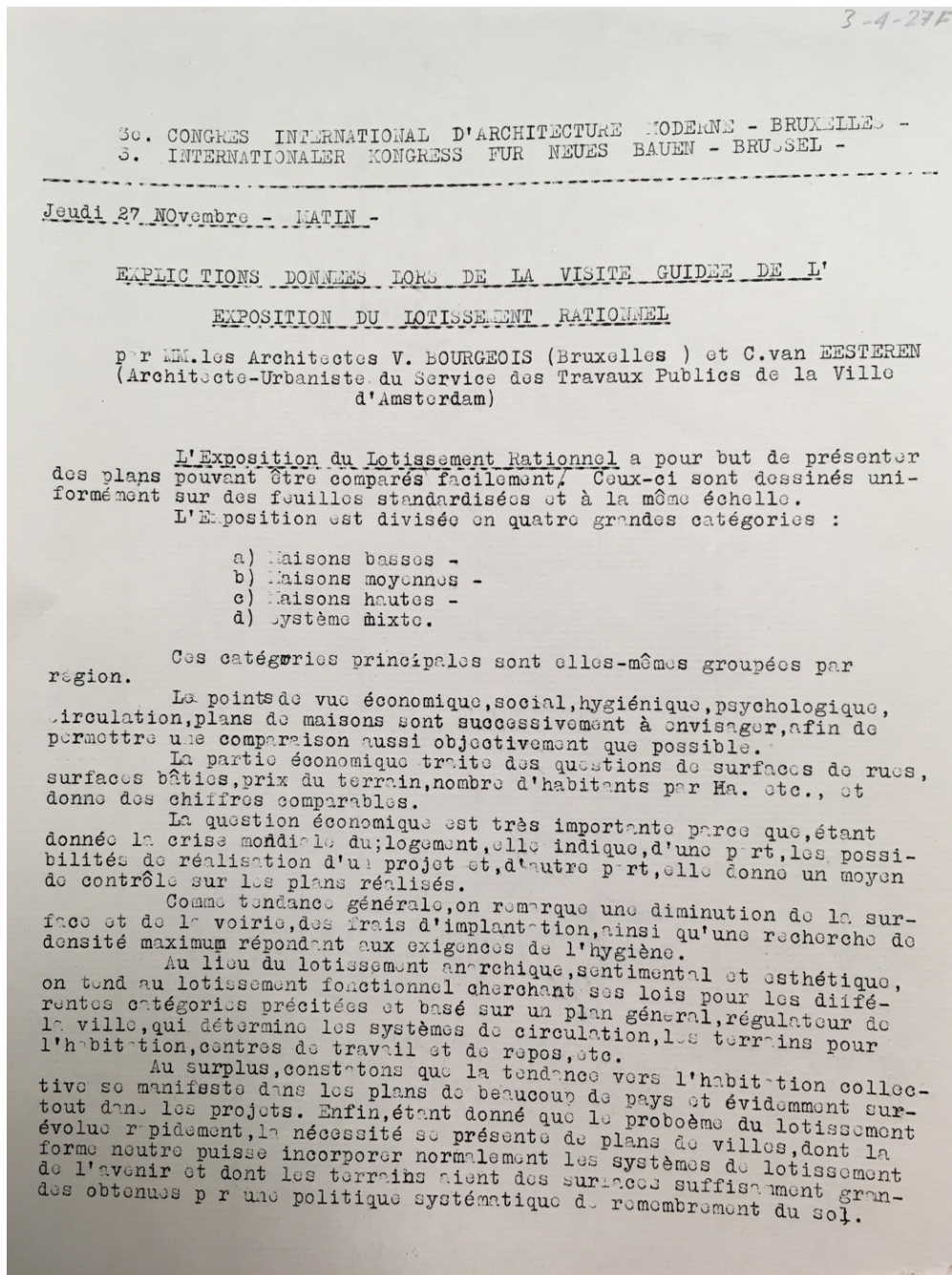
Fig. I.1.12



Source: CIAM, "FÜHRUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER AUSSTELLUNG, RATIONELLE BEBAUUNGSWEISEN durch die Herren Architekt V. BOURGEOIS (Brüssel) u. C. van EESTEREN (Architekt für Städtebau der Stadt Amsterdam)," November 27, 1930, 42-3-4-27D, gta Archives.

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

Fig. I.1.13



Source: CIAM, "EXPLICATIONS DONNEES LORS DE LA VISITE GUIDEE DE L'EXPOSITION DU LOTISSEMENT RATIONNEL par les Architectes V. BOURGEOIS (Bruxelles) et C. van EESTEREN (Architecte-Urbaniste du Service des Travaux Publics de la Ville d'Amsterdam)," November 27, 1930, 42-3-4-27F, gta Archives.

1. The 'Rational Lot Development' Exhibition

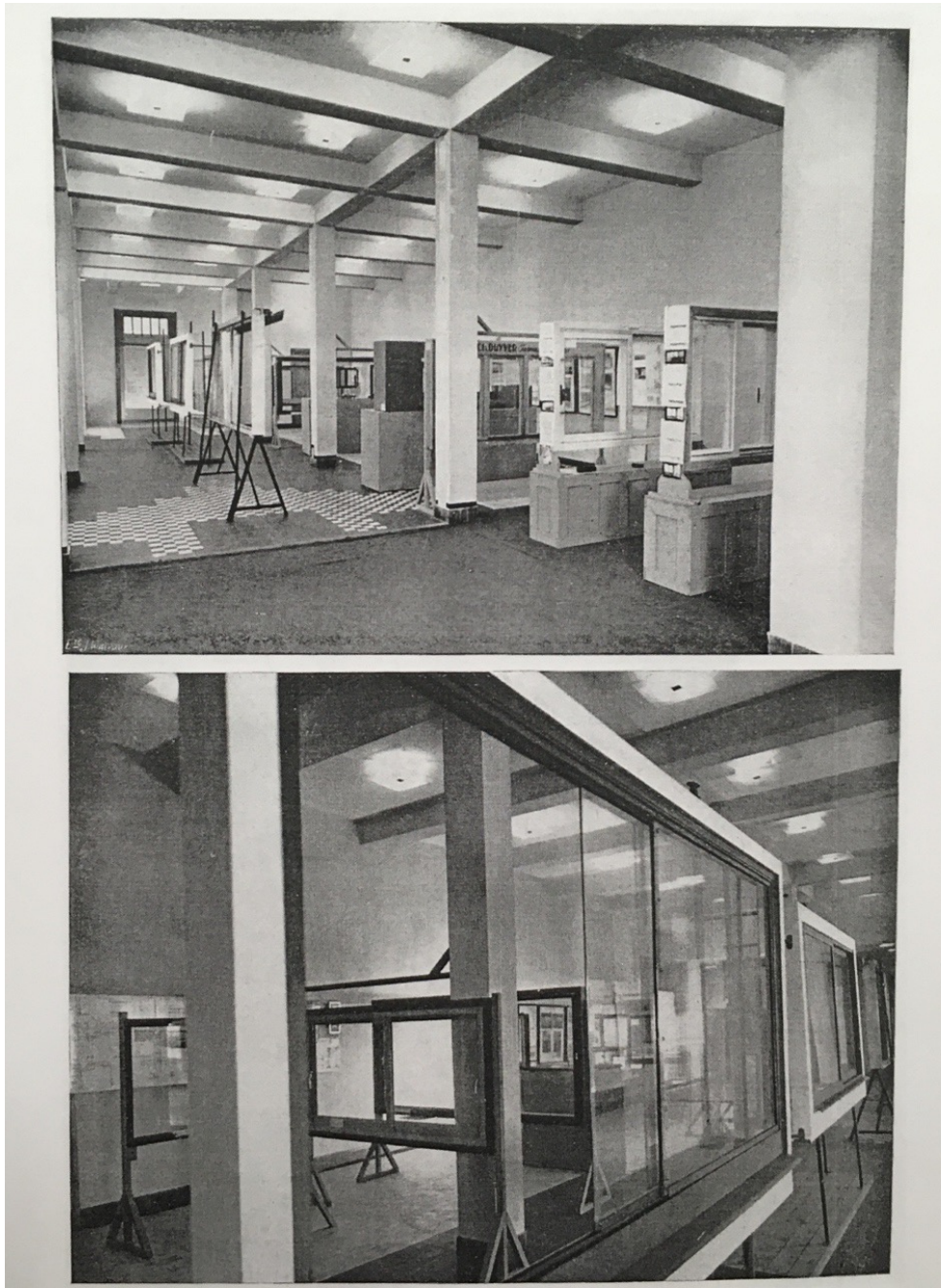
Fig. I.1.14



Source: Karel Teige, "3. mezinárodní kongres moderní architektury v Bruselu," *Stavba IX* (1930–31): 105, 42-3-6-2, gta Archives.

2. The “Horizontal Sliding Windows” Exhibition

Fig. I.2.1 / Fig. I.2.2

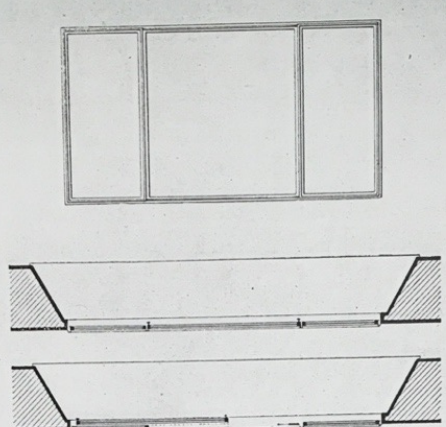


Copy of photographs from the “Horizontal Sliding Windows” exhibition stored in the Victor Bourgeois Archive in Brussels. Source: 42-3-F, gta Archives, ETH Zurich.

2. The "Horizontal Sliding Windows" Exhibition

Fig. I.2.3

Fabrikant: H. Hecker, Köln-Sülz, Berrenratherstr. 154-56
 Lieferung der Metallprofile: Dürener Metallwerke, A. G. Düren, (Rhd.)



Vorteile meines Horizontal-Schiebefensters:

Einfachste Konstruktion: Billigste Herstellung,
Ganzmetallkonstruktion: Kein Eisen, kein Rosten,
Schmale Profile: Viel Licht,
Schiebemöglichkeit aller Scheiben: Beste Ausnutzung, leichtes Putzen,
Dichtung durch Windfangbrücken: Kein Gummi, Hanf etc. garantierte Dichte,
Laufkugeln unten und oben: Sicherster Lauf, kein Ecken,
Kombination von Laufschiene-Wasserrinne: Gute Sammlung von Schwitz- u. Giesswasser
 Gute Ableitung,
Scheiben in einer Front: Bestes Aussehen,
Schliessen und Verschieben gleichzeitig: Einfachste Bedienung.

Avantages de ma fenêtre à coulisse-horizontale:

Construction la plus simple: Construction la meilleur marché,
Construction entière en métal: Pas de fer, pas de rouille,
Profils étroites: Beaucoup de lumière,
Possibilité de pousser tous le vitres: Exploitation la meilleur, nettoyage la plus facile,
Condensation par des planches de métal: Pas de gomme, chauvre etc. densite garantiee,
Balles de petit calibre en bas et en haut: Cours le plus sure, pas de coins,
Combination de rails courant-goulotte: Bonne accumulation de l'eau, bon rigolage,
Vitres dans une facade: Meilleur aspect,
Fermé et pousée en même temps: Service la plus simple.

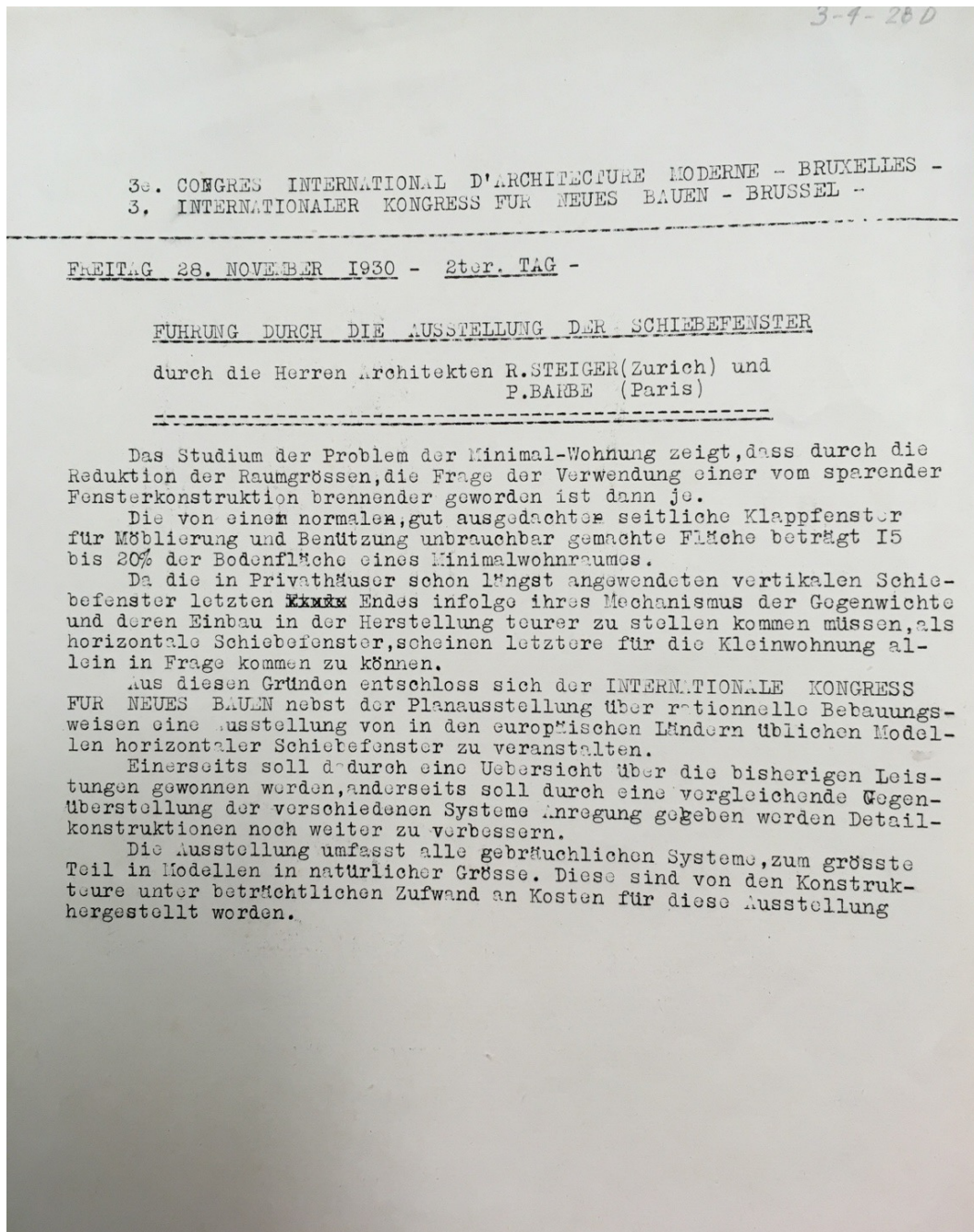
Advantages of my horizon'tal sliding-window:

Simplest construction: Cheapest making,
All metal construction: No iron, no rust,
Small profiles: Much light,
Sliding of all panes: Best utility, easiest cleaning,
Making tight by metal-path: No gum, hemp etc. density guaranteee,
Little running balls at fut and of the top: Surest running, no corners,
Combination of running-rail-water-chamel: Good collect of water, good leading away,
Panes in one front: Best aspect,
Shut and slide contemporary: Simplest service.

Source: "Fabrikant. H. Hecker, Köln-Sülz, Berrenratherstr. 154-56," n.d., 42-3-7-42, gta Archives.

2. The "Horizontal Sliding Windows" Exhibition

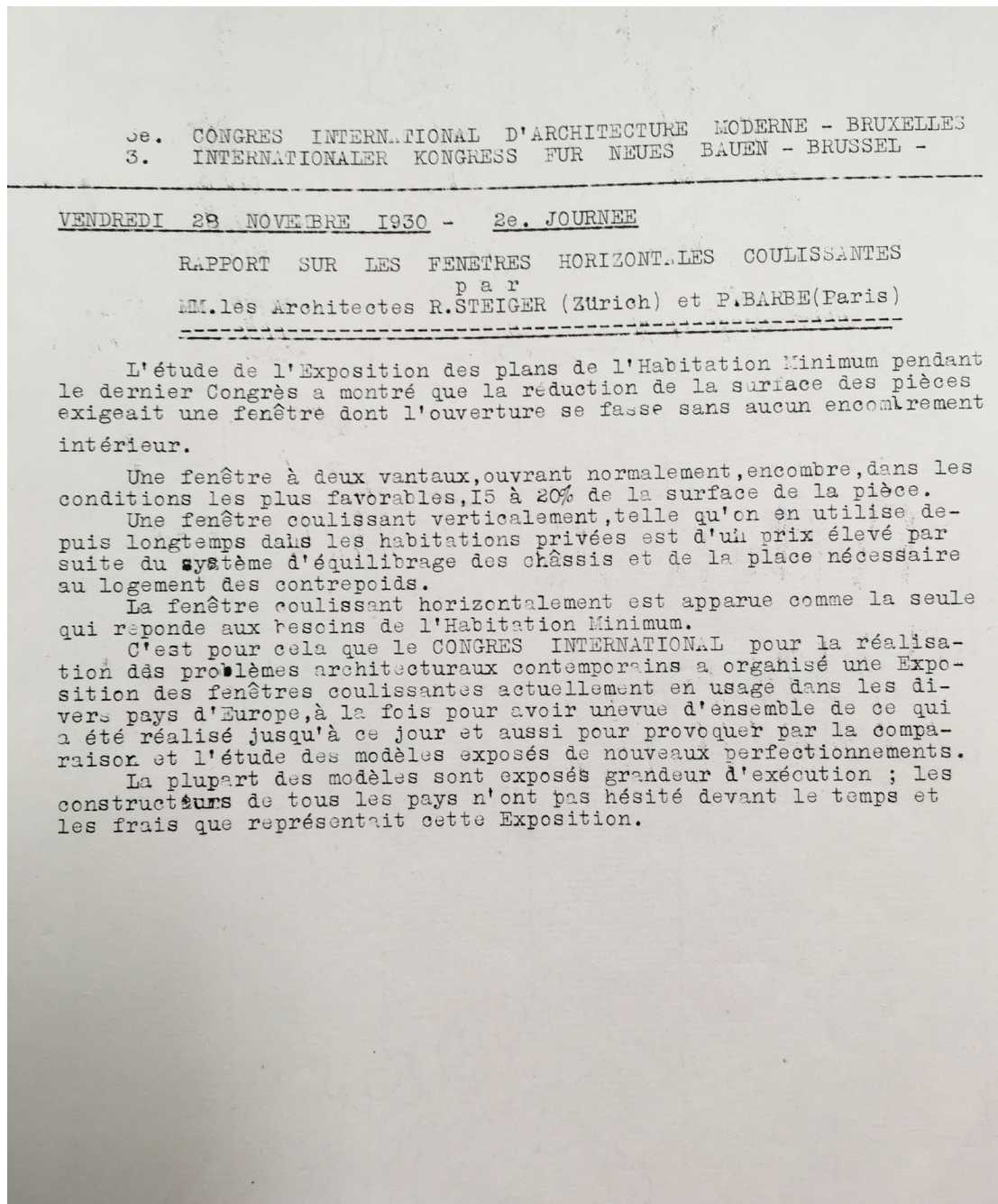
Fig. I.2.4



Source: CIAM. "FÜHRUNG DURCH DIE AUSSTELLUNG DER SCHIEBFENSTER durch die Herren Architekten R. STEIGER (Zurich) und P. BARBE (Paris)." n.d. 42-3-4-26D, gta Archives.

2. The "Horizontal Sliding Windows" Exhibition

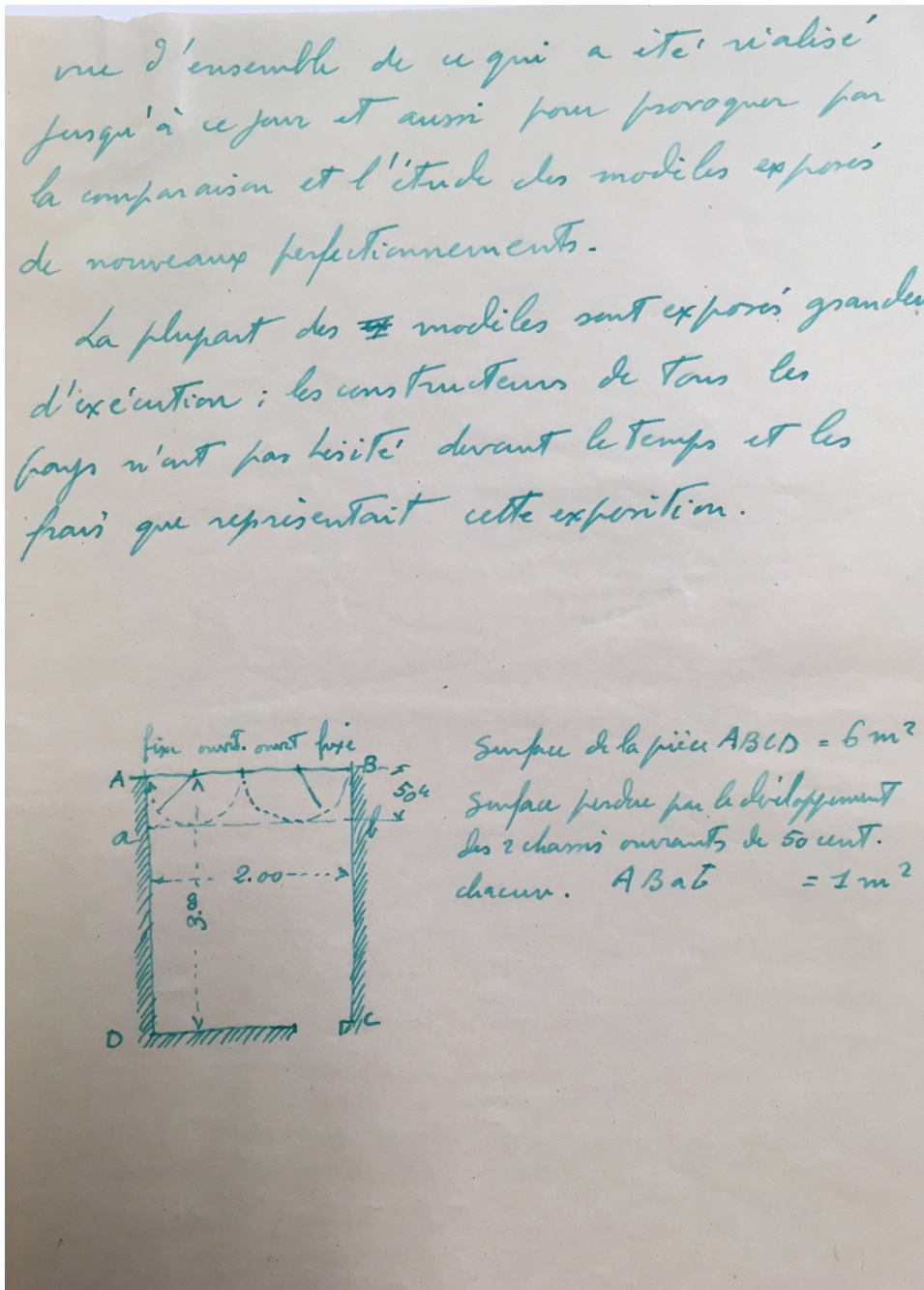
Fig. I.2.5



Source: CIAM, "Rapport sur les Fenêtres Horizontales Coulissantes par le MM. les Architectes R. Steiger (Zürich) et P. Barbe (Paris)," n.d., 42-3-4-26F, gta Archives.

2. The "Horizontal Sliding Windows" Exhibition

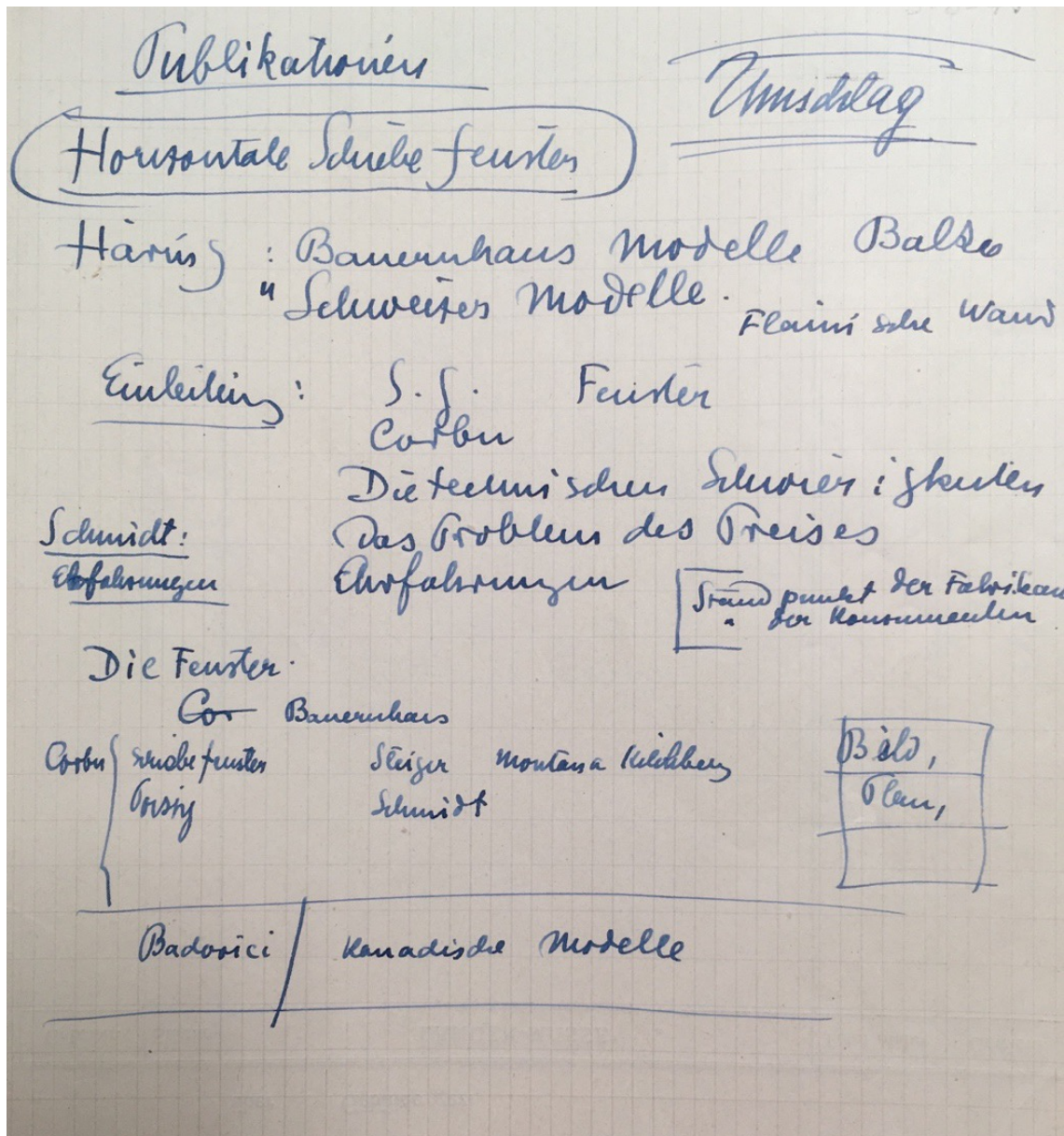
Fig. I.2.6



Source: "Vue d'ensemble...", n.d., 42-3-4-26D, gta Archives

2. The "Horizontal Sliding Windows" Exhibition

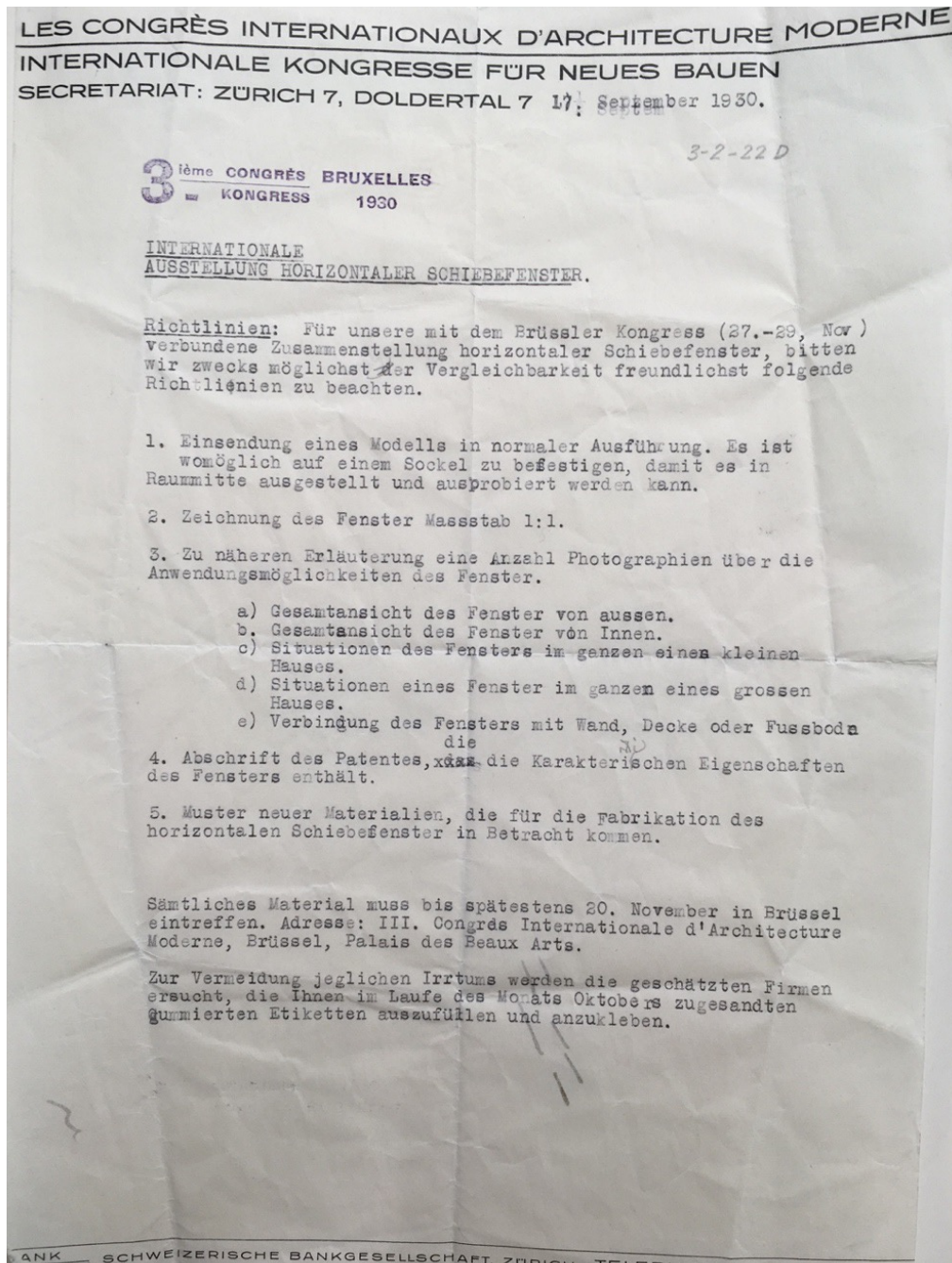
Fig. I.2.7



Sigfried Giedion, "Publikationen. Horizontale Schiebefenster," n.d., 42-3-8-41, gta Archives.

2. The Exhibition “The Exhibition ‘Horizontal Sliding Windows’”

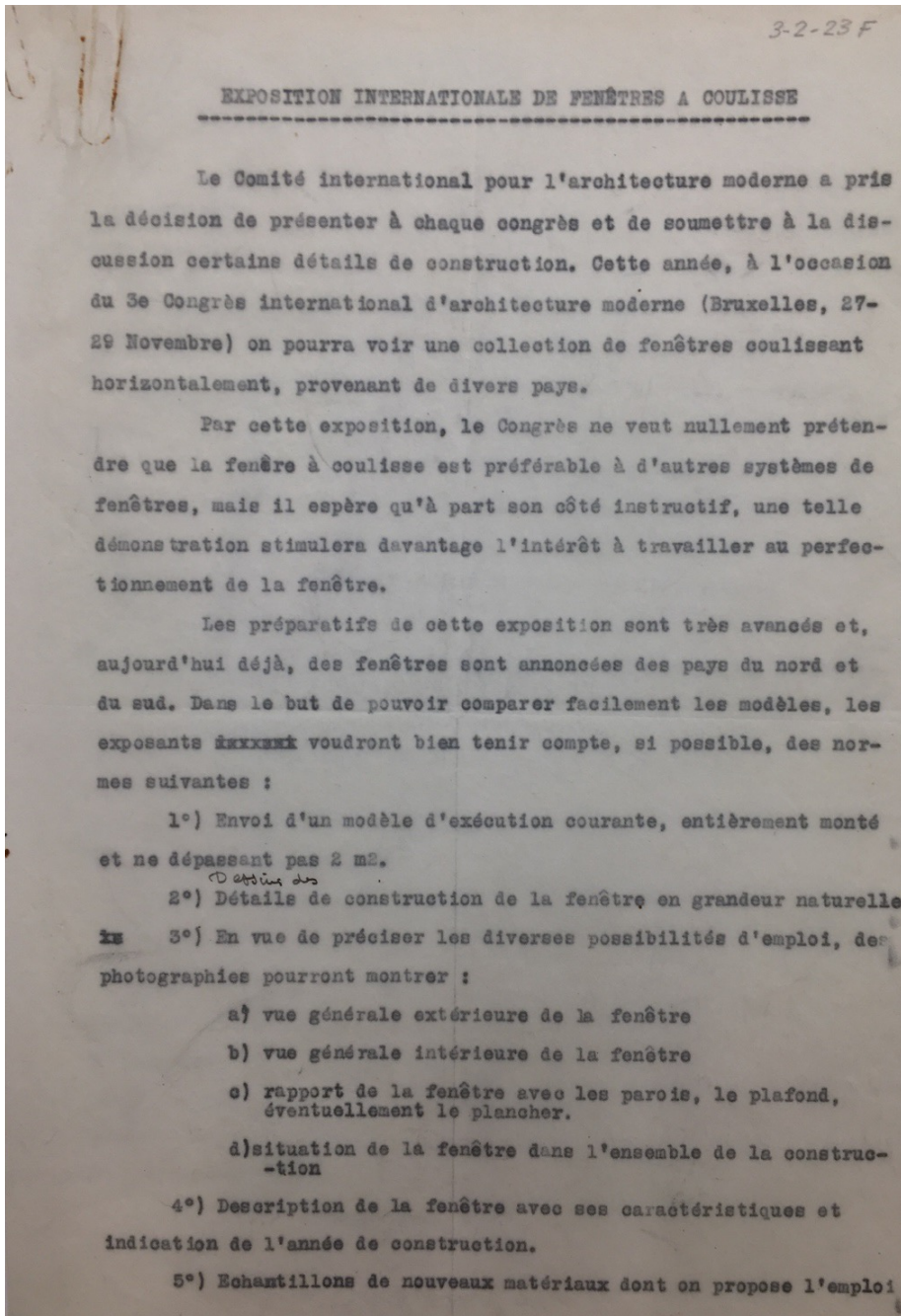
Fig. I.2.8



For the first German version (before the third CIRPAC meeting on 25 September) for CIAM members. Source: CIAM, “INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG HORIZONTALER SCHIEBEFENSTER. RICHTLINIEN,” September 17, 1930, 42-3-22D, gta Archives.

2. The Exhibition "The Exhibition 'Horizontal Sliding Windows'"

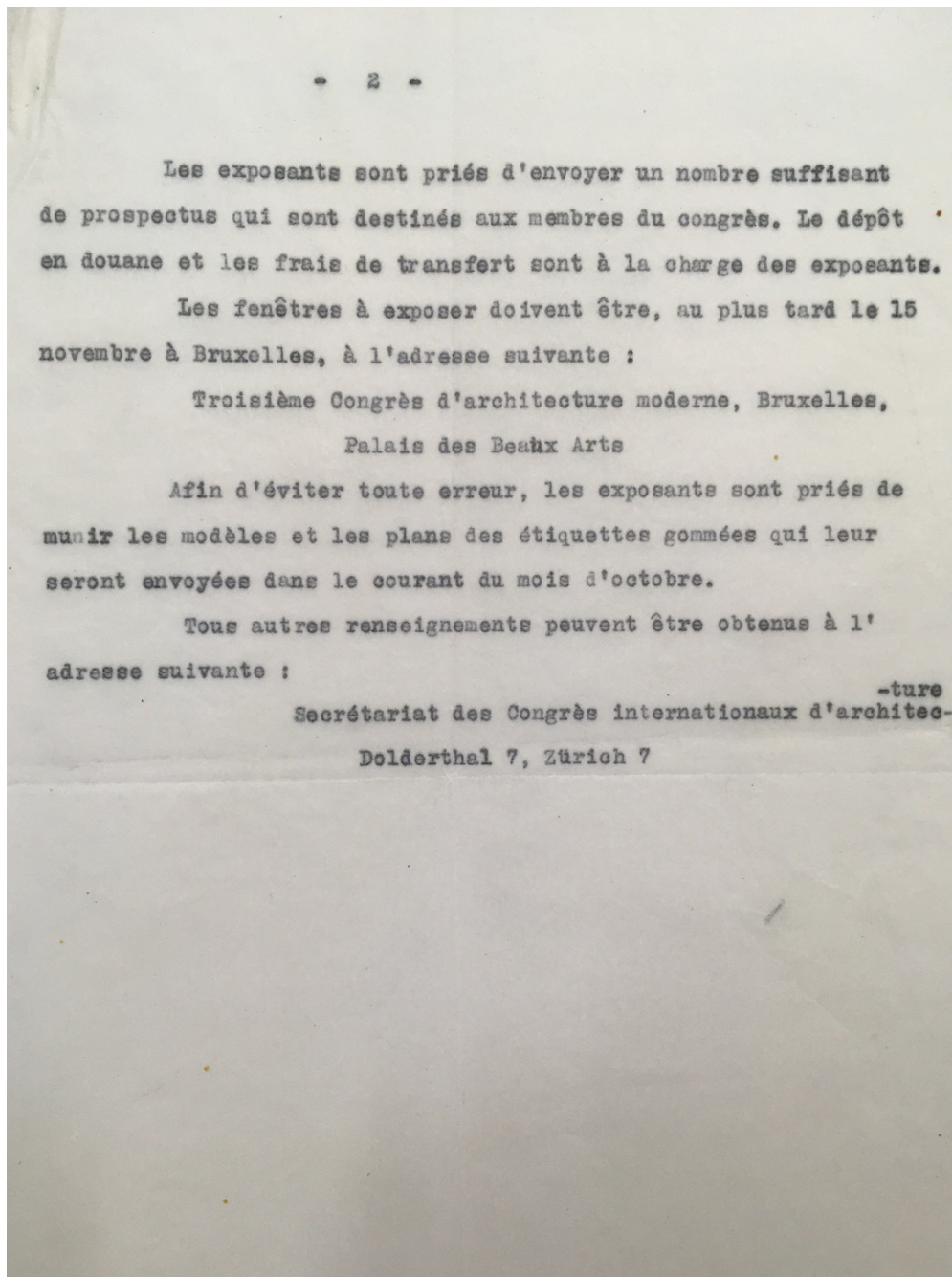
Fig. I.2.9



The first French version (before the third CIRPAC meeting on 25 September) for non-CIAM member. Source: CIAM, "EXPOSITION INTERNATIONALE DE FENÊTRES A COULISSE," n.d., 1, 42-3-2-23F, gta Archives

2. The Exhibition "The Exhibition 'Horizontal Sliding Windows'"

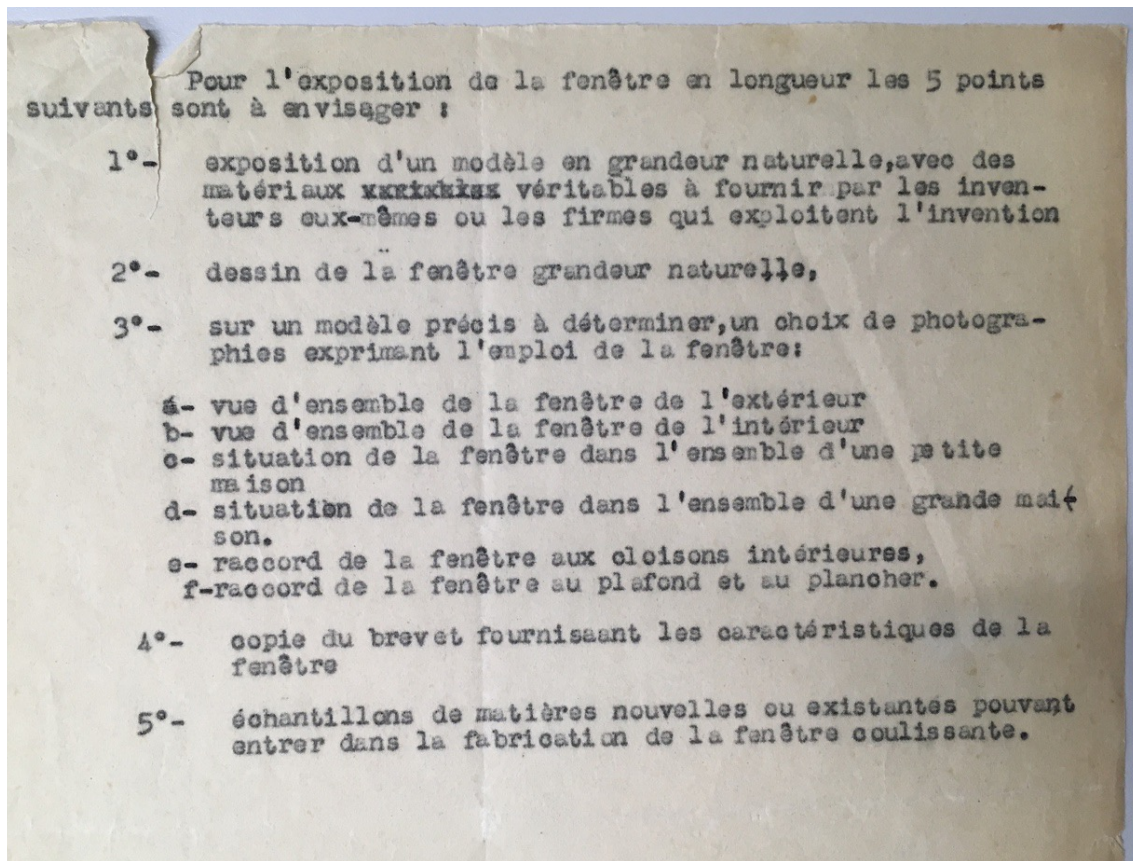
Fig. I.2.10



The first French version (before the third CIRPAC meeting on 25 September) for non-CIAM members. Source: CIAM, "EXPOSITION INTERNATIONALE DE FENÊTRES A COULISSE," n.d., 2, 42-3-2-23F, gta Archives.

2. The Exhibition "The Exhibition 'Horizontal Sliding Windows'"

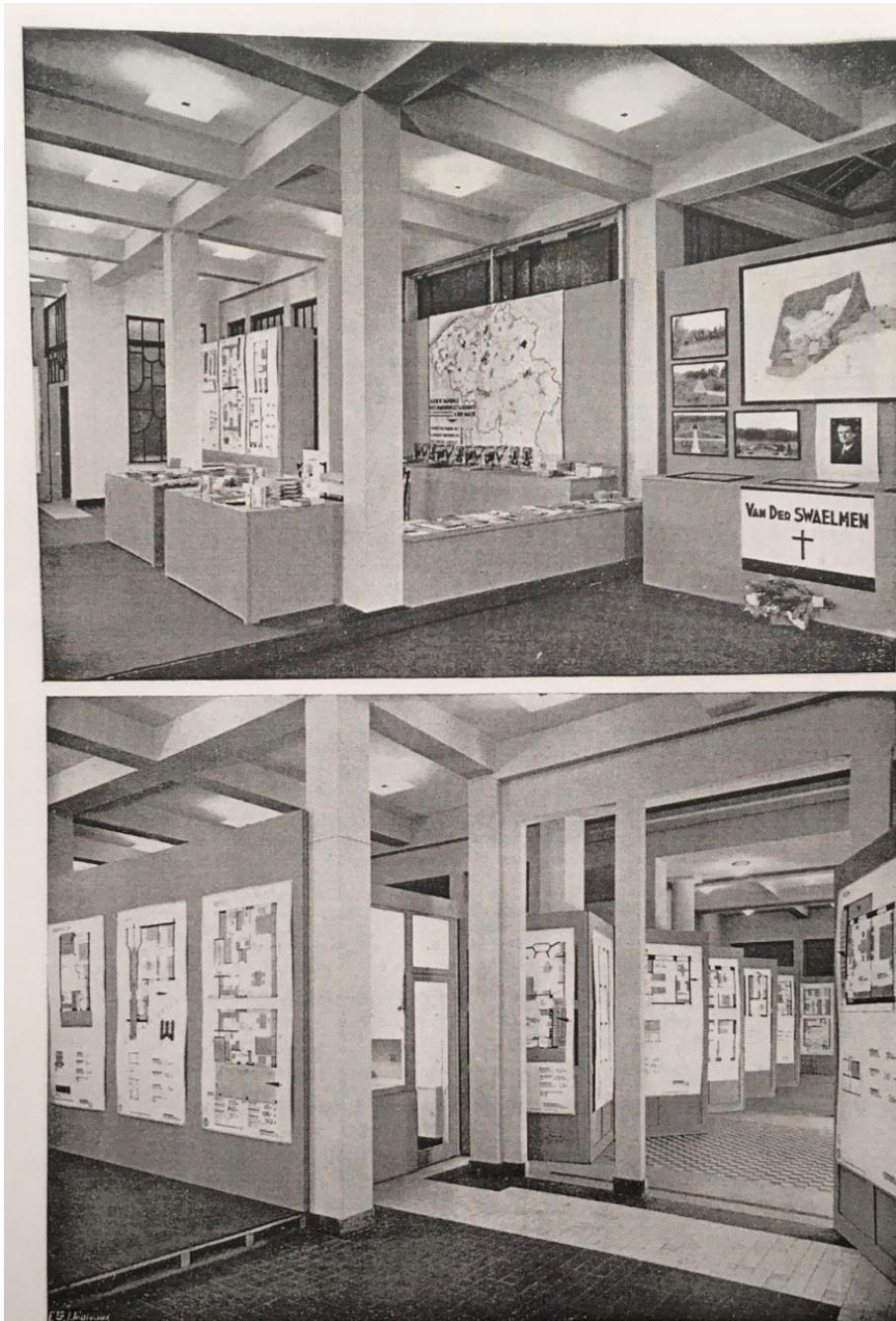
Fig. I.2.12



For the second French version (after the third CIRPAC meeting on 25 September) for CIAM members. Source: CIAM, "Pour l'exposition de la fenêtre en longueur les 5 points suivants sont à envisager," n.d., uncatalogued, 42-3-2-2, gta Archives.

3. "Une Exposition de l'Habitation"

Fig. I.3.1 / Fig. I.3.2



Copy of photographs from "Une Exposition de l'Habitation" stored in the Victor Bourgeois Archive in Brussels. Source: 42-3-F, gta Archives.

3. "Une Exposition de l'Habitation"

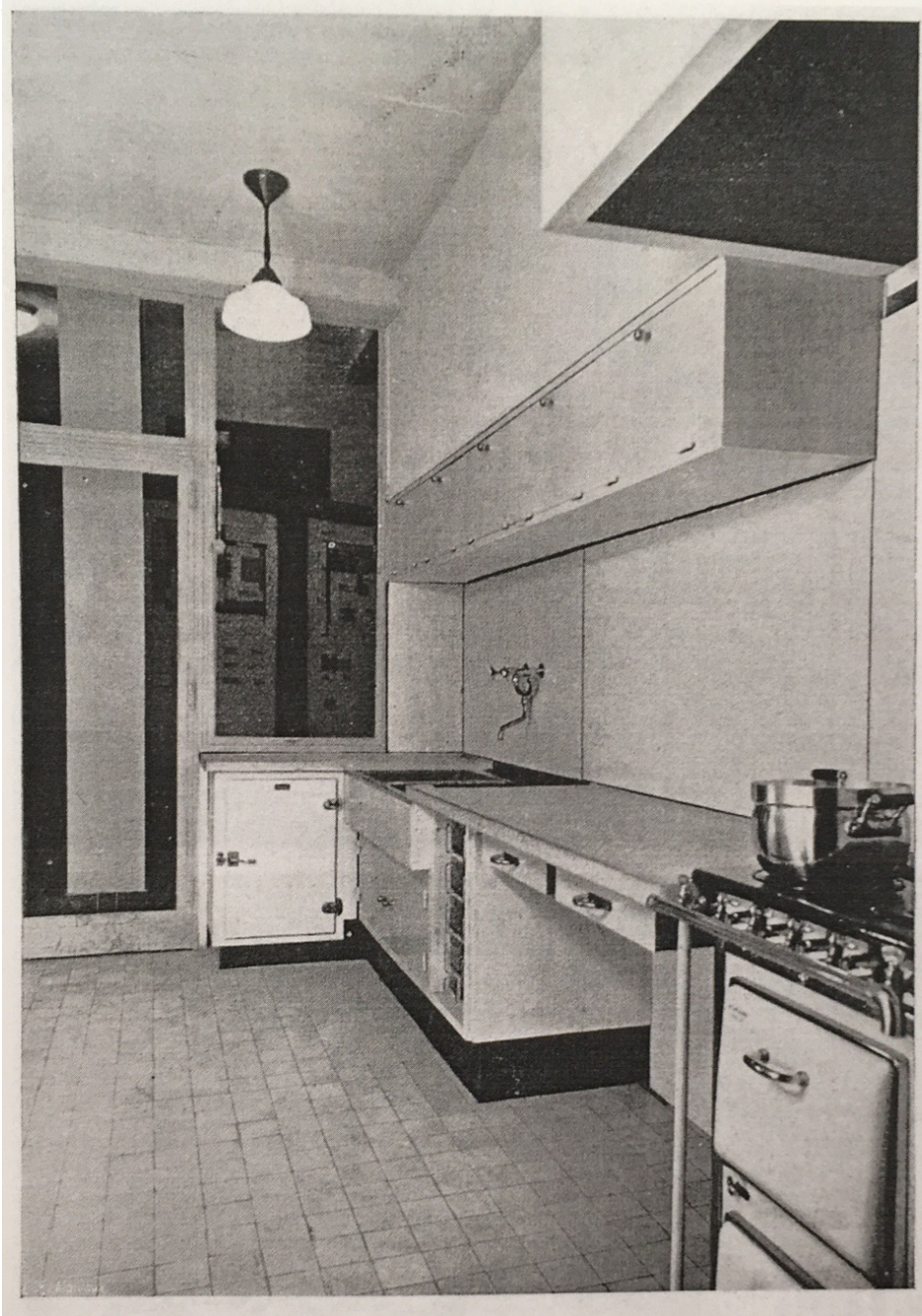
Fig. I.3.3 / Fig. I.3.4



Copy of photographs from "Une Exposition de l'Habitation" stored in the Victor Bourgeois Archive in Brussels. Source: 42-3-F, gta Archives.

3. "Une Exposition de l'Habitation"

Fig. I.3.5



Copy of photographs from "Une Exposition de l'Habitation" stored in the Victor Bourgeois Archive in Brussels. Source: 42-3-F, gta Archives.

3. "Une Exposition de l'Habitation"

Fig. I.3.6

LA COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE

Am Anfang einer schiefen Entwicklung des Raums, Frau de Mandrot, Chateau de la Sarraz (Schweiz), haben Architekten aus aller London, aber ein glücklicher Beginn ihrer Sozialität ergeben, sich in 1929 fast zusammen in 1929 wieder zu einer gemeinsamen Initiative (Empfangen) in Brüssel. Die Belgischen Architekten sind deswegen froh und gerät die besten der hochentwickeltesten ausländischen Delegierten die Verwirklichung ihrer Gedanken, ihre Expedition und ihre Vertrauen zu gestalten.

At the suggestion of a progressive person of Paris, Mrs de Mandrot, Chateau de la Sarraz (Switzerland), architects from every country gathered around in the renovation of their city in 1928. Following in 1929 by a group of citizens organized by the same spirit. In 1930 both groups met at the same time in Brussels. The Belgians were very delighted and honored. Their ally in the Belgian delegates the realization of their great plans, their devotion and their faith.

An Initiative d'une amie éclairée des arts, Mme de Mandrot, au Château de la Sarraz (Suisse), des architectes de tous pays, mais également dévoués au renouvellement de leur capitale, se sont librement réunis en 1928, réunis, en 1929, par un groupe de citoyens de même esprit. 1930 virent les deux formations se joindre en même temps à Bruxelles. Les sections belges en sont heureuses et honorées. Elles prient les délégués des élites étrangères, de recevoir ici l'assurance de leur reconnaissance, de leur dévouement et de leur confiance.

La Section Belge des Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne.
La Section Belge des Congrès Internationaux du Cinema Independent.

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La Section Belge des Congrès Internationaux du Cinema Independent.

AU PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS, RUE RAVENSTEIN BRUXELLES

UNE EXPOSITION DE L'HABITATION DONT VOICI LE PANORAMA :

Exposition internationale de l'habitation ouverte de 10 à 5 heures, du 22 novembre au 5 décembre, dans les salles d'arts décoratifs du Palais des Beaux-Arts, rue Ravenstein, Bruxelles. — Entrée : 3 francs.

- I. — 200 plans d'habitations minimum d'Europe et d'Amérique à l'échelle de 1/10 avec renseignements techniques. Cette collection a été rassemblée par les Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture moderne, à l'occasion de leur seconde session qui s'est tenue à Francfort en 1929.
- II. — L'enseignement de l'architecture en Belgique et le problème du logement minimum : un choix de travaux d'élèves des instituts supérieurs.
- III. — Présentation d'une cuisine rationnelle conçue par la section belge des Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture moderne et réalisée avec la collaboration des nations Badois, Electrobel, Housman, Machete, Soudho, Van de Ven et Au Bon Marché.
- IV. — a) L'habitation minimum et la littérature technique. Statut de libre et sont rassemblés les dernières publications européennes qui traitent cette question. Ces ouvrages seront présentés et commentés au cours de l'exposition.
- b) Exposition d'une ligne technique d'habitation systématique, au moyen de fiches synthétiques, des objets de série qui peuvent participer à l'équipement de la maison.

son minimum et des procédés de construction qui tendent au renouvellement et à la rationalisation de l'art de bâtir. Ce fichier est établi avec le concours du Comité National des Matériaux.

- c) La question sociale du logement en Belgique. Panneau de la Société Nationale des Habitations et Logements à son marché. Le mobilier de cette section est prêt par la maison Thorin.
- V. — Succès d'un atelier belge de la cité-jardin. Ce stand est élevé à la mémoire de Louis Van der Swaelmen, architecte paysagiste urbaniste, professeur à l'Institut Supérieur des Arts Décoratifs.
- VI. — Un effort étranger. Résumé de l'œuvre de la ville de Francfort en matière de maisons minimum et d'objets de série.
- VII. — 100 plans de logement à l'échelle de 1/200, par mètres avec détails techniques.
- VIII. — 16 modèles de plans construits horizontaux avec détails techniques provenant d'Allemagne, de France, de Hongrie, de Suisse et de Tchécoslovaquie.

Ces 7me et 8me sections qui sont constituées à l'occasion du Congrès de Bruxelles, seront ouvertes à partir du jeudi 27 Novembre.

Tous les jours à 4 heures, visite guidée de l'exposition dans laquelle sera ouvert un bureau permanent de renseignements.

UN CONGRÈS : LES JOURNÉES DE L'HABITATION MINIMUM

PROGRAMME DES CONFÉRENCES ET DÉBATS (Salle des Conférences, Entrée : rue Ravenstein).

SAMEDI 22 NOVEMBRE :
 A 3 heures : Ouverture des « Journées » et de l'Exposition, Discours de Monsieur le Sénateur François, Président.
 A 5 heures : conférence par M. le Dr Gantzer (Francfort) sur « L'Activité architecturale et urbanistique de Francfort de 1923 à 1930 ».
 A 7 h. 30 : Dîner à « La Bonne Auberge » 16, rue des Princes, prix : 60 francs (service et vins non compris). Pour s'inscrire, verser la somme au compte chèque postal V. Bourgeois, 108.016.

SAMEDI 23 NOVEMBRE :
 A 10 heures : Bilan des grands efforts nationaux en matière d'habitation à bon marché et le Gouvernement : la Société Nationale des Habitations à bon Marché, la Caisse d'Épargne, la Ligue contre les taudis, la Ligue pour les familles nombreuses, le Comité National des Matériaux.
 Rapporteurs : MM. Théate, directeur général au Ministère de l'Industrie, du Travail et de la Prévoyance sociale; Vinck, président et Gousses, directeur général de la Société Nationale des Habitations à Bon Marché; Dupont et Van Helsen, directeurs à la Caisse Générale d'Épargne et de Retraite; Lemercier, secrétaire général de la Ligue des Familles nombreuses; Brousse, administrateur du Comité des Matériaux.
 A 2 h. 30 : Continuation de l'ordre du jour du matin.
 A 4 heures : Présentation, avec commentaires de l'exposition, par les organisateurs, Débats.
 A 5 heures : Conférence par M. l'Architecte Van Eesteren (Amsterdam) « L'effort urbanistique de la Ville d'Amsterdam ».

LUNDI 24 NOVEMBRE :
 A 10 heures : Exposé d'une doctrine rationnelle de l'habitation, minimum : 1) La politique foncière et les transports ; 2) Le logement ; 3) La conception de l'habitation ; 4) L'industrialisation de la construction et de l'équipement.
 Rapporteurs : MM. Bourgeois, V. Eggericq, Machete et Verelghe.
 A 2 h. 30 : Continuation de l'ordre du jour de la matinée.
 A 4 heures : Visite guidée de l'Exposition.

MARDI 25 NOVEMBRE :
 A 5 heures : Communication, par Mr Gildson (Zurich) sur l'activité des Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne et par Mr Teige (Prague) sur les conditions économiques, sociales et législatives du logement en Tchécoslovaquie.
 A 10 heures : Les nécessités de l'heure présente. La défense des antériorités conquises. La disparition des logements insalubres : a) leur dépeçage ; b) leur démolition ou leur transformation.
 L'éducation de l'habitant : a) le service social et la meilleure occupation des logements ; b) l'équipement général et séparé devant les perfectionnements du logement. Le développement des organismes d'intérêt collectif.
 Rapporteurs : Mlle Lejourné, Mmes Lebrun et Malle; Mme Haboux, Mlle M. Delwaide; M. Deligne.
 A 2 h. 30 : Continuation de l'ordre du jour de la matinée.
 A 4 heures : Visite guidée de l'exposition.
 A 5 heures : Conférence par Mr Syrkas, sur la question du logement en Pologne.

MERCREDI 26 NOVEMBRE :
 A 10 heures : Quelques témoignages européens. MM. Gropius, Kaufmann, Le Chevalier, Sartorius.
 A 2 h. 30 : Continuation de l'ordre du jour de la matinée.
 A 4 heures : Visite guidée de l'Exposition.
 A 5 heures : Continuation de l'ordre du jour de la matinée.

JEUDI 27 NOVEMBRE :
 A 10 heures : MM. les membres des « Journées de l'habitation Minimum » sont invités à assister à l'ouverture de la Conférence Internationale d'Architecture Moderne et à l'inauguration de l'exposition des plans de logement, organisée par les Congrès Internationaux d'architecture moderne. Discours de Mr le professeur Mauer (Zurich), président du Congrès. Visite de l'Exposition sous la conduite de MM. V. Bourgeois et Van Eesteren.
 A 2 h. 30 : Débat.
 A 4 heures : Continuation de l'ordre du jour du 26.

VENREDI 28 NOVEMBRE :
 A 10 heures : MM. les membres des « Journées

LA SECTION DE LA VILLE DE FRANCFORT

Cette exposition est composée d'environ 250 photos et plans collés sur des cartons de 60 x 80 cm., dont généralement 4 forment un groupe. Elle réunit les documents les plus importants de l'activité urbanistique de Francfort dans les 5 dernières années, c'est-à-dire dans la période pendant laquelle Fachmeister-Ernst May, actuellement directeur des travaux urbains de l'Union Soviétique à Moscou, dirigeait, comme membre de conseil communal, le bureau des Services techniques de Francfort. L'exposition met en avant surtout les documents de la Construction d'habitations, Francfort en a construit 15.000 en 5 ans, et leur aménagement présente, à très peu d'exceptions, la forme de villas-jardins, et de cités-jardins, composées de petites maisons particulières en série.

À côté de cela, l'exposition s'étend à tous les autres domaines de l'activité urbaine. Il y a des projets pour l'agrandissement des cimetières, pour de nouveaux types de monuments funéraires, il y a des plans de plusieurs écoles bâties dans les zones vertes entre la cité et les villas-jardins, puis des pièces, des constructions pour le service d'électricité, etc.

La valeur exemplaire de cette activité de Francfort, ce qui lui donne une certaine importance pour les « Journées de l'habitation Minimum », c'est qu'elle comprend non seulement les constructions architecturales, mais aussi les créations de la publicité officielle et privée, et surtout celles de l'industrie en tant qu'elle s'applique à la vie quotidienne. L'exposition présente p. é. des maquettes de la cité nouvellement installée, des affiches, des exemples de propagande et de publicité, des modèles, des lits, des poêles, des lampes, des appareils de chauffage, de téléphone, et de radio, des trams en essai et enfin quelques affiches faites par des artistes de la ville. Il est évident que tous ces documents reflètent le même esprit de conception rationnelle et moderne qui caractérise l'architecture.

Le total de l'exposition a été étudié et groupé, sur l'ordre de conseil communal, par un petit groupe d'architectes et d'artistes, au nom desquels M. le Dr Gantzer, directeur de la revue « Das Neue Frankfurt », la présentera samedi soir par une conférence.

de l'habitation Minimum » sont invités à assister à l'inauguration de l'exposition des chaires conduisant, organisée par les Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture moderne. Visite de l'Exposition sous la conduite de MM. Steiger et Barbe.

DIMANCHE 30 NOVEMBRE :
 A 10 heures : Excursion.
 A 4 h. 30 : Au restaurant du Palais des Beaux-Arts : Banquet organisé par la Société Belge des Urbanistes et Architectes Modernistes en l'honneur du Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne. Prix : 50 francs, vins et service compris. (Pour s'inscrire, verser la somme au compte chèque postal n. 219.973 de la Société Belge des Urbanistes et Architectes Modernistes).

Source: "AU PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS, UNE EXPOSITION DE L'HABITATION DONT VOICI LE PANORAMA," LA COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE, 1930, 42-3-9-11, gta Archives.

3. "Une Exposition de l'Habitation"

Fig. I.3.7

LES CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAUX D'ARCHITECTURE MODERNE



Mme de Mandrot et Berlage, fêtes par les congressistes (La Sarraz, 1928).

LE PACTE

DECLARATION (28 juin 1928).

Les architectes soussignés, représentant les groupes nationaux d'architectes modernes, affirment leur unité de vue sur les conceptions fondamentales de l'architecture et sur leurs obligations professionnelles envers la Société.

Ils insistent particulièrement sur le fait que « construire » est une activité élémentaire de l'homme intimement liée à l'évolution et au développement de la vie humaine. La destinée de l'architecture est d'exprimer l'orientation de l'époque. Les œuvres architecturales ne peuvent que relever du temps présent.

Ils se refusent donc catégoriquement à appliquer dans leur méthode de travail les moyens qui ont pu illustrer les sociétés passées; ils affirment aujourd'hui la nécessité d'une conception nouvelle de l'architecture, satisfaisant aux exigences pratiques, intellectuelles et matérielles de la vie présente. Conscients des perturbations profondes apportées à la structure sociale par le machinisme, ils reconnaissent que la transformation de l'ordre économique et de la vie sociale entraîne fatalement une transformation correspondante du phénomène architectural.

L'insistance qui les réunit ici est d'atteindre à l'indispensable et urgente harmonisation des éléments en présence et ce en replaçant l'architecture sur son plan véritable qui est le plan économique et sociologique; ainsi l'architecture doit être arrachée à l'emprise stérilisante des Académies conservatrices des formules du passé.

Animés de cette conviction, ils déclarent s'associer et ils se soutiennent mutuellement sur le plan international en vue de réaliser leurs aspirations, moralement et matériellement.

La déclaration a été signée par les architectes suivants :

MM. Berlage, La Haye.
V. Bourgeois, Bruxelles.
P. Chareau, Paris.
J. Frank, Vienne.
G. Gourevkian, Paris.
M. E. Hasler, Zurich.
H. Haering, Berlin.
A. Hoehel, Genève.
H. Hoste, St. Michiels.
P. Jeanneret, Paris.
Le Corbusier, Paris.
A. Lurçat, Paris.
E. May, Francfort a. M.
A. G. Merzadati, Madrid.
Hannes Meyer, Bauhaus Dessau.
W. M. Moser, Zurich.
E. C. Rava, Milan.
Rietveld, Utrecht.
A. Sartoris, Turin.
Hans Schmidt, Bale.
Mart Stam, Rotterdam.
R. Steiger, Zurich.
H. R. Vonder Muhl, Lausanne.
Juan de Zavala, Madrid.

LE CONGRÈS DE BRUXELLES

Les Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne ont pour tâche d'établir les buts et les exigences de l'architecture moderne par un travail collectif de leurs membres. Leurs programmes consistent donc en l'examen détaillé d'un thème bien défini que chaque pays traite de son point de vue particulier.

À La Sarraz, en juin 1928, on a fixé les bases générales de l'organisation; à Francfort, en octobre 1929, on commença le travail positif, d'où résulta la détermination des conditions de l'habitation minimum en tant qu'unité de logement.

Le Congrès de Bruxelles, qui se tiendra du 27 au 29 novembre 1930, fait un pas de plus; il s'occupe du logement rationnel. Pour éviter tout malentendu, qu'il soit bien stipulé que par « rationnel » on entend non seulement la partie matérielle, mais un équilibre entre les besoins matériels, sociaux et psychologiques.

À côté de son activité théorique, chaque Congrès cherche à établir au moyen d'une exposition, l'actualité du thème qui sert de base à son activité. Ainsi, à Francfort, on a exposé des documents relatifs à l'habitation minimum; ainsi, à Bruxelles, cette année, seront rassemblés des documents relatifs au logement rationnel. Ajoutons que les documents de Francfort seront exposés une deuxième fois à Bruxelles.

L'Association Internationale pour l'Architecture Moderne (CIAPAC) a décidé que chaque Congrès traiterait en outre un élément important de la construction. Cette fois la question des fenêtres horizontales coalescentes est mise à l'ordre du jour et on verra à Bruxelles une exposition internationale des modèles de ces fenêtres.

À l'invitation du groupe belge, en dehors du Congrès, la Ville de Francfort exposera à Bruxelles un ensemble d'objets de série fabriqués à son initiative.

En même temps que le Congrès d'Architecture, se tient à Bruxelles le 2e Congrès International du Cinéma Independent, lequel offrira aux Architectes un festival du Cinéma d'Avant-Garde.

Bruxelles, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 10, rue Royale

PROGRAMME

du 27 au 29 novembre 1930

L'ouverture du Congrès aura lieu le jeudi 27 novembre à 10 heures du matin, par M. le Professeur MOSER (Zürich).

Immédiatement après, on visitera l'Exposition du Logement National, sous la conduite de BOHR-GEORGIS, V. (Bruxelles) en français et de G. van EESTEREN (Amsterdam) en allemand.

L'après-midi à 3 heures, présentation des rapports de LE CORBUSIER (Paris); KAUFFMANN-BOHM (Francfort); R. NEUTRA (Los Angeles); W. GROPIUS (Berlin).

Outre le logement rationnel, ces rapporteurs aborderont la question suivante: « Construction basse, de moyenne hauteur ou élevée? »

Le soir à 8 h. 30, concert au Cercle Artistique de Bruxelles.

VENDREDI 28 NOVEMBRE. — A 9 h. 30, rapport de LE CORBUSIER, sur son questionnaire et visite de l'Exposition des fenêtres horizontales coalescentes, sous la conduite de R. STEIGER (Zürich) en allemand et de P. BARBE (Paris) en français. Les constructeurs de châssis présents donneront également des explications.

L'après-midi, à 15 heures, discussion des différents rapports et des expositions.

Le soir, à 20 h. 30, séance cinématographique à l'Union Coloniale.

SAMEDI 29 NOVEMBRE. — A 9 h. 30, chaque groupement national exposera où en est dans son pays l'habitation minimum et les raisons qui empêchent une solution effective du problème.

Le soir à 20 h. 30, représentation théâtrale au Cercle Artistique de Bruxelles.



AU CONGRÈS DE FRANCFORT (1929)

De gauche à droite: le Professeur Moser, président du Congrès, Gropius et May, des congressistes.

L'ORGANISATION

Le Congrès se compose des groupes des divers pays. Le CIAPAC (Comité International pour la Réalisation des problèmes d'Architecture Contemporaine) est chargé de diriger le congrès.

CIAPAC 1929-1930

Président: Prof. Dr. K. Moser, Zurich, 7, Freudenbergstr., 120.

Vice-Présidents: Victor Bourgeois, Bruxelles; Stadtrat Ernst May, Francfort a. M.

Secrétaire: Dr. S. Giedion, Zurich, 7, Doldertal.

Délégués. — Amérique: R. I. Neutra, Los Angeles; Cal. U. S. A. et Lomborg-Holm, Detroit; Belgique: V. Bourgeois, Bruxelles et Verwiltgen, Bruxelles; Danemark: Ed. Heberg, Lyabyd d/Copenhague et P. Henningsen, Copenhagen; Allemagne: E. May, Francfort a. M. et H. Haering, Berlin; Angleterre: C. J. Robertson, London; Finlande: A. Ahlro, Aabo; France: Le Corbusier, Paris et P. Barbe, Paris; Hollande: Mart Stam, Francfort a. M. et G. Rietveld, Utrecht; Italie: A. Sartoris, Genève-Turin; Norvège: L. Backer, Oslo et P. Latta, Oslo; Pologne: S. Syrkus, Varsovie et J. Szanajca, Varsovie; Suède: S. Markelius, Stockholm et G. Samberg, Suisse; H. Schmidt, Basel et R. Steiger, Zurich; Espagne: G. Merzadati, Madrid et A. Salvador, Madrid; Russie: M. Ginzbourg, Moscou et Colly, Moscou; Hongrie: F. Molnar, Budapest et G. Masarevic, Budapest.

Les groupes en Autriche, Japon, Tcheco-Slovaquie, Yougo-Slavie, sont en état de formation et de transformation.

Le secrétariat du Congrès se trouve à Zurich Doldertal, 7.

BUT:

1.2. — Le but de l'Association est:

- a) de formuler le problème architectural contemporain;
- b) de représenter l'idée architecturale moderne;
- c) de faire pénétrer cette idée dans les cercles techniques, économiques et sociaux;
- d) de veiller à la réalisation du problème de l'architecture.

* Les Arts Graphiques », soc. coop. int. — Bruxelles, 20, ch. de Haecht. — Gérant: Joseph Van Thiel.

LE CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DU CINÉMA INDEPENDANT

Du 29 novembre au 1er décembre se tient au Palais des Beaux-Arts le deuxième congrès international du Cinéma Independent.

À côté d'importants travaux théoriques, cette manifestation comprend le premier festival international du cinéma d'après-guerre.

Ce festival consistera en 4 séances de projections strictement privées réservées à la presse, aux membres et aux amis du Congrès.

Pour être ami du Congrès, il suffit de verser la somme de 75 francs à M. Putzeis, directeur du Studio, Palais des Beaux-Arts, rue Ravenstein, Bruxelles.

La carte donne droit en outre à 4 séances publiques.

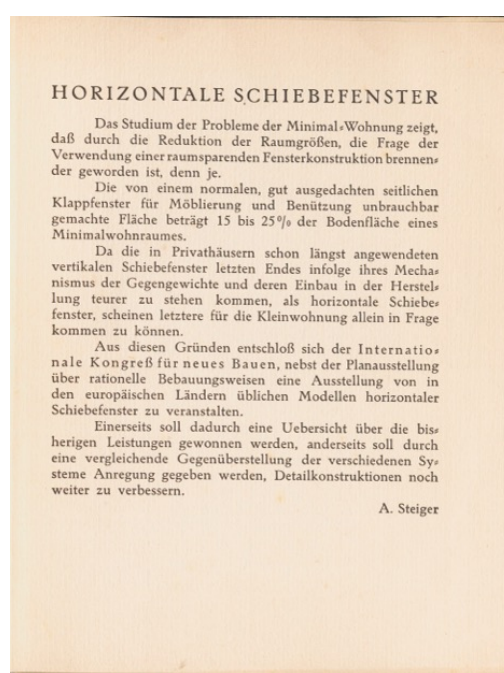
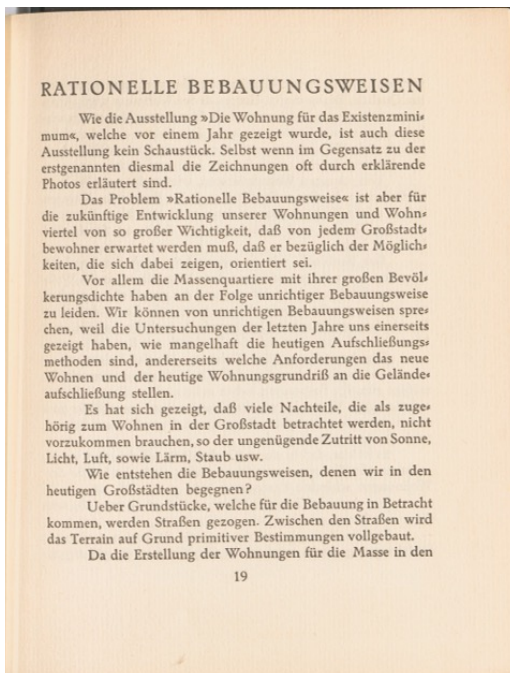
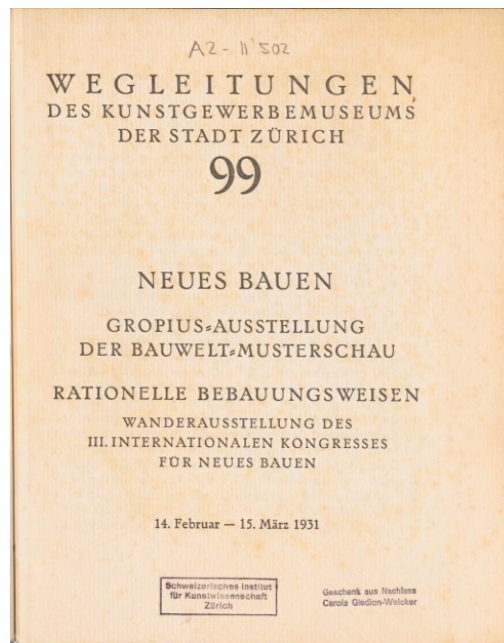
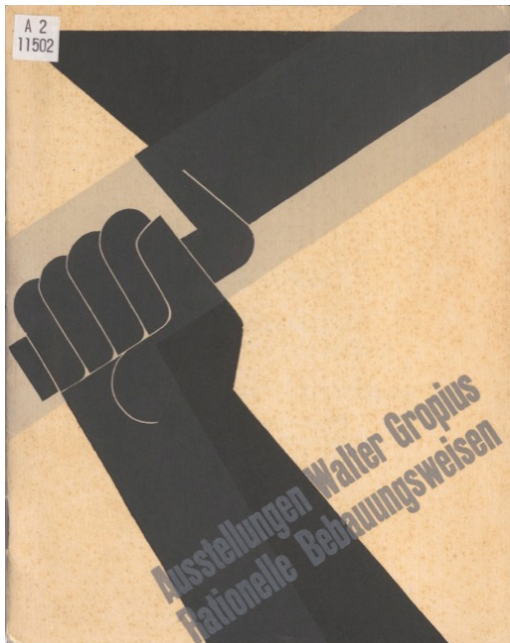


AU
CONGRÈS
DE
LA SARRAZ
(1928)

Source: "AU PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS, UNE EXPOSITION DE L'HABITATION DONT VOICI LE PANORAMA," LA COOPÉRATION INTERNATIONALE, 1930, 42-3-9-11, gta Archives.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

Fig. I.4.1 / Fig. I.4.2 / Fig. I.4.3 / Fig. I.4.4



Source: Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich, ed., *Ausstellungen Walter Gropius. Rationelle Bauweisen* (Zurich: Kunstgewerbemuseum, 1931), SIK Zurich.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

Fig. I.4.5



Source: Ausstellungs-, Messe- und Fremdenverkehrs-Amt der Stadt Berlin, ed., *Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin 1931. Amtlicher Katalog und Führer* (Berlin: Bauwelt-Verlag, 1931), 10.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

Fig. I.4.6



Source: Bauwelt, ed., *Bauwelt Katalog. Baujahr 1930–1931*. 2nd edn (Berlin: Bauwelt-Verlag, 1931).

4. The Travelling Exhibition of “Rational Lot Development”

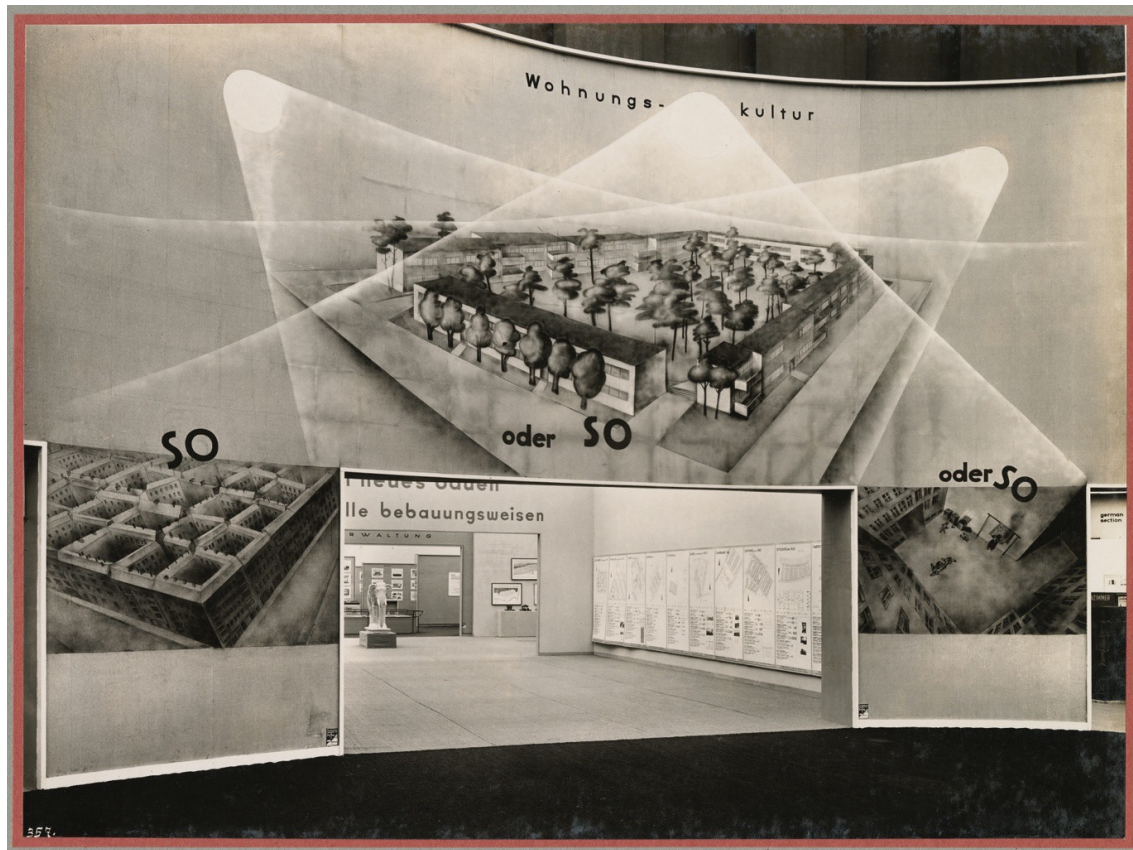
Fig. I.4.7



The “Rational Lot Development” exhibition in Berlin, 1931. Source: Landesarchiv Berlin, F Rep. 290-08, Nr. 66-9199, Landesarchiv Berlin.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

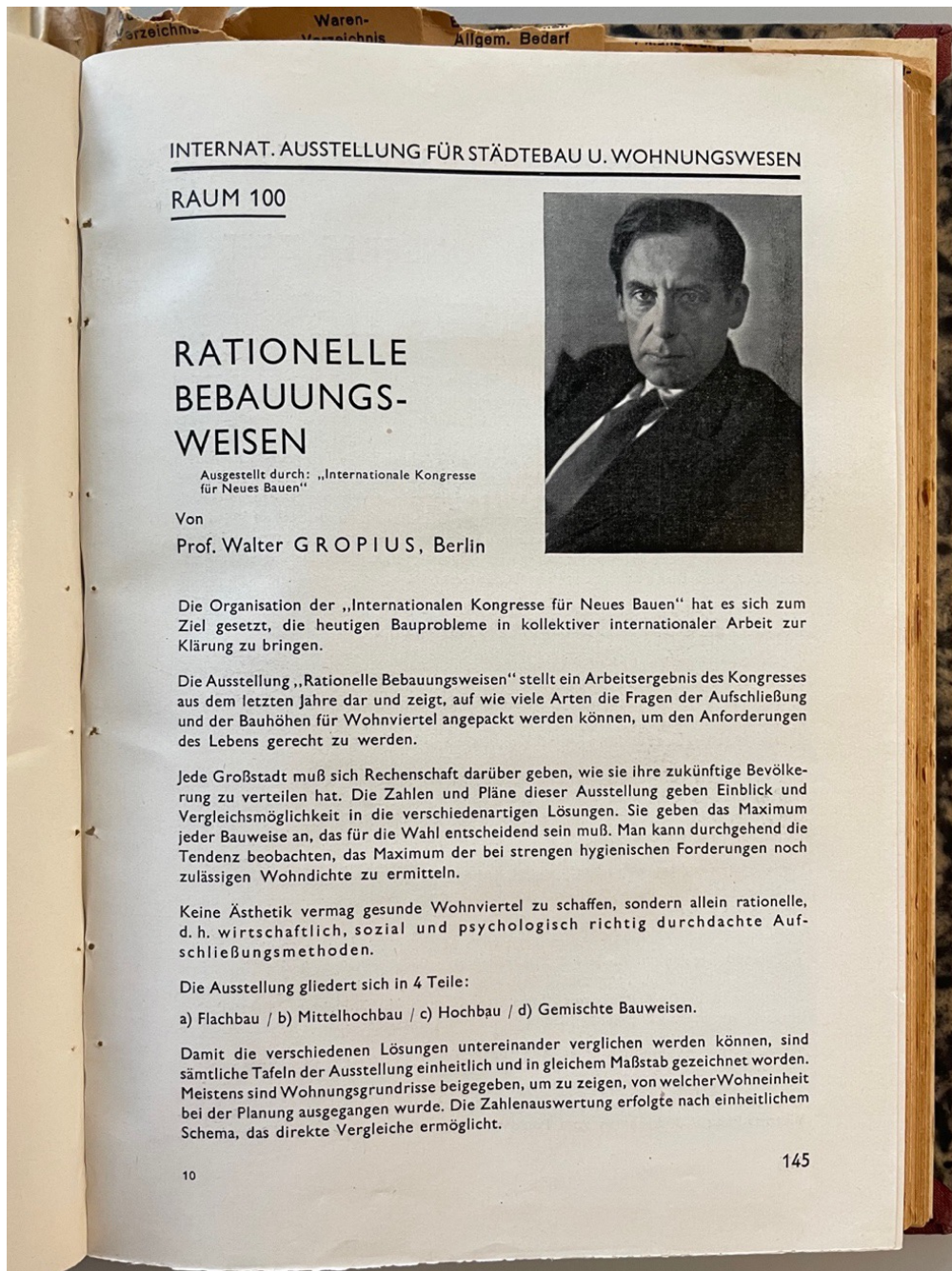
Fig. I.4.8



The "Rational Lot Development" exhibition in Berlin, 1931. Source: Landesarchiv Berlin, F Rep. 290-08, Nr. 66-9217, Landesarchiv Berlin.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

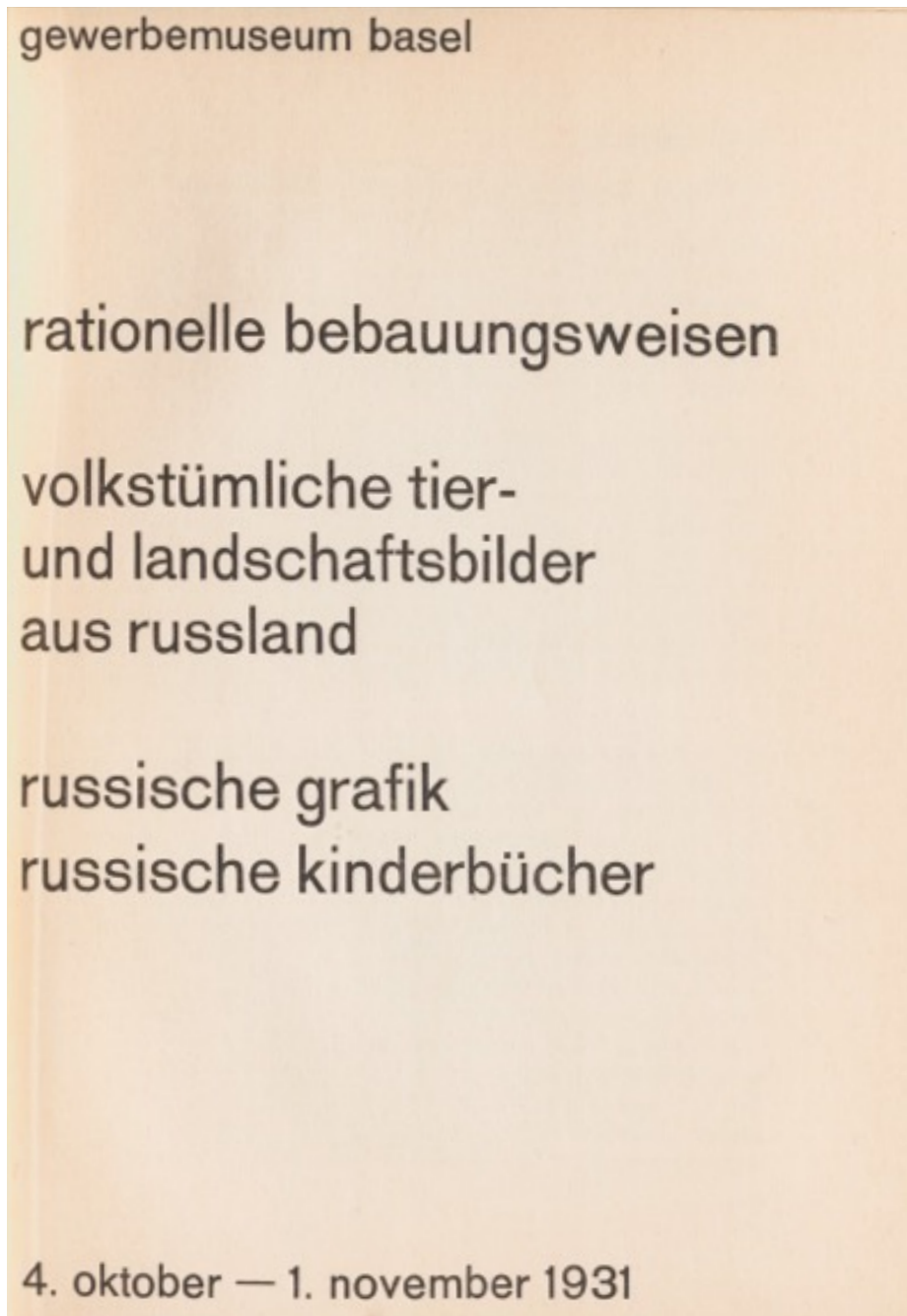
Fig. I.4.9



Source: Bauwelt, ed., *Bauwelt Katalog. Baujahr 1930–1931*. 2nd edn (Berlin: Bauwelt-Verlag, 1931), 145.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

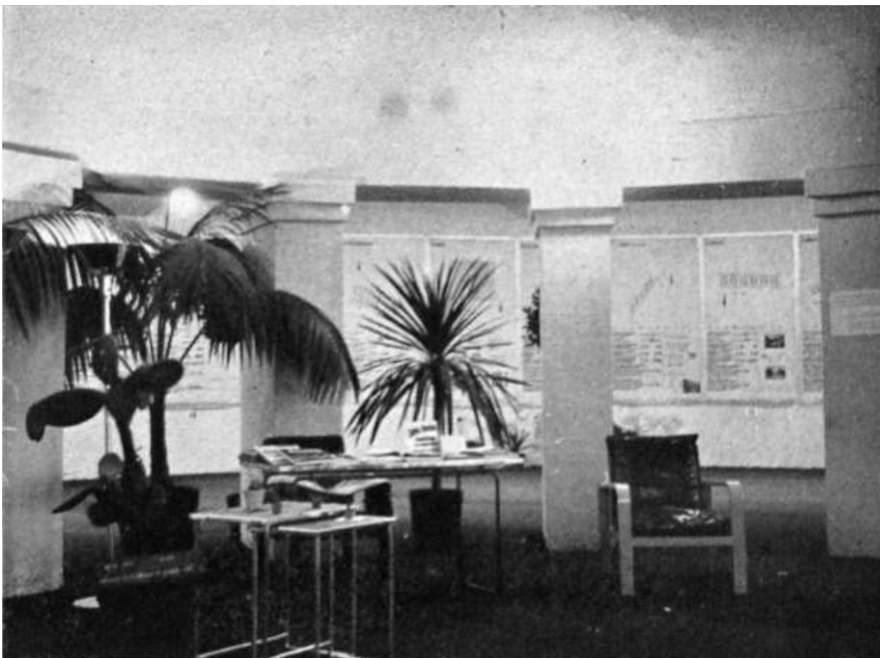
Fig. I.4.10



Source: Gewerbemuseum Basel, eds., *Rationelle Bauweisen. Volkstümliche Tier- und Landschaftsbilder aus Russland. Russische Grafik. Russische Kinderbücher* (Basel: Gewerbemuseum, 1931). SIK Zurich.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of “Rational Lot Development”

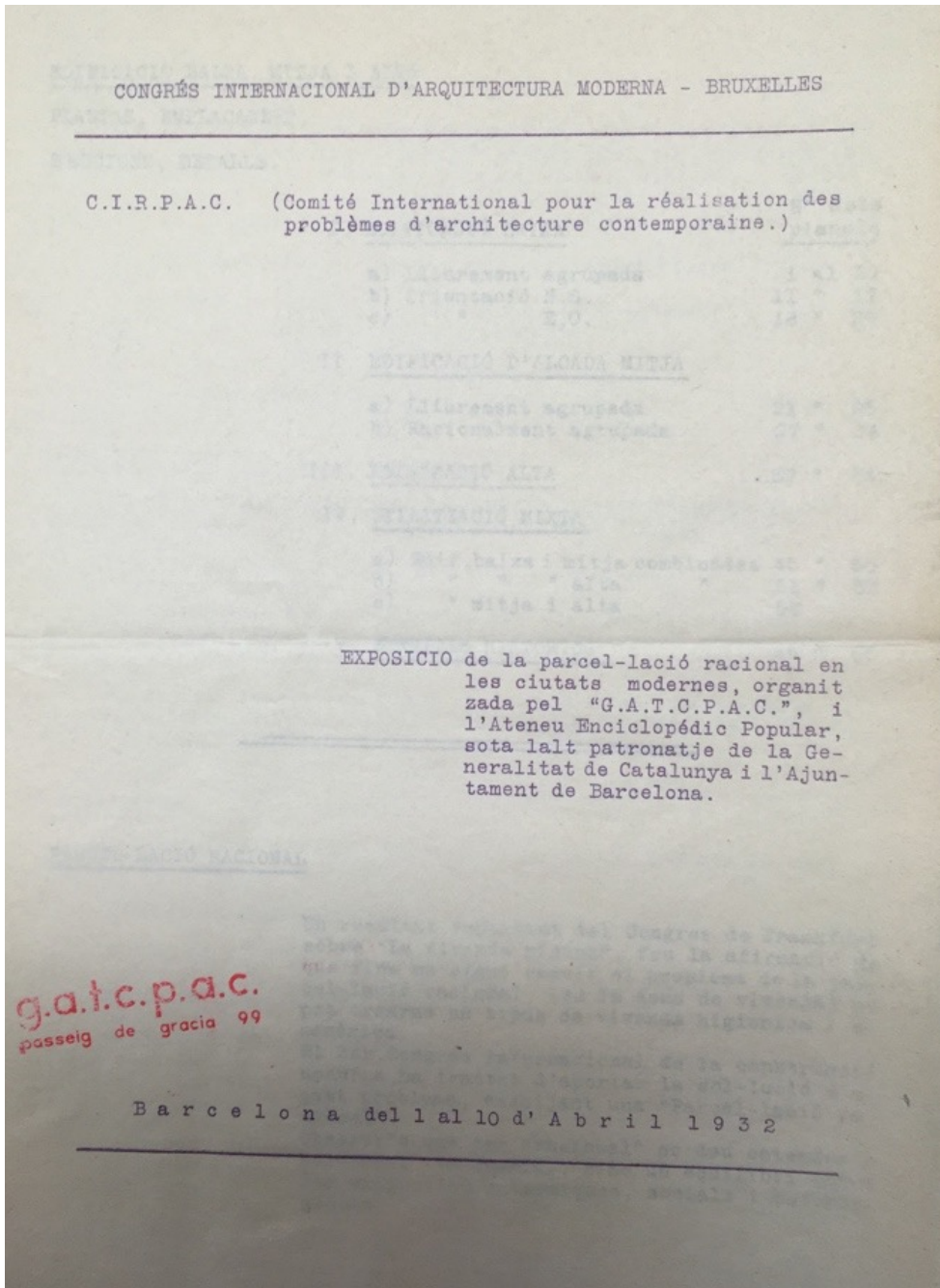
Fig. I.4.11 / I.4.12



The “Rational Lot Development” exhibition in Barcelona, 1932. Source: “Congresos Internacionales de Arquitectura Moderna. Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen. Reunión Preparatoria del Congreso de Urbanismo de Moscú. Barcelona, 29, 30 y 31 de Marzo de 1932,” AC: Documentos de Actividad Contemporánea. Publicación del G.A.T.E.P.A.C. 5 (1932): 38–41, <https://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/hd/es/viewer?id=0df0acdb-b4cc-4519-8838-88435fa363ff>.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

Fig. I.4.13



Source: GATCPAC, "Congrés Internacional d'Arquitectura Moderna – Bruxelles. CIRPAC. Exposicio de la parcel·lació racional en les ciutats modernes," 1932, 42-3-7-22:1, gta Archives.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

Fig. I.4.14

EDIFICACIÓ BAIXA, MITJA I ALTA
PLANTAS, EMLACAMENT,
SECCIONS, DETALLS.

	<u>Nº dels</u> <u>planols</u>
<u>I. EDIFICACIÓ BAIXA</u>	
a) Lliurement agrupada	1 al 10
b) Orientació N.S.	11 " 17
c) " " E.O.	18 " 20
<u>II. EDIFICACIÓ D'ALCADA MITJA</u>	
a) Lliurement agrupada	21 " 26
b) Racionalment agrupada	27 " 36
<u>III. EDIFICACIÓ ALTA</u>	37 " 44
<u>IV. UTILITZACIÓ MIXTA</u>	
a) Edif.baixa i mitja combinades	45 " 50
b) " " " alta	51 " 53
c) " mitja i alta	54
<u>V. EXEMPLES HISTORICS</u>	55 " 56

PARCEL·LACIÓ RACIONAL

Un resultat important del Congrés de Frankfurt sobre "La vivenda mínima", fou la afirmació de que fins no sigui resolt el problema de la parcel·lació racional (en la zona de vivenda) no pot crearse un tipus de vivenda higienica i econòmica.

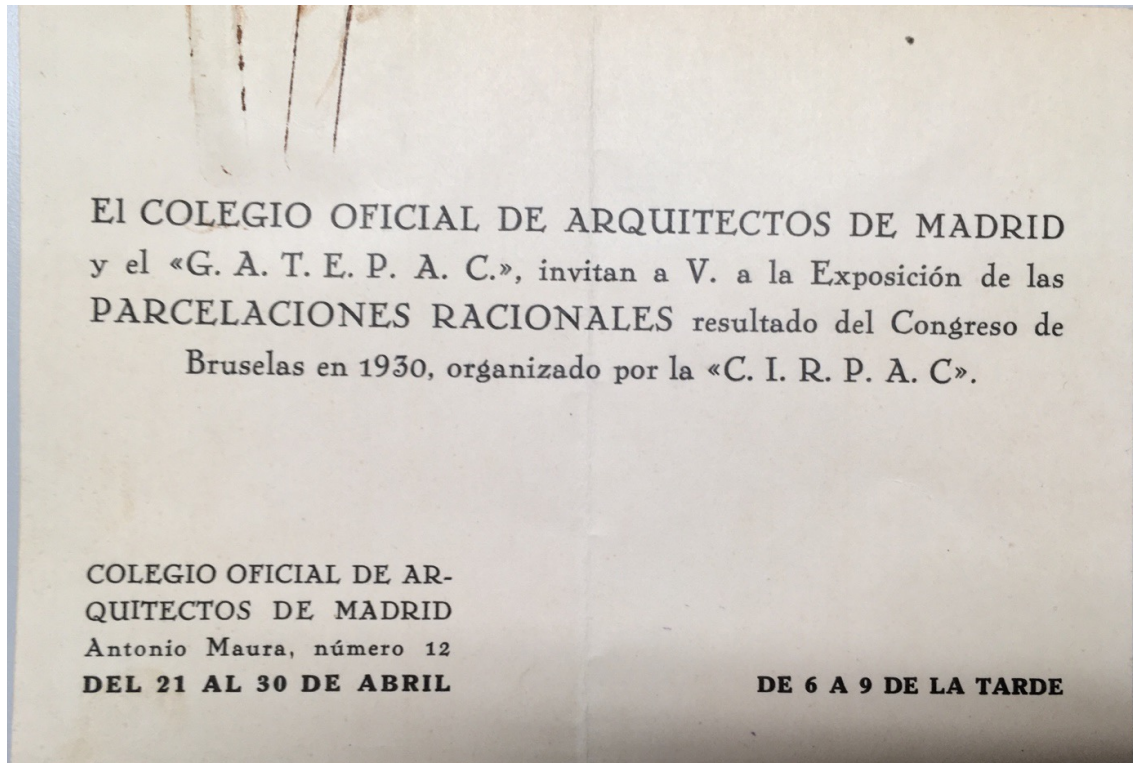
El 3er. Congrés internacional de la construcció moderna, ha tractat d'aportar la sol·lució d'aquest problema, ensaijant una "Parcel·lació racional".

Observi's que per "racional" no deu entendre's solsament "economia", sino un equilibri entre les exigencies econòmiques, socials i psicològiques.

Source: GATCPAC, "Congrés International d'Arquitectura Moderna – Bruxelles. CIRPAC. Expositio de la parcel·lació racional en les ciutats modernes," 1932, 42-3-7-22:2. gta Archives.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

Fig. I.4.15



EL COLEGIO OFICIAL DE ARQUITECTOS DE MADRID
y el «G. A. T. E. P. A. C.», invitan a V. a la Exposición de las
PARCELACIONES RACIONALES resultado del Congreso de
Bruselas en 1930, organizado por la «C. I. R. P. A. C».

COLEGIO OFICIAL DE AR-
QUITECTOS DE MADRID
Antonio Maura, número 12
DEL 21 AL 30 DE ABRIL

DE 6 A 9 DE LA TARDE

Source: "Invitation to the 'Exposición de las Parcelaciones Racionales,' Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid." and G.A.T.E.P.A.C. 42-3-6-2, gta Archives

4. The Travelling Exhibition of “Rational Lot Development”

Fig. I.4.16



The “Rational Lot Development” exhibition in Amsterdam, 1932. Source: Nationaal Archief/Collectie Spaarnestad, “City Design. In an Amsterdam Technical School an exhibition is being held about modern city design,” unknown photographer, image number SFA001012278, code location 2601-3, <https://beeldbank.spaarnestadphoto.com/search.pp?showpicture=14487&page=1&pos=1#>.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

Fig. I.4.17

TENTOONSTELLING „DE RATIONEELE WOONWIJK”.
 REIZENDE TENTOONSTELLING VAN DE INTERNATIONALE CONGRESSEN VOOR HET NIEUWE BOUWEN.


Gebouw Middelbaar Technische School, Dongestraat 12, Amsterdam/Zuid, (vanaf C.S., lijn 25 halte Maasstraat, vanaf M.P. en W.P., bus E halte Scheldeplein.)
 GEOPEND van 25 Juni tot en met 6 Juli, dagelijks (behalve des Zondags) van 10—6 uur, bovendien Woensdag 29 Juni en Woensdag 6 Juli des avonds van 8—10 uur.
 OPENING: Zaterdag 25 Juni des morgens 11 uur, met een rondgang voor genoodigden en de leden van het Nederlandsch Instituut voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedebouw.

RONDGANGEN onder leiding:
 Bij de opening 25 Juni elf uur.
 Woensdag 29 Juni des avonds 8 uur.
 Woensdag 6 Juli des avonds 8 uur.

Verder na schriftelijke aanvraag voor groepen belangstellenden of vereenigingen.
 Adres: Secretariaat van de Nederlandsche Groep van de Internationale Congressen voor het Nieuwe Bouwen, Keizersgracht 574, Amsterdam/C.

Deze tentoonstelling, geheel gewijd aan de moderne woonwijk, met voorbeelden en tegenvoorbeelden uit binnen- en buitenland, sluit aan bij het in dit nummer besproken praeadvies.
 Verder omvat deze tentoonstelling verschillende voorstellen van leden van de Nederlandsche Groep van de internationale Congressen voor het Nieuwe Bouwen, voor woonwijken of verbetering van woonwijken in Nederlandsche steden, terwijl tevens een kleine foto-collectie van het werk van den Franschen architect Le Corbusier aanwezig is.

De toegang tot deze tentoonstelling is vrij.



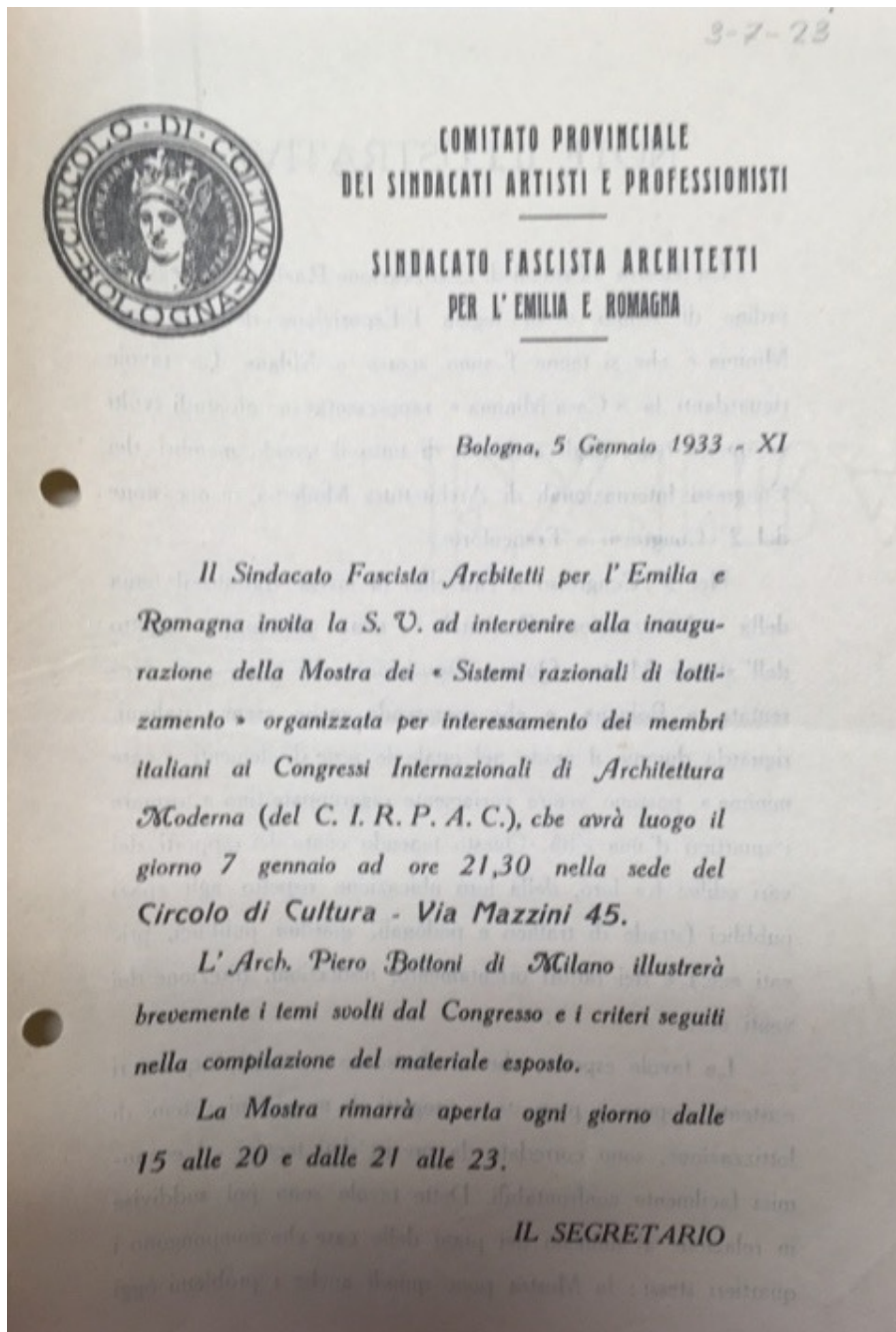
Ook de plannen der „ville radieuse" van Le Corbusier zijn op de tentoonstelling aanwezig.

134

Source: Cornelis van Eesteren, "TENTOONSTELLING DE RATIONEELE WOONWIJK," *De 8 en Opbouw* 13 (1932): 134, 42-3-7-3. gta Archives.

4. The Travelling Exhibition of “Rational Lot Development”

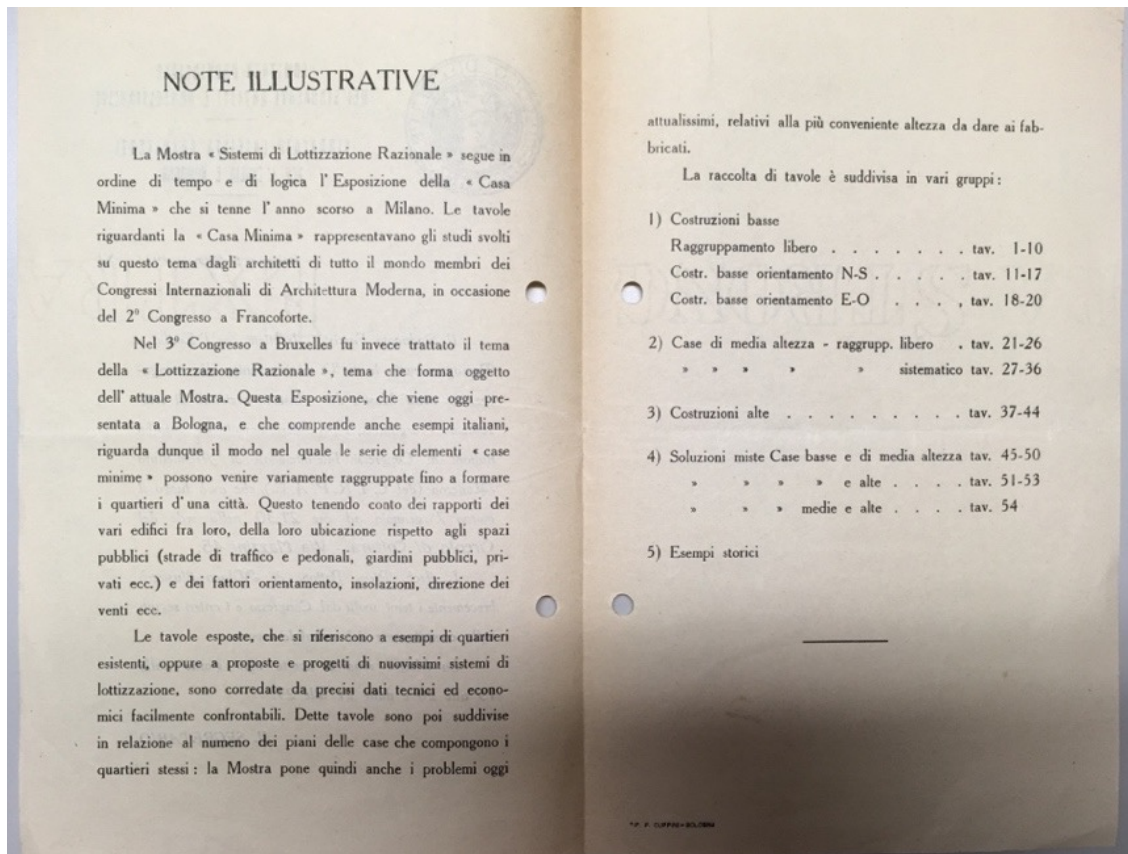
Fig. I.4.18



Source: *Invito alla mostra dei 'Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione,' Comitato Principale del Sindacati Artisti e Professionisti. Sindacato Fascista Architetti per L'Emilia e Romagna, January 5, 1933, 1, 42-3-7-23, gta Archives.*

4. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

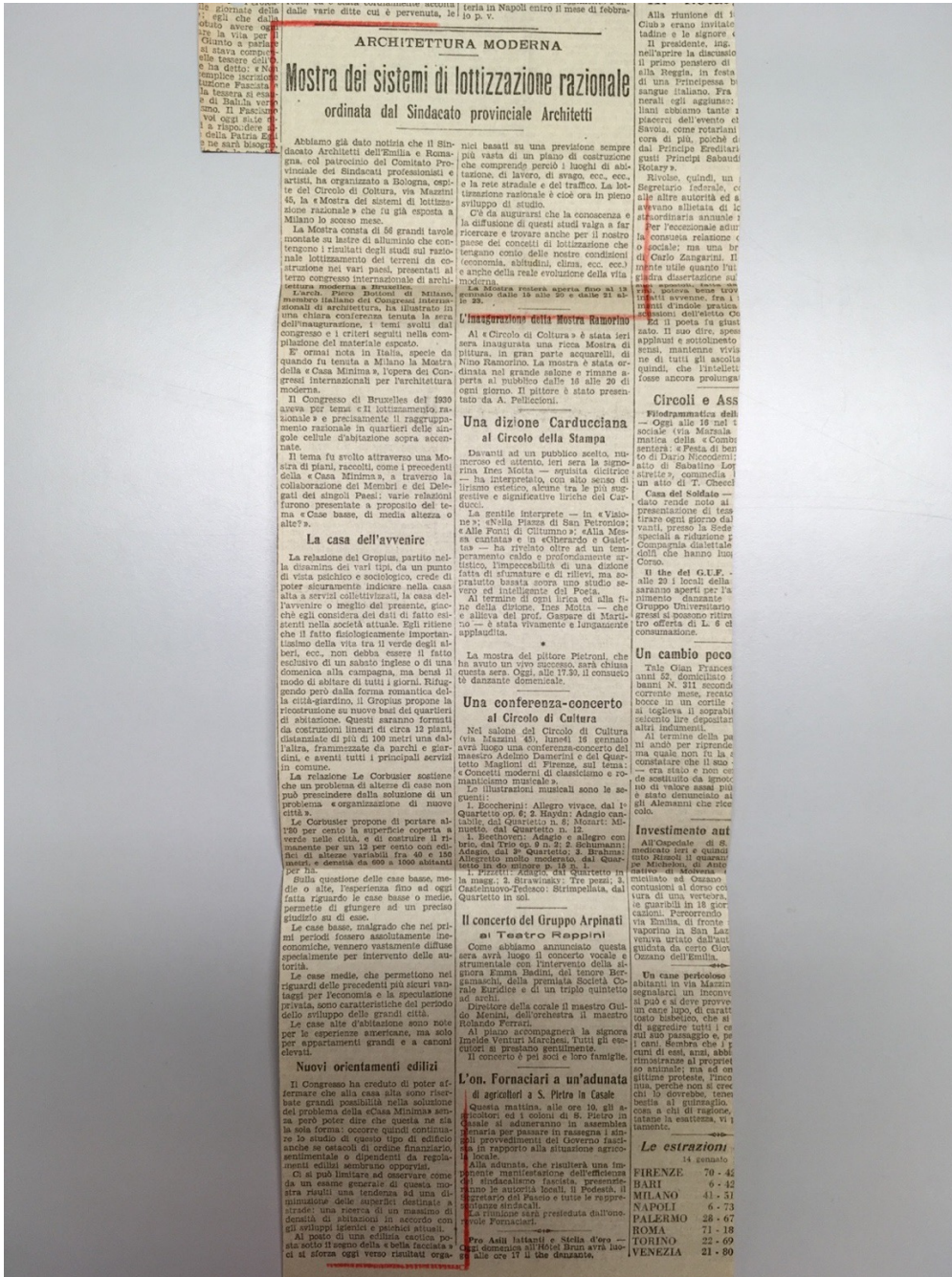
I.4.19



Source: *Invito alla mostra dei 'Sistemi razionali di lottizzazione,' Comitato Principale del Sindacati Artisti e Professionisti. Sindacato Fascista Architetti per L'Emilia e Romagna, January 5, 1933, 2, 42-3-7-23, gta Archives.*

4. The Travelling Exhibition of "Rational Lot Development"

Fig. I.4.20

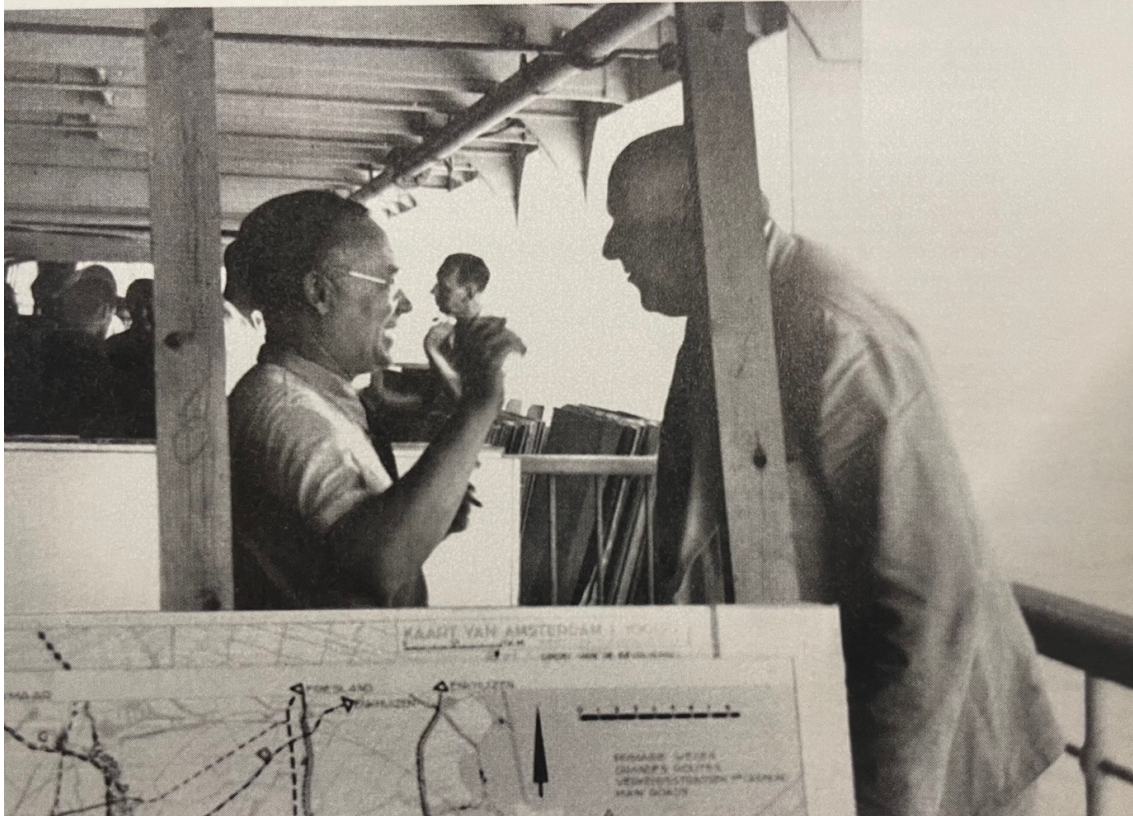


Source: "Mostra dei sistemi di lottizzazione razionale ordinata dal Sindacato provinciale Architetti," *Il Resto del Carlino* (January 15, 1933), 42-3-7-3, gta Archives.

Images Part II. The Analysis

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

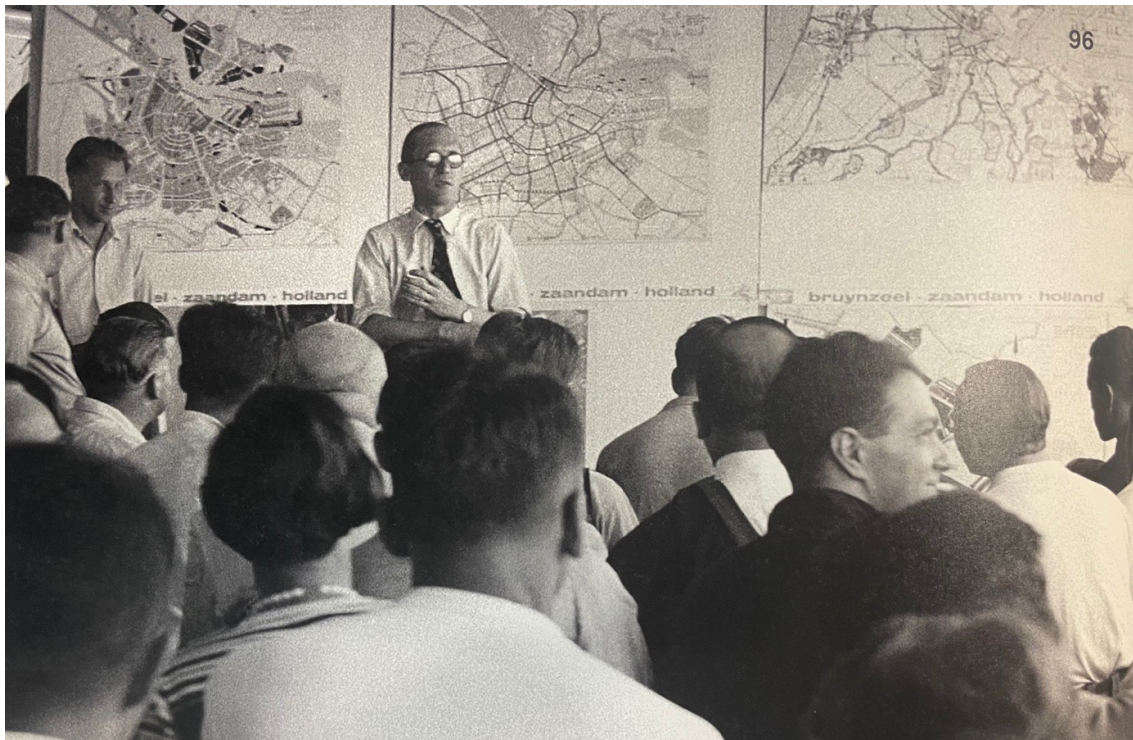
Fig. II.1.1



Source: Evelien van Es, Gregor Harbusch, and Bruno Maurer et al., eds., *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis* (Bussum: Thoth Uitgeverij, 2014), 79.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

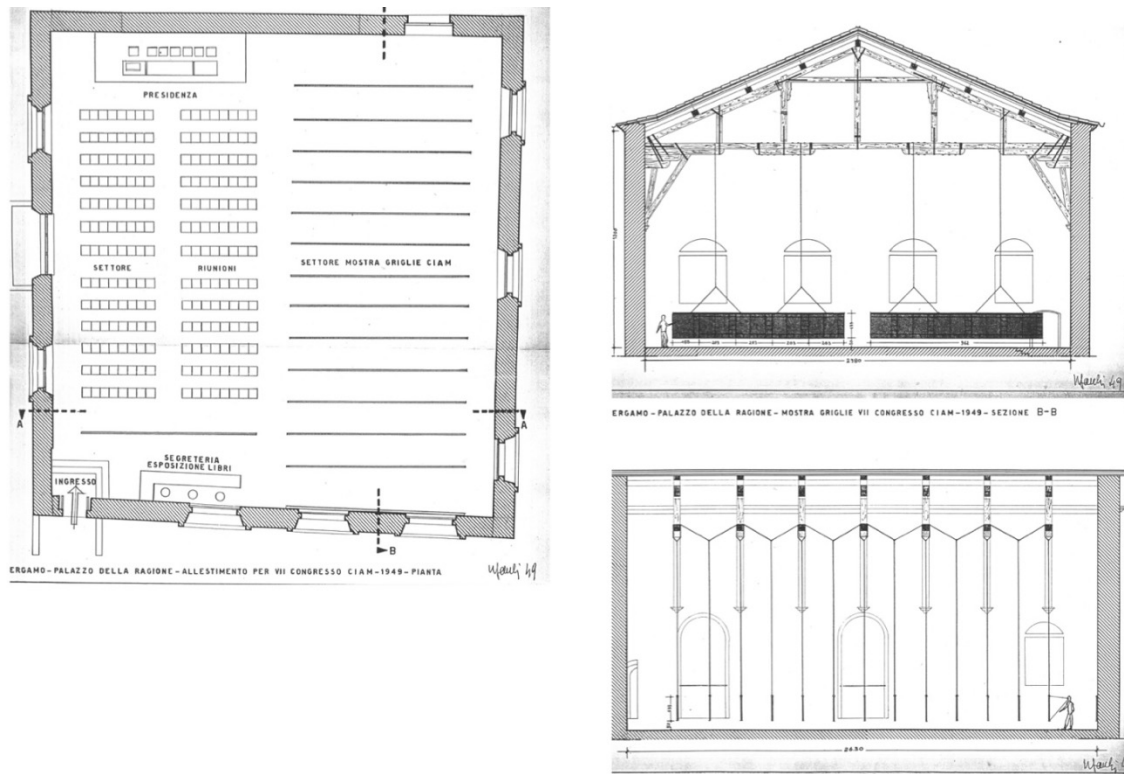
Fig. II.1.2



Source: Evelien van Es, Gregor Harbusch, and Bruno Maurer et al., eds., *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis* (Bussum: Thoth Uitgeverij, 2014), 96.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Fig. II.1.3



Source: Archivio Nino Zuccelli, Dono Lina Zucchelli Valsecchi, 1999 in Andreas Kalpakci, "Making CIAM. The Organizational Techniques of the Moderns, 1928–1959," PhD dissertation, ETH Zurich, 2017, 375–377. Accessed April 25, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-b-000183653>.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Fig. II.1.4



Source: Wells Coates "Il Lavori del CIAM 7. Domenica 24 Luglio 1949. Il Discorso," CIAM2019, Accessed March 24, 2022, <https://www.ciam2019.it/>.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Fig. II.1.5



Source: Wells Coates "Il Lavori del CIAM 7. Sabato 30 Luglio 1949. Il Discorso," CIAM2019, Accessed March 24, 2022, <https://www.ciam2019.it/>.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Fig. II.1.6



Source: Wells Coates "Il Lavori del CIAM 7. Mercoledì 27 Luglio 1949," CIAM2019, Accessed March 24, 2022, <https://www.ciam2019.it/>.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Fig. II.1.7



Der Präsident Prof. Mohr
Crospus hält sein Referat
In den Reihen der Zuhörer



Bourgeois (links)
May (rechts), Neben ihm Gladst
V. d. Mühl u. Häring
Rietveld, Jeanneret, Schmidt

BILDER VOM II. INTERNATIONALEN KONGRESS FÜR DISKUSSIONEN

DISKUSSIONEN

DAS MUSEUM DER GEGENWART

Ich bejahe den Riezler'schen Gedanken einer gelifteten und systematischen Veranschaulichung aller Dokumente der Kultur- und Wissenschaften unserer Zeit, denn es kommt darauf an, dem öffentlichen Bewusstsein mit aller Kraft einzuhämmern, daß diese Welt unter Schicksal litt und daß es gilt, aus ihr mit allen Mitteln einer heroischen, ja fast tragischen Anstrengung des Menschengeistes das Beste zu machen ... Statt einer verlinkenden Welt trüchtlös nachzutraumern. Vieles von dem, was Riezler einbringen möchte, weil es herauswächst aus der neuen sozialen wirtschaftlichen Struktur der Gegenwart, scheint mir freilich unanschaulichen Charakters und läßt sich jedenfalls in anderer Form besser und direkter bündeln als durch Befehl einer Ausstellung, einer Sammlung, Anbauhalch bleibt das Reich der „technischen Formen“ und es ist zweifellos eine große Aufgabe, ihnen Gegenüber zur handwerklichen Erfindung, ihre immer innere Selbstbilliarstellung, ihre immer exaktere Qualität und damit ihre lokale normative Funktion zu demonstrieren. Aus der vorangegangenen Erörterung der Fachleute ist wohl schon das eine deutlich geworden: daß der Ausdruck „Museum“ nicht vermieden werden sollte und daß es sich auch nicht um eine museumsartige isolierte Schauhallung der gleichen Objekte und ihre langsame lammertliche Vernehmung handeln kann! In Betracht kommen nur weitestgehende Ausstellungen, die den verstreuten Gebieten gerecht werden oder sie auch paläographisch unter einen Generalnamen bringen. Die Ergebnisse dieser Ausstellung mögen in ein dem Publikum unwillkürlich Depot fließen, das spätere Ausstellungen wiederum zu Gute kommen kann und das als solches auch beispielhaften Wert für die Zukunft behalten wird. Die Köster-Werkbundausstellung 1932 (Die neue Zeit) wird eine richtige Materialsammlung für ein solches Depot bereithalten. Sie wird ja auch übrigens die große Kollektivausstellung aller Dokume-

mente der Weltentwicklung unserer Zeit zu verwirklichen haben. Das Depot oder Archiv wird aus rein praktischen Gründen, da eigene Bauten vorläufig nicht vorhanden sind, in einem Museum aufbewahrt werden müssen, wo dann auch die wechselnden Sammlungen von Charakter der „Doulischen Museum“ in München sein - doch fragt sich, ob man gerade hier den Blick für das Entschende haben wird, auf das es einem Riezler ankommt. Kunstmuseen, und gerade auch solche neuer und neuerer Kunst, auch kunstgewerblichen Museen möchte ich das Archiv mit seinen Ausstellungen nicht eben gern angegliedert wissen. Zum mindesten liegen hier Gefahren vor. Man wird sehr bald einsehen, daß die „technische Form“ an sich mit Kunst noch gar nichts zu tun hat. Die Verwechslung beider ist ein Irrtum, der uns eine zeitlang nicht heilen werden kann, der aber bereits modisch zu werden beginnt, indem er mit technischer Eleganz, Uniformität und Malienkonktion den Ausdruck des eigentlich Menschlichen - unverrückbaren Mittelpunkt aller Kunst - verdrängen möchte. Das Technische im universalsten Sinn ist heute ein bilddarrender Faktor für neue Architektur und Gebrauchskunst, deren Erhebung „technische“ Züge anzunehmen beginnt. Es bietet Anregung für Malerei, Plastik und Graphik, ja als eine unheimlich entzündliche Objektivität des Rational-Mechanischen sogar einen weitestgehenden Rohstoff für literarischen und musikalischen Ausdruck unserer Epoche. Nicht weniger, aber auch nicht mehr. Es scheint mir nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß die Kunstmuseen mit ihren Ausstellungen Intimer befähigen, die allmählich ihre Fruchtbarkeit einbüßen. Sind solche Ausstellungen dennoch aus räumlichen Gründen nur in der Nachbarschaft von Kunstwerken möglich, so hat ihre Veranstaltung unter den nötigen Vorbehalten zu geltehen. G. F. Hartlaub, Mannheim

NEUES BAUEN FRANKFURT AM MAIN 24.-26. OKTOBER 1929

B E R I C H T E

DER INTERNATIONALE KONGRESS FÜR DEN UNABHÄNGIGEN FILM IN LA SARRAZ

3. bis 6. September 1929

1928 die Architekten - 1929 die Filmleute! Die Schloßherren von La Sarraz, Madame de Mancini, weiß wohl, wo das Leben liegt! Die Filmleute - selbstverständlich auch hier die Avantgarde: 2 Japaner, 1 Amerikaner, 2 Engländer, 5 Franzosen, 1 Spanier, 2 Italiener, 1 Holländer, 3 Deutsche, 3 Russen und 4 Schweizer. Regisseure, Operetten, Schriftsteller, Kritiker. Ein paar interessierende Namen: die Franzosen Cavalcanti und Moussinac, der Italiener Prampolini, die Deutschen Richter, Rutmann und Balzu, die Russen Eisenstein und seine Helfer Titis und Alexandrov!

Der Kongress vorzüglich vorbereitet und geleitet von Anon-Paris und Guye-Genf. Sehr klare ideale Ziele: Stärkung des unabhängigen Films gegenüber dem industriellen Film. Sehr konkrete praktische Ziele: Gründung einer „Internationalen Coöperative für den unabhängigen Film“ und einer „Internationalen Liga für den unabhängigen Film“. Zweck der Coöperative: geistlich-moralische Hilfe an solche Regisseure, die Avantgardfilme, also Filme ohne kommerzielle Erfolgsspektiven herstellen. Zweck der Liga: internationale Zusammenkunft der sogenannten Filmklubs, wie sie, als Vereinigungen von rein künstlerisch-intellektuellen Freunden des Films, die ihren Mitgliedern in privaten, unkommerziellen Aufführungen Avantgardfilme zeigen, bereits in Frankreich, England, Holland usw. bestehen. Weitere Ziele der Liga: Hilfe zur Neugründung von Filmklubs in möglichst vielen Ländern und Städten, Aufstellung eines Repertoires von Avantgardfilmen und Bekämpfung der Filmklubs mit solchen Filmen, endlich Hilfe bei Zensur- und Kontingenzierungsschwierigkeiten.

Resultate des Kongresses: Bereinigung und Genehmigung eines Statuts für die Coöperative und eines Statuts für die Liga. Gründung der Coöperative und der Liga. 519 der Coöperative: Paris, Zentralsekretär: Robert Aron, rue de la Victoire 49, Paris 18ème. 519 der Liga: Genf, Zentralsekretär: Robert Guye, rue de Lausanne 125, Genève. Ernennung eines provisorischen Verwaltungsrates der Coöperative und eines provisorischen Rates der Liga. Die definitive Konstitution beider Organisationen ist in nahe Aussicht genommen. Für Deutschland ist im Rat der Liga eine Vertretung offen gehalten, die befehligt werden soll, sobald in Deutschland Filmklubs gegründet sind. In den provisorischen Verwaltungsrat der Coöperative wurde als Vertreter Deutschlands Walter Ruttmann gewählt.


Neben der praktischen Arbeit die geflissentigen Auseinandersetzungen. Vorerst die Frage: Was ist unter dem unabhängigen Film zu verstehen? Klare Scheidung in Mehrheit und Minderheit. Antwort der Mehrheit (der Initiatoren des Kongresses): unabhängig heißt unabhängig vom Publikumsgehm und von dem Publikumsgehm, also Filme ohne kommerzielle Erfolgsspektiven herstellen. Zweck der Liga: internationale Zusammenkunft der sogenannten Filmklubs, wie sie, als Vereinigungen von rein künstlerisch-intellektuellen Freunden des Films, die ihren Mitgliedern in privaten, unkommerziellen Aufführungen Avantgardfilme zeigen, bereits in Frankreich, England, Holland usw. bestehen. Weitere Ziele der Liga: Hilfe zur Neugründung von Filmklubs in möglichst vielen Ländern und Städten, Aufstellung eines Repertoires von Avantgardfilmen und Bekämpfung der Filmklubs mit solchen Filmen, endlich Hilfe bei Zensur- und Kontingenzierungsschwierigkeiten.

Antwort der Minderheit (Leon Moussinac-Paris, Hans Richter-Berlin, Serge Eisenstein-Moskau, Georg Schmidt-Balei): die Unabhängigkeit ist eine Illusion, einzig real ist die Frage: abhängig von den Gelehrten der Filmindustrie oder von den Gelehrten einer kommenden Gesellschaft. Demotivierend forderte die Minderheit auch künstlerisch-politische Entscheidungen: eine Erklärung gegen Star-, Schwalbentanz- und Spielfilm, während die Mehrheit auch für „künstlerische Freiheit und Neutralität“ (nach Liga und Coöperative werden also in Sinn der Mehrheit geführt werden. Georg Schmidt, Balei

Source: "BILDER VOM II. INTERNATIONALEN KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN FRANKFURT AM MAIN 24.-26. OKTOBER 1929", Das Neue Frankfurt 10 (1929): 206-207, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1929.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE


Fig. II.1.8




Der Vertreter der belgischen Regierung

Von der Eröffnung der internationalen Plan- und Modellausstellung „Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum“. Frankfurt a. M. · 26. Oktober bis 10. November 1929

Fotos Hans Leiftikow



Haesler und Häring



Das Publikum. Vorn der ruffische Delegierte Kraflin

DER II. INTERNATIONALE KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN UND DIE FRANKFURTER AUSSTELLUNGEN

Wir haben die Drucklegung dieses Heftes absichtlich verzögert, um noch einen ersten kurzen Bericht über diese Veranstaltungen geben zu können. Der eigentliche Kongress, der von etwa 120 Mitgliedern aus 18 Ländern besucht war, hielt seine sowohl für das Publikum wie für die Presse geheimen Verhandlungen am 24. und 25. Oktober im Hochzeitsaal des Palmengartens ab. Die vier Referate von Gropius, Bourgeois, Schmidt und Jeanneret gaben Anlaß zu sehr eingehenden und lebhaften Diskussionen und führten, wenn auch nicht zu eigentlichen Resolutionen, so doch zu einer vorläufigen Klärung der Fragen, die das Verhandlungsthema „Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum“ stellt. Es kam den Beratungen sehr zugute, daß neben den Architekten auch die eingeladenen Ärzte und Hygieniker — Hagen (Frankfurt), Zuruzoglu (Bern) u. a. — das Wort ergriffen. Am 26. Oktober (odann, in der öffentlichen Schlußversammlung im Saxophonfaal der Messe, sprachen Gropius, Bourgeois und Schmidt in ausführlichen Referaten über die Ergebnisse der Verhandlungen. Wir werden im nächsten Heft auf die Einzelheiten zurückkommen. Schließlich eröffnete als Vertreter der Stadt Frankfurt Ernst May die drei Ausstellungen, die z. Z. noch im Haus Werkbund der Messe zu sehen sind:

1. **Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum**, Internationale Plan- und Modellausstellung, veranstaltet vom Städt. Hochbauamt. Dauert bis 10. November.
2. **Gedächtnisausstellung Adolf Meyer**, veranstaltet vom Hochbauamt und der Kunstgewerbeschule. Dauert bis 10. November.
3. **Ausstellung Käthe Kollwitz**, veranstaltet vom Städt. Amt für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, Abteilung für zeitgenössische Kunstpflege. Dauert bis 17. November.

Der nächste Kongress für Neues Bauen wird 1930 in Brüssel stattfinden. Victor Bourgeois und Ernst May wurden als Vicepräsidenten bestimmt. Professor Mofer bleibt Präsident.

DIE MITARBEITER DIESES HEFTES

Stadtrat Ernst May, Städt. Hochbauamt, Frankfurt a. M.
 Karl Förster, Bornim bei Potsdam
 Gartenbaudirektor Max Bromme, Städt. Gartenamt, Frankfurt a. M.
 Direktor G. F. Hartlaub, Kunsthalle Mannheim
 Dr. Georg Schmidt, Basel, St. Albantal 8
 Hans Leiftikow, Frankfurt-Ginnheim, Fuchshohl 55
 Renger-Patsch, Bad Harzburg
 Frau Anne Biermann, Gera, Wilhelmstraße 1

BERICHTIGUNGEN ZU HEFT 9

Die Bilder auf den Seiten 173 unten und 174 stammen nicht von Dr. Wolff, sondern von M. Gölner. Von demselben Fotografen sind die drei Aufnahmen auf Seite 178.

Architekt Karl Gräf, Frankfurt, bittet uns mitzuteilen, daß das auf Seite 176 unten rechts abgebildete Wohnhaus im Entwurf von ihm stammt. Die Mitwirkung der Bauberatung erstreckte sich auf Einzelheiten.

SCHRIFTFÜHRUNG: DR. J. GANTNER, NEUE MAINZERSTRASSE 37, TELEFON RATHAUS 485 oder 857, FRANKFURT AM MAIN


208

Source: "DER II. INTERNATIONALE KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN UND DIE FRANKFURTER AUSSTELLUNGEN", *Das Neue Frankfurt* 10 (1929): 208, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1929.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Fig. II.1.9

Die Internationale Ausstellung „Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum“ im Werkbundhaus Frankfurt a. M. Blick in den großen Längssaal mit den Modellen



DIE INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG „DIE WOHNUNG FÜR DAS EXISTENZMINIMUM“ Von E. Kaufmann, Frankfurt a. M.

DREI BEISPIELE AUS DER ERSTEN GRUPPE „EINFAMILIENHÄUSER“

PLAN Nr. 16. Architekt Racz, Budapest



Die intensive Beschäftigung mit dem Wohnungsbau, die für das Bauhandwerk der führenden Architekten unserer Zeit so charakteristisch geworden ist, hat ihre tiefste Ursache in der wachsenden Einsicht, daß alles Wirken nur dann einen Sinn und Inhalt haben kann, wenn es in lebendiger Beziehung steht zu der Zeit und der Umwelt, in der es geschieht. Diese einfache Wahrheit, die aus allen großen Architekturwerken der Vergangenheit so eindringlich zu uns spricht, setzt sich in unserer Zeit nur deshalb ganz allmählich wieder durch, weil der natürliche Sinn für das, was wirklich nützt, allzu sehr gehemmt und verchüttet ist durch eine Erziehung nach der Schablone, beim Architekten insbesondere durch den Akademismus, durch überlieferte Vorstellungen vom Wohnen und durch mangelndes Wissen über die wirklichen Lebensverhältnisse der breiten Masse der Minderbemittelten.

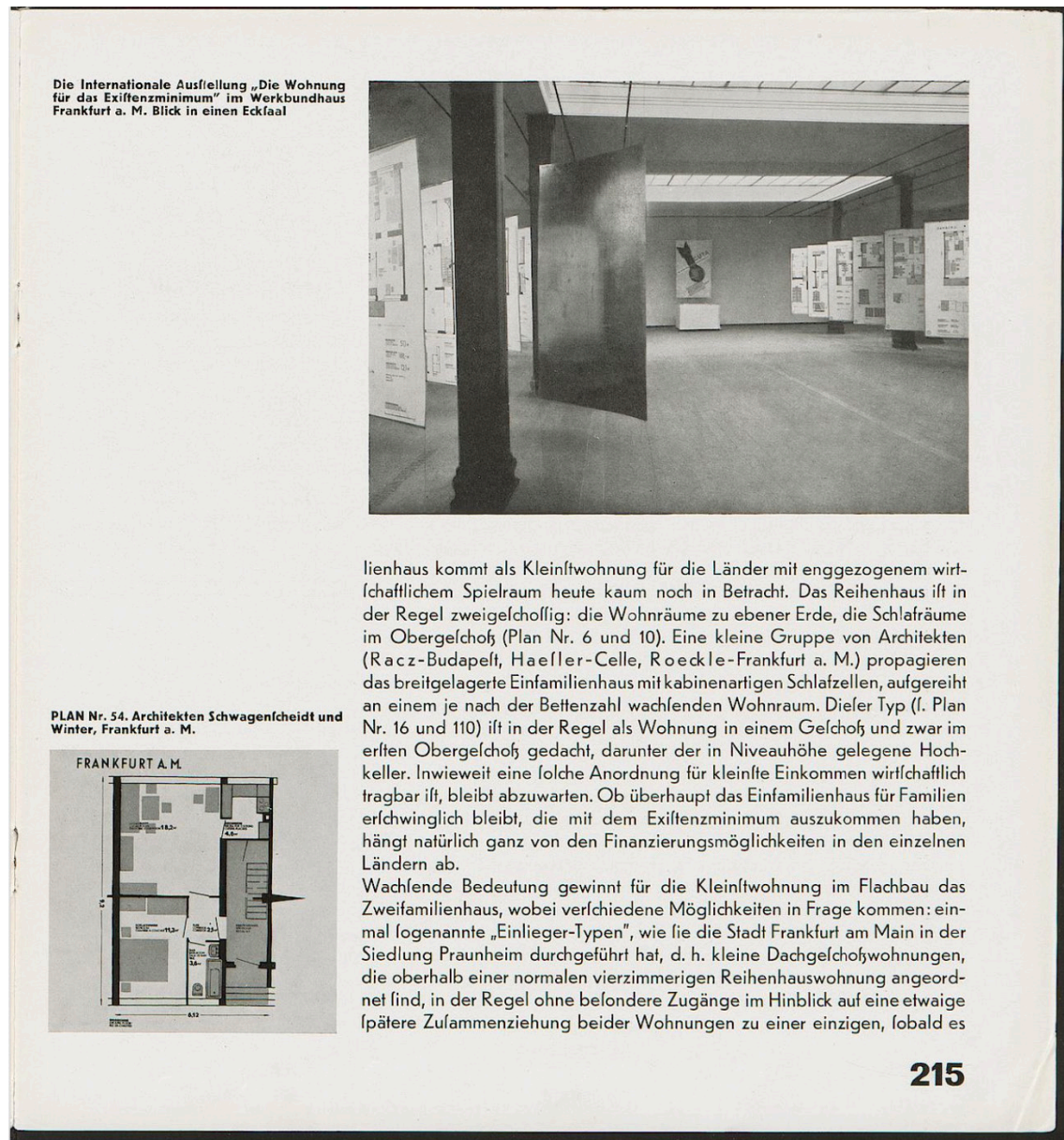
Erst in allerjüngster Zeit wird die Problemstellung klarer erkannt, und ein wichtiges Kennzeichen des Umchwunges, der sich zu vollziehen beginnt, ist die Tatsache, daß der 2. Internationale Kongreß für Neues Bauen, der vom 24. bis 27. Oktober in Frankfurt am Main tagte, als Thema für seine Verhandlungen „die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum“ wählte. Denn es hat sich gezeigt, daß dieses Problem nicht nur in den wirtschaftlich bedrängten Ländern wie Deutschland, Oesterreich und Rußland akut ist, sondern in allen Kulturstaaten der Welt, und daß es daher an der Zeit ist, in internationaler Verständigung neue Anregungen zur Lösung zu suchen und unter Führung der fortgeschrittensten Länder neue Wege zu beschreiten. Zunächst gilt es, die Tatbestände

213

Source: "DER II. INTERNATIONALE KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN UND DIE FRANKFURTER AUSSTELLUNGEN", *Das Neue Frankfurt* 11 (1929): 213, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1929.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

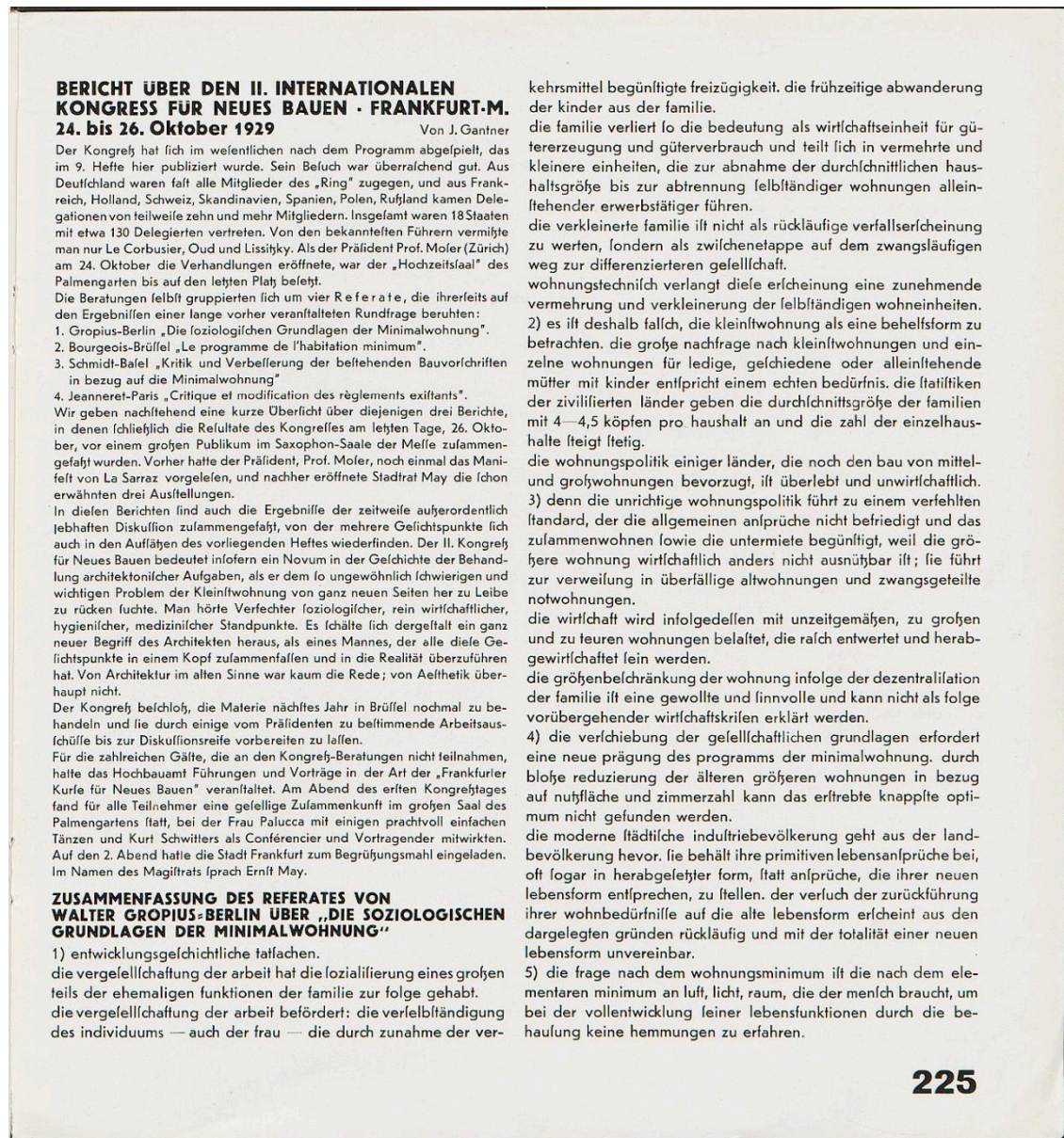
Fig. II.1.10



Source: "DER II. INTERNATIONALE KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN UND DIE FRANKFURTER AUSSTELLUNGEN", *Das Neue Frankfurt* 11 (1929): 215, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1929.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Fig. II.1.11



Source: "DER II. INTERNATIONALE KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN UND DIE FRANKFURTER AUSSTELLUNGEN", Das Neue Frankfurt 11 (1929): 225, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1929.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Fig. II.1.12

DAS BEWÄHRTE METALLDACH

TECUTA



KUPFERBRONZEBAND

Neue Anwendungsart der seit Jahrhunderten bewährten Kupfereindeckung.

Unbedingte Sicherheit gegen das Eindringen von Feuchtigkeit.

Leichte, rasche und billige Verlegung.

Schöne ästhetische Wirkung durch Bildung von Patina.

Endlose Bahnen, keine Querspalte, daher bestgeeignetes Material für Flachbauten.

**HEDDERNHEIMER KUPFERWERK
UND SÜDDEUTSCHE KABELWERKE G.M.B.H.
FRANKFURT AM MAIN-HEDDERNHEIM**

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

DIE WOHNUNG FÜR DAS EXISTENZ-MINIMUM. Von Ernst May Seite 209

DIE INTERNATIONALE AUSSTELLUNG „DIE WOHNUNG FÜR DAS EXISTENZ-MINIMUM“. Von E. Kaufmann, Frankfurt am Main Seite 213

DIE MEINUNG DER ÄRZTE: HYGIENISCHE BETRACHTUNGEN ÜBER DIE WOHNUNGSRAUMGRÖSSE IN KLEINSTEN WOHNUNGEN. Von Prof. Dr. med. Max Neisser, Frankfurt am Main Seite 218

BIOLOGISCHE UND SOZIALE VORAUSSETZUNGEN DER KLEINSTWOHNUNG. Von Dr. Hagen, Frankfurt a. M. Seite 222

Report über den II. Internationalen Kongress für Neues Bauen · Frankfurt am Main, 24. bis 26. Oktober 1929
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GLOSSEN Seite 227

Perfönliches Seite 228

Internationale Ausstellung Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum . . . Seite 228

Die Mitarbeiter dieses Heftes . . . Seite 228

TITELBILD UND TYPOGRAPHIE GESCHWISTER LEISTIKOW

Diese Zeitschrift erscheint monatlich. Zu beziehen vom Verlag „Das Neue Frankfurt“ / Englert und Schloffer / in Frankfurt am Main (Postcheckkonto Frankfurt am Main Nr. 45885). Ebenda Annahme von Anzeigen. Auch die Buchhandlungen und Kioske nehmen Bestellungen für Dauerbezug entgegen. Bezugspreis vierteljährl. 3 Mark. Preis dieses Heftes 1 Mark

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Source: "INHALTSVERZEICHNIS", Das Neue Frankfurt 11 (1929): I, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1929.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Fig. II.1.13

DIE INTERNATIONALE DER ARCHITEKTEN

**DRITTER INTERNATIONALER KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN
BRÜSSEL 26.–29. NOVEMBER 1930**

**IIIe. CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DE L'ARCHITECTURE
MODERNE - BRUXELLES, 26-29 NOVEMBRE 1930**

Programm

Mittwoch, 26. November: 17 Uhr im Palais des Beaux Arts
Delegiertenversammlung
20 Uhr im Restaurant des Palais des Beaux Arts gemeinsames
Nachdinner aller Kongreßteilnehmer

Donnerstag, 27. November: 10 Uhr Eröffnung und Führung
durch die Ausstellung „Rationelle Bauweise“
Deutsch: C. Van Eesteren, Amsterdäm
Französisch: V. Bourgeois, Brüssel
15 Uhr, Referate über das Thema: „Der Flach-, Mittel- und
Hochbau“
Referenten: W. Gropius-Berlin, Kaufmann und Boehm-Frank-
furt a. M., Le Corbusier-Paris
21 Uhr im Palais des Beaux Arts, Konzerte und Theater unter
Mitwirkung des Quatuor pro arte und des Vlaamische Volkstoonael

Freitag, 28. November: 9.30 Uhr Diskussion der Ausstellung
über „Rationelle Bauweisen“ und andere Referate
15 Uhr Eröffnung und Führung durch die Ausstellung der hori-
zontalen Schiebefenster
Führung: deutsch R. Steiger-Zürich
französisch P. Barbe-Paris
21 Uhr Kinovorstellung unter Mitwirkung des II. Internationalen
Kongresses des „Cinéma Vivant“, welcher zu gleicher Zeit wie
der III. Kongreß für neues Bauen stattfindet. (Vorführung von
Avant-Garde-Filmen)

Samstag, 29. November: Administrativer Tag. Nur
Kongreßmitglieder können gegen Vorweisung ihrer Mitglieds-
karte daran teilnehmen
9.30 Uhr Vorbereitung des Kongresses 1931 „Die konstruktive
Stadt“. Vorschläge der Kommission und der Gruppen. Vertei-
lung der Arbeit für 1931. Landesberichte über den gegen-
wärtigen Zustand der Wohnung für das Existenzminimum.
Widerstände der Behörden gegenüber einer wirklichen Lösung
dieses Problems
3 Uhr Generalversammlung der Kongreßmitglieder. (Admini-
strative Fragen, Wahlen, Finanzen usw.)
Sprechzeit der Referate: 10 Minuten



19 ARCHITECT VICTOR BOURGEOIS, BRUSSEL Wohnhaus und Atelier
des Bildhauers O. Jaspers, Brüssel - Dwelling House and Studio of Mr. O.
Jaspers, sculptor, of Brussels - Maison à habitation et Atelier de M. O. Jes-
pers, sculpteur, de Bruxelles

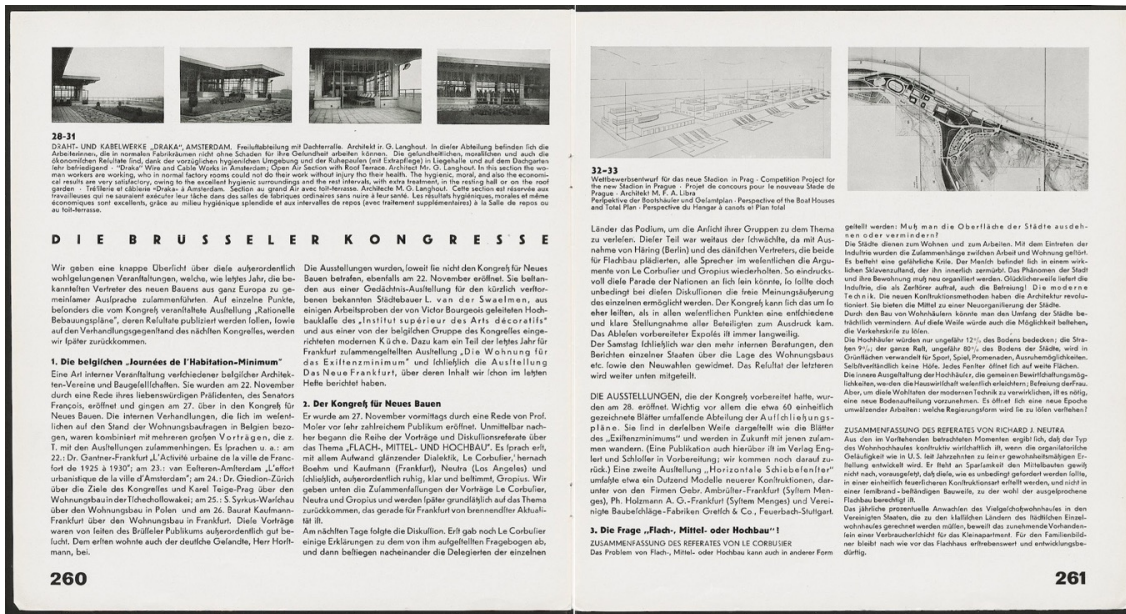
**Internationale Ausstellung horizontaler Schiebefenster in
Brüssel**
Der internationale Ausschuß für neues Bauen hat beschlossen, an
den Kongressen jeweils bestimmte Detailprobleme in möglicher
Vollständigkeit zu zeigen und zur Diskussion zu stellen. In diesem
Jahr findet gelegentlich des III. Internationalen Kongresses für neues
Bauen (Brüssel 27.—29. November) eine Zusammenstellung hori-
zontaler Schiebefenster der verschiedenen Länder statt. Der Kong-
reß will mit dieser Ausstellung durchaus nicht bekunden, daß das
horizontale Schiebefenster eine Betonung vor allen andern Fenster-
lösungen verdient, aber er hofft, neben einer persönlichen Auf-
klärung auch zu erreichen, daß die Industrie mehr als bisher sich
dem Fensterproblem zuwendet. Die Vorbereitung für die Aus-
stellung ist weitgehend fortgeschritten, und schon heute sind Modelle
horizontaler Schiebefenster von nördlichen (Finnland) bis zu süd-
lichen (Südfrankreich) Gegenden angemeldet.

241

Source: "DRITTER INTERNATIONALER KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN. BRÜSSEL 26.–29. NOVEMBER 1930.", *Das Neue Frankfurt* 11 (1930): 241, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1929.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Fig. II.1.14



Source: Joseph Gantner, "DIE BRÜSSELER KONGRESSE," Das Neue Frankfurt 12 (1930): 260–62, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/neue_frankfurt1930.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Fig. II.1.15



Source: Group picture of the participants of CIAM-03 in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, 42-03-F-1, gta Archives.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

Fig. II.1.16



Source: Evelien van Es, *Atlas of the Functional City*, p. 11.

1. CIAM's Exhibitions as SPACE

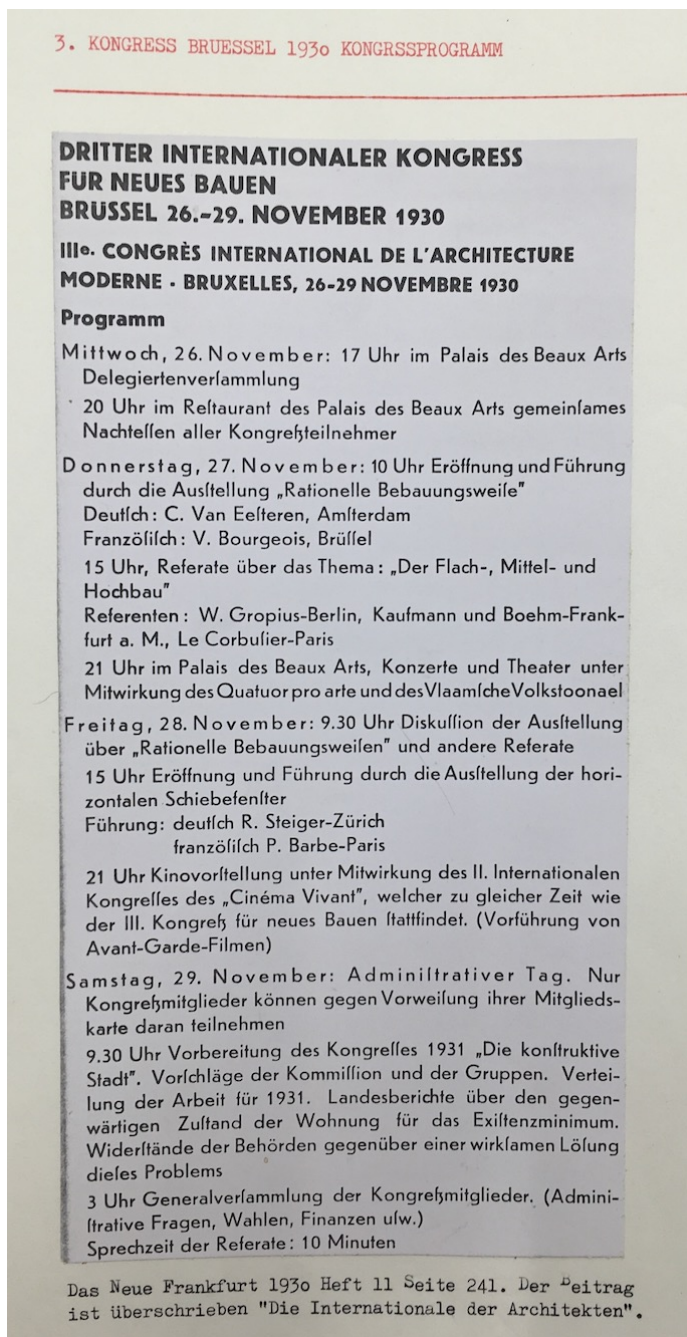
Fig. II.1.17 / Fig. II.1.18 / Fig. II.1.19 / Fig. II.1.20



Source: Photographs from the speeches given at CIAM-03, Arbejdermuseet.

2. CIAM's Exhibitions as PROGRAMME

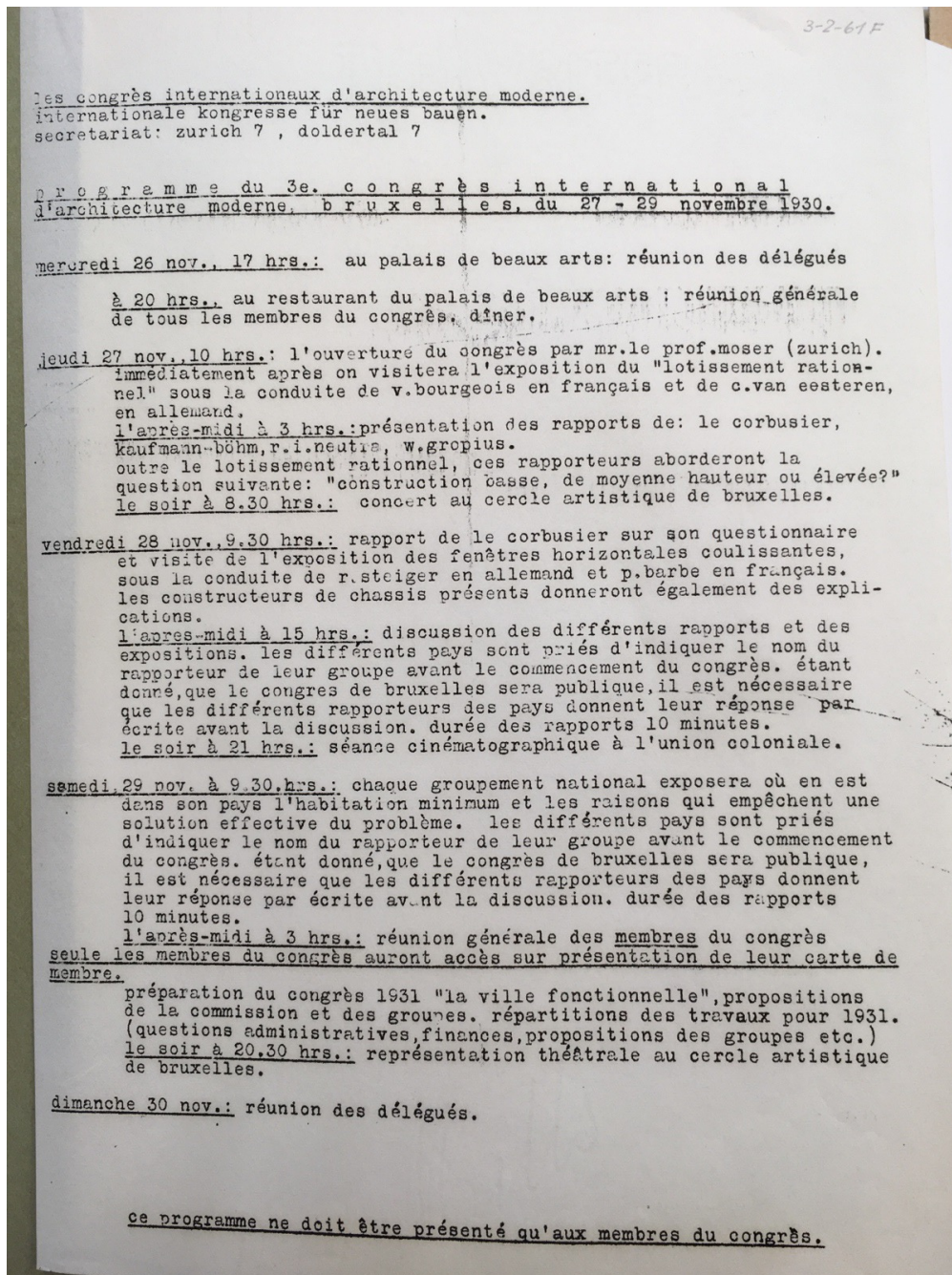
Fig. II.2.1



Source: "DRITTER INTERNATIONALER KONGRESS FÜR NEUES BAUEN. BRÜSSEL 26.-29. NOVEMBER 1920.", *Das Neue Frankfurt* 11 (1930): 241, gta Archives.

2. CIAM's Exhibitions as PROGRAMME

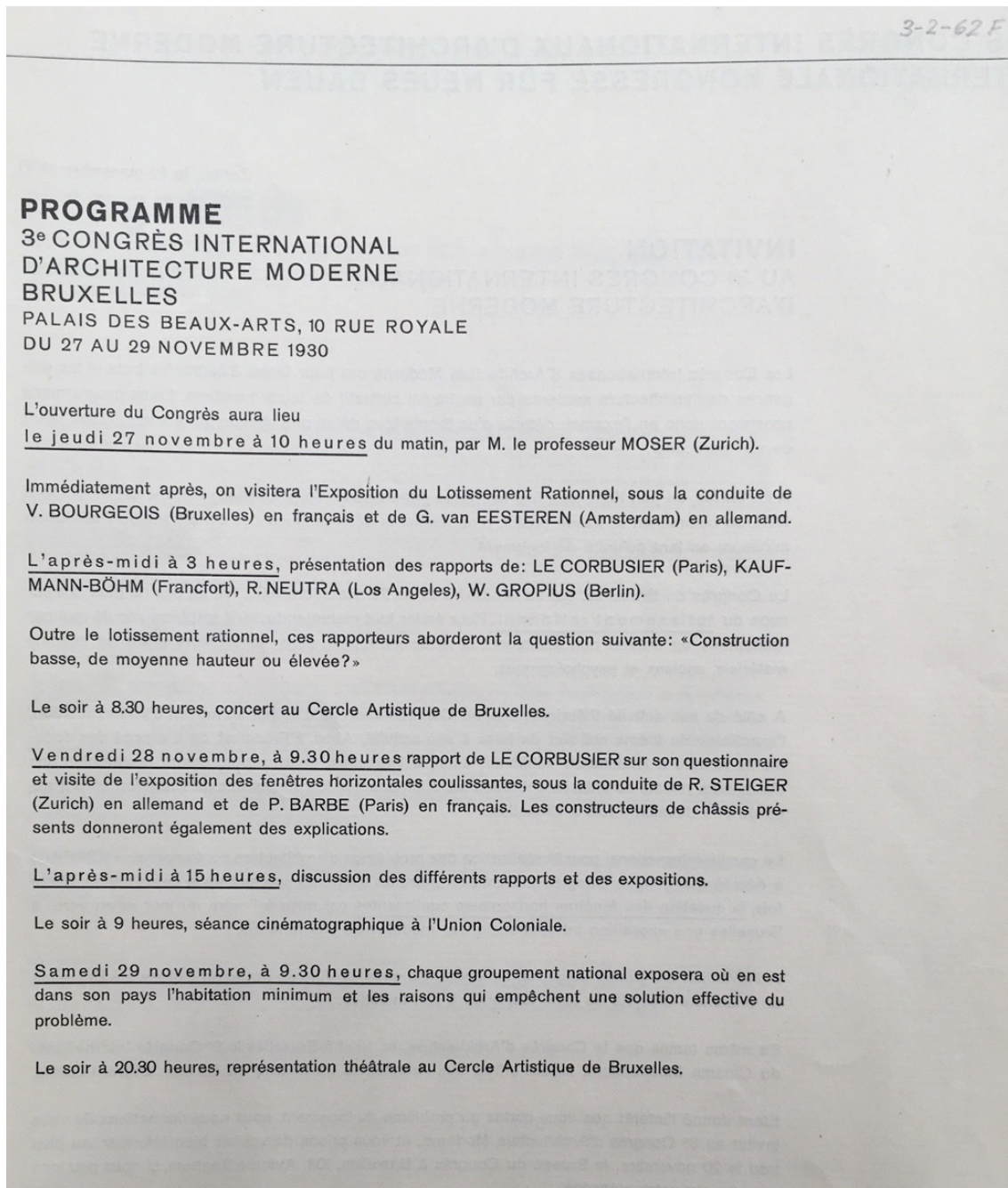
Fig. II.2.2



Source: CIAM, "programme du 3e congrès international l'architecture moderne. bruxelles, du 27-29 novembre 1930," n.d., 42-3-2-61F, gta Archives.

2. CIAM's Exhibitions as PROGRAMME

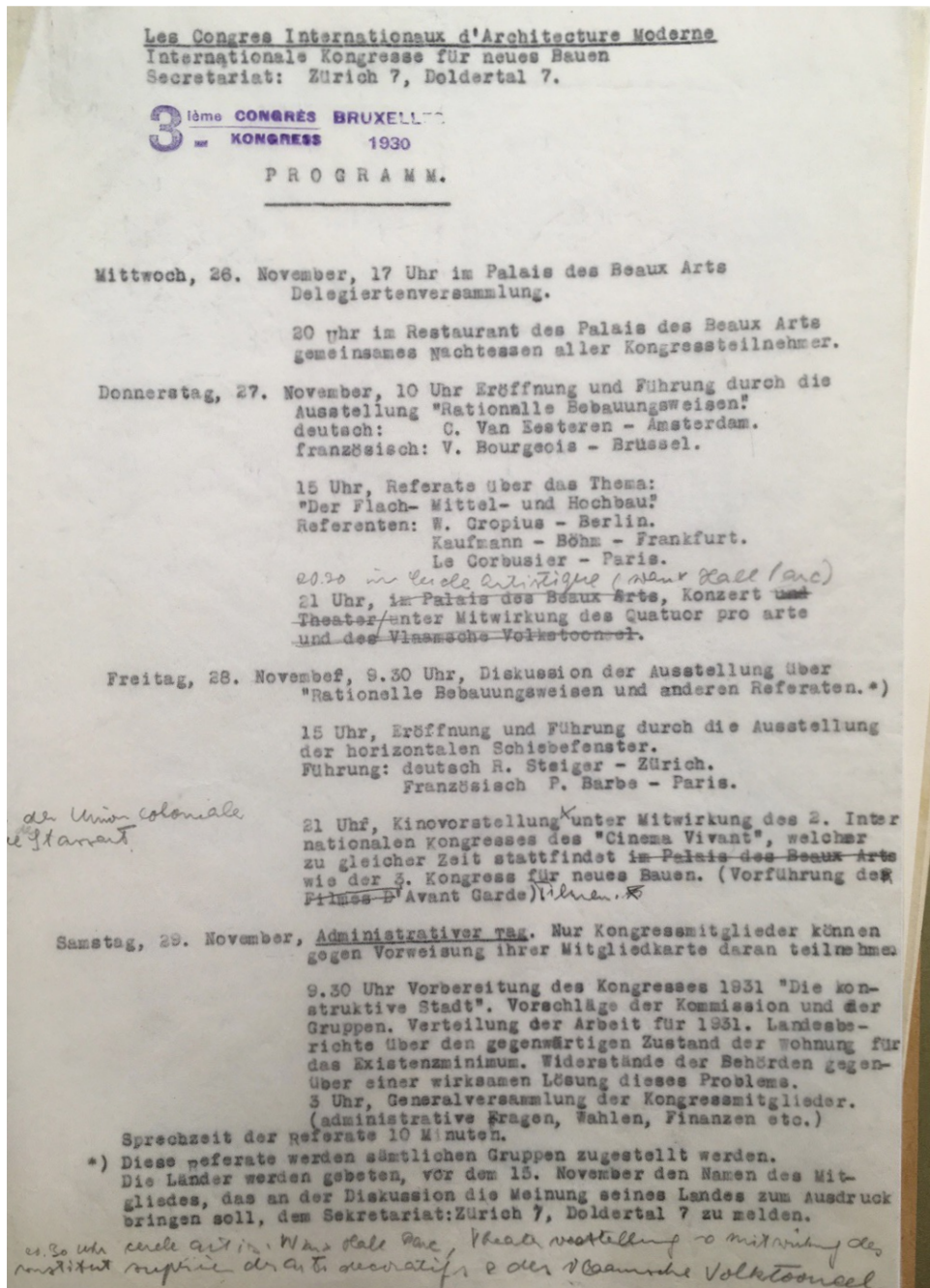
Fig. II.2.3



Source: CIAM, "PROGRAMME. 3e CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL D'ARCHITECTURE MODERNE BRUXELLES. PALAIS DES BEAUX-ARTS, 10 RUE ROYALE DU 27 AU 29 NOVEMBRE 1930," n.d., 42-3-2-62F, gta Archives.

2. CIAM's Exhibitions as PROGRAMME

Fig. II.2.4



Source: CIAM, "PROGRAMM," n.d., 42-3-2-61, gta Archives.

2. CIAM's Exhibitions as PROGRAMME

Fig. II.2.5

les congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne.
 internationale kongresse für neues bauen.
 secretariat: zürich 7, doldertal 7.

programm des 3. intern. kongresses für
 neues bauen, brüssel 27. - 29. november 1930.

mittwoch, 26. nov. 17 uhr, palais des beaux arts: delegiertenversammlung.
20 uhr im restaurant des beaux arts; gemeinsames nachessen aller kongressmitglieder.

donnerstag, 27. nov. 10 uhr: eröffnung des kongresses durch k. moser (zürich), sowie der ausstellung "rationelle bebauungsweisen", die ausstellung wird in französischer sprache durch bourgeois und in deutscher durch van eesteren erläutert.
nachm. 3 uhr: referate über das thema: "flach- mittel- oder hochbau?" von le corbusier, kaufmann-böhm, r.i.neutra, w. gropius.
abends 20 uhr: konzert im waux hall parc.

freitag, 28. nov. 9 uhr 30: le corbusier erläutert seinen fragebogen und eröffnet die ausstellung "horizontale schiebefenster". r. steiger übernimmt die führung in deutscher und p.barbe in französischer sprache. anwesende konstruktoren erläutern die modelle.
nachm. 3 uhr: diskussion über "flach- mittel- oder hochbau?", sowie über die ausstellung "rationelle bebauungsweisen". sprechzeit der einzelnen diskussionsredner 10 minuten. da die verhandlungen öffentlich sind, wird jedes land gebeten, einen sprecher zu bestimmen und die aussage vor kongressbeginn schriftlich niederzulegen. alle referate werden deshalb vervielfältigt und sobald sie dem sekretariat eingegangen sind, den mitgliedern übersandt.
abends 21 uhr: kinovorstellung union coloniale, rue de stassard 34.

samstag, 29. nov. 9 uhr 30: berichte der einzelnen landesgruppen über den stand der wohnung für das existenzminimum und der widerstände, die in ihrem land einer wirksamen lösung dieses problems entgegenstehen. auch in diesem fall bitten wir die einzelnen gruppen, die sprechzeit nicht über 10 minuten auszudehnen und die aussage vorher schriftlich niederzulegen.
nachm. 3 uhr: generalversammlung der kongressmitglieder: nur mitglieder des kongresses haben zutritt.
 vorbereitung des kongresses 1931 "die konstruktive stadt" vorschläge der kommissionen und gruppen. verteilung der arbeiten 1931.
 hierauf wahlen, finanzregelungen, vorschläge, eingelaufene anträge.
abends 20 uhr 30: cercle artistique, waux hall parc, theatervorstellung.

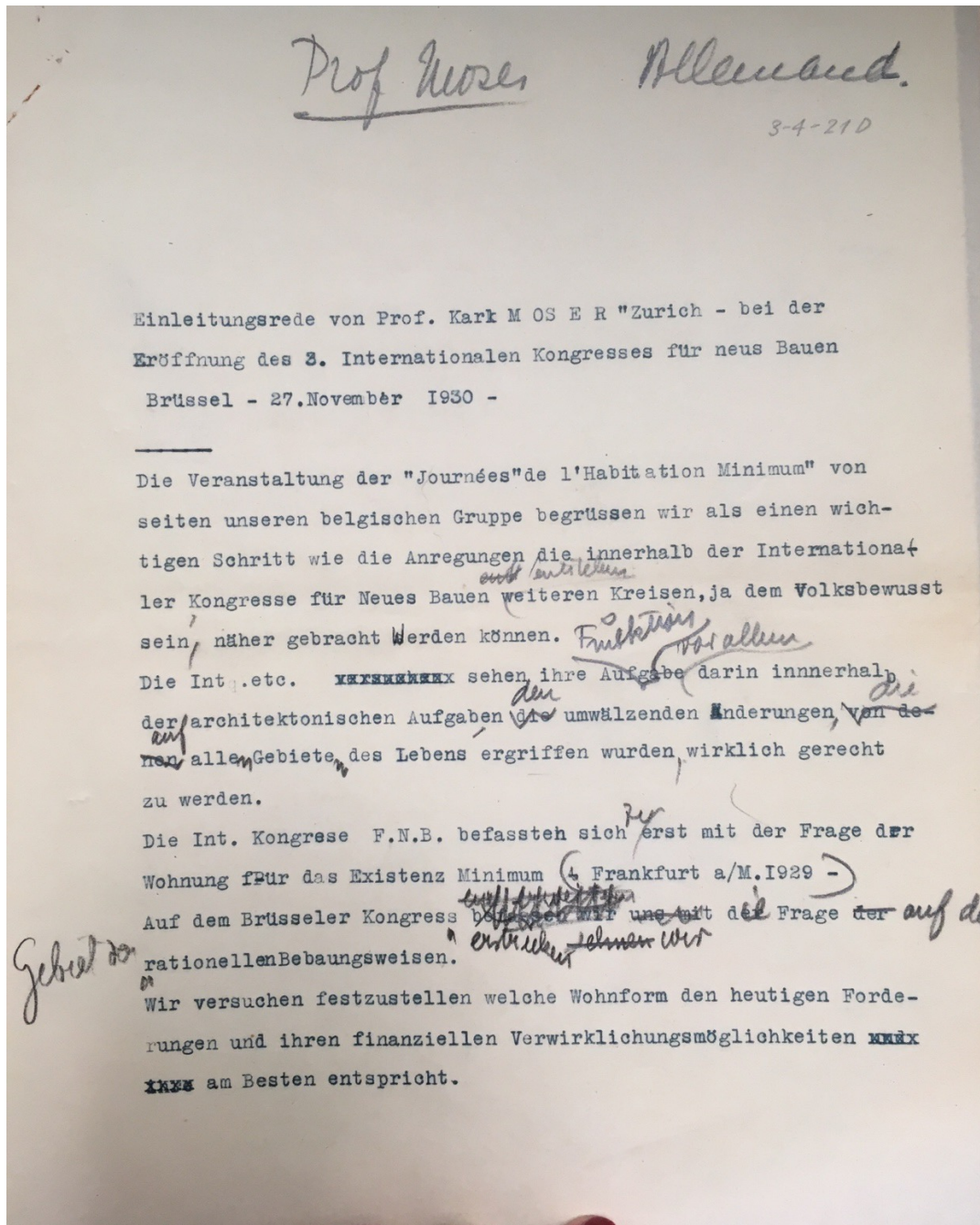
sonntag, 30. nov. 10 uhr: delegiertenversammlung.

dieses programm gilt nur für mitglieder.

Source: CIAM. "Programm des 3. internat. kongresses für neues bauen brüssel, palais des beaux arts. 27.-29. novembre 1930." n.d. 42-3-2-62D, gta Archives.

2. CIAM's Exhibitions as PROGRAMME

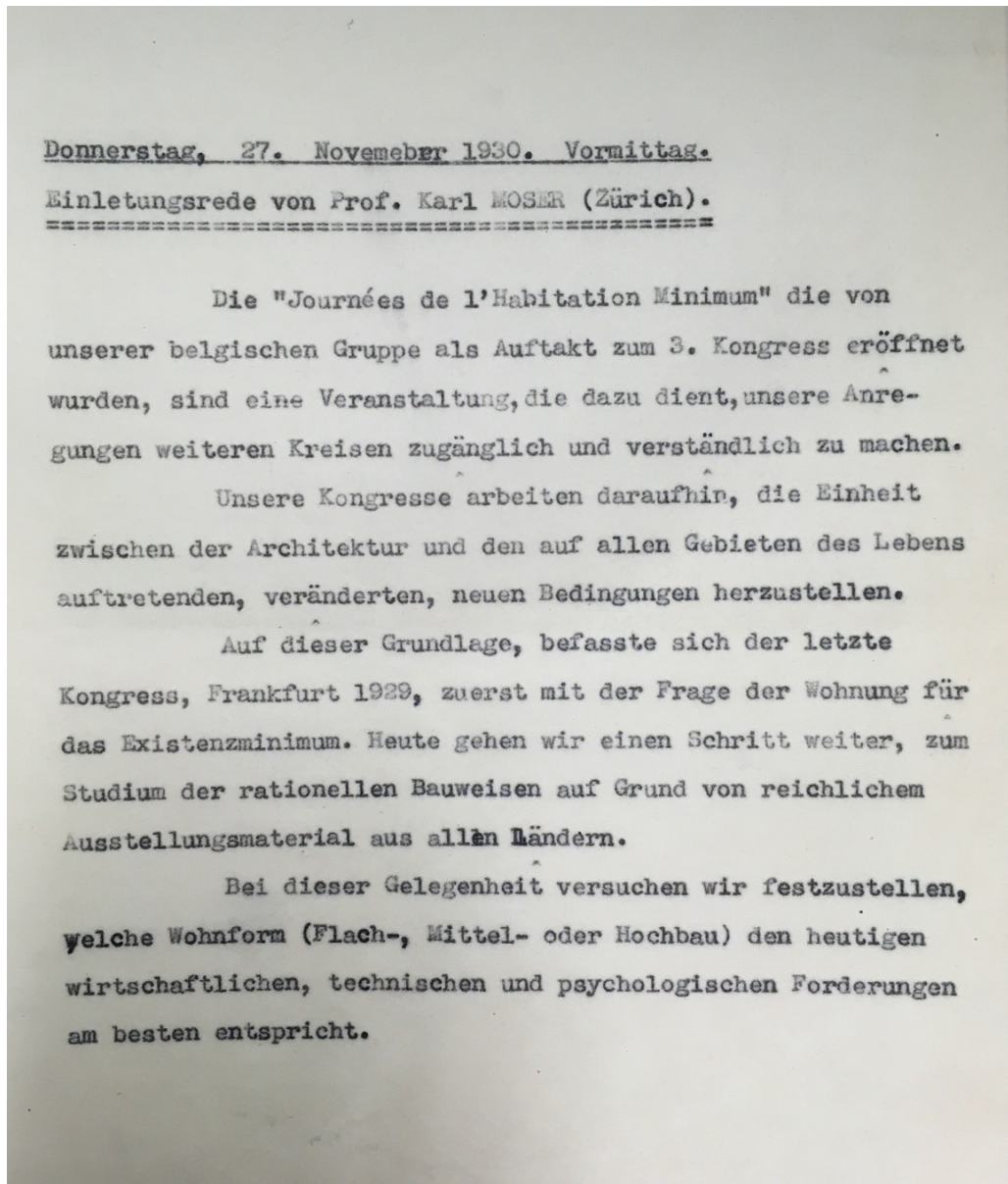
Fig. II.2.6



Source: Karl Moser, "Einleitungsrede von Prof. Karl Moser (Zürich)," November 27, 1930, 42-3-4-21DV, gta Archives.

2. CIAM's Exhibitions as PROGRAMME

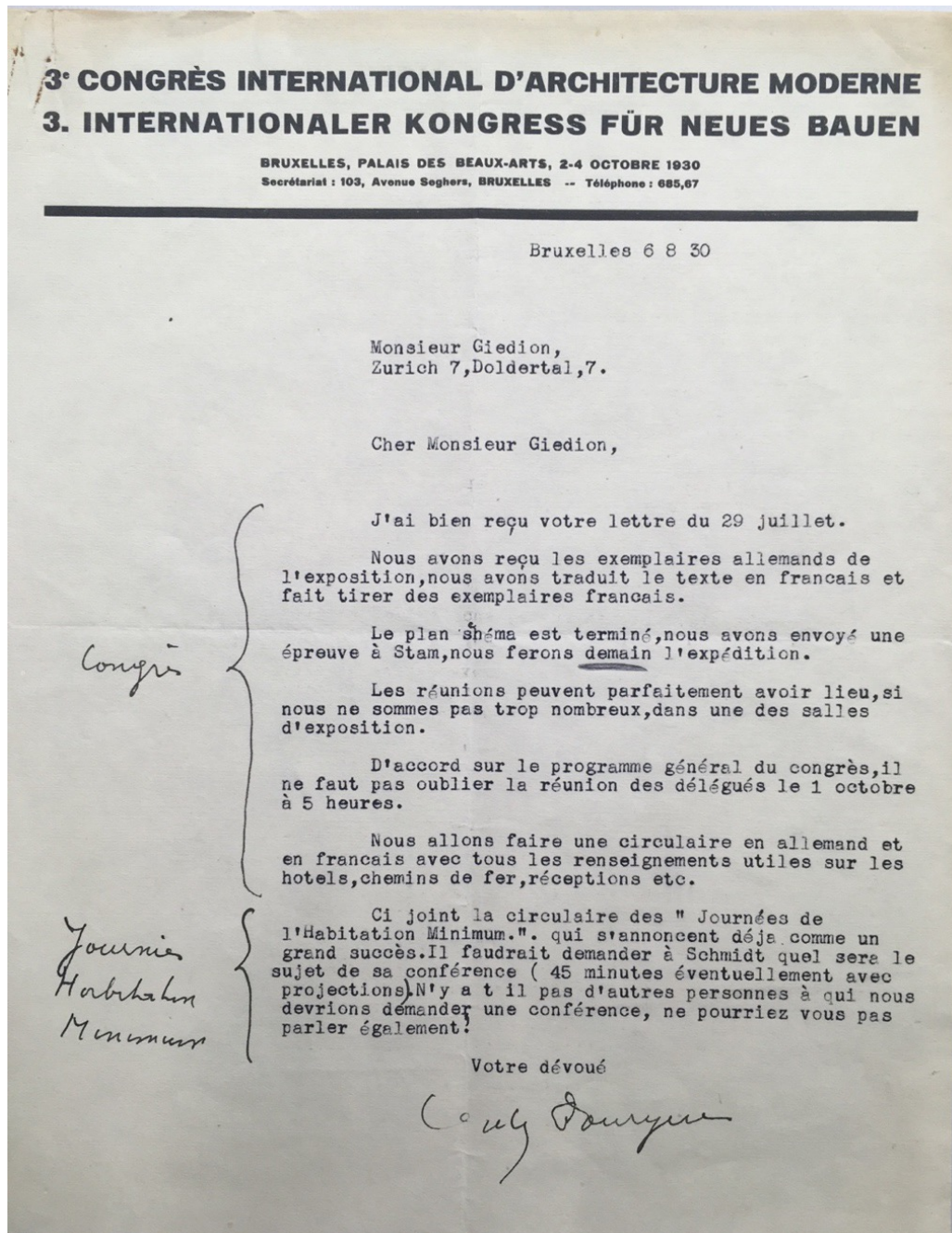
Fig. II.2.7



Source: Karl Moser, "Einleitungsrede von Prof. Karl MOSER," November 27, 1930, 42-3-4-21D, gta Archives.

3. CIAM's Exhibitions as FORMAT

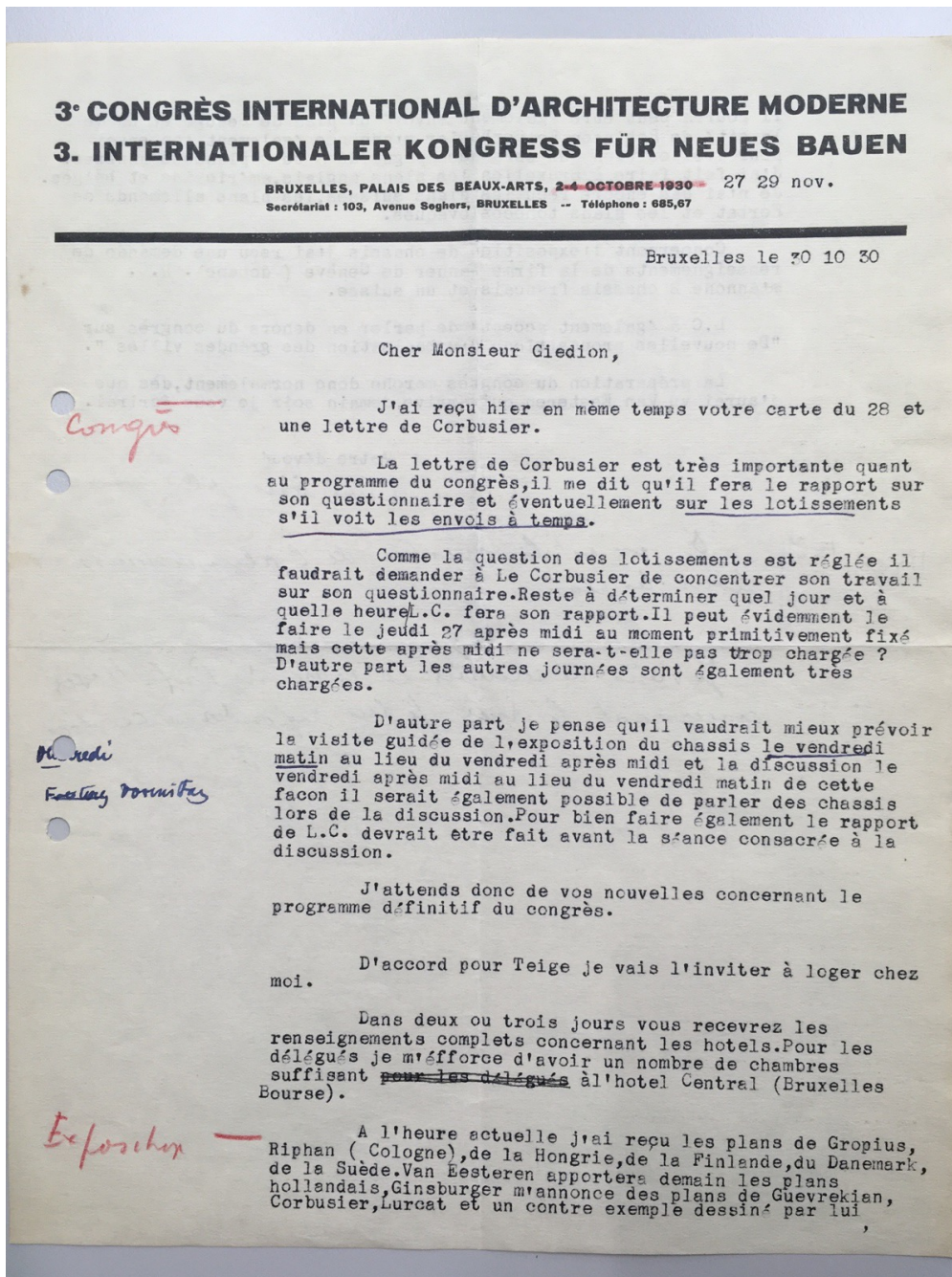
Fig. II.3.1



Source: Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, August 6, 1930. 42-K-1930-Bourgeois- Victor, gta Archives.

3. CIAM's Exhibitions as FORMAT

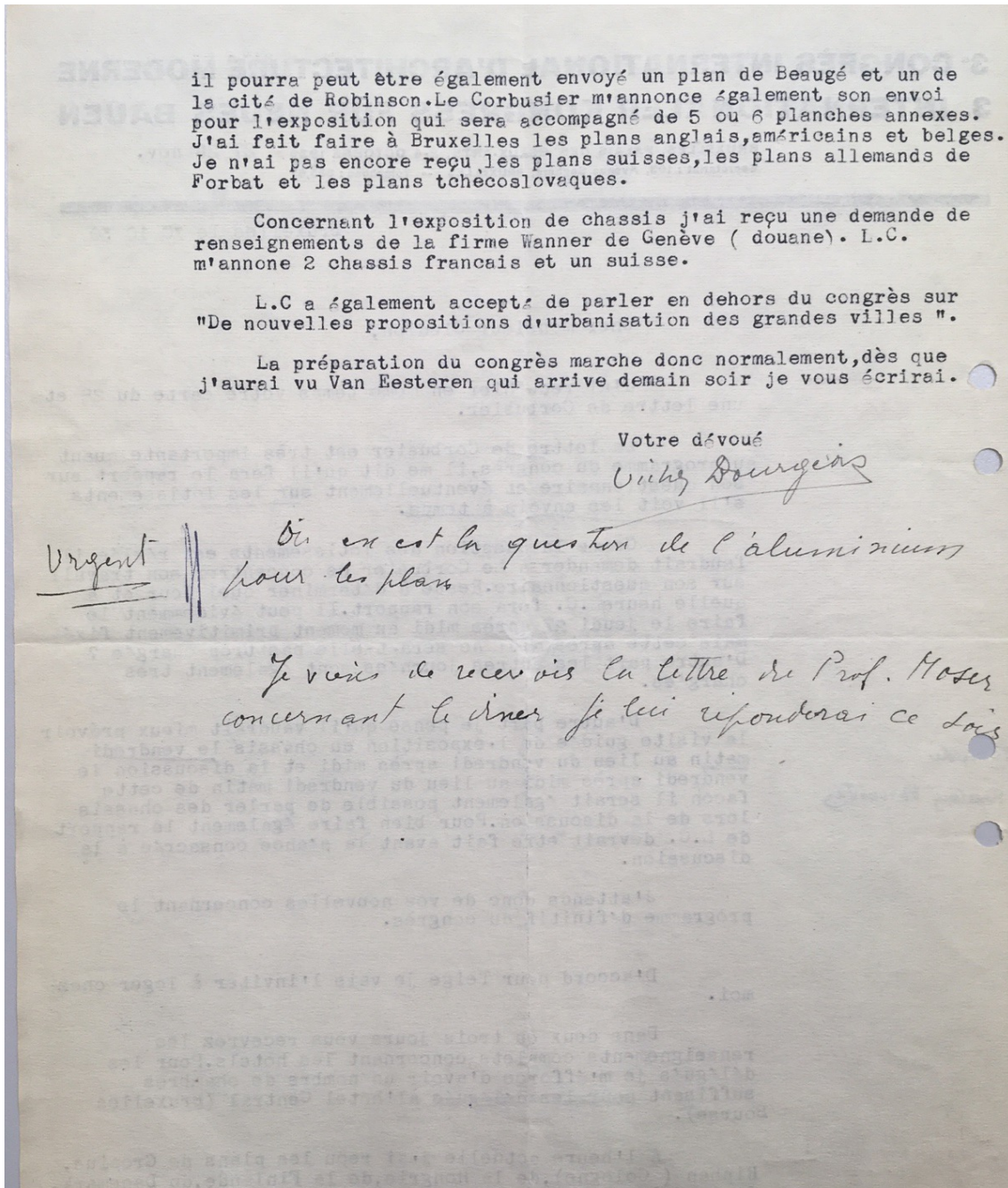
Fig. II.3.2



Source: Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, October 30, 1930, 1, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

3. CIAM's Exhibitions as FORMAT

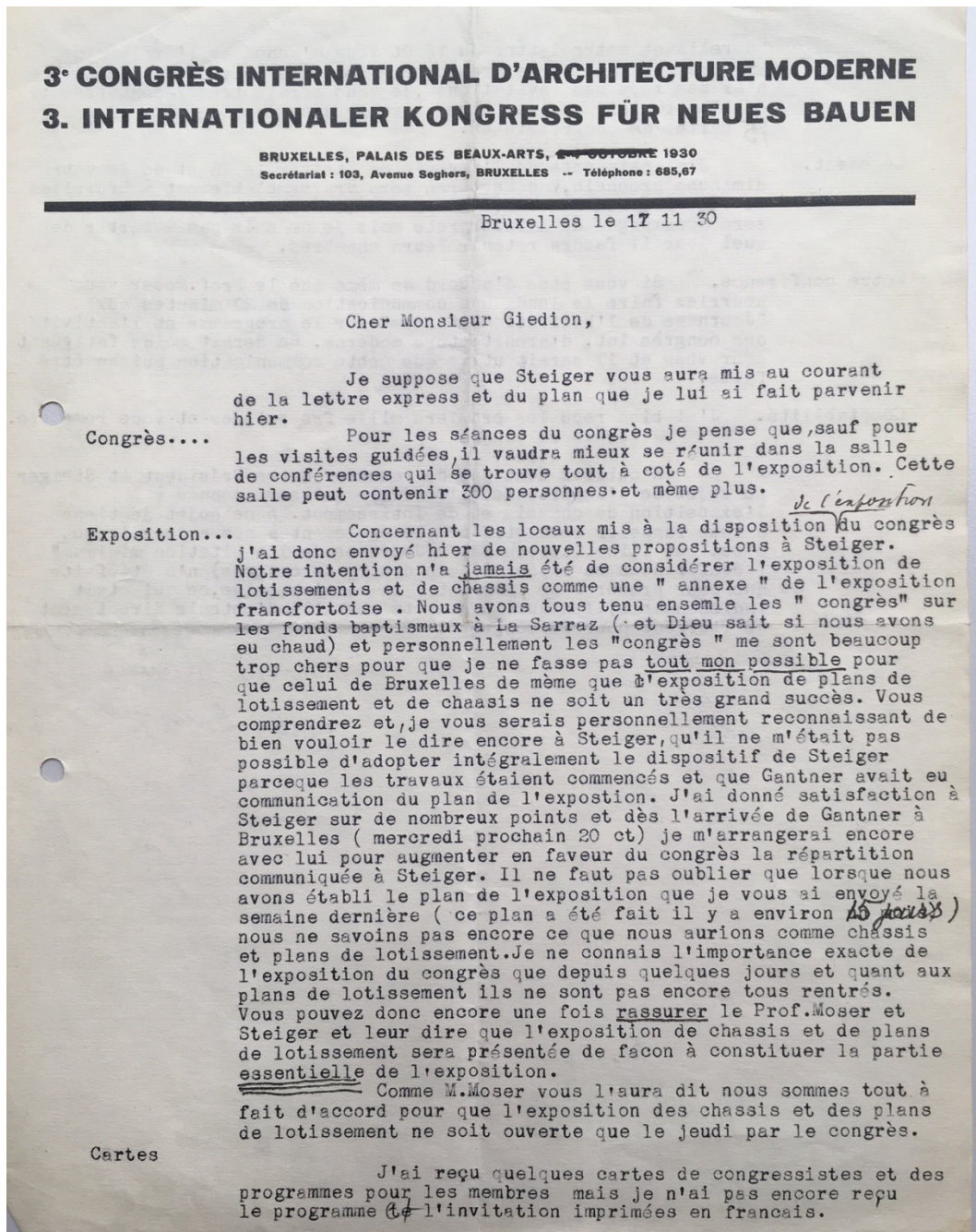
Fig. II.3.3



Source: Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, October 30, 1930, 2, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois-Victor, gta Archives.

3. CIAM's Exhibitions as FORMAT

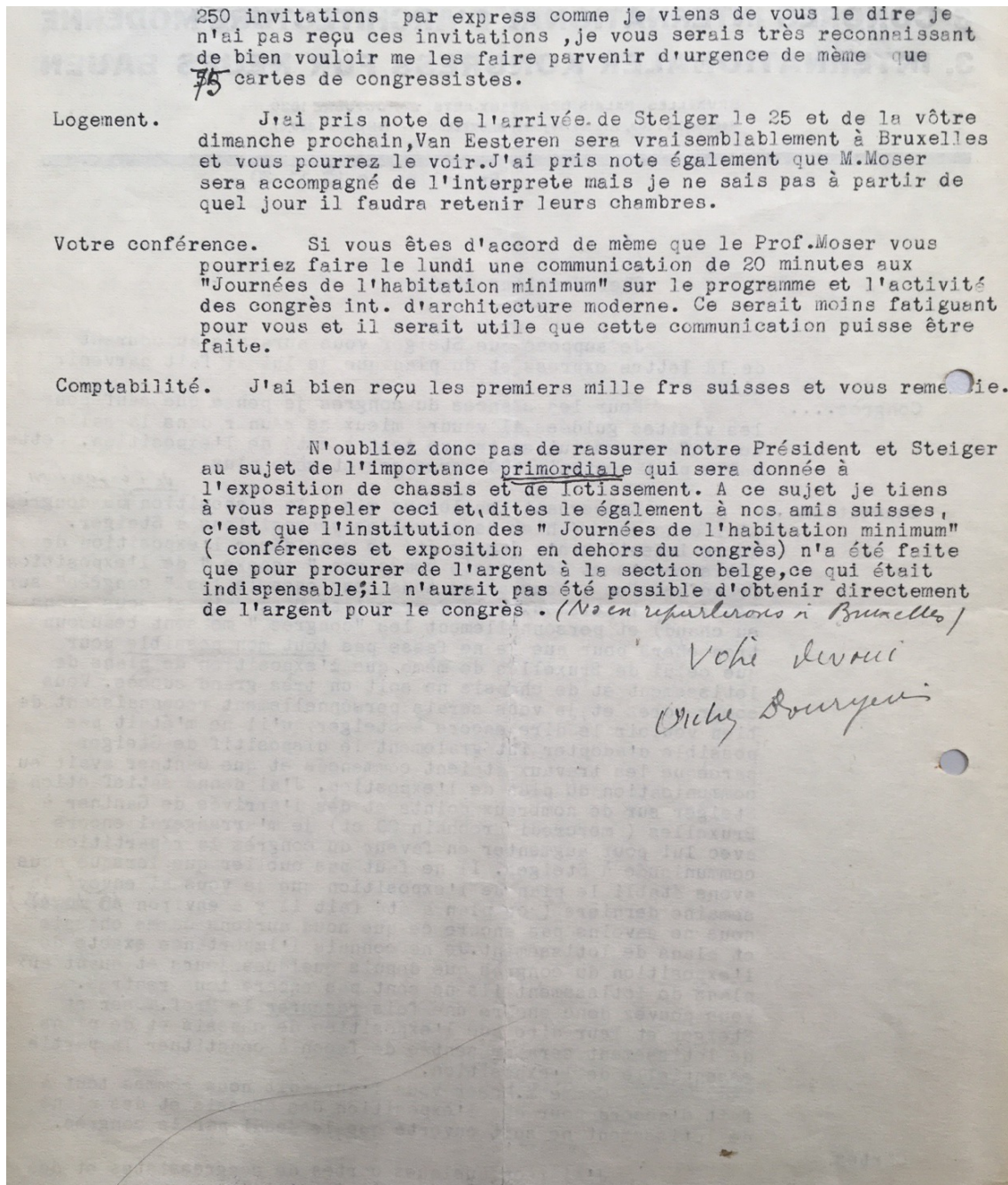
Fig. II.3.4



Source: Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 17, 1930, 1, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois- Victor, gta Archives.

3. CIAM's Exhibitions as FORMAT

Fig. II.3.5



Source: Victor Bourgeois, Letter to Sigfried Giedion, November 17, 1930, 2, 42-K-1930-Bourgeois- Victor, gta Archives.

5. CIAM's Exhibitions as MATERIAL

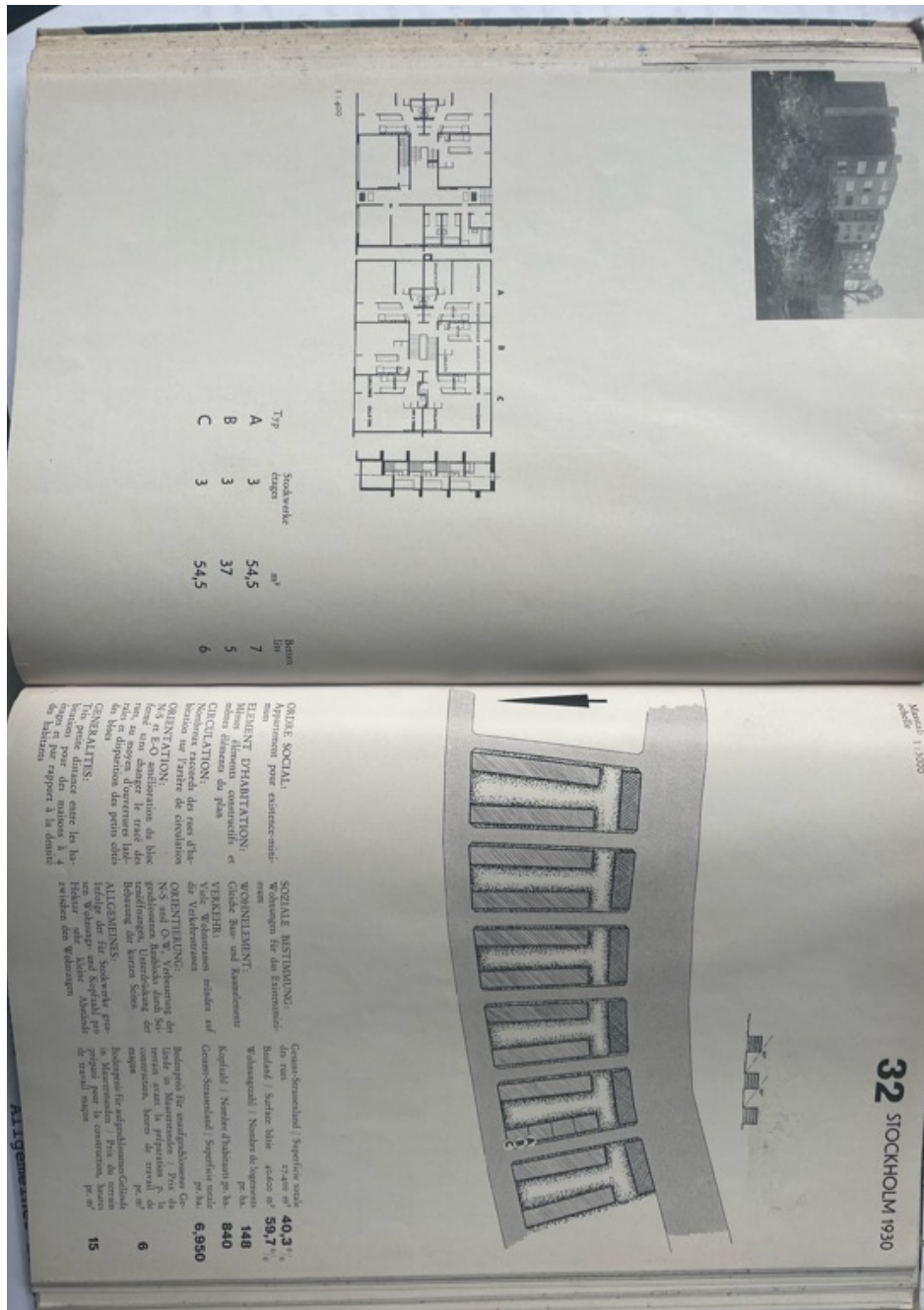
Fig. II.5.1



Source: "Le Corbusier durante o III CIAM em Bruxelles, 1930," CIAM III (Bélgica), accessed September 29, 2023, <http://cronologiadourbanismo.ufba.br/apresentacao.php?idVerbetes=1466#prettyPhoto>.

6. CIAM's Publications as TESTIMONY

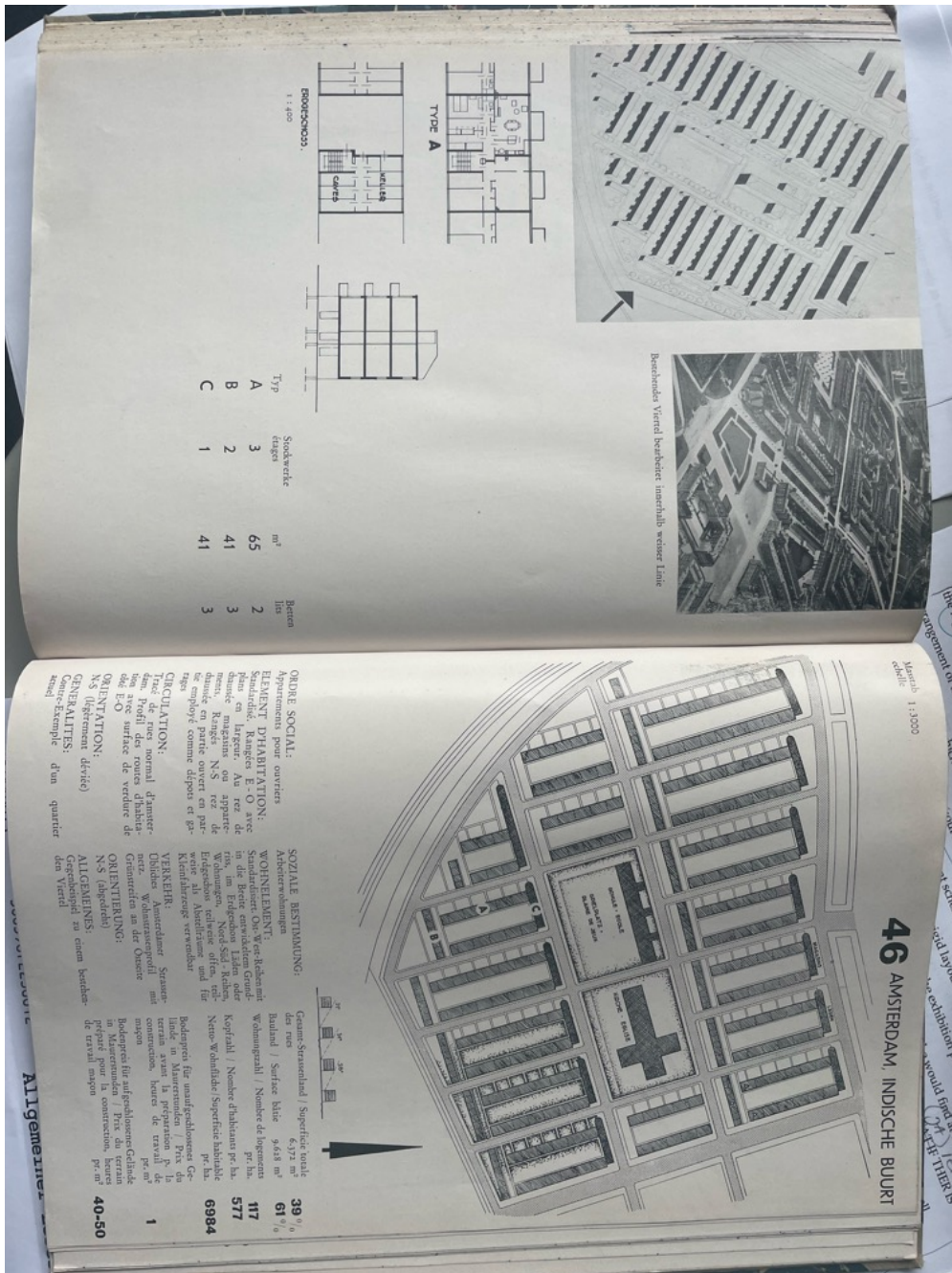
Fig. II.6.1



Source: Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen. Ergebnisse des 3. Internationalen Kongresses für Neues Bauen* (Frankfurt am Main: Englert und Schlosser, 1931), #32.

6. CIAM's Publications as TESTIMONY

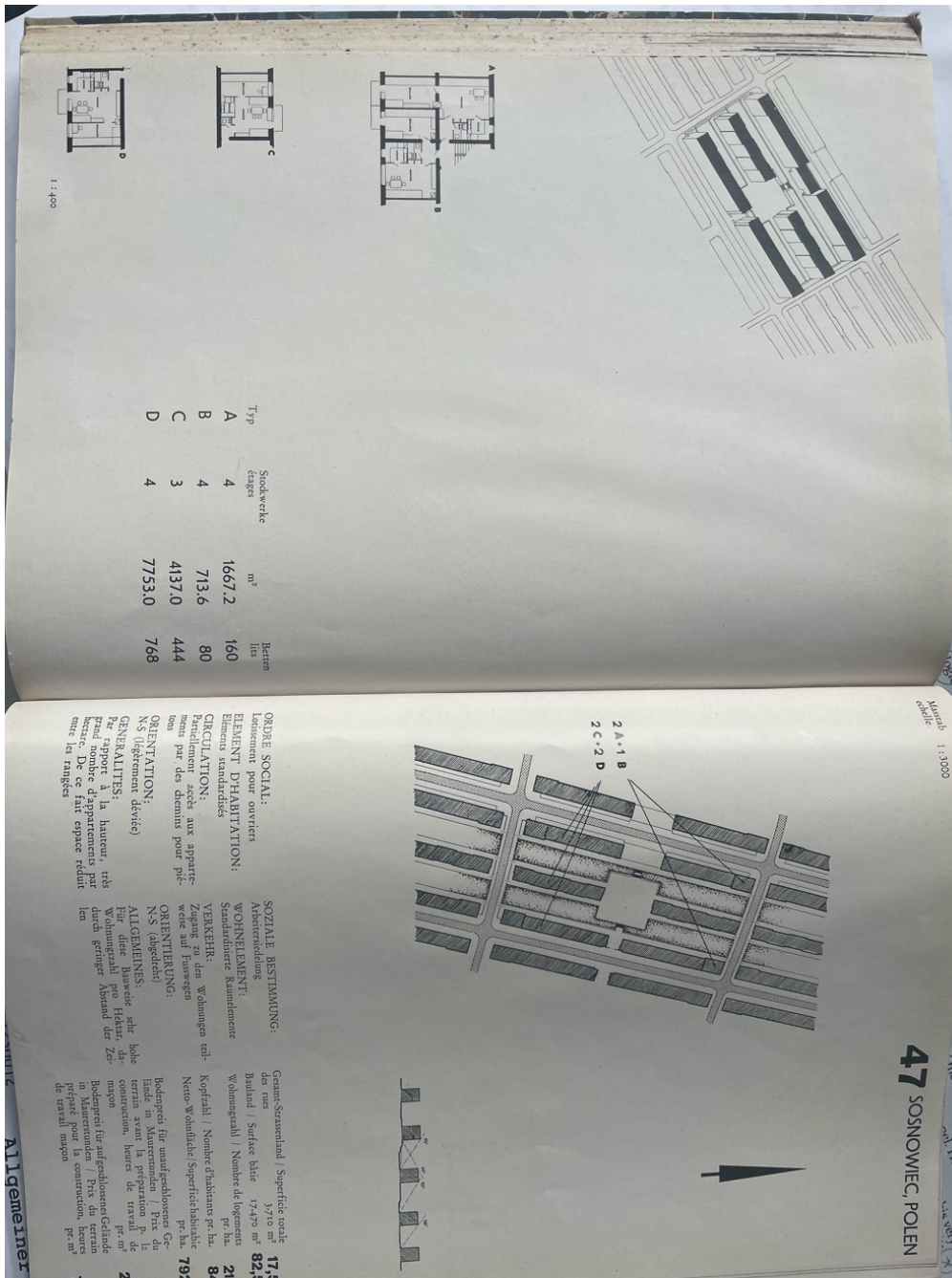
Fig. II.6.2



Source: Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen. Ergebnisse des 3. Internationalen Kongresses für Neues Bauen* (Frankfurt am Main: Engler und Schlosser, 1931), #46.

6. CIAM's Publications as TESTIMONY

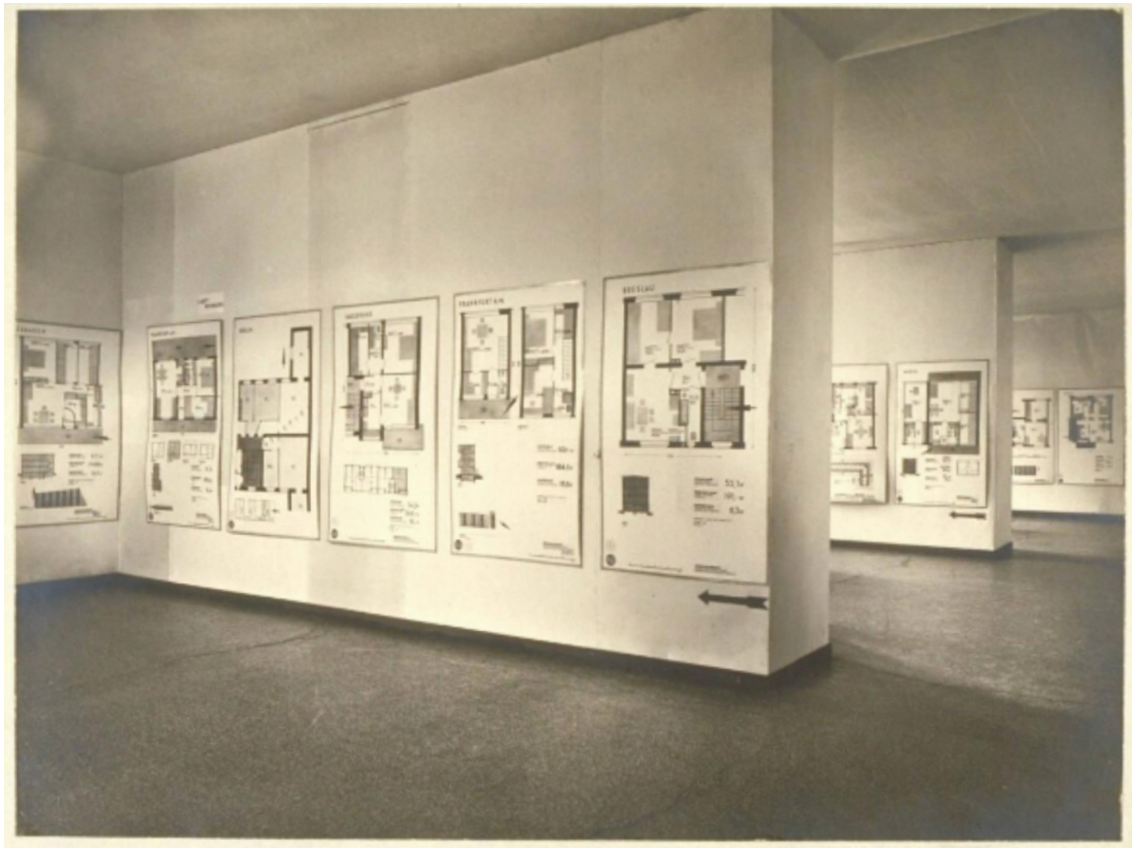
Fig. II.6.3



Source: Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen, eds., *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen. Ergebnisse des 3. Internationalen Kongresses für Neues Bauen* (Frankfurt am Main: Engler und Schlosser, 1931), #47.

6. CIAM's Publications as TESTIMONY

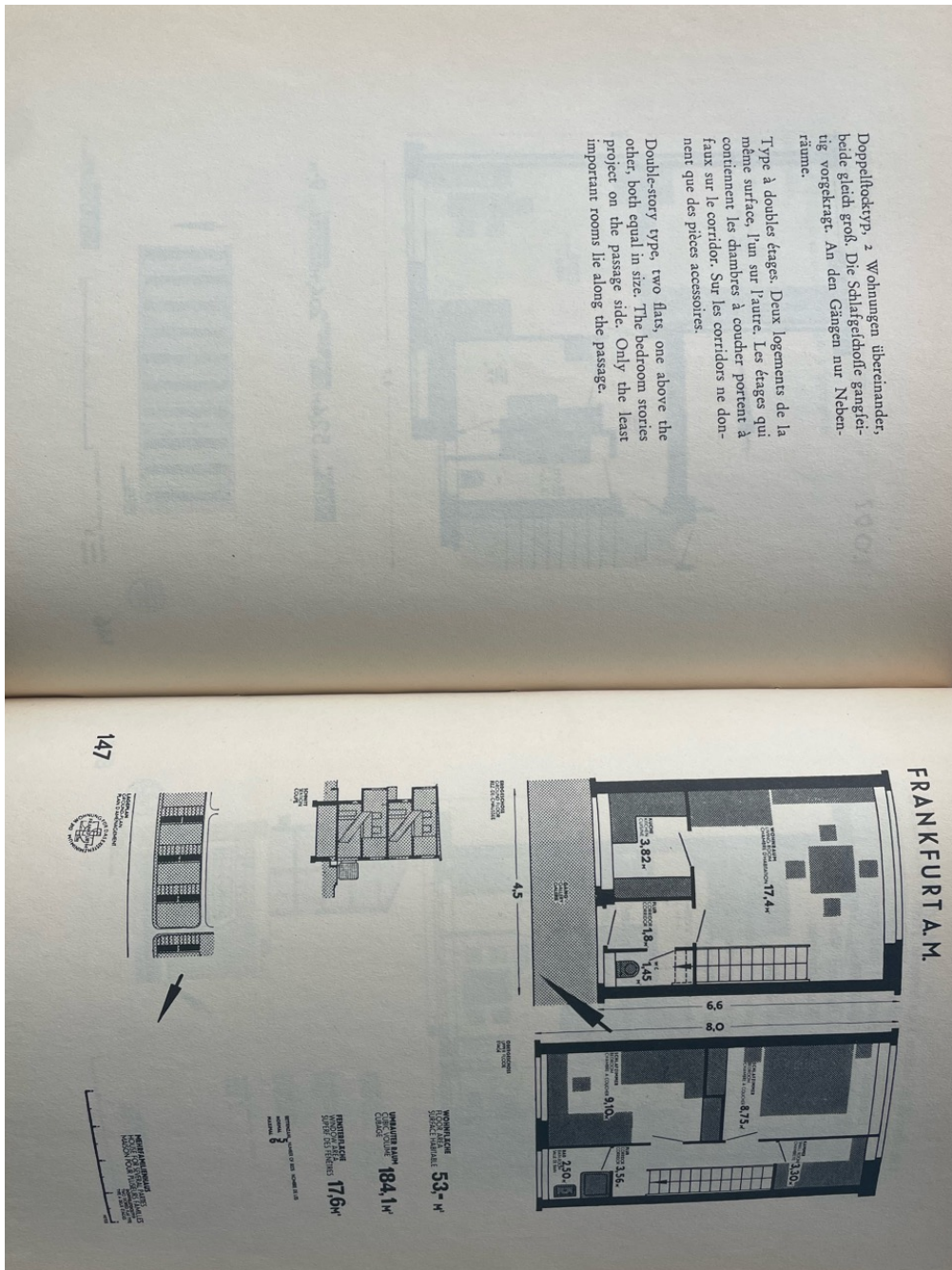
Fig. II.6.4



Travelling Exhibition of "The Dwelling for Minimal Existence" in Zurich in 1930. Source, "Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum, Ausstellungsgestaltung," eMuseum Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Archiv ZHdK, accessed Mai 15, 2022. <https://www.emuseum.ch/objects/133054/die-wohnung-fur-das-existenzminimum-ausstellungsgestaltung?ctx=19d133272f2ee01f90dcee6f-2395d3128baf47f1&idx=3>.

6. CIAM's Publications as TESTIMONY

Fig. II.6.6



Source: Internationale Kongresse für Neues Bauen Zürich, eds., *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum. Auf Grund der Ergebnisse des II. Internationalen Kongresses für Neues Bauen, sowie der vom Städtische Hochbauamt in Frankfurt am Main veranstalteten Wanderausstellung*, 3rd edn. (Stuttgart: Julius Hoffmann Verlag, 1933), #147.

8. CIAM's Exhibitions as STRATEGIC INSTRUMENT FOR POLICY MAKING

Fig. II.8.1



Source: Evelien van Es, Gregor Harbusch, and Bruno Maurer et al., eds., *Atlas of the Functional City – CIAM 4 and Comparative Urban Analysis* (Bussum: Thoth Uitgeverij, 2014), 17.

8. CIAM's Exhibitions as STRATEGIC INSTRUMENT FOR POLICY MAKING

Fig. II.8.2



Source: "Wystawa 'Mieszkanie najmniejsze'," *Polski Portal Biograficzny Wystawy*, accessed October 17, 2023. <https://www.biogramy.pl/a/foto/wystawa-pt-mieszkanie-najmniejsze-w-budynku-warszawskiej-spoldzielni-mieszkaniowej-przy-placu-wilsona-w-warszawie-1031930-r#text>.

8. CIAM's Exhibitions as STRATEGIC INSTRUMENT FOR POLICY MAKING

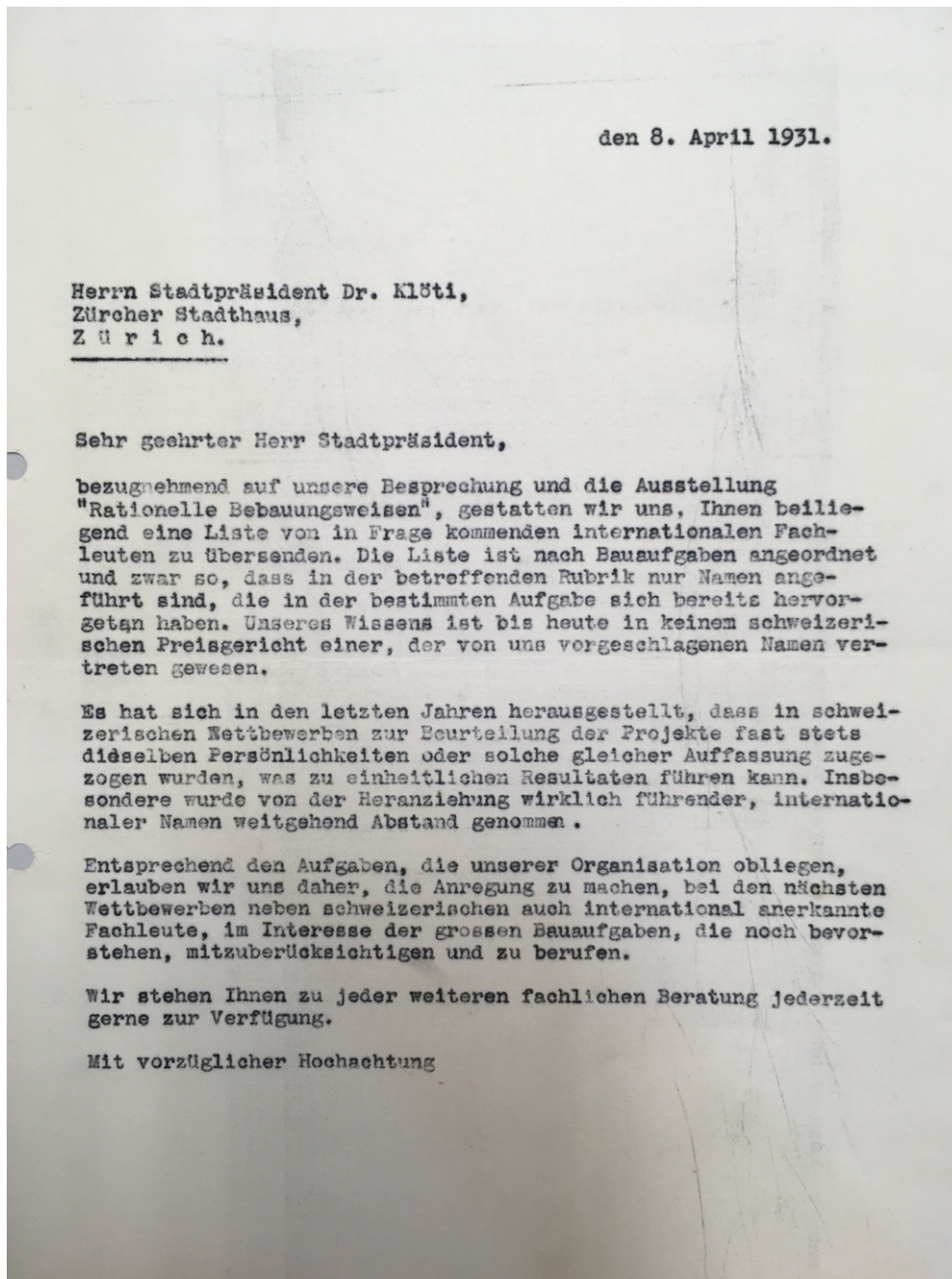
Fig. II.8.3



Source: "Ausstellung 'Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum'," online Archiv Magdeburger Moderne, Fotos HBA, Nr. 6563. Accessed October 31, 2023. <https://www.magdeburger-moderne.de>

8. CIAM's Exhibitions as STRATEGIC INSTRUMENT FOR POLICY MAKING

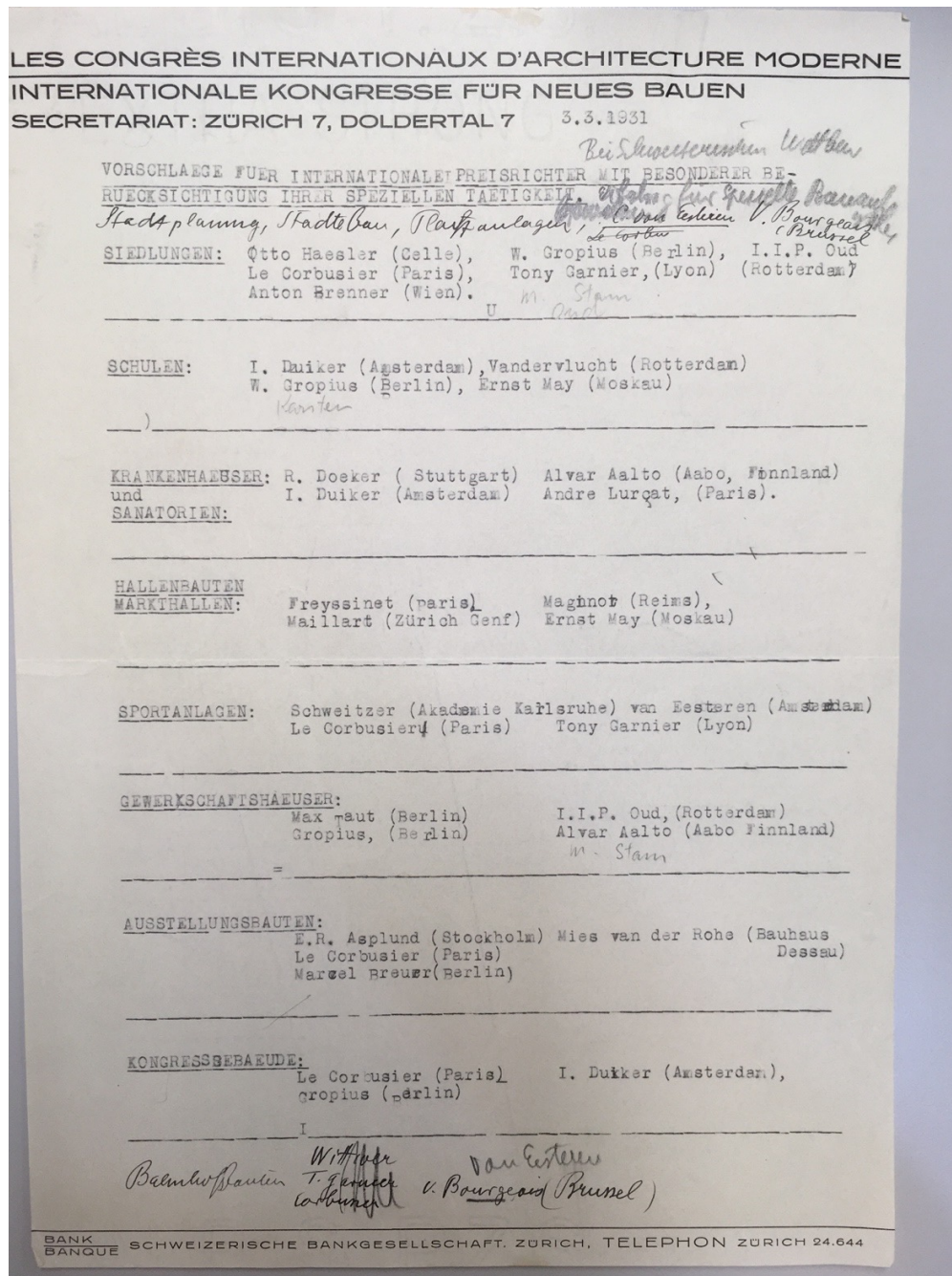
Fig. II.8.4



Source: Sigfried Giedion, Letter to Emil Klöti, April 8, 1931, 42-1.Periode-II-K-1932, gta Archives.

8. CIAM's Exhibitions as STRATEGIC INSTRUMENT FOR POLICY MAKING

Fig. II.8.5



Source: CIAM, "Vorschläge für Internationale Preisrichter mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer speziellen Tätigkeit," March 3, 1931, 42-1.Periode-K-1932, gta Archives.