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Original
Transnational Urbino: The Role of the Historic City in Giancarlo De Carlo’s American Years / De Pieri, F. - In: This Is Not a Summer School: The International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design (ILAUD) / Couchez E., Lonergan H.. - ELETTRONICO. - Zurigo : gta Verlag, 2025. - ISBN 9783856764845. - pp. 65-77 [10.54872/gta/4845-03]

Availability:
This version is available at: 11583/3003467 since: 2025-09-29T18:20:42Z

Publisher:
gta Verlag

Published
DOI:10.54872/gta/4845-03

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29 November 2026

TRANSNATIONAL URBINO: THE ROLE OF THE HISTORIC CITY IN GIANCARLO DE CARLO'S AMERICAN YEARS

FILIPPO DE PIERI

De Pieri, Filippo. "Transnational Urbino: The Role of the Historic City in Giancarlo De Carlo's American Years." In *This Is Not a Summer School: The International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design (ILAUD)*, edited by Elke Couchez and Hamish Lonergan. Zurich: gta Verlag, 2025, 65–77. https://doi.org/10.54872/gta/4845-03

ILAUD's first meeting took place in Urbino in 1976, and it is widely acknowledged that this Central Italian city played an important role in setting a few premises for Giancarlo De Carlo's initiative. In an interview given just before her death and published in 2019, Etra Connie Occhialini, De Carlo's former collaborator and a central character in ILAUD's history, recalled the origins of the laboratory: "It grew out of De Carlo's experience in the United States. His first trip to Yale was in 1966, and he began to establish relationships with a series of people that we find later at the ILAUD laboratory."[1] Occhialini's interpretation is relevant in many ways, and with it, I will take her lead to explore a period that was rich with transatlantic encounters for De Carlo.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss Urbino not as a city or as the background of a professional activity but rather as a more abstract transnational object—a set of representations and practices that played an important role for De Carlo during a decade marked by an accelerated development of his international networks.[2] Within that context, Urbino served as both an intellectual filter to understand the American experiences De Carlo was exposed to, and a cultural detonator that helped him to expose contradictions affecting architectural debates. The outcome of these exchanges was finally brought back to the city and translated into new teaching and urban design experiments.

ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING IN URBINO BY THE MID-1960S

De Carlo's architectural involvement with Urbino started in the early 1950s. Soon after the opening of his firm in Milan, he obtained a few architectural commissions from the University of Urbino. His work led to the construction of buildings such as the Collegio del Colle (1962–66), the Law Faculty building (1966–68), the Magistero Faculty building (1968–76), and the Nuovi Collegi (1972–83). Other commissions came from private clients for both individual houses and apartment complexes. De Carlo's work in the city continued intermittently until his death in 2005.[3]

Although it is easy, in retrospect, to see Urbino as one of the key places of De Carlo's career, the situation was partly different in the mid-1960s. By then, De Carlo had completed two major works in the city. The first one was the Collegio del Colle, a student housing complex that immediately stood out as one of his most original endeavors and a sort of manifesto of

1 Paolo Ceccarelli, ed., *Giancarlo De Carlo and ILAUD: A Movable Frontier. The International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design from 1976* (Fondazione OAMi, 2019), 17.

2 Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

3 Lamberto Rossi, *Giancarlo De Carlo. Architetture* (Mondadori, 1987); Angela Mioni and Etra Connie Occhialini, eds., *Giancarlo De Carlo. Immagini e frammenti* (Electa/Triennale di Milano, 1995); John McKean, *Giancarlo De Carlo: Layered Places* (Axel Menges, 2004); Lorenzo Mingardi, *Sono geloso di questa città. Giancarlo De Carlo e Urbino* (Quodlibet, 2018); Lorenzo Mingardi, "I torricini di Giancarlo De Carlo. Il quartiere Pineta e il piano regolatore di Urbino," *Storia Urbana* 164 (2019), 95–119; Kersten Geers and Jelena Pancevac, eds., *Giancarlo De Carlo: Experiments in Thickness* (König, 2023).

the urban, relational, and social qualities of his approach to design.[4] The second work was a general planning scheme for the city, which had been under discussion for a few years and was approved by the city council in 1964—although official sanction only came in 1971, when the plan was ratified by Italy's Ministry of Public Works.[5]

The centers of Italian historic towns had become an important field of work for Italian planners between the 1950s and the 1960s. The plan for the medieval town of Assisi, drafted and published by Giovanni Astengo in 1958, was usually seen as a reference.[6] De Carlo shared this interest for historic cities, and his plan could be compared to Astengo's, particularly in the systematic character taken by the analysis of the built fabric. The Urbino plan, however, also aimed at marking a clear distinction on several levels: by the degree of abstraction of the analysis, which was centered upon the dual notion of form and structure; by making extensive use of visual diagrams; and by the idea that the historic centers could be compatible with radical experiments in modernist architecture and urban design.[7] De Carlo's plan invested a plurality of scales that went from regional planning—a central interest for him since his involvement in the study of a regional plan (*piano intercomunale*) for Milan in 1960—to the design of transport networks and nodes, from the analysis of landscape elements to the detailed observation of historic buildings. These operations largely exceeded the tasks that were required for a general plan; these, according to Italy's 1942 law, were highly codified documents mostly touching land use regulations. De Carlo collected his work on Urbino and presented his broader strategies for the city in a book, published in 1966 and later translated by MIT Press in 1970.[8] It was the only Italian planning document of the period to receive a full translation into English.

By the mid-1960s, it was these two objects—a built complex, mostly represented through photographic campaigns, and a planning document, mostly represented through a book—that summed up the Urbino experience carried out by De Carlo. It is significant that when presenting his application for the Abercrombie prize on urban planning, assigned by the International Union of Architects (UIA) in 1967, which De Carlo won, he sent out precisely two types of items: a visual documentation about the Collegio and the

4 The Collegio received wide international attention at the time of its completion. Several journals published articles on the work in 1966, for example *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui*, *Architectural Review*, *Architectural Record*, *Architectural Design*, and *Bauwelt*.

5 Mingardi, *Sono geloso di questa città* (see note 3), 56, 128. Documents on the elaboration on the plan are in Università Iuav di Venezia, Archivio Progetti, Giancarlo De Carlo archive (hereafter IUAV, AP, GDC), Atti 029.

6 Giovanni Astengo, "Assisi: Salvaguardia e rinascita," *Urbanistica* 27, nos. 24–25 (1958), 9–132.

7 Filippo De Pieri, "Visualizing the Historic City: Planners and the Representation of Italy's Built Heritage. Giovanni Astengo and Giancarlo De Carlo in Assisi and Urbino, 1950s–60s," in John Pendlebury, Erdem Erten, and Peter Larkham, eds., *Alternative Visions of Post-War Reconstruction: Creating the Modern Townscape* (Routledge, 2014), 54–71.

8 Giancarlo De Carlo, *Urbino. La storia di una città e il piano della sua evoluzione urbanistica* (Marsilio, 1966); Giancarlo De Carlo, *Urbino: The History of a City and Plans for Its Development,* trans. Loretta Schaeffer Guardia (MIT Press, 1970).



1 Field trip in Chester Square, South End, Boston [September 1967]. Photo by Giancarlo De Carlo

recently published book on Urbino.[9] The distance between such materials offers a good illustration of how De Carlo understood the dialogue—or rather the tension—between architecture and urban planning. At a time when urban design had emerged as an umbrella term for pursuing an integration between architecture and planning in North American academic and professional milieux, De Carlo tended to see his own research instead as an exploration of the space separating these two extremes.[10]

UNIVERSITY CITIES AS AN URBAN DESIGN PROBLEM

The plan of Urbino suggested that cultural development driven by the local university was the direction that the future transformation of the historic city should take, and the document aimed at serving as a support for such

9 Giancarlo De Carlo to Emiliano Bernasconi, April 7, 1967, IUAV, AP, GDC, Atti 061.
10 Alex Krieger and William S. Saunders, eds., *Urban Design* (University of Minnesota

a strategy.[11] This aspect was emphasized by the motivations of the jury of the Abercrombie prize, which stated that the "radical change of the urban function" suggested by the plan could be a strong contribution to the problem of adapting historic urban centers to modern life.[12]

During the 1960s and the 1970s, urban design problems were particularly linked, in De Carlo's view, to the design of universities. As Francesco Zuddas has shown, De Carlo's experiments in university design between the 1960s and the early 1970s were part of a broader international trend toward the territorialization of higher education and the experimentation of large-scale design solutions. De Carlo stood out within this panorama for an interpretation that insisted on the open and changing character of both scientific knowledge and university architecture.[13] This gave university buildings an inherent urban character and, indeed, De Carlo argued that education and the spatial experience of the territory were two activities that should be considered as inextricably linked.[14]

De Carlo's involvement with university design had an early turning point in his participation in the international competition for the University College in Dublin, launched in 1962.[15] In the early 1970s, his work for the University of Pavia led him to design several buildings and to propose an ambitious urban strategy for the institution.[16] It was, however, Urbino that mostly served as a testing ground of the university–city relationship, as the case offered a concrete illustration of a series of principles, most notably responsiveness to context and creation of a productive dialogue between architectural and urban form, that could take a plurality of shapes. In a book on university planning and design published in 1968, which was an attempt to write a handbook for a problem that did not admit standardized solutions, De Carlo stated that the design of university complexes required an experimental attitude and could pursue different goals, depending on the types of urban structures in which the universities were situated.[17]

In parallel with his design experiments, De Carlo also observed universities from other, less strictly architectural, perspectives. In 1968 he attentively

Press, 2009); Eric Mumford, *Defining Urban Design: CIAM Architects and the Formation of a Discipline, 1937–69* (Yale University Press, 2009).

11 Mingardi, *Sono geloso di questa città* (see note 3), 44–45.

12 Motivations of the Abercrombie Prize assigned by the UIA to De Carlo in 1967, with congratulations from the art historian Giulio Carlo Argan, member of the jury, IUAV, AP, GDC, Atti 061 (my translation). "Le projet de Giancarlo De Carlo propose en même temps une interprétation rigoureuse du milieu historique et naturel, et un changement radical de la fonction urbaine. L'agent principal du changement est, dans le plan de De Carlo, la vieille Université qui, renouvelée, devient le pivot d'une activité culturelle capable de pénétrer la plus grande partie des énergies et des intérêts des habitants de la ville."

13 Francesco Zuddas, *The University as a Settlement Principle: Territorialising Knowledge in Late 1960s Italy* (Routledge, 2020).

14 Giancarlo De Carlo, "How/Why to Build School Buildings," *Harvard Educational Review* 39, no. 4 (1969), 12–34.

15 Giancarlo De Carlo, *Proposal for a University Structure Based on a Competition Organised by University College Dublin* (Cluva, 1965).

16 Zuddas, *The University as a Settlement Principle* (see note 13), 160–82.

17 Giancarlo De Carlo, ed., *Pianificazione e disegno delle università* (Edizioni Universitarie Italiane, 1968).

followed the students' protests in Italy and took part in the experimental seminars of the occupied Faculty in Milan. He published a book that supported many of the claims coming from the students and reflected about the implications of the protest for the reform of architectural teaching.[18] In the same year, however, he also unexpectedly found himself on the other side of the barricades when his Milan Triennale exhibition "The Greater Number" was occupied by protesters, an event that arguably left a deep mark on his understanding of the relationships between architecture and social engagement.[19]

BRINGING URBINO TO AMERICA

Starting from 1966, De Carlo traveled frequently to North American universities, where he was involved in conferences, courses, research projects, and a variety of more informal academic and personal exchanges.[20] The sources that allow reconstructing these experiences are partial and fragmented; the architect's archive, preserved by the IUAV in Venice, gathers some documentation and correspondence but is remarkably spotty. A useful complement of information is offered by De Carlo's personal diaries, which were written from 1966 until his death in 2005 and are presently kept by the architect's family.[21] These were initially conceived as travel notes on America and contain an almost daily registration of events and reflections associated with these trips. The source provides a number of interesting clues about the way in which the continuous movement between Italy and North America contributed to shaping De Carlo's understanding of both countries. The diaries are also a good illustration of the relevance of biographical and autobiographical sources for the study of transnational exchanges in architecture, as they bring to the foreground the daily practices and personal experiences through which architectural knowledge was mobilized and negotiated.[22]

Urbino traveled with De Carlo in a very physical way, in the form of a set of slides that the architect brought with him on the flight to the United States and on several other occasions. De Carlo's first trip to America was mostly spent at Yale, where he was invited as a visiting scholar in 1966, and projections of slides from Urbino were recurrent, not only in public events but at informal meetings with students and colleagues. A class on Urbino was his first public lecture in Yale (April 11), but the slides also popped up during

18 Giancarlo De Carlo, *La piramide rovesciata* (De Donato, 1968).

19 Filippo De Pieri, "Il breve e il lungo '68 di Giancarlo De Carlo," in Giancarlo De Carlo, *La piramide rovesciata. Architettura oltre il '68* (Quodlibet, 2018), 7–35.

20 Donlyn Lyndon, "Giancarlo De Carlo negli Stati Uniti," in Francesco Samassa, ed., *Giancarlo De Carlo: Percorsi* (Il Poligrafo, 2004), 47–58.

21 Giancarlo De Carlo's *Diari* are presently under publication for the Italian publishing house Quodlibet. I am the editor of the first volume, which is set to appear in 2025. In the following notes I refer to this material by designating the number of the original booklet, or *quaderno*: Q1, Q2, etc., followed by the manuscript's page number.

22 Paolo Scrivano, "Architecture," in Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds., *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 53–56.

two dinners with Yale students (April 28, May 17), and a cocktail at Hugh Hardy and Tiziana Spadea's apartment in New York City (May 14).[23] De Carlo used the images as a way to present his own work and as an expedient to engage conversation with his listeners. Urbino played a prominent role also in European conferences of the same year, such as the one he gave at ETH Zurich on November 16, 1966.[24]

As with so many of his undertakings, De Carlo was ambivalent about the interest raised in America by his Urbino oeuvre. After a conference in New York in May 1967, he declared himself tired of always repeating the same things and complained that for many people in the United States he had become the architect of just one piece of work, perhaps considered more important than it actually was.[25] A few months later, at the opening of an exhibition on Urbino in Harvard's Robinson Hall, organized with the collaboration of Alexander Tzonis,[26] he however also registered, not without pride, the paradoxical connection that Urbino had allowed to establish between the old world from which he was coming and the new one that he was exploring: "What strange circumstances bring the images of this minuscule town in the most celebrated university in the States!" he commented.[27]

In 1967 De Carlo started to teach at MIT as Bemis Visiting Professor and his first design studio dealt with the area of Boston's South End (see fig. 1).[28] The activity coincided with his first attempt to offer a coherent analysis and design strategy for a sector of an American city. The nineteenth-century neighborhood South End, today largely gentrified, was at the time prevalently populated by a black community.[29] The studio proposed to revitalize the existing urban structure through the introduction of an "international university" complex: here again, the university was seen as an entity that was deeply intertwined with the city and could potentially give a new meaning to it. The photos that De Carlo took during his North American trips of 1966–67 partly document the activities for the South End studio (see fig. 2).[30] They record the on-site explorations carried out in and around Chester Square, which was the center of the activities of the workshop, and the subsequent analyses taking place in the rooms of MIT, with a plan of the area clearly hanging on the wall. The collection includes an aerial photo of the Southeast Expressway (I-93), probably taken from a helicopter. A few images testify De Carlo's interest for the serial character of the architecture of the brownstones; others capture the local activities, for example the interior of a record

23 De Carlo, *Diari*, Q1, 5r, 15r, 20r, 21r.
24 De Carlo, *Diari*, Q2, 6v–7r, Nov. 16–17, 1966.
25 De Carlo, *Diari*, Q2, 24r, May 7, 1967.
26 De Carlo, *Diari*, Q2, 37v, Oct. 9, 1967.
27 De Carlo, *Diari*, Q2, 43r, Nov. 21, 1967 (my translation). "Che strane circostanze portano le immagini di questa minuscola città nella università più celebrata degli Stati!"
28 Giancarlo De Carlo to Donlyn Lyndon, Aug. 28, 1967, IUAV, AP, GDC, Atti 064.
29 See, for example, Sylvie Tissot, *Good Neighbors: Gentrifying Diversity in Boston's South End* (Verso, 2015).
30 IUAV, AP, GDC, Foto-1-154 ("Viaggio negli Stati Uniti"). This important set of photographs has been largely overlooked by architectural historians, quite possibly because the material was initially filed under a wrong date (1995 instead of 1966–67).

store displaying copies of The Four Tops' *Live!* (1966) and Aretha Franklin's *I Never Loved a Man the Way I Loved You* (1967). In a series of notes taken on the area, De Carlo interestingly reversed the images usually associated with the word *ghetto*, using the word to designate not the historic neighborhood but rather the newly built multifunctional complex of the Prudential Center, responsible—in his views—for interrupting the continuity of the social and built fabric.[31]



2 Giancarlo De Carlo's team at work on the South End project in the rooms of MIT. A plan of the area is visible on the wall. Photo by Giancarlo De Carlo [1967]

The diaries show how Urbino served as a cultural lens to understand territories that were very different from those that were familiar to the architect. The Italian city, for example, was the first place that came to De Carlo's mind upon his first contact with Los Angeles. While the plane was still landing, he reflected on the territory that presented itself to his view, and on

31 De Carlo, *Diari*, Q2, 33r, Sept. 29, 1967.

how the unmeasured character of it seemed to pose specific problems of architectural form:

> How can one imagine shaping a territory of this size by employing the old ideas of form and shaping? Here as in Urbino, the territory has all been constructed by humans. But the fundamental difference, which upsets the relationship, is in the number of men who have operated here. Looking down and thinking about Urbino, one understands what the qualitative leap that comes from the leap in quantity means. How could this city have a center? The center is conceivable only for a finite configuration. But which references can an unfinished configuration have?[32]

BRINGING AMERICA BACK TO URBINO

In his autobiographical writings and interviews, De Carlo often recognized the importance of developing mutual recognition and bonds of trust with his clients as one of the key factors behind the most relevant works of his career. This was one of the reasons why Urbino represented a special context for him. The literary critic and historian Carlo Bo, dean of the University of Urbino between 1947 and 2001, was for several decades a key interlocutor in the city. Something similar can be claimed for philosopher Livio Sichirollo, a University of Urbino professor who also served as deputy mayor for planning between 1956 and 1970, and for Egidio Mascioli, the city's mayor (from Italy's Communist Party) between 1953 and 1971. Such ties allowed De Carlo to speed up decision-making processes and have direct contact with the local institutions.[33]

De Carlo was not able to recreate a comparable situation in the university contexts in which he was teaching. He obtained a stable position in Italian universities relatively late in his career (1969) and, after his stabilization as a professor at the Università Iuav di Venezia (IUAV), found himself confronted with two powerful emerging trends: on the one hand, the tendency, championed by architects such as Aldo Rossi and Carlo Aymonino, to consider architecture as an autonomous field of research; on the other hand, Giovanni Astengo's intention to professionalize urban planning as a separate field of study, detaching it from the architectural curricula of

32 De Carlo, *Diari*, Q2, 45r, Nov. 30, 1967 (my translation). "Come si può immaginare che si possa dar forma a un territorio di questa dimensione adoperando le vecchie idee di forma e di dar forma? Qui come a Urbino il territorio è stato tutto costruito dagli uomini. Ma la differenza fondamentale, che sconvolge il rapporto, è nella quantità di uomini che qui hanno operato. Guardando giù e pensando a Urbino si capisce cosa significhi il salto qualitativo che deriva dal salto di quantità. Come potrebbe questa città avere un centro? Il centro è concepibile solo per una configurazione finita. Ma quali riferimenti può avere una configurazione non finita?"

33 Franco Bunčuga, *Conversazioni con Giancarlo De Carlo. Architettura e libertà* (Elèuthera, 2000), 128–43.

which it had traditionally been a part.[34] Nothing could have been further from De Carlo's idea that architectural and urban problems were necessarily interrelated.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that De Carlo saw Urbino, starting from the late 1960s, as the ideal place to develop strategies of alternative intellectual exchange and teaching that he had experimented in various ways through the CIAM summer schools in Venice, the Team X meetings, or the North American design studios.[35] In 1968 Columbia University chose Urbino as the destination for a three-week summer school on planning.[36] The university had organized an architecture and planning summer school in Paris for its students in the previous years. De Carlo's exchanges with Romaldo Giurgola were crucial in the decision to move this activity to Italy.[37] Columbia funded the participation of thirty students. Other participants were admitted from European and North American universities, bringing the total up to fifty, hosted by the University of Urbino. The students were mostly male, some of them accompanied by their wives (as the accompanying persons were invariably designated). The tutors included Giancarlo De Carlo, Paolo Ceccarelli, Franco Mancuso, and Alberto Mioni from Italy; James Fitch and Sigurd Grava from the United States.[38] Balkrishna Doshi, Romaldo Giurgola, Ludovico Quaroni and Aldo van Eyck also participated as external reviewers.[39] Eight speakers were invited to offer lectures on Urbino, and the list of their names—which included Leonardo Benevolo and Manfredo Tafuri—offers an interesting cross-section of the multidisciplinary perspective from which De Carlo believed that the Urbino problem should be addressed: from regional and economic planning to heritage preservation, from the study of transport system to the management of touristic flows, from agriculture to school systems (see fig. 3).[40] Urbino served as a stage for a dialogue between different forms of scientific knowledge that the organization of academic knowledge usually tended to separate. The city was also seen as a context from which international students and professors could have something to learn: the embodiment of a specific and non-replicable form of spatial understanding.

34 Michela Maguolo, "Gli anni tempestosi," in Guido Zucconi, Martina Carraro, eds., *Officina Iuav, 1925–1980. Saggi sulla scuola di architettura di Venezia* (Marsilio, 2011), 177–88.

35 Leonardo Zuccaro Marchi, *The Heart of the City: Legacy and Complexity of a Modern Design Idea* (Routledge, 2017), 118–36.

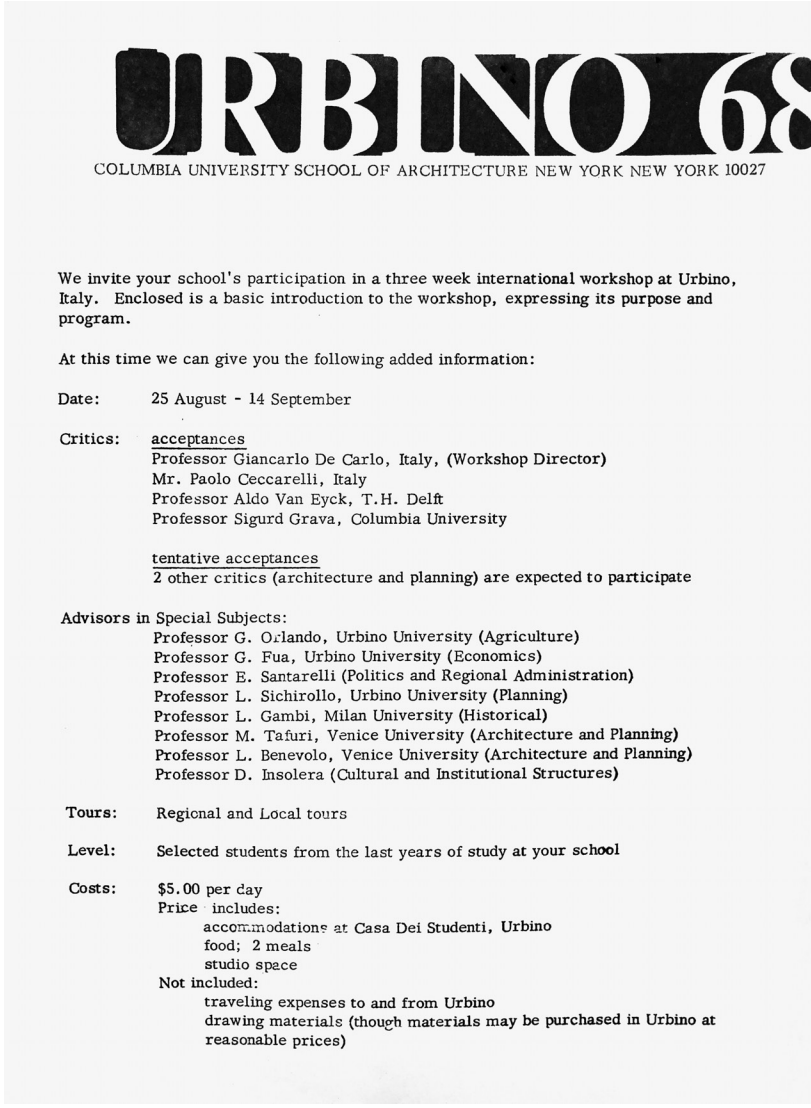
36 Columbia University School of Architecture, "Urbino 68," program of the international workshop, [Aug. 25–Sept. 16, 1968], n.d., IUAV, AP, GDC, Atti 062.

37 Giancarlo De Carlo, "Relazione sulla missione svolta negli Stati Uniti," document sent to the offices of the University of Urbino, n.d., IUAV, AP, GDC, Atti 062.

38 "Participants in the Urbino '68 workshop", n.d., IUAV, AP, GDC, Atti 062.

39 Giancarlo De Carlo to Ludovico Quaroni, Aug. 24, 1968, IUAV, AP, GDC, Atti 062.

40 List of the conferences organized for the workshop, n.d, IUAV, AP, GDC, Atti 062. The eight speakers were Livio Sichirollo ("Planning Problems of Urbino"), Italo Insolera ("Problems of Tourism in the Region"), Enzo Santarelli ("Political and Administrative Problems of the Region"), Manfredo Tafuri ("Architecture and Planning of the Historical Centres in Italy"), Leonardo Benevolo ("Current Problems of Architecture and Planning in Italy"), Giuseppe Orlando ("Agriculture Problems of the Region"), Bernardo Secchi ("Economical Problems of the Region"), and Delfino Insolera ("Italian School System").



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Critics: acceptances
Professor Giancarlo De Carlo, Italy, (Workshop Director)
Mr. Paolo Ceccarelli, Italy
Professor Aldo Van Eyck, T.H. Delft
Professor Sigurd Grava, Columbia University

tentative acceptances
2 other critics (architecture and planning) are expected to participate

Advisors in Special Subjects:
Professor G. Orlando, Urbino University (Agriculture)
Professor G. Fua, Urbino University (Economics)
Professor E. Santarelli (Politics and Regional Administration)
Professor L. Sichirollo, Urbino University (Planning)
Professor L. Gambi, Milan University (Historical)
Professor M. Tafuri, Venice University (Architecture and Planning)
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Costs: $5.00 per day
Price includes:
accommodations at Casa Dei Studenti, Urbino
food; 2 meals
studio space
Not included:
traveling expenses to and from Urbino
drawing materials (though materials may be purchased in Urbino at reasonable prices)

3 Preliminary program of the international workshop on urban planning to be held in Urbino, August 25 –September 14, 1968

The organizing team drafted nine themes on which the students were invited to work. These were characterized by a movement between a plurality of scales of observation and action. The topics included the transformation of a historic block (no. 3); a "Study of the highway intersection at Lavagine" (no. 4); "Facilities for 3,000 students of the Free University" (no. 5); the design of the expansion zone at the Cesane (no. 6); "Reorganization of traffic in the historical center" (no. 7); the planning for a new Faculty of Medicine (no. 8); "Study of a program for the physical reorganization of the subregion Pesaro-

Urbino-Montefeltro" (no. 9); and the transformation of an old convent into the Faculty of Education (no. 1), a project on which De Carlo was already working but that received approval from the municipality only the following year.[41]

In his initial proposal for the school, De Carlo declared that the experiment could serve as the basis for the creation of a permanent school, also open to students from "developing nations." He cited the examples of a few Italo-American advanced schools that had been successfully created in the previous years, in particular the Istituto di Studi Economici Adriano Olivetti (a partnership between University of Urbino, Ford Foundation, and Adriano Olivetti Foundation), the "Scuola di Perfezionamento in Scienze Amministrative" (University of Bologna, University of California at Berkeley), and the School of Advanced International Studies created in Bologna in 1955 by Johns Hopkins University.[42] A permanent program of the type he advocated never materialized.

In the early 1970s De Carlo tried to stabilize the transatlantic connection between Urbino, university design, and North America through a research and teaching project on urban universities. Various versions of this project, dedicated to "the social role and the physical structure of a new university," are documented around mid-1970.[43] The urban studies program at MIT encouraged De Carlo to submit a detailed proposal for potential funding coming from the Ford Foundation.[44] These initiatives were partly linked to a seminar studio titled "A New Model for the Urban University," coheld at MIT by De Carlo and Julian Beinart in early 1971. As the program of the course stated:

> The present models for the urban university have been rendered inadequate by increases in student population; a new understanding of specialization and the need for participation; the pressures of increased social mobility and mass culture and the various university/community conflicts that have been raised through the physical expansion of the urban university. The studio will work toward seeking new images and defining a model for a university which functions in close relationship with the city and the region.[45]

41 Mingardi (see note 3), *Sono geloso di questa città*, 127.

42 Preliminary proposal for the summer school, n.d., IUAV, AP, GDC, Atti 062.

43 "Proposal for a research project defining the social role and physical structure of a new university," versions 1 (May 1970) and 2 (July 1970), IUAV, AP, GDC, Atti 064.

44 De Carlo to Julian Beinart, Dec. 16. 1970, IUAV, AP, GDC, Atti 064. One month later, the architect optimistically noted in his diaries that "My ideas about the city/university mix find an echo here": De Carlo, *Diari*, Q3, 62v, Jan. 12, 1971 (my translation).

45 Draft announcement of "Seminar/studio: A New Model for the Urban University" [Jan. 11–31 1971], n.d., IUAV, AP, GDC, Atti 064.

CONCLUSION

Two Team X meetings organized by De Carlo mark the beginning and the end of the period that has been observed in these pages. In 1966 Urbino served as a background for a meeting to which the Smithsons did not participate, and that ended up being dominated by tensions between different visions about the evolution of the group and its openness to new members.[46] The meeting was also an opportunity to organize several trips in both the old city and the newly completed Collegio del Colle, which Aldo van Eyck reviewed sympathetically.[47] In June 1976, just a few weeks before the first edition of the ILAUD, a small group of Team X members—the Smithsons included—returned to Urbino.[48] The meeting was officially organized in Spoleto, some 140 kilometers away, and brought the participants to observe a plurality of buildings in different cities of the region. These included Terni, where De Carlo had recently completed the housing scheme of the Villaggio Matteotti, the manifesto of a recent phase of research on the implications of user participation for architectural, urban, and university design.[49] Urbino had not lost its centrality, but the intellectual and spatial geographies were now different.

In the decade between these two events, De Carlo consolidated his presence in Urbino and successfully expanded his built work in the city. In return, the city itself, or rather a complex translation of it, played a crucial role in De Carlo's transnational exchanges with North American universities, indirectly contributing to reshaping his understanding of the mutual relationships between architecture, cities, and the potential of innovative forms of analysis and teaching. Some traces of these legacies left deep marks on the ILAUD experience.

46 Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel, eds., *Team 10: In Search of a Utopia of the Present* (NAi, 2005), 141–43.

47 Aldo van Eyck, "University College in Urbino by Giancarlo De Carlo," *Zodiac* 16 (1966), 170–87.

48 Risselada and Van den Heuvel, *Team 10* (see note 46), 216–19.

49 Alberto Franchini, *Il Villaggio Matteotti a Terni. Giancarlo De Carlo e l'abitare collettivo* (L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2020); Filippo De Pieri, "Playing within De Carlo's Field: Architectural Historians and the Villaggio Matteotti," *Ardeth* 10–11 (2023), 157–75.