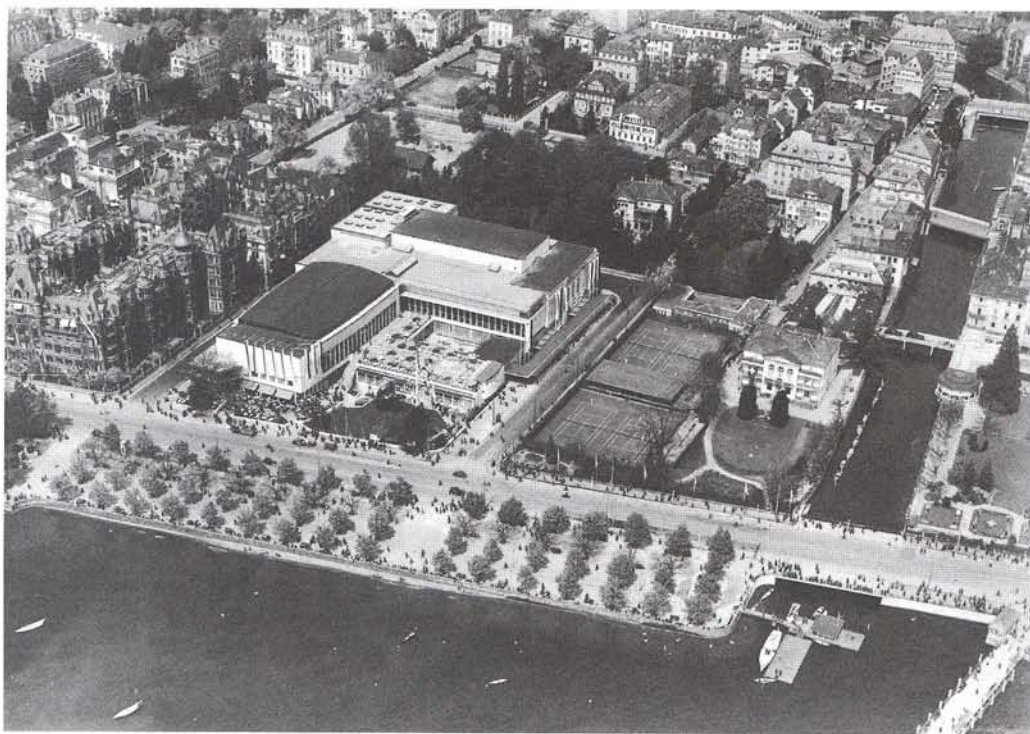


1. Aerial view of the Zurich *Kongresshaus* (convention and concert hall) shortly after completion. The building faces southeast toward Lake Zurich. (Photograph by Luftbild Schweiz, Courtesy Archiv gta/ETH Zurich)



1. Aerial view of the Zurich *Kongresshaus* (convention and concert hall) shortly after completion. The building faces southeast toward Lake Zurich. (Photograph by Luftbild Schweiz, Courtesy Archiv gta/ETH Zurich)

Architecture Officielle Maudite: The Zurich *Kongresshaus* Between Preservation and City Marketing

The spectacle is capital accumulated to the point where it becomes image.

Guy Debord, *La société du spectacle*, 1967'

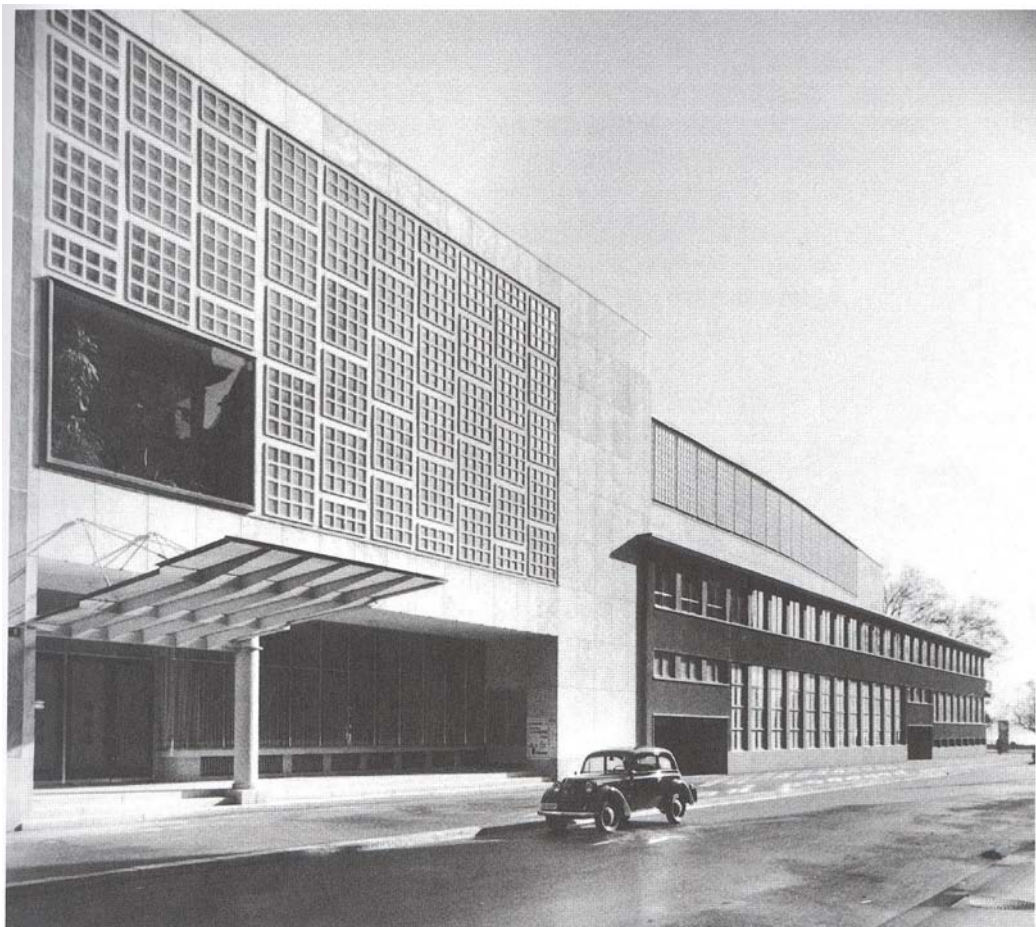
In Zurich, Switzerland, a debate on the preservation of an outstanding achievement of modern architecture has gradually risen since the outcome of a major architectural competition on its future became public in April 2006. At stake is the demolition and replacement of the *Kongresshaus* (convention and concert hall), constructed in the context of the specific Swiss cultural climate at the eve of the World War II. Haefeli, Moser, Steiger's complex is not one of the typical icons of modern architecture that have received the broad attention necessary for their preservation. The building is unique in its kind, but evades grand gestures on the level of both architecture and urbanism. In his *Switzerland Builds: Its Native and Modern Architecture* (1950), the American architectural historian G. E. Kidder Smith characterized it as a work of architects "firmly determined to avoid the pompous, monumental civic center so typical of too many cities. Instead they created a friendly, informal building of unaffected propriety."

The city of Zurich commissioned the *Kongresshaus* in 1936. The initial building program called for five major programmatic areas: a section dedicated to concert halls, an area assigned to conventions, a lobby, restaurants, and administration and services spaces. The site chosen for the building was that of the existing historicist *Tonhalle* [concert hall] complex (1893-1895). Due to financial restrictions, Haefeli, Moser, Steiger decided to conserve the two existing and acoustically fit concert halls. They demolished only parts of the nineteenth-century structure, joining the two existing auditoria and the additional new spaces with one long lobby. A remarkable forty-five meters [148 feet] in length, this space leads from the entrance to the box office up the stairs to a double-height lounge at the level of the concert halls. The lounge is divided in two by a gallery. The convention spaces and the area dedicated to music are separated by movable walls along the full width of the building, and can be combined into one large space if needed. In between the congress and concert spaces, at the level of the gallery, the architects included a conservatory with tropical plants, which separates and yet, due to its transparency, combines two zones.³

Overall, the spatial organization of the *Kongresshaus* is extraordinarily rich, and interiors stand out for being carefully detailed with abundant structural ornaments and planar decorations, which were unusual in modernist buildings of the period. Due to its asymmetrical shape, the building negotiates the existing concert halls, creating a coherent campus rather than a series of isolated structures. With their urban design, Haefeli, Moser, Steiger oriented the complex decidedly away from the city, turning its main facade toward the waterfront and the grounds of the 1939 Swiss National Exhibition. The building incorporates a garden and a large roof terrace, which opens up toward a square and a stunning panoramic view of Lake Zurich and the Alps, establishing an intricate relationship between interior and exterior spaces.

Despite its architectural significance and its listing in the Cantonal Office of Preservation's inventory of protected buildings, the *Kongresshaus* is in serious danger of demolition. Although designation technically safeguards against destruction, the cantonal government is entitled to remove a building from the list if public interest in the site is judged higher than the historical value of the protected structure. This, however, is a highly disputed matter. In the case of the *Kongresshaus*, the tourism lobby and representatives of the city council have forged a powerful alliance for the case of city marketing and international convention tourism.

In a competition staged on the future of the *Kongresshaus* and its site, the program left the preservation of the existing building up to the competitors. Among the various entries, the jury selected a project by Spanish architect Rafael Moneo that requires the demolition of the existing structure. While its preservation was technically up to the competitors, a desperately overloaded program hardly allowed anything but a *tabula rasa*. What followed the presentation of the winning entry was an officially backed campaign aiming at the denigration of the *Kongresshaus*. However, both the office of preservation and the vast majority of the city's critically minded architects and intellectuals came forward to defend the *Kongresshaus*. Apart from a multitude of comments both in the daily press and in architectural magazines voicing their dissent with the jury's decision, an ad hoc committee for the preservation of the existing structure has been formed which includes a number of the country's pre-eminent architectural critics as well as art historians and professors of architecture.¹ In short, the *Kongresshaus* case has become a battleground for the dispute between economical considerations and historical consciousness.



2. West facade with entrance to the cloakrooms. (Photograph by Michael Wolgensinger, Courtesy Archiv gta/ETH Zurich)

Architecture in the Context of *Geistige Landesverteidigung*

To understand why the building should be preserved, and why, on the other hand, the city's tourism lobby and their advocates in the City Council contest its value, the building must be situated in the political context of the time in which it was built. The late 1930s marked a time when Switzerland's integrity and its long-standing democratic tradition became increasingly contested by the authoritarian regimes in neighboring Germany and Italy. Democracy was also under attack from within—particularly in the German-speaking regions—by right-wing political forces aiming to adopt the fascist example. This threat resulted in an unlikely *Schulterschluss* [pact] among politicians and intellectuals of a wide range of ideological backgrounds, from patriotically minded conservatives to socialists. "It was a time of astonishing coalitions: town and country, bourgeois and social democrats set to work. Under the pressure of the events, the boundaries between left-wing intelligentsia and patriotism seemed to become permeable to an astounding extent."⁵ Subsequently, the logic of class struggle and dialectic opposition was temporarily resolved in a climate of conciliation and synthesis in what became



3- Partial view of the congress lobby with stairway to the congress hall. The floor is partially covered with abstract ornament. (Photograph by Hans Finsler, Courtesy Archiv gta/ETH Zurich)

known as *Geistige Landesverteidigung* [intellectual national defense].¹ Its hallmark was the recourse to *Schweizerart* [Swissness] on all levels, a stress of the cultural and historical uniqueness of the country to the point where it took on mythological traits. With this concept, the propagators of the *Geistige Landesverteidigung* held out against the *Blut und Boden* rhetoric of the Nazis, which constituted the most dire threat to national integrity.²

This climate of conciliation and synthesis prevalent in politics was also present in the realm of culture, where the avant-gardes equally sided with the cause of *Geistige Landesverteidigung*.³ Thus, when the opening of Landi 39 on the shores of Lake Zurich (the fourth Swiss National Exhibition after 1883, 1896, and 1914) coincided with the outbreak of World War II in the summer of 1939, it served as a display for a modernism situated in the Swiss cultural identity.⁴ The buildings of the exhibition were characterized by the abundant use of wood as the traditional Swiss building material, by a stress on the tectonic visibility of the structural elements, and by an ornamental treatment of surfaces. In this way, the architects sought to bridge the gap between the radicalism of the avant-garde and a popular appeal to tradition.

While the *Kongresshaus* was not officially part of the building program of the exhibition, it was not only constructed in the record time of only eighteen months between October 1937 and May 1939, "in the face of the imminent national exhi-

bition" ,," but also identified as an official venue in the tourist information brochure. Thus, while originally being planned independently from *Landi 39*, a number of official events in connection with the National Exposition were hosted in the building. Clearly, it was a brainchild of the same ideology and spoke in a similar architectural idiom as the ephemeral exhibition architecture.

In his review of the architectural achievements of the exposition, the editor of the influential journal *Das Werk*, Peter Meyer, praised it for being "at the same time in the best sense Swiss and in the best sense modern."¹ And, a few issues later, the same critic wrote: "The Zurich *Kongresshaus* breathes in all parts the same esprit which characterized the national exhibition: a fresh, bold, but by no means brash or impertinent modernity, organically connected with real deference for good old achievements and with a strong sense for the scenic situation."² The decoration and the ornamental treatment of the surfaces of the convention complex were seen as reconciling the utopian claim of the avant-garde with the reality of more popular tastes. The *Kongresshaus* was, in short, the successful translation of a political stance into built reality, the political synthesis of progressivist and traditionalist forces on a formal level. It added up to what with reference to Kenneth Frampton could be called a "critical regionalism" *avant la lettre*.³

Ornament and Monumentality

Given the highly visible use of a multitude of ornamental forms on floors, walls and ceilings and the variegated textures of the surfaces of the *Kongresshaus*, it is not surprising that a 2006 report of the office for preservation in Zurich singled out the "outstanding stylistic [*stilbildend*] significance" of this "recurrence of ornament."⁴ In the late 1930s the introduction of ornament into the language of modern architecture amounted to a subversion of the prevailing avant-garde doctrine.⁵ The renewed application of ornament marked the transition from a strictly vanguard to a more pragmatic approach, seeking to reconcile the utopian modernist stance with vernacular traditions. On the other hand, with its formal playfulness and the variety of the materials used, it also leveled the way for the resumption of the modernist project in the post-war years.

The ornamental elaborations in the work of Haefeli, Moser, Steiger have to be rooted in the first decades of the twentieth century, and more specifically in the cultural context of the United States. Considering the allusions of the *Kongresshaus* to the local architectural debate and its design and construction in a time of extreme national seclusion, it might seem rather surprising to conceive of its ornamentation as an example of the emerging exchange of ideas across the

Atlantic. The introduction of American Modern architecture to Switzerland is also reflected in the life of Werner Moser, one of the designers of the *Kongresshaus*. Werner's father, Karl Moser, the eminent architect and professor at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (Polytechnikum, today known as ETH), invited Dutch architect Hendrik Petrus Berlage to lecture in Zurich in 1912." Berlage had recently returned from a trip to North America and presented his insights about the oeuvre of Louis Henry Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright to a local audience of architects and engineers." The wide success of the lecture led to its publication, including a selection of photographs, in three consecutive issues of *Schweizerische Bauzeitung*, the leading Swiss architectural journal of the time. ⁸

A decade later, shortly after his graduation from ETH, Werner M. Moser embarked on a formative journey to the United States. As opposed to the comparatively short visits of some of the major proponents of the avant-garde, including Walter Gropius, Ernst May, and Erich Mendelsohn, Moser spent three years as a draftsman at Frank Lloyd Wright's studio in Taliesin." Wright had finished the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo and was about to complete some of his most extensively ornamented houses in California. Werner Moser's sensitivity toward ornamentation and the organic qualities of the work of his "Meister" must have been decidedly forged during this period.⁹ Moreover, Moser's extensive trips throughout the Midwest would have allowed a closer examination of the distinctive ornamentation in Louis Sullivan's work. The young architect's understanding of Wright's "love for natural materials, his interest in the site and the landscape, his feelings for the region"-as Lewis Mumford put it-as well as his sensitivity for the application of ornament ideally complemented the current regionalist stream in modern Swiss architecture."

While these influences are important in order to understand Moser's later work (in the collaborative practice of Haefeli, Moser, Steiger), his approach certainly cannot be derived from Wright alone. In the late thirties, the question of ornamentation was intrinsically linked with a debate about monumentality in modern architecture, which had been initiated in Switzerland by Peter Meyer."In the controversy that was fuelled with the announcement of the *Kongresshaus* competition, Meyer criticized the major theories of modern architecture for avoiding questions of monumentality. He contended that certain building types had always incorporated monumental qualities and therefore successfully staged his influential review of the *Kongresshaus* competition in *Das Werk* under the theme of monumentality.

Paradoxically, the winning entry by Haefeli, Moser, Steiger was eventually praised by Meyer himself for not being monu-



4. Partial view of the concert lobby.
(Photograph by Hans Finsler, Courtesy
Archiv gta/ETH Zurich)

mental. Its thoughtful integration of the existing *Tonhalle* building as well as its subtle and unpretentious embedding into the urban environment proved to be extremely convincing, but not at all monumental. Inside the building, however, new forms of modern ornamentation drew the critic's attention. The perception of ornamentation as "introverted monumentality" allowed him to elegantly reverse the debate on monumentality back to questions of ornament. He argued that in contrast to the historicist decoration of the nineteenth century, Haefeli, Moser, Steiger had achieved ornamental qualities by means of structural elements and textured materials, such as perforated steel, floor patterns, textile applications, and wood hatches.³

It is curious that Sigfried Giedion, the otherwise so eloquent dean of modern architecture, never directly responded to the debate about monumentality and ornament, which was led in Switzerland, nor to the completed *Kongresshaus* itself." The critic was involved in frustrating debates over the Swiss National Exhibition and felt marginalized by Armin Meili, the director, and Hans Hoffmann, the chief architect. Eventually Giedion left his home country to take on the prestigious Norton Professorship at Harvard University in 1938. Half a year later, he published his elaborations about "luxury in architecture," which picked up many of the themes elaborated in the debate about ornament and monumentality in the *Kongresshaus*.⁵ Saturated with the ornamentation and



5. Interior view of the rehearsal room with gallery and amoeba-shaped steel gratings covering the skylights. (Photograph by Jolande Cornut-Custer, Courtesy Archiv gta/ETH Zurich)

the decoration of the "ruling taste" as still employed by various architects on either side of the Atlantic, Giedion argued that the adoption of industrial products, mechanically manufactured and serially produced, could achieve extraordinary effects and create a new form of luxury." His reflections, although discussed and illustrated with the example of Frank Lloyd Wright's Johnson Wax building, constructed exactly at the same time as Hafeli, Moser, Steiger's project, can be read as covert remarks on the ornamentation of the *Kongresshaus*."

City Marketing Takes Command

Against the historical background, the city authorities' decision to consider the demolition of the *Kongresshaus* may seem entirely incomprehensible. This, however, would mean to overemphasize a historical consciousness apparently only rudimentarily developed against the more manifest economic interests of the tourism industry. The great synthesis achieved by the *Kongresshaus* of "high" and "low," of national and international style seems to be exactly what, in the present situation, constitutes a chief threat to its existence. In the past few years, the international debate has been marked by a situation where urbanism increasingly has succumbed to the need for city marketing in the face of a rapidly expanding tourism industry. Following the transformation of the city of Bilbao from a run-down port town in northern Spain to a prime destination for the cultural tourism after the construction of Frank

Gehry's Guggenheim Museum, the proverbial "Bilbao Effect" is now being imitated by provincial towns with the anticipation of similar economic results and global visibility.⁵ The city of Lucerne in central Switzerland, only thirty miles to the south of Zurich, achieved a comparable success with the construction of Jean Nouvel's Culture and Convention Center (KKL) in 1999, an example which has been cited repeatedly in the Zurich debate both by proponents and opponents of the Moneo project. In this climate, it is a bold gesture and it is concomitant imageability and marketability that is sought, rather than the culture of careful consideration and even invisibility as propagated by the *Kongresshaus* of Haefeli, Moser, Steiger.

Only thus, it is possible for Peter Zumthor, a world-renowned Swiss architect and chairman of the competition jury that evaluated the proposals to replace the existing building, to lament the invisibility of the *Kongresshaus*, thereby rhetorically converting a quality central to the building's design idea into an argument against its preservation."

Finally, what is to be said about Rafael Moneo's project proposal in this respect? If executed as intended, Zurich would receive a paraphrase of his 1999 Palacio Kursaal for San SebasWin. Whether such a cannibalization of an already existing building is powerful enough to supply Zurich with a new and distinctive image remains highly questionable.

Reto Geiser is an architect and researcher with a focus in modern architecture and the contemporary architectural and urban discourse. He has studied at ETH Zurich and Columbia University, and is currently a PhD candidate at the Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture (gta) at ETH. His doctoral thesis focuses on the architectural and artistic relations between Switzerland and the United States, specifically looking at issues of cultural identity and modernization in the work of Sigfried Giedion. He has taught at the ETH Zurich, and as the 2003-2004 William Muschenheim Fellow at the University of Michigan.

Martino Stierli is an art historian focusing on modern architecture and urbanism. He is currently a PhD candidate at the Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture (gta) at ETH Zurich. His doctoral thesis deals with Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown's *Learning from Las Vegas*. Of particular interest to his research are, beside an archaeology of the sources, questions on the image and representation of the city in media such as the book, photography, and film. He also works as a freelance architectural critic and writer for various architectural magazines and newspapers.

Endnotes

Of interest are the forthcoming publications as well as the retrospective exhibition on the work of Haefeli, Moser, Steiger (HMS): Sonja Hildebrand, Bruno Maurer, Werner Oechslin eds., *Haefeli Moser Steiger. Die Architekten der Schweizer Moderne* (Zurich, gta Verlag, 2007); Arthur Rüegg and Reto Gadola eds., *Kongresshaus Zurich 1937-1939: ein Schlüsselwerk moderner Raumkultur* (Zurich: gta Verlag, 2007); *Stuhl Haus Stadt-Haefeli Moser Steiger* Museum für Gestaltung Zurich, 03/30/2007-07/01/2007. An exhibition of the Museum für Gestaltung Zurich and the Institute for the History and Theory of Architecture (gta), ETH Zurich, in collaboration with the chair of professor Arthur Rüegg, ETH Zurich.

, Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1995), 24.

⁵G. E. Kidder Smith, *Switzerland Builds: Its Native and Modern Architecture* (New York/Stockholm: Albert Bonnier, 1950), 210. See also: "The Congress Building in Zurich" *The Architect and Building News* 165 (March 28, 1941): 208-210.

; For a more detailed description of the building see: Monika Isler, "Nr. 159:

Kongresshaus ZUrich" in *Haefeli Moser Steiger. Die Architekten der Schweizer Moderne und Kongresshaus Zurich 1937-1939*, 114-122, 252-257 .

- As of February 2007, *prokongresshaus*, the "committee for the preservation of the existing Kongresshaus and the new building of a congress center in Zurich" counted roughly 300 members. The committee is presided by Dr. Frank Krayenbühl, former president of the *Bund Schweizer Architekten* BSA [Federation of Swiss Architects]. The other members of the board of directors are Lisa Ehrensperger, president of the *Architektur Forum Zurich* [Architecture Forum Zurich], Dr. Benno Loderer, editor of the architectural magazine *Hochparterre*, Prof. Arthur RÜegg of ETH Zurich, Beate Schnitter and Prof. Peter Steiger. For further information on the committee see their web site <http://www.prokongresshaus.ch/>
- Stanislaus von Moos, "Peintre officiel maudit. Hans Erni, Konrad Farner und der kritische Landgeist" in *Nicht Disneyland. Und andere Aufsätze über Modernität und Nostalgie* (Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2004), 77-94, specifically 79. An earlier version of this essay was published as "Hans Erni and the Streamline-Decade" *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* '9 (1993): 120-149. Von Moos' considerations on the Swiss painter Hans Erni prompted the title of this article; the authors are equally grateful for insights drawn from this essay in relation to the cultural and political climate of the 1930s in Switzerland.
- Even after the end of the war, *Geistige Landesverteidigung* remained a powerful force in the political climate of Switzerland. See Jakob Tanner, "Switzerland and the Cold War: A Neutral Country between the 'American Way of Life' and *Geistige Landesverteidigung*" in Joy Charnley and Malcolm Pender eds., *Switzerland and War, Occasional Papers in Swiss Studies*, 2 (Bern, Peter Lang, 1999) 113-128. For a brief overview of Swiss politics in the 1930s, see Ulrich Im Hof, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, with an afterword by Kaspar von Greyerz (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 7th ed. 2001), 138-9.
- "A good example in the sphere of literature is Max Frisch's "Blätter aus dem Brotsack," a series of recollections of a young intellectual drawn into the military service at the beginning of the war. Frisch, "Blätter aus dem Brotsack" (1939) in *Gesammelte Werke in zeitlicher Folge*, Vol. 1. (Frankfurt/Main, Suhrkamp, 1998), 111-173.
- On the Landi 39 and its architecture see *Das Werk* 26: 1-7 (1939); Armin Meili, Robert Oboissier and Martin Hurlimann, *Die Schweiz im Spiegel der Landesausstellung 1939*, 4 vols. (Zurich, Atlantis, 1940-1); Karin Gimmi, "Von der Kunst, mit Architektur Staat zu machen: Armin Meili und die LA '39" in Georg Kohler and Stanislaus von Moos (eds.), *fxpo-Syndrom? Materialien zur Landesausstellung 1883-2002* (Zurich, vdf, 2002), 157-178.
- On the Kongresshaus in the context of its time in particular see Claude Lichtenstein, "Kongresshaus und Tonhalle ZUrich 1937-1939" in Guido Magnaguagno and Albert Lutz eds., *Dreissiger Jahre Schweiz. Ein Jahrzehnt im Widerspruch*. Exhibition catalog Kunsthau ZUrich, 30 October 1981 - 10 January 1982. (Zurich, Kunsthau, 1981), 200-203.
- Peter Meyer, "Tonhalle und Kongresshaus ZUrich" *Das Werk* 26:12 (1939): 353-378.
- Meyer, "Schweizerische Landesausstellung" *Das Werk* 26:5 (1939): 133.
- Meyer, "Tonhalle und Kongresshaus" 359.
- On the concept of "critical regionalism" see: Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance" in Hal Foster (ed.), *The Anti-Aesthetic. Essays on Postmodern Culture* (Port Townsend, Washington, Bay Press, 1983), 16-30.
- Quoted in mju. (JUrgMeier), "Ein glasernes Zeichen an der Stelle des Landi-Kongresshauses" *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (29 April 2006).
- Seminal in the modernist incrimination of the ornament was of course the widely misunderstood Adolf Loos, "Ornament und Verbrechen", *Trotzdem: 1900-1930*. (Innsbruck, Brenner, 1931), 81-94.
- Moser was also the first president of the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), elected at its inaugural meeting at La Sarraz in 1928.
- H. P. J. Berlage lectured on March 30, 1912, at ZUricher Ingenieur- und Architektenverein on "Neuere amerikanische Architektur."
- "Schweizerische Bauzeitung LX:11 (September 14, 1912).
- Moser worked at Wright's office from 1924-1926. He was a draftsman on the National Life Insurance project (1924).
- For the transatlantic travels of the main protagonists of the modern movement, see Reyner Banham, *A Concrete Atlantis* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1986).
- "The Millard House in Pasadena (1923), and the Storer Residence and Ennis House (1923) in Los Angeles were completed the year before Moser started work with Frank Lloyd Wright.

"Lewis Mumford, "The Sky Line: Organic Architecture" *New Yorker* 8:27 (February 1932) 45-

„Meyer, "Monumentale Architektur?" *Das Werk* 3 (1937) 66-73.

"Switzerland is a country with very limited natural resources. With the growing armament of most European countries, and especially the German armada and its armed forces, steel became one of the scarcest materials. Wood, on the other hand, was easily available. For this reason, most of the pavilions at Landi 39 were built in lightweight construction. It is worth noting that a pavilion with the topic "Unser Holz" [our wood] was installed, in order to combine a new architectural approach with the history of the country, and a growing need for natural resources. See Katharina Medici-Mall, *Im Durcheinandertal der Stile: Architektur und Kunst im Urteil von Peter Meyer (1894-1984)* (Basel, Birkhauser Verlag, 1998), 287 ff.

"Giedion wrote only one article on the *Kongresshaus*, which was published two years before its completion: Sigfried Giedion, "Zürich und das neue Kongressgebäude" *Weltwoche* (Zurich, January 1937).

1. Sigfried Giedion, "Dangers and Advantages of Luxury" *Focus* 3 (1939): 34-39.

"The point that matters is what we are to understand by luxury. Luxury does not simply mean waste of material, but only makes sense when it broadens emotional experience by means of new discovery. Only a few can fulfill this. Frank Lloyd Wright achieves in this building, by means of silver light and plasticity of form, a new conception of space, without which it is not possible to think of architecture. He shows us here, after half a century of building, how luxury can be still creative in architecture." Giedion, "Danger and Advantage of Luxury".

"Johnson Wax Building (1936-1939), *Kongresshaus (1937-1939)*

Giedion reengaged in the discourse on "monumentality", "history" and "myth" initiated by a war related crisis of his own work and his close relationship to other immigrants such as Josep Lluís Sert and Fernand Léger, with whom he coauthored the "Nine Points of a New Monumentality" in 1943.

"Even an established metropolis like New York was hoping-according to Mayor Rudolph Giuliani-for a Bilbao Effect when launching the competition for the Staten Island Ferry Terminal. "After reading about Bilbao, New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani decided that he, too, wanted a signature architect to design a building to house traveling exhibits at the Staten Island Ferry terminal." Marisa Cigarroa, "Eisenman decries media-mediated culture" *Stanford Online Report* (March 11, 1998) <http://news-service.stanford.edu/news/1998/march11/eisenman311.html>.

"On Peter Zumthor's revealing statement see Jürgen Tietz, "Baulast. Zürich will markante neue Gebäude und vergißt die alten", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (August 10 2005).