

Distribution Agreement

In presenting this thesis as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for a degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my thesis in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter now, including display on the World Wide Web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this thesis. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the thesis. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this thesis.

Parth Goyal

May 3, 2020

An Appropriate Regionalism:
Contextualizing Joseph Allen Stein's Architecture in Delhi

by
Parth Goyal

Dr. Todd Cronan
Adviser

Art History

Dr. Todd Cronan
Adviser

Dr. Christina Crawford
Committee Member

Dr. Sean Meighoo
Committee Member

2020

An Appropriate Regionalism:
Contextualizing Joseph Allen Stein's Architecture in Delhi

By

Parth Goyal

Dr. Todd Cronan
Adviser

An abstract of
a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Art History

2020

Abstract

An Appropriate Regionalism: *Contextualizing Joseph Allen Stein's Architecture in Delhi*

By Parth Goyal

This thesis makes a historiographical intervention in the discourse on regionalism by charting its inadequacies and misgivings through the case study of American architect Joseph Allen Stein's (1912 – 2001) work in Delhi. As such, it is divided into two sections. The first is dedicated to a thorough engagement with the specific terms of the regionalist argument, and focuses on the treatment of form and material in the influential iterations posited by Harwell Harris, Lewis Mumford, and Kenneth Frampton. Then, in the second section, Stein's work is offered as a model that filled in the gaps of their respective arguments — bringing them together in a manner that allowed for an “appropriate modern regionalism” to be achieved. The paper further contends that Stein expanded the terms of “function” to include not only a dedication to rational use of form and material towards need-driven ends, but also to the regionally derived idea of “rural simplicity.” This allowed for critique of universal modernity's principles of mass urbanization without falling into the risk of creating a binary opposition between the universal and the regional.

An Appropriate Regionalism:
Contextualizing Joseph Allen Stein's Architecture in Delhi

By

Parth Goyal

Dr. Todd Cronan
Adviser

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honors

Art History

2020

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank the Emory Art History Department, where I have been nurtured to become capable of writing this paper. I am grateful to my committee members, Dr. Christina Crawford and Dr. Sean Meighoo, for their thoughtful insights and their availability for conversation. My thanks also to the Emory library and its staff. Of course, without the constant support of my friends and family, this paper would not have been possible. I save my heartiest thanks, however, for my thesis advisor Dr. Todd Cronan — not only for his boundless capacity to inspire me intellectually, but also for keeping me going with his relentless push, his patience and his proactive engagement with my work.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
The Regionalist Framework.....	4
Joseph Allen Stein’s Intervention.....	19
Conclusion.....	37
Appendix.....	40
Bibliography.....	54

Figures

Figure 1: Bernard Maybeck, <i>First Church of Christ, Scientist</i> , Berkeley, California, 1910.....	39
Figure 2: Thomas Jefferson, <i>University of Virginia</i> , Charlottesville, Virginia, 1819.....	40
Figure 3: Henry Hobson Richardson, <i>Glessner House</i> , Chicago, Illinois, 1887.....	41
Figure 4: Jørn Utzon, <i>Bagsværd Church</i> , Bagsværd, Denmark, 1976.....	42
Figure 5: Joseph Allen Stein, <i>Low-cost house for 'The Design Decade,'</i> 1940.....	43
Figure 6: Joseph Allen Stein, <i>Plan for House Type 3, on 1/5 acre plot, for Peninsula Housing Association 'Ladera' in Palo Alto, California</i> , 1944-49.....	44
Figure 7: Le Corbusier, <i>Punjab and Haryana High Court</i> , 1956, Chandigarh, India.....	45
Figure 8: Joseph Allen Stein, <i>Plan for the India International Center</i> , Delhi, India, 1962.....	46
Figure 9: Joseph Allen Stein, <i>Front Entrance and Driveway of the IIC</i> , Delhi, India, 1962.....	47
Figure 10: Joseph Allen Stein, <i>Central courtyard of the IIC</i> , Delhi, India, 1962.....	48
Figure 11: Joseph Allen Stein, <i>Rear end of the IIC</i> , Delhi, India, 1962.....	49
Figure 12: Joseph Allen Stein, <i>Floor plan for the Triveni Kala Sangam</i> , Delhi, India, 1957.....	50
Figure 13: Joseph Allen Stein, <i>Jalis for the Sangam</i> , Delhi, India, 1957.....	51
Figure 14: Joseph Allen Stein, <i>Amphitheater at the Sangam</i> , Delhi, India, 1957.....	52

Introduction

Two things have essentially guided my work. One is what you might call an interest in searching for an appropriate modern regionalism. I would put equal emphasis on both words, regional and modern, because regional without modernism is reactionary, and modern without regional is insensitive, inappropriate. The second one is to seek the character of the solution in the nature of the problem, as much as one possibly can. ¹

-Joseph Allen Stein, 1987

Throughout its many iterations *regionalism*, as an influential mode of modern and post-modern architectural theory, has attempted to negotiate a place for the tangible and intangible peculiarities of locales within the broader context of universal beliefs and practices. Discourses on regionalism often revolve around the problematics of defining the separate nature of both the “regional” and the “universal.” Understandings of both these categories can often be either underdetermined or overdetermined, and often their related terms and referents overlap. If the issue of differentiating the universal from the regional is somehow resolved, the problem of how to relate the two comes to the forefront: does universalism entail a homogenizing force of culture that regionalist practices must resist? Then, to what extent should regional peculiarities assert themselves above the universal?

Vincent B. Canizaro compiled a rich variety of responses to such questions in his edited volume *Architectural Regionalism* (2007), which charts the contributions of diverse sources, from Wendell Berry to Balkrishna V. Doshi, to the development of regionalist theories. It is remarkable to note that American architect Joseph Allen Stein’s highly significant contributions to the discourse have gone unnoticed in this definitive sourcebook on regionalism. Stephen White’s much-needed monograph on Stein, *Building in the Garden* (1993), provides the only

¹ Stephen White, *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 23.

comprehensive survey of his pioneering practice, but even as it brings the architect's regionalist commitments to light, its focus largely remains on his environmentalism. While it is clear that the framework of regionalism is the right one to understanding Stein's work in both California and India between 1940 and 1970, there remains much to be said about how he succinctly distilled functionalism into the more abstract values propounded by regionalists.

Stein, an American architect whose early work in California was inspired by the organic design philosophies of Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright and Richard Neutra, spent the more productive portion of his career in India — a newly independent country which, like California during the mid-century, offered enriching possibilities for architectural creativity. Based largely in Delhi, Stein would develop an architectural style that displayed an astute sensitivity to not only natural and built environments, but also to the region's dynamic intellectual setting — typified in the Indian case by the somewhat contesting visions for nation-building posited by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

In this paper, I am concerned with the question of whether regionalist discourses have lasting value and import for architectural practice. And if we are to say yes, I would press to ask what kind of value, and whether there are limitations or reconsiderations to bear in mind. Through an examination of Stein's work in India, I venture to conclude that regionalism's values only persist so long as they are not extricated from universalist practice, and that this is made possible only through a clear and foregrounded commitment to *function*.

This paper is largely concerned about the problematics of regionalist discourses for architectural practice, and Stein is then posited as figure who achieved what we might call an "appropriate modern regionalism." So, for the sake of a clear and focused explication of my argument, I have divided my paper into two sections: the first exploring the terms and

dissatisfactions within major strains of regionalist discourse, and the second dedicated to framing Stein's intervention therein. The influential writings of Harwell Harris, Lewis Mumford and Kenneth Frampton — constituting some of the most canonical formulations of the regionalist argument — will be central in the first discussion. I am essentially asking what a regionalist architecture *looks* or — as in the last case — *feels* like for these thinkers. To be able to better distinguish between the specific terms of their arguments, I will pay particular attention to their treatment of *form* and *material* in conceptualizations of the “regional” and the “universal.” Beginning with Harris and ending with Frampton, I will position their claims in relation to one another. This, I hope, will help to clarify some core tenets of regionalist thought alongside some key disagreements over its aims. I will then position the work of the architect Joseph Allen Stein within and against the prevailing regionalist theories, largely centering my analysis on his design for the *India International Centre* (1962) in Delhi, but also by charting the evolution of his practice from his years in California.

My central claim will be to suggest that both Frampton's postmodern approach, and Mumford and Harris's modernist approaches to regionalism provide a helpful, but ultimately inadequate, framework for understanding Stein's rich and complex regionalist practice. I will argue that Stein's work provides an exemplar for overturning the binary opposition between the “universal” and the “regional” as posited by critical regionalists, and that he does so by expanding his functionalist commitments in such a way that effects a more intertwined and mediated relationship between the two. What is enabled, then, is a mode of regionalism that aspires to universal incorporation without fearing the risk of homogenization. Moreover, it allows for a productive and necessary two-way critique: on the one side, of a nostalgic lapse into stasis; and on the other, of blind faith in the project of modernity.

The Regionalist Framework

Without a complex knowledge of one's place, and without the faithfulness of one's place on which such knowledge depends, it is inevitable that the place will be used carelessly, and eventually destroyed. Without such knowledge and faithfulness, moreover, the culture of a country will be superficial and decorative, functional only insofar as it may be a symbol of prestige, the affection of an elite or "in" group. And so I look upon the sort of regionalism that I am talking about not just as a literary phenomenon, but as a necessity of civilization and survival.²

Wendell Berry, "The Regional Motive," 1972.

The regionalist motive has long enchanted thinkers in the arts, as it remains a potent force in discourses on place, culture, identity and aesthetics. All of these, of course, apply to the practice of architecture — wherein we can find some of the liveliest debates and applications of regionalist theory. This section of the paper is dedicated to unraveling the core terms of regionalism as they have been configured in architecture. To that extent, I will present and evaluate the cases made by Harwell Harris, Lewis Mumford and Kenneth Frampton — whose legacy remains the most enduring in architectural thought today.

In his influential essay "Regionalism and Nationalism in Architecture," the mid-century architect Harwell Harris distinguishes between a *regionalism of restriction* and a *regionalism of liberation*. In practicing the former, Harris explains, the architect uses a region's "poverty to produce decorum."³ This "poverty" is not only of material resources, but of a progressive, cosmopolitan vision. In their inability to particularize and blend architectural and intellectual influences within the regional context, the architects of restriction limit themselves to aimless

² Wendell Berry, "The Regional Motive," in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 39.

³ Harris, "Regionalism and Nationalism in Architecture," in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 60.

reproduction of local forms through persistent and exclusive use of local material. What is produced, then, is an empty and prideful expression of a *static* region. For Harris, the ends of regionalist architecture must be in encapsulating a spirit of freedom or liberation, in promoting ideas and accepting them. That is to say, regionalist architecture must be in tune with global intellectual developments of the time. *A regionalism of liberation* is an “adventure into new territory, new ways of living, new forms of construction, new harmonies of form.”⁴

In Harris’s formulation of regionalism, however, there appear to be conflicting means and ends — particularly when scrutinized for its treatment of form. As his dedication to maintaining the peculiarities of a region seems thin, it remains unclear what distinguishes one region from another. That is to say, what makes an architecture *regional* for him? At what point, in its “harmonizing” acceptance of foreign influences, does it become *universal*? In critiquing Mexico’s *La Ciudad Universitaria*, he claims that it fails to find a Mexican expression for its stilts, cantilevers, vaults and sun breaks. As such, it remains a symbol of “alien modernity” for Mexicans, as it begins to submit to a “new colonialism” of European forms.⁵ And yet, if a *regionalism of liberation* is more an expression of newness and dynamism, of a people’s progressive and cosmopolitan outlook, then form dedicated to that end should be considered successfully purposed. Still, Harris seems to insist that the form of even structural support elements must appear ‘familiar’ to region’s people. They must be blended and harmonized with local architectural forms. In a related essay on “Regionalism,” Harris claims that a “a region is marked by what is immediate and tangible. Dealing with it frees one’s mind from a mass of

⁴ Ibid., 61.

⁵ Ibid., 64.

abstractions, generalities and *unrealities*.”⁶ So, for Harris, a regional architecture can ultimately not be constituted without a distinctly recognizable, ‘tangible’ and ‘immediate,’ localized form.

While this notion would imply that local materials should be incorporated into regionalist design as means of rendering immediacy or familiarity, Harris insists that material is only incidental to regionalist practices. He cites the example of Bernard Maybeck’s Bay Area architecture (fig. 1), arguing, “Maybeck used wood, concrete, transite, corrugated iron all before 1910—and used them with great distinction. But there is no reason to believe that he would not have used marble and bronze equally well and just as cheerfully.”⁷ For Harris, then, the application of materials must simply be consistent with the contemporary intellectual and cultural resources of the region, and more particularly, must serve the function of the architecture.

Ultimately, the focus of Harris’s regionalism remains on an overarching, spiritual expression of progressive, cosmopolitan aspirations — rendered with some visual and experiential “familiarity” its people. If regions should constantly aspire to that universalist ideal, then it follows that regional forms have the potential to become universalized. As Harris writes, “what the world could not conceive” but was realized in regional form, “it now adopts, making it a part of itself. In time, the product will shed both the region’s name and the characteristics peculiar to the region. Thus does a region outdo itself.”⁸ So, for Harris, the regional extends itself into the universal. As such, an effective practice of regionalism is one that tends towards universalization: forms or materials that were once regional become adaptable influences for the development of other local architectures — which would, in turn, once again redefine universal

⁶ Harris, “Regionalism,” in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 67.

⁷ Harris, “Regionalism and Nationalism in Architecture,” 60.

⁸ Harris, “Regionalism,” 67.

trends. That is to say, rather than dwell on intricacies of material and form, Harris elaborates upon a spiritual understanding of the region that makes it inextricable from a universalist potential. His regionalism is characterized more by symbolic expression of an age and its ideals, grounded by a local people's needs and desires, than purely nostalgic and overzealous dedication to past architectural "traditions."

From the same moment, and in dialogue with Harris, Lewis Mumford defined an alternative account of regionalism which similarly emphasizes a universalist potential therein, but differs in the treatment of material and spiritual progress through formal adaptations.

Mumford's Dancy Lectures delivered at Alabama College in 1941, were later compiled and published under the title of *The South in Architecture*, a highly influential volume in regionalist architectural discourse. Here he proceeds to highlight the contributions of two architects from the American South, Thomas Jefferson and Henry Hobson Richardson, to the formation of American culture and thereby to Western civilization at large. Mumford's undertaking also involves tracing the lines of dialogue between a region (the American South) and a broader, universal project of humanity.

What is the "regional" and the "universal" for him? Here is Mumford: "Regional forms are those which most closely meet the actual conditions of life and which most fully succeed in making a people feel at home in their environment: they do not merely utilize the soil, but they reflect the current conditions of culture in the region."⁹ He continues to argue, in terms related to Harris', that regions aspire towards a universal element in their expression. This universal element is what "unites in a common bond people of the most diverse races and temperaments; it transcends the local, the limited, the partial. This universal element is what makes it possible for

⁹ Lewis Mumford, *The South in Architecture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941), 30.

us to read Homer today, and to feel as sympathetic towards Odysseus as we do to a contemporary refugee that is buffeted from one country to another.”¹⁰ So, a region tends towards the example of Ancient and Classical Greece which produced, over two millennia ago, a literary work that remains relevant to making sense of contemporary issues of global significance. The architecture of Classical Greece, as an expression of its ability to provide a universal framework for beliefs and practices, would inspire those of regions like Jefferson’s United States.

A mere reproduction of those Classical forms in Virginia, however, would be a misguided action of putting them to “different purposes from those they had actually served.”¹¹ Jefferson had to adapt those Classical modes of thought to a contemporary civilization that was ordered by age of the machine. This was a “new world: a world that cried to be understood, interpreted, and humanized.”¹² The region provides the ends and means of grounding universalist principles within the contemporary setting of a locale, making it relevant to standards of living and to beliefs and practices of a people.

Mumford cites Jefferson’s design for the University of Virginia as his greatest success, as it was here that Jefferson avoided both narrow provincialism and senseless reproduction of Classical or global forms, but was informed by contemporary needs and desires. It was rooted within the program of a locale and was expressive of universal aspirations for education and architectural or urban design. The plan at the University of Virginia involved the structuring of four straight residential pavilions for professors and for students in parallel rows 200 feet apart (fig. 2). This not only allowed for fuller exposure to sunlight, wind and outdoor views,¹³ but also for closer interaction between professors and students. As Mumford writes, Jefferson’s success

¹⁰ Ibid., 51-52.

¹¹ Ibid., 53.

¹² Ibid., 57.

¹³ Ibid., 68.

with the University of Virginia's architectural plan lay in its "balance between formal order and vital order, between the logic of the building and the logic of life. And that is why this achievement of [Jefferson's] ranks, not merely as one of the highest achievement of American architecture, but as one of the high points of architecture anywhere in the world in the nineteenth century."¹⁴

It is worth considering Mumford's basic critique of Jefferson's plan for his university: its central, domed library deviated from its otherwise modest, "village plan." The overgrown library, designed in emulation of the Roman Pantheon, closed up the axis around the pavilions, and thus blocked views to the open landscape. For its sheer bulk and dominating presence over the university campus, the University of Virginia's library stands in violation of one of Mumford's core architectural principles, that "individual buildings should never be conceived as isolated units; they should always be conceived and executed as parts of a whole."¹⁵ Extraneous, purely ornamental features are an unwelcome addition to a Mumfordian architecture. For him, architecture must be rooted in the natural and built context of its environment, and so, must inherently align itself with a region's peculiarities. At the same time, all aspects of an architectural project must be consistent with its overall plan, determined primarily by *function* – which serves to outline a universal character of design. It would be safe to say that Mumford would critique La Ciudad Universitaria for many of the same reasons for which Harris does: the execution of some of its parts (stilts, cantilevers, vaults) remain inconsistent with the broader functional and symbolic aspirations of the project.

For greater elaboration on Mumford's views on material and form in a regional architecture, to enable a more fruitful comparison with Harris, we must turn to his discourse on another

¹⁴ Ibid., 76.

¹⁵ Ibid., 74.

renowned Southerner: the nineteenth-century architect Henry Hobson Richardson. While Mumford typifies Jefferson's architecture as the bearer of rationalistic and universal order, he finds in Richardson's work the quintessential expression of emotional sensitivity to the regional environment, which is translated into architecture through determinations in material and form. For Mumford, emotion and rationality must be consistent with each other's projects so that one may achieve "beauty" in architecture. He writes:

Emotion cannot be imported into an architectural form by imitation of historic ornament or style: it must be felt and lived by the architect; it must govern his choice of materials, influence the rhythm of his composition, and be worked out in fresh terms, which belong to the age and place and pattern of culture in which the architect works. In other words, the emotional response and rational response cannot be separated. "The beautiful rests on the foundation of the necessary." One must earn the right to have sensitive tastes and feelings by facing the practical task of one's own day.¹⁶

While following in Jefferson's example and reimagining the very functions of buildings like the traditional New England cottage, Richardson also brought an affective flair to his work through his experimentation in material and form. Working with rough, locally mined stone to create tectonically heavy looking facades, Richardson attempted to "supply to the cultural life of his period some of the rugged masculine strength that he missed."¹⁷ Similarly, he would overturn the region's tradition of white, shingle-roofed cottages with autumnally toned, wide-windowed reiterations that offered more accommodating porches and spacious rooms. The somber, autumnal tones that resulted from his use of local material resources like brown sandstone and red oak allowed for Richardson's architecture to blend with the seasons in New England. "Now the land and building were in complete harmony," wrote Mumford, "One could never mistake these buildings for anything but what they are: New England Homes." Here, we find the essence of Mumford's vision of regional architecture: "it is composed in such a fashion that it cannot be

¹⁶ Ibid., 94.

¹⁷ Ibid., 98.

divorced from its landscape without losing something of its practical and esthetic value—or both together.”¹⁸ His cottages reworked traditional, local materials and architectural forms to offer a vision more suited to the region’s landscape and its cultural developments — keeping in tune with not only New England’s seasons, but also with the contemporary artistic shift in America towards using brown tones in painting and architecture.¹⁹ Nevertheless, while working to endow his buildings with an affective aura of hypermasculinity and to maintain in them regional and temporal decorum, Richardson was still sensitive to utilitarian purposes of architecture — and thereby, to its universal needs.

Indeed, Richardson was inspired by the belief that “the beautiful rests on the foundation of the necessary.” If a work of architecture could not fulfil its primary functions, its aesthetic significance too would be null. So, in his Glessner House in Chicago (fig. 3), Richardson locates an inner courtyard and garden in the house’s E-shaped structure facing away from busy street outside. Its rooms and windows open up to this courtyard rather than to the street, and the street façade is left with only narrow slits for openings that allow for light but little noise.²⁰

Richardson’s design for the Glessner House thus revolves around reimagining and facilitating the core functions of a domestic space: it provides solitude and privacy, communal gathering space, and a sense of continuity with nature to its residents.

It is important to note that for Mumford, successful incorporation of “tradition” must necessarily involve adapting it to contemporary circumstance, as Richardson did, for “people who attempt to restore the outward form of [past traditions] really deny both the validity of tradition and the integrity of the society in which they live.”²¹ Here again, Mumford aligns with

¹⁸ Ibid., 103-104.

¹⁹ Ibid., 97.

²⁰ Ibid., 106.

²¹ Ibid., 89-90.

Harris, who similarly insisted upon contextualizing tradition within the spirit of the time. It is only then that regional traditions can continue to be relevant, and thereby continue to inform universal beliefs and practices. Mumford and Harris's regionalisms are largely compatible in their broader focus on functionalism, and their disdain for aimless reproduction of past forms. Mumford, however, refuses any Hegelian notion of the Universal, a vision of spiritual progress defining the movement of regional forms. While Mumford allows for the possibility of local beliefs and practices to be universalized, he is deeply committed to the notion that a regional architecture can only possess meaning and significance within the context of its cultural and physical setting. That is to say, regional architectures are essentially bound to a time and place: there are limits to their universalist potential, or, at least, they can deviate from universal principles without losing that potential. As he succinctly argued in a notorious symposium at the Museum of Modern Art in 1948, "Any local effort, if worth anything, is worth reproducing elsewhere; and any universal formula that is worth anything must always be susceptible of being brought home—otherwise it lacks true universality."²² While Harris is similarly committed to a mediated relationship between regional and universal, a key difference with Mumford seems to be his insistence upon the compatibility of local material with regional expression. Harris, on the other hand, is largely unconcerned with material in regional architecture and more preoccupied with their formal adaptation to functional means and symbolic ends.

Notwithstanding these differences, we may consider Harris and Mumford together as key voices in the modern theorization of regionalism in architecture. It was largely in light of their work that we may consider the influential reformulation of regionalist problems in the writings

²² The Museum of Modern Art, "What is Happening to Modern Architecture," in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 307.

of Kenneth Frampton. Prominently associated with the school of “critical regionalism” in architectural thought, Frampton brought postcolonial theory into the contemporary architectural discourse. Working through the Harris-Mumford thesis and Paul Ricoeur’s concept of universal civilization, he offered the notion of *resistance* to Western modernism and industrialism through an affective, multisensory reading of a regional environment.

In his essay “Universal Civilization and National Cultures,” the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur posits an emergent issue: “mankind as a whole is on the brink of a single world civilization representing at once a gigantic *progress* for everyone and overwhelming task of survival and adapting our cultural heritage to this new setting.”²³ On the one hand, a world or universal civilization can be good as it distributes “elementary possessions to the masses of humanity” through industrial modernization, reifying the unity of humankind.²⁴ On the other hand, Ricoeur writes, “the phenomenon of universalization, while being an advancement of mankind, at the same time constitutes a sort of subtle destruction, not only of traditional cultures... but also of what I shall call for the time being the creative nucleus of great civilizations and great cultures, that nucleus on the basis of which we interpret life.”²⁵ He engages this problematic by arguing that only civilizations that “constantly [create themselves] anew” can survive the onslaught of a dominant, homogenizing culture.²⁶ This they must do by adapting their so-called *ethno-mythical nucleus* — comprised of not only customs, traditions, and beliefs, but also of images and symbols that represent the “awakened dream” of a historical group — to the principles of scientific inquiry, which define the common rationalistic impulse of

²³ Paul Ricoeur, “Universal Civilization and National Cultures,” in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 43; my emphasis.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

all mankind.²⁷ Thus can they partake in and contribute to the progress of *world civilization*, while still remaining *different*, or true to their sources.

If we simply substitute rationalism with functionalism in Ricoeur's discourse, we arrive at many of the same conclusions offered to us by Harris and Mumford. Indeed, Frampton cites Harris alongside Ricoeur in his influential essay, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six points for an Architecture of Resistance." Here, he argues that the "fundamental strategy of critical regionalism is to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular place."²⁸ While this definition may only appear to be a succinct reiteration of Mumford's regionalism, Frampton further adds that the "mediation of universal technique involves imposing limits on the optimization of industrial and postindustrial technology."²⁹ That is to say, Frampton offers critical regionalism as a means of resisting the dominance of Western industrial technology through the incorporation of "*arational*" and "idiosyncratic" forms and techniques.³⁰ Function takes a back seat to expressions of local peculiarity through form and material.

Frampton's regionalism makes a priority out of framing resistance against world culture and universal civilization. At the same time, Frampton insists that critical regionalism remains a "vehicle of universal civilization" and a "bearer of world culture."³¹ He cites the Danish architect Jørn Utzon's plan for the Bagsvaerd Church built near Copenhagen in 1976 as a work that exemplifies his premise (fig. 4). Utzon incorporates rational universal technique through his use of a regular grid structure and prefabricated concrete in-fills, but destabilizes its Western

²⁷ Ibid., 50.

²⁸ Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (New York: The New Press, 1998), 23.

²⁹ Ibid., 24.

³⁰ Ibid., 25

³¹ Ibid., 23.

modernist connotations by molding it to a form that only has Eastern precedent in the Chinese pagoda roof. Thereby, he disqualifies a purely Occidental or Oriental understanding of the way in which public and sacred space is distributed in the Church. Frampton argues: “The intent of this expression is, of course, to secularize the sacred form by precluding the usual set of semantic religious references and thereby the corresponding range of *automatic responses* that usually accompany them.”³² So elements derived from global, multicultural sources allow for a statement that simultaneously advances and critiques world culture and universal civilization.

What, then, remains of the ‘region’ in Frampton’s discourse? He contends, only superficially in line with Mumford, that the means of rooting architecture in its region lay in producing harmonious, *tactile* relationships with the local environment — which, furthermore, allow for resistance to universal technique and Western culture. That is to say, in Frampton’s account, universalist claims are predicated on *optical* or disembodied forms. Whereas rational thinking might suggest that a site be bulldozed and flattened for optimally economic construction, Frampton deems this a technocratic gesture that renders “placelessness,” and rather insists on the importance of “cultivating” a site and allowing for the eccentricities of a place to integrate with the architecture. Regionally inflected ventilation and fenestration systems allow for local climate, light, topography and context to permeate a structure, and thereby “inscribe architecture with the character of a region and... express the place in which the work is situated.”³³

He puts further emphasis on a multisensory, affective reading of architecture as a means of balancing “the priority accorded to the image and to counter the Western tendency to interpret

³² Ibid., 26; my emphasis.

³³ Ibid., 29.

the environment in purely perspectival terms.”³⁴ So, he calls for a tectonic and tactile layering of meaning into architecture, which can only be decoded by the viewer through the subjective mechanism of personal experience. As he says, critical regionalism “addresses itself mainly to the maintenance of an expressive density and resonance in an architecture of resistance (a cultural density which under today's conditions could be said to be potentially liberative in and of itself since it opens the user to manifold *experiences*).”³⁵ These changing “*experiences*” are further exemplified when Frampton comes to affirm spatial conditions that change “under the impact of time, season, humidity.”³⁶

It is at this point that Frampton’s argument intersects with Robert Morris’ massively influential account of minimalist art in his *Notes on Sculpture* of 1967: “the better new work takes relationships out of the work and makes them a function of space, light, and the viewer’s field of vision.”³⁷ Morris was effectively advocating for an artwork’s meaning to reside outside of itself and rather in the viewer’s response to it, however they “experienced” it. Of course, the famed critique of Morris and the Minimalists emerges with Michael Fried’s *Art and Objecthood* (1967). Fried noted that *theatricality* of this “new work” called only to be understood in the vagaries of subjective perception, and the artist’s intent was thus rendered irrelevant. He argued that minimalist philosophy degenerated the arts by not only making them indistinguishable amongst themselves and between objects in the world, but also by erasing the potential for aesthetic judgements of their value.³⁸ That is to say, the consequence of Morris’s view is that

³⁴ Ibid., 32.

³⁵ Ibid., 25.

³⁶ Ibid, 27.

³⁷ Robert Morris, “Notes on Sculpture,” in *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1968), 232.

³⁸ Michael Fried, “Art and Objecthood,” in *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1968), 141.

there is no capacity to agree or disagree about art and its quality—since all that is available is affective, wholly subjective experience, and one cannot disagree with the another’s experience.

Indeed, Frampton’s vision of critical regionalism lends itself to the same critique: experiential, affective interpretations of architecture neglect to come to terms with architectural *intent* — the fact that it serves a particular purpose, and that some affective responses are closer or further from that meaning. Without a sense of what something means, there could be no “critical” engagement, as there are no shared terms between diverse viewing subjects. The experience of material and form becomes a mechanism for the celebration of individuated “*experiences*” at the cost of shared or collective efforts to create meaning. Furthermore, in Frampton’s discourse, Western conceptions of modernism and modernity are posed as the dialectic *opponent* of the Region. In effect, “critical regionalist” architecture is left to be understood mostly as a reaction against an overdetermined “West” and its presupposed cultural dominance.

Keith L. Eggener similarly notes how Frampton indulges in the dangerous tendency to employ broad binary oppositions like East/West and traditional/modern. In doing so, Frampton “makes paramount a struggle where no struggle might otherwise have been said to exist,” and emphasizes “issues of resistance and process over product.”³⁹ That is, he reduces the meaning of regionalist architecture to an act of resistance, overriding a more nuanced understanding of how it may be reimaging local and global futures — of the new architectural possibilities it offers to the contemporary discourse. Eggener calls for a return to Harris and Mumford’s idea of regionalism as a “state of mind,” and rightly states that “by heeding the voices of those

³⁹ Keith L. Eggener, “Placing Resistance: A Critique of Critical Regionalism,” in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 406.

responsible for building particular cultures, architects among them, rather than imposing formulas upon them, we might come to better understand the richness of internal, local discourses in their full range and complexity.”

I propose to do exactly this as I address Joseph Allen Stein’s practice in Delhi (prefigured by his work done in California), which has surprisingly found little consideration in discourses on regionalism to date.

Joseph Allen Stein's Intervention

The universality of Stein's regionalism is exemplified by the fact that his practice carried over from California to Delhi with little intellectual or architectural drift. While his inspirations may have shifted, this was largely in response to the need for accommodation of regional eccentricities of place and thought. Stein's overarching commitment to function, having burgeoned in California as mid-century modernism was taking root, came to flourish in his work in Delhi, binding together strands of the universal and regional in a manner that was as pragmatic as it was poetic. For manifestations of the region in Stein's work are not limited to the usage of local materials and forms: he glimpsed the potential in Harris's vision of regionalism as a dynamic "state of mind." So, he tapped into India's contemporary intellectual atmosphere, from where he drew upon the independence activist and environmentalist thinker M.K. Gandhi's philosophy of "rural simplicity."

Gandhi's thought not only encapsulated the progressive, cosmopolitan ideals that the newly-independent nation of India would fashion itself after, but also called for harmless coexistence with nature — for a return to a rural lifestyle that eschewed modern industrial capitalism's unsustainable exploitation of the environment. Stein echoed Gandhi's concerns, cautioning that "without comprehensive, ecologically attuned landscape planning on a regional scale, it is likely that the extinction of the wild animals and the destruction of the soil will precede the fate of the human inhabitants, who continue thoughtlessly to ravish nature."⁴⁰ Modelling his practice after Gandhi's environmentalist principles, after the idea of living in "rural simplicity," Stein then expanded the notion of architectural function to include a

⁴⁰ Joseph Allen Stein, "The Crisis of Urbanism—Is There An Alternative?" *India International Centre Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1980): 216.

commitment to natural preservation. In effect, his work does entail a regionally-derived critique of the modern, universal tendency towards unbridled urbanism; yet, it would be reductionist to evaluate this, à la Frampton, as an act of resistance against “universal technology” and “world culture.” Stein’s regionalism is still mediated by universal trends, by rationalistic and economic use of contemporary, global materials and forms to match his expanded concept of function. It goes beyond the precepts of Harris, Mumford and Frampton, allowing for a more mediatory than reactionary relationship, premised upon function, between the “regional” and the “universal.” As we shall particularly see with his design for the Indian International Center, this means that Stein, through his regionalist practice, is able to reorient universal possibilities towards deeper environmental consciousness in architecture — it is what makes his practice “critical,” although it should not be read exclusively in those terms.

In this section, I will begin by tracing a brief trajectory of Stein’s career that ultimately takes him to a city where he remains the only architect to have a street named after themselves. While the focus of this section is on Stein’s Delhi portfolio, I hope to illustrate that in many respects, his work in California was translatable for an Indian context despite topological and socio-cultural “differences.” Then, as I hone in on two particular works in Delhi, The India International Center and the Triveni Kala Sangam, I will point to the crux of my argument: Stein’s expanded notion of function endowed a universalist character to his practice, allowing for an undeniably regionalist expression of local peculiarity — rendered in dynamic, non-essentializing terms — that manages to remain productive for transnational architectural dialogue.

Joseph Allen Stein was born in Nebraska in 1912, and after growing up between California and the Midwest, he studied architecture at the University of Illinois until his graduation in 1934 — when, alongside Eero Saarinen, he was awarded the *Medal of the Société de Architectes Françaises* for his work in the beaux arts. Following successive educational periods at the Ecole des Beaux Arts de Fontainebleau and later again at the University of Illinois, Stein was appointed a fellow in Architecture and City Planning at the Cranbrook Academy in Michigan, where he would come under the profound influence of Eliel Saarinen.⁴¹ He then pursued a brief tenure at Ely Jacques Kahn’s office in New York, after which he left for Los Angeles in 1938 to find work with Richard Neutra. “My first real architectural experience was in the office of Richard Neutra, which I think had a very strong impact on me,” said Stein. “I’m very much influenced by the philosophy and outlook of Louis Sullivan, which has been expressed by Frank Lloyd Wright, so I think of Sullivan-Wright as hyphenated. I think you can see their approach to architecture in my work, though you can’t literally see any of their forms.”⁴²

Some formulation of Neutra’s ideas of “survival through design” can be seen as a focal point in Stein’s architectural thinking. While Neutra, however, was designing to influence *individuals* on a pseudo-scientific, genetic level, Stein’s prescription tended towards a broader, more societally driven cure. Neutra saw his architecture as the autonomous means towards healing and connecting man with nature, but Stein was inclined to think of nature itself — channeled through architecture — as the remedy to the “crisis of urbanism.”

Stein’s early association with modern approaches to regionalism were closely shaped by

⁴¹ Stephen White, *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 21.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 22.

his collaboration with Gregory Ain and his affiliation with Telesis. Established in 1939, largely inspired by the similar Regional Planning Association of America founded by Lewis Mumford, Telesis was group of urban planners, architects, critics and researchers who promoted social reform through public housing projects. They were particularly engaged with issues like low-cost, sustainable housing and the adverse effect of California's changing landscape upon indigenous architectural traditions.⁴³ The group's influence on Stein can be observed in his work in collaboration with Ain on a prefabricated one-bedroom house for California migrant workers in 1940. Constructed in only four-hundred square feet of enclosed space, the house was designed to be contiguous with nature as outdoor trellises extended the sense of indoor space.

A more striking example of Stein's low-cost housing designs was published by the *Architectural Forum* in its October 1940 issue of Design Decade, at a time when the architect was only twenty-eight years old.⁴⁴ The house's design (fig. 5) emphasizes a sense of non-hierarchical space through its highly unusual x-shaped plan emanating from a centralized hearth. This would allow for uninterrupted, non-linear access and a clear line of vision to all areas and rooms, which would then contribute to a well-defined sense of openness and continuity between the built and natural environment. The house was meant to foster a sense of community as well, for one could be cognizant of another's presence at all times. Stein claimed that its structural design and responsiveness to Southwestern California's mild climate permitted the house to be built for a mere \$750 including the cost of labor. He described his project as such:

The larger philosophy in the back of this plan is this: the home for the average American family must be brought down to the price level of an automobile; yet it should be more than a mere gadget; it must be a witness to man's humble spirit of romanticism as well as to his proud insistence upon up-to-date rationality and mechanical perfection; it must

⁴³ Avigail Sachs, "A Social Art." In *Environmental Design: Architecture, Politics, and Science in Postwar America*, (London: University of Virginia Press, 2018), 11.

⁴⁴ Stephen White, *Building in the Garden*, 60-61.

harbour the imponderable longings of the soul as well as serve the measurable needs of his body.⁴⁵

His addendum on the necessity of “up-to-date rationality” and “mechanical perfection” is noteworthy. Here, Stein is demonstrating the beginnings of a design philosophy which did not dissociate and undermine technological innovation’s promise — as Frampton would for the advent of “universal technology” — but presented it as complementary and contiguous with the use of more traditional and organic solutions to tackle complicated architectural problems. In a sense, he shows that vernacular architecture is hardly “arational” at all; instead, its very rationality is attested to by the fact of its universality granted by function. For the concrete-based *Design Decade* house, for example, Stein recommended the use of heavy straw-matting as exterior walls to resolve issues of fireproofing and insulation — a solution which was likely informed by classical Japanese architecture’s use of the material.⁴⁶ As Stephen White argues, Stein’s appreciation for classical and indigenous architectural forms likely stemmed from his Beaux-arts and pre-Bauhaus modernism training — showing his comfort with working through vernacular forms and applying them in a modernist setting. “Good modern architecture learns from the past (immediate and ancient) and is perpetuating those ideals that have stood the test of time and are still valid and vital,” said Stein: “As an example... *functionalism*, which is the key word in describing the most advanced moderns, *is not an innovation, but the perpetuation of one of the outstanding characteristics of all the great ancient architectures.*”⁴⁷

The *Design Decade* house’s unity of the organic and the inorganic, the classical and the modern, appealed particularly to Frank Lloyd Wright, who called Stein to express his appreciation for the design and to extend an invitation to visit him at his home and office in

⁴⁵ Ibid., 62.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 62.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 22; my emphases.

Arizona, Taliesin West.⁴⁸ Wright’s notion of organic architecture — that is, as W.K. Rogers describes, a design focus “upon the unity of the whole lived space, of every component within the building, and of the building with its site, and all these with the individuals who live in that space” — had particularly appealed to Stein and his colleagues, and helped shaped his vision of regionalism (as it did so many others).⁴⁹ The consideration of a building as an organic unit was predominant in his work in California through the 1940s, during which his notable projects included small houses situated symbolically with large gardens. It visibly manifests in his collaboration with landscape designer Garrett Eckbo and architect John Funk on a co-operative housing project for 400 families at Ladera near Paolo Alto (fig. 6). The project aspired to create a “rural community” in a manner that maximally preserved the mountainous valley’s natural beauty.⁵⁰ The individual houses were meant to destabilize notions of indoor and outdoor space: the living rooms would extend into terraces and children’s rooms into playgrounds. As we shall see, this prefigures an underlying concept behind his work in Delhi. Like other co-operative housing projects of its time, however, the dream of Ladera was never fully realized as the Federal Housing Authority refused to provide construction loans, taking issue with the community’s interethnic composition.⁵¹

Meanwhile, the terror of the McCarthyist era continued to mount particularly after 1950, and Stein, looking for an escape, left for India in 1951 after Neutra recommended him to the Indian Government to direct the newly established Bengal Engineering College in Calcutta.⁵² While his work in California had displayed his ability to incorporate regionalist commitments —

⁴⁸ Ibid., 62.

⁴⁹ W.K. Rogers, “Frank Lloyd Wright’s ‘Organic Architecture’: An Ecological Approach in Theory and Practice,” in *Imaginatio Creatrix: The Pivotal Force of the Genesis/Ontopoiesis of Human Life and Reality*, ed. Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka (Netherlands: Kluwer Acad. Publ., 2004), 381.

⁵⁰ Stephen White, *Building in the Garden*, 94.

⁵¹ Ibid., 89.

⁵² Ibid., 30.

primarily through a keen sensitivity to the natural environment, site-specific use of materials, and locally sensitive notions of planning within the primarily functionalist foundations of his project, Stein would further begin to demonstrate in India how the dynamic intellectual and socio-cultural values of a region could also align with a universalist framework, allowing one to achieve what he called an “appropriate modern regionalism.”

As an ardent believer in Gandhi’s philosophy of nonviolence particularly as it applied to environmentalism, he sought to integrate a vision of “rural simplicity” in his architecture as a means of achieving this appropriate modernism in the Indian context. Here, it is worthwhile to distinguish between Stein’s philosophy and that of other foreign architects working in India — most prominently, Le Corbusier, whose city plans and design for Chandigarh’s Capitol Complex operated on a remarkably different vision which could be described as *Nehruvian* in approach, as opposed to Stein’s *Gandhian* ideals. We can then begin to observe how Stein’s concept of function was more suited to a thoroughly regionalist practice.

After winning independence from colonial rule in 1947, the Indian government faced the tumultuous setback of the newly independent Pakistan’s partition, which resulted in bloodshed and mass murder, as well as lasting geo-political problems in the subcontinent. Particularly, the lush state of Punjab in India was severed from its original capital in the now Pakistani city of Lahore. The need for a new capital that could contest the historical glamor of Lahore, then, inspired the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to articulate a vision of a “modern and efficient city with up-to-date services, sewerage and transport (with) clean, open spaces liberating Indians from the tyranny of overcrowded and filthy cities, as well as from the confines of agricultural, village life.”⁵³ We should observe here what constituted Nehru’s vision for the

⁵³ Hasan-Uddin Khan, Julian Beinart, and Charles Correa, eds, *Le Corbusier: Chandigarh and the Modern City: Insights into the Iconic City Sixty Years Later* (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2009), 22.

Indian landscape, and how that differed from Gandhi's ideals, as it points to the difference in Stein's functionalist project and that of the more acclaimed Le Corbusier.

The renowned Indian historian of science, Syed Irfan Habib, described Nehru as "one of the most enlightened leaders of India's freedom struggle."⁵⁴ While ignoring the problematics of such laudatory phraseology, it is correct to identify Nehru as a guiding voice behind India's vision of the future, and surely his vision was driven by the ideals of the Western Age of Enlightenment, especially its emphasis on reason, rationality, and scientifically driven progress. As Indian nationalist leaders situated the place of local beliefs and practices alongside Western socio-cultural, political and economic principles of modernity in their grand constitutional plan for the emergent state, Nehru pointed towards a vision of an industrialized and thus economically self-reliant India, cautioning against a strong hold on custom and religious dogma.⁵⁵ His outlook for an industrialized India, then, contrasted with Gandhi's hopes for a rural landscape that continued to sustain itself in the pastoral lifestyles by its ancestors. As Gandhi wrote in his famed treatise on post-independence Indian prospects, *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*:

We have managed with the same kind of plough as existed thousands of years ago. We have retained the same kind of cottages that we had in former times and our indigenous education remains the same as before. We have had no system of life-corroding competition. Each followed his own occupation or trade and charged a regulation wage. They, therefore, after due deliberation decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet. They saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet. They further reasoned that large cities were a snare and a useless encumbrance and that people would not be happy in them, that there would be gangs of thieves and robbers, prostitution and vice flourishing in them and that poor men would be robbed by rich men. They were, therefore, satisfied with small villages.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ S. Irfan Habib, "Legacy of the Freedom Struggle: Nehru's Scientific and Cultural Vision," *Social Scientist* 44, no. 3/4 (2016): 30.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

⁵⁶ Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House), 56.

For Gandhi, there was no need for mass industrialization or urbanization: he argued that the people would be happier, healthier and more satisfied in agricultural towns: practicing small, individual trades free from the exploitative principles of large capitalist enterprise. So, he remained averse to the formation of sprawling cities, which he deemed a breeding ground for moral corruption. Instead, he advocated a rural life, and dreamt of small village communities that nourished and cherished their land through sustainable farming practices. Gandhi, however, was assassinated in January, 1948, not even one year after India achieved independence from colonial rule and Nehru took hold of the nation's most influential political office. The latter's focus on industrial-scientific development would thenceforth dominate in the Indian project of modernity. And to design a monument to that vision, the city of Chandigarh, Nehru's government would eventually commission Le Corbusier.

In light of Le Corbusier's increasing responsiveness to natural landscapes especially through the 1930s, there has been a great deal written about his evolving regionalist commitments. As I contend, however, his was still an imposed regionalism that strove towards a towering monumentality rather than nuanced assimilation. That is, his work in Chandigarh remained a symbol of "alien modernity," as Harwell Harris described Mexico's La Ciudad Universitaria. Stein will be shown in contrast to this, as his modernist project truly finds itself at home in the historical city of Delhi.

As writes Vikramaditya Prakash, "Le Corbusier embodied the image of the hero-architect, battling against the fortresses of the old, forging a brave new world, whatever the odds."⁵⁷ Le Corbusier, in stating that "Architecture is stifled by custom,"⁵⁸ and in further

⁵⁷ Vikramaditya Prakash, *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 15.

⁵⁸ Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, translated by Frederick Etchells (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), 3.

emphasizing the necessity of scientific, mechanical and industrial-based advancements in architecture in his *Vers une Architecture* (Toward an Architecture), seemed a perfect match for Nehru's vision. Even within Corbusier's more regionally inflected approach, he suggested that the structure was fully independent of site conditions. In his notes for the 1931 Maison Errazuriz in Chile, Le Corbusier observed that the plan is "by no means dependent on particular materials; in Chile...a modern space conception could be interpreted perfectly well with the help of fieldstone and roughly hewn tree trunks." In addition to the materials, Le Corbusier further declared (in 1949) that certain structures could be built "on any terrain whatsoever." In other words, both materials and site were independent, fully detachable, elements of the architecture. Yet, while that reputation may have enchanted the iconoclastic Nehru, it is debatable whether Le Corbusier's "International" Style could be regionalized within the Indian context or whether it achieved a display of what Stein would call an "appropriate modernity."

Le Corbusier's Chandigarh has been aptly characterized by the architect Charles Correa as somewhat of a "zenana" city: that is, as a sanctuary of enclosure and protection from the world outside.⁵⁹ This idea is most conspicuous in the design for the Punjab and Haryana High Court (fig. 7), completed in 1956. Surrounded by the rolling Himalayan mountaintops, the box-shaped building poses a sharp juxtaposition to its natural environment's verticality and haphazardness by emphasizing its own horizontally-oriented axis and symmetry. Moreover, the use of exposed concrete calls attention to the fact that it is man-made, distinguishing it from organic and natural forms. The parasol roof further adds to its sense of enclosure and self-sufficiency. To that extent, however, it does seem to epitomize the sense of a metropolitan city: as an enclosed, protected-from-the-elements locale. And as such, Le Corbusier's High Court can

⁵⁹ Vikramaditya Prakash, *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier*, 97.

be read as monument to Nehru's ideals of a modern, industrial Indian city — completely inverse to the image of the site specific, locally sensitive, but still functionalist approach I am describing here.

Critiques of Le Corbusier's plan for Chandigarh are not limited to its imposed regionalism and have further called out its failed functionalities on a number of levels: including its lack of accommodation of local cultural practices. The High Court itself was too small for its operations within a decade and its architectural cooling elements would eventually have to give way to air conditioners.⁶⁰ The city plan, in its dedication to concepts like zoning and single-use neighborhoods, has been described by certain critics as isolating or alienating, contributing to a dearth of vibrant street life.⁶¹ This is noted pointedly by Ravi Kalia: "Chandigarh was meant to be something beyond a new state capital. But it lacks a culture. It lacks the excitement of Indian streets. It lacks bustling, colorful bazaars. It lacks the noise and din of Lahore. It lacks the intimacy of Delhi. It is a stay-at-home city. It is not Indian. It is the anti-city."⁶²

This is not to say the design for Chandigarh was a categorical failure in assimilating an International Style to the eccentricities of a region: while it surely did anticipate forthcoming needs and circumstances, it was so uncritically hailing the future that it refused to be shocked by it. So, unexpected population growth crippled its design temperament, and soon enough its utopian ideals were overturned by political turmoil and communal tensions in 1966. It is almost in direct opposition to this Nehruvian approach to Chandigarh's architecture and urban planning that we should understand Stein's designs for the India International Center in New Delhi.

⁶⁰ Peter Fitting, "Urban Planning/Utopian Dreaming: Le Corbusier's Chandigarh Today," *Utopian Studies* 13, no. 1 (2002): 76.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 75.

In the late 1950s, the Indian Vice President Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, alongside the Rockefeller Foundation, conceived of an institution that would stimulate cultural and scholarly exchange between local and international groups. Thence, they commissioned Stein — who had moved to Delhi after three years of teaching in Bengal — to design the India International Center in 1959 (making it contemporary with Corbusier’s project for the city of Chandigarh). Unlike California, Delhi’s harsh climactic conditions made the city averse to the sweeping vista styles and large glass paneled structures that were being built by the Bay Area regionalists. Moreover, given Delhi’s glamorous architectural history and the planned project’s location beside the historical Lodi Park and its numerous fifteenth-to-sixteenth century royal Indo-Persian tombs, the IIC would have to be responsive to its rich built environment.

And yet, expressive of Harris’s cosmopolitan and progressive vision for regional architecture, the design for the IIC found its inspiration not in local traditions, but in more diverse practices. Stein recalled that he drew influence from the Abbey of Montmajour in France, which stood out to him for its “handsomely natural, clearly articulated expression of the various functions that comprise a French monastery, with each function having its distinctive form, and all of which are easily and gently related to each other and to the surrounding environment.”⁶³ Indeed, Stein appears to view regionalist architecture in terms similar to Harris and Mumford: function becomes his means for universally grounding architecture within the framework of a region. He first prioritizes an architecture’s consistency with its purpose, and then melds it with the local socio-historical context and physical setting. Here is Stein in one of his clearest definitions of the relation between function and regionalism: “when you’ve exhausted the

⁶³ Stephen White, *Building in the Garden*, 149.

functional requirements, there is still an area of discretion, and this is where sensitivity to and appropriate response to place comes in.”⁶⁴

Built over a 4.6 acre (18,600 sqm) site adjacent to the historically significant Lodi Gardens, the IIC was designed to serve a number of functions, and Stein carefully articulated each individual wing’s purpose in its overall shape. (fig. 8) Upon entering from the Eastern gate, one is greeted by a curving driveway that is almost flush with the grass-covered pavement and circles around a shallow, pool-like fountain before it leads the individual towards the portico. To the north of the driveway one can see the building for the guest rooms, which gently curves along with the pavement, and is ironically stunning for the sheer intimacy of its human scale. A rectangularly patterned *jali*-screen adorns its façade, and provides a two-way sense of transparency: the residents inside are simultaneously given privacy and unrestricted views of the IIC grounds, while those in the driveway are reminded of non-public, domestic functions of the space.

Towards the south of the driveway we find the domed building of the auditorium alongside the library and office wings (fig. 9). The auditorium’s heptagonal shape and domed covering remind of the Mughal tombs and geometric courtyards in the adjacent Lodi gardens, further embedding the architecture in its setting. Then, entering from the portico into the main central courtyard (fig. 10), one can observe that the plan allows for individuals to cross over into any section of the IIC solely by moving through the connecting gardens and without having to enter into any of the individuals buildings — serving the very practical function of maintaining privacy and quiet for the activities of those inside. Through this central courtyard, the front façade binds with the rear end of the IIC, where we find an informal meeting and dinner spot

⁶⁴ Ibid., 53.

amongst fountains and shady trees. (fig. 11) In considering the issues of local built context, Stein wrote, “the search for form resulted in a simple, direct architectural vocabulary. It consists of the use of concrete as the basic structural material: in the poured concrete frame supporting carefully worked out pre-cast concrete roof and floor elements which vary with each space and function.”⁶⁵ In other words, the IIC’s materials are as contemporary as Le Corbusier’s work in Chandigarh, although its scale and shape — driven by regional commitments to the site — remain at a more intimate and human level.

Stein was forging a syncretic architectural style that drew upon local design elements and contemporary materials to solve complex *functional* issues. Unlike Frampton who calls for “arrational” usage of traditional materials, techniques and forms in critical regionalism as a means of resistance, Stein is comfortable with a rational, economical use of resources — regardless of where they are derived from. To that end, local material and form are utilized only where they fulfill a functional purpose. Surely enough, Stein melded the use of concrete with that of locally mined stone for purposes of economy; and he used traditional *jalis* (latticed screens) as a cooling elements in the structure. Similarly, the curvature of IIC’s residential building was not only designed to respond to the peculiarities of a local site as it mirrored the arches in the Lodi gardens, but also served to create space for water features and plantings.

And yet, it is not specifically in the form and material of the IIC that we find Stein’s commitment to a regionalism, but rather in its landscaping — wherein he embeds the Gandhian spirit of “rural simplicity.” The IIC is not only complementary to its surrounding landscape but is permeated by a sense of openness with its alternating sequence of indoor and outdoor spaces — which was achieved by situating individual wings of the building between courtyards. We can

⁶⁵ Ibid., 149.

observe a dedicated, Mumfordian effort to interweaving built and natural environment in the IIC as it is impossible to grasp its architecture without traversing its gardens. In fact, the gardens can be felt at every moment in the structure: its sounds, smells and sights being allowed to constantly enter into the daily routines of those inside the building. Furthermore, the IIC's modest scale allows for residents to feel part of the architectural space rather than engulfed by it. It thus provides a respite from the commotion and overwhelming artifice of modern living: it returns us to more rural sources, where peaceful and loving cohabitation with nature is emphasized. Indeed, it recalls Gandhi's ruminations on the village lifestyle:

philosophers and historians have always dwelt lovingly on this ancient institution which is the natural social unit and the best type of rural life: self-contained, industrious, peaceloving, conservative in the best sense of the word.... I think you will agree with me that there is much that is both picturesque and attractive in this glimpse of social and domestic life in an Indian village. It is a harmless and happy form of human existence. Moreover, it is not without good practical outcome.⁶⁶

Like Gandhi, Stein believed that densely packed urban metropolises were a source of moral corruption. He argued that modern cities deprived humankind both of their need for privacy and of a sense of belonging to a small, geographically defined community. Thus, they induced violent outbursts as expressions of an innate rage.⁶⁷ His proposed solution was to reduce the scale and the number of metropolitan cities in favor of small, spread out agro-industrial towns — a compromise between Gandhian and Nehruvian visions. His emphasis was on simplicity, as a lifestyle and architectural philosophy. Science and technology were welcome, but not to be revealed in. As Stein wrote:

The possibility of combining simplicity and science, industry and agriculture presents an opportunity for true progress that was long ago glimpsed by Gandhi. Although a vast distance separates Gandhi's luminous beliefs from today's despair, his genius perceived

⁶⁶ Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*, 99.

⁶⁷ Joseph Allen Stein, "The Crisis of Urbanism," 98.

that the elements of a life of beauty and grace based upon simplicity are potential in India, and that India's own best traditions tend in that direction.

Yet, it is important to note that Stein achieves this by virtue of a *highly contemporary* use of materials and planning, thus generating a regionalist architecture that is at once utterly embedded in its local setting, and expressive of new design ideals. Stein's IIC — like Jefferson's University of Virginia or Richardson's New England Cottages — cannot be divorced from its setting without losing its meaning: it is truly a practice in regionalism as appropriate response to time and place. And yet, the solutions it presents to functional issues — which include the threat of environmental devastation at the hands of lifeless urbanism — have universal architectural significance. Stein's regionalism goes beyond what Frampton, Mumford and Harris can offer to present a vision of the region that is self-consciously dynamic and interactive, that is open to influences in architectural form, material and construction technique. It presents a vision of a region that is part of the growing cosmopolitan and intellectual order of the world, which it does not so much resist as it does redefine for the purposes of regional decorum.

Similarly, in his *Triveni Kala Sangam* (begun 1957, expanded further in 1977), Stein provides an architecture that is reliant on intellectual and time-place sensitive regionalism to attain its functionalist ideal. As an institute conceived for training and creative experimentation in classical painting, dance and music, the Sangam sought to revitalize traditional forms of expression in modern India. Its architectural design thus required thoughtful application of modernist principles to a highly contextualized setting. Furthermore, each wing of the building had to serve a particular function as a dedicated educational space for classical Indian arts without undermining the modernist unity of structure (fig. 12).

From the main entrance, one can see in the center the glass-covered façade of the

corridor, which flanked by the stacked apartment and classroom blocks to the right, and by the smaller, curving gallery block to the left. Moving straight through the corridor one arrives at the open expanse of the Greek-style amphitheater space, which serves to bind together these two blocks that now appear not to be distinct, but individualized and functionally separated parts of a larger L-shaped building. Glass, concrete and a Greek amphitheater are brought home in Delhi at a Classical arts institution as they are remain most appropriate to facilitating the functional program of the Sangam. The universal aspect of Stein's practice should be thoroughly apparent here. Stein claimed that his design for the building was governed by several fundamentals, of which one can already be seen as satisfied now "Respect for modern democratic, social and economic relationships as expressed in the rationally and appropriately organized space."⁶⁸

Simultaneously with universal advances in construction materials and technology, Stein also made use of vernacular forms in design to achieve an appropriate, regionally-inflected modernism. This is once again seen in his extensive use of *jalis*, this time assembled from three different concrete, pre-cast units that were arranged in a seemingly random pattern to the effect of an almost natural, unordered design being created. Viewed collectively in the overall shape of the screen, however, these individual units come together to form an repetitive and gently undulating pattern that again recalls the ordered geometry of local Mughal architecture. The *jalis* further allow for the projection of changing patterns of sunlight and shadow throughout the day, (fig. 13) so that the outside world and nature freely interweave with "inside" space. Here, we see another of Stein's fundamentals being accomplished: there is "Respect for regional appropriateness in adjustment to climate and materials."⁶⁹

Furthermore, Stein prominently utilized a series of vertical gardens to maintain a

⁶⁸ White, *Building in the Garden*, 141.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 141.

semblance of an ecological preserve in the architecture of the building — which is notably located in the bustling metropolitan heart of Delhi’s Connaught Place. Of particular note is also the amphitheater, which serves a multipurpose function as a performance space, a shared courtyard for classrooms, and a tea terrace. (fig 14) The multifunctionality of the theater, alongside its role in facilitating social interaction, recalls B.V. Doshi’s description of the rural water well in India: “the water well is an institution which binds the community very strongly because this is where people meet each other daily, discuss their daily problems, find solace in their grief, and feel socially cared for.”⁷⁰ The rural lifestyle’s emphasis on community building through localized interaction around a particular “institution” is rehearsed in Stein’s amphitheater for the *Sangam*. Here, there is “Respect for cultural values as expressed in the sensitive and intuitive responses of the people.”⁷¹

And yet, this is not accomplished by reproducing past architectural techniques that once supported the region’s peculiarities in that era: that would be, in Harris’s terms, “a regionalism of restriction.” In the Triveni Kala Sangam, the continuum of regional beliefs and practices is *supported* by technological developments. As Stein says, “The engineering and design of this arts’ center has been attempted as an essay in *twentieth century* Indian architecture. It is based upon an unhesitating and full utilization of the twentieth century approach to architectural design. The planning is free, the structural form is determined only by considerations of function.”⁷² So, as we see again, Stein’s regionalist commitments are inextricable from his expanded notion of functionalism.

⁷⁰ Balkrishna V. Doshi, “Cultural Continuum and Regional Identity in Architecture,” in *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, ed. Vincent B. Canizaro (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007), 115.

⁷¹ White, *Building in the Garden*, 141.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 141; my emphasis.

Conclusion

The central dilemma of regionalism, as could be seen emerging in the thought of Harris, Mumford and Frampton, is largely of negotiating a place for difference without affirming exclusivity or stasis. All three writers agreed that the application of vernacular material and form in regionalist architecture has to be considered within the sensitive framework of time and place to ensure a non-essentializing expression of the region's ever-changing sets of beliefs and practices. With Mumford and Harris that meant that the region was inevitably both a contributor and beneficiary to universal developments, and so, neither could be contextualized without the other. Harris brought to bear on the necessity of regionalism as a "state of mind," more so than a commitment to adaptation of vernacular forms and material. What he leaves us with is a rather abstract vision of a regionalist architecture, almost divorced from the physical plane, and related more to an overzealous anticipation of cosmopolitan, spiritual "progress." Mumford seems to adequately fill in the gaps in this concept with his emphasis on functionality as the means of universalizing any vernacular form or material (which would otherwise seem extraneous or nostalgic in its use). Frampton reminds us of the dangers posited by unquestioning devotion to universal — or, as he seems to imply, largely Western — developments. In spite of the latter's reductive reading of regionalism as "resistance," there is something of value in his thought that allows for a better understanding of Joseph Allen Stein's practice in Delhi.

Stein's beginnings in California introduced him to a vein of modernist architecture that, challenging the promise of the International Style, sought a closer relationship with the physical and lived environment of a place. His architecture was increasingly emphasizing a sense of community, not just between peoples, but with nature. An element of pastoralism was already

burgeoning in his practice when he reached in India, where Gandhi's message of non-violence and living in rural simplicity struck him so significantly that he sought to incorporate this into the very functionalist foundation of his work. He demonstrated that there was no need to syncretize vernacular forms for the age, as he demonstrated much of their inherent rationality for use in architecture (seen prominently with his use of *jalis*). In his design for both the IIC and his Triveni Kala Sangam, even with his use of the most contemporary construction techniques and materials, Stein emphasized the mutually nourishing relationship that humankind had with nature. Surely, there is a critique of universal modernity's principles of urbanization and environmental exploitation here; and yet, there is not an emphasis on resistance or reaction, but rather a call to be understood for the sake of universal salvation. This is how Mumford, Harris and Frampton could be reconciled to the effect of an "appropriate modern regionalism" being formulated on Stein's own terms: the intellectual, material, formal and even "critical" aspects of their thought found a home in his practice.

Still, recent commentators have characterized Stein's architectural legacy in India differently: Partha Mitter calls him the man who most successfully broadcast Frank Lloyd Wright's ideas in India, while A.G. Krishna Menon argues that his "relevance to the course of architectural development in India remains at best, enigmatic."⁷³ It is quite clear, however, that as emergent environmentalist concerns beg us to reconsider the designs of both public and private space across the world, Stein's work in both the United States and India demonstrates the possibility of a symbiotic relationship between the organic and inorganic, the regional and the universal. To end, this poetic metaphor from Stein, which, though tinged with the prospect of great catastrophe, provides a touching semblance of hope:

⁷³ A.G. Krishna Menon, "Beauty with Simplicity," *India International Centre Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (1993): 155.

It is a perennially comforting thought, pregnant with wondrous possibilities, that the beautiful feathered songbirds which grace our fields and forests resulted from evolutionary selection from amongst the ravening, monstrosly large and clumsy flying reptiles which shared the Jurassic Age with the dinosaurs that grew to such monstrous dimensions that they perhaps ate themselves to extinction.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Joseph Allen Stein, "The Crisis of Urbanism," 99.

Appendix



Figure 1. Bernard Ralph Maybeck, *First Church of Christ, Scientist*, Berkeley, California, 1910.

Image taken from Wikipedia.org,

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Church_of_Christ,_Scientist_\(Berkeley,_California\)#/media/](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Church_of_Christ,_Scientist_(Berkeley,_California)#/media/)

[File:First_Church_of_Christ_Scientist.jpg](#)



Figure 2. Thomas Jefferson, *University of Virginia*, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1819.

Image taken from <https://uvahydroinformatics.org/>



Figure 3. Henry Hobson Richardson, *Glessner House*, Chicago, Illinois, 1887.

Image taken from Wikipedia.org. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_J._Glessner_House



Figure 4. Jørn Utzon, *Bagsværd Church*, Bagsværd, Denmark, 1976.

Image taken from Wikipedia.org. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bagsv%C3%A6rd_Church

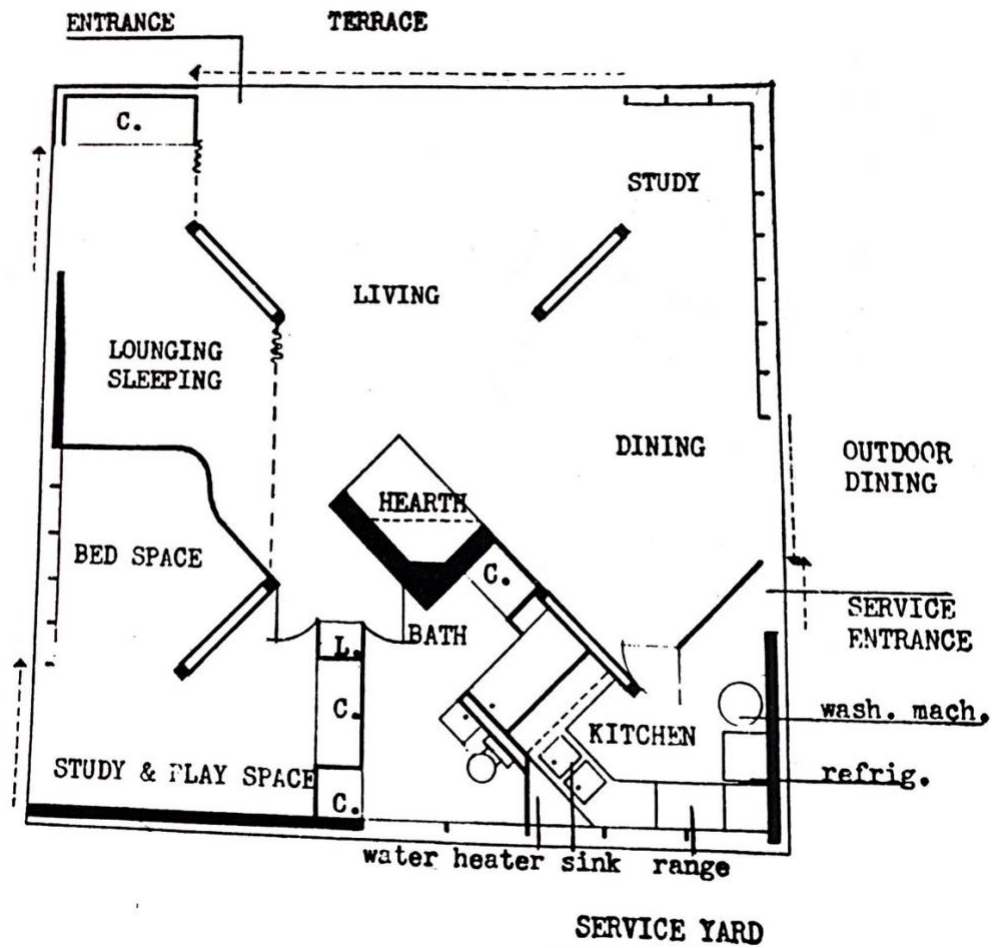


Figure 5. Joseph Allen Stein, *Low-cost house for 'The Design Decade,'* 1940.

Image from Stephen White, *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 62.

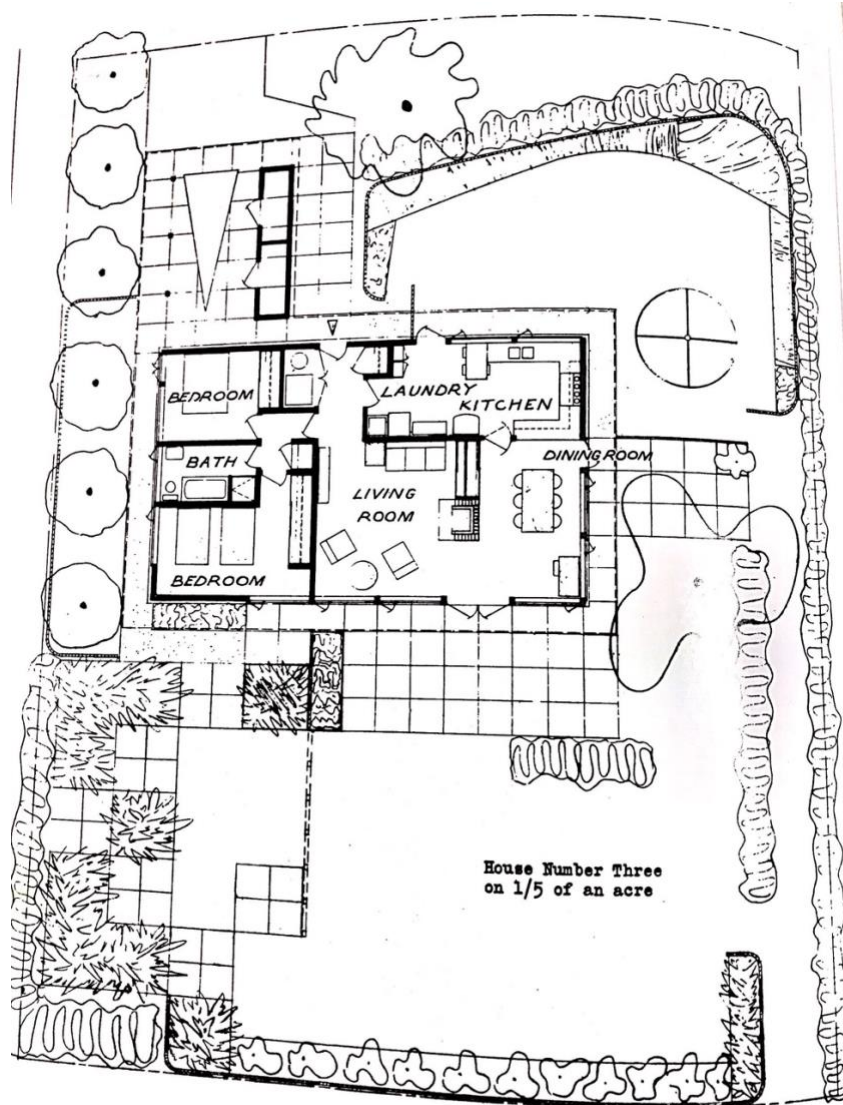


Figure 6. Joseph Allen Stein, *Plan for House Type 3, on 1/5 acre plot, for Peninsula Housing Association 'Ladera' in Palo Alto, California, 1944-49.*

Image from Stephen White, *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 96.



Figure 7. Le Corbusier, *Punjab and Haryana High Court*, 1956, Chandigarh, India.

Image from Wikipedia.org,

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Punjab_and_Haryana_High_Court#/media/File:Capitol_High_Court.jpg

Below: Plan.
Opposite: Rendering, India International Centre.

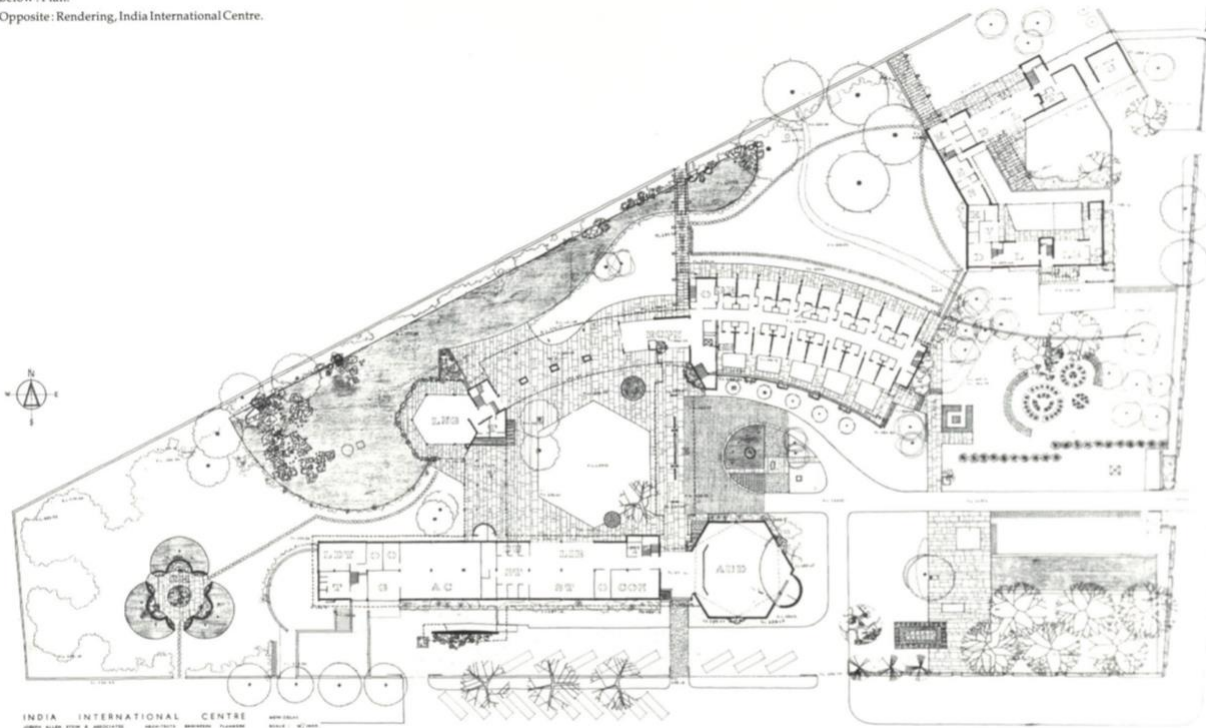


Figure 8. Joseph Allen Stein, *Plan for the India International Centre*, Delhi, India, 1962. Image reproduced from Stephen White, *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 148.



Figure 9. Joseph Allen Stein, *Front Entrance and Driveway of the India International Centre*, Delhi, India, 1962.

Image taken from Wikipedia.org. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India_International_Centre



Figure 10. Joseph Allen Stein, *Central courtyard of the India International Centre*, Delhi, India, 1962.

Image taken by author.



Figure 11. Joseph Allen Stein, *Rear end of the India International Centre*, Delhi, India, 1962.

Image taken by author.

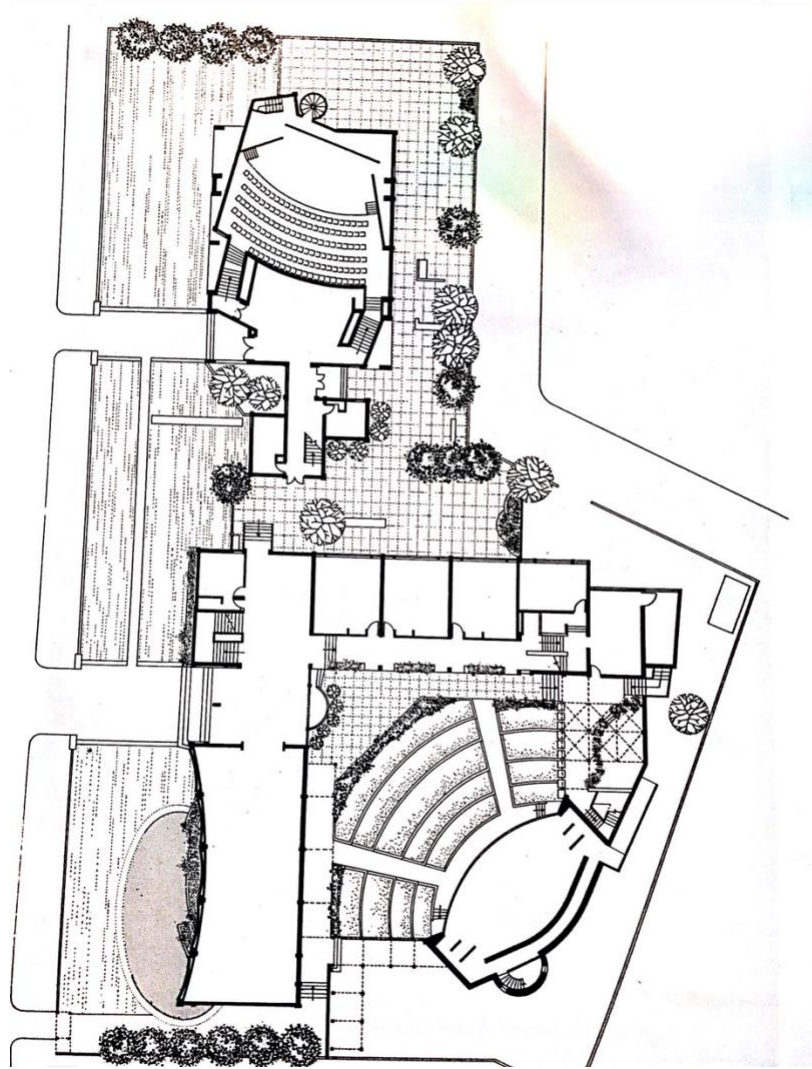


Figure 12. Joseph Allen Stein, *Floor plan for the Triveni Kala Sangam*, Delhi, India, 1957.

Image reproduced from Stephen White, *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 140.



Figure 13. Joseph Allen Stein, *Jalis for the Triveni Kala Sangam*, Delhi, India, 1957.

Image taken by the author.



Figure 14. Joseph Allen Stein, *Amphitheater at the Triveni Kala Sangam*, Delhi, India, 1957.

Image taken by the author.

Bibliography

- Berry, Wendell. "The Regional Motive." In *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, edited by Vincent B. Canizaro, 37–40. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007.
- Chusid, Jeffrey Mark. "The India International Centre of Joseph Allen Stein: A Story of Cold War Politics and the Preservation of a Modern Monument." *Journal of Architectural Conservation* 21, no. 2 (2015): 71-84.
- Corbusier, Le. *Towards a New Architecture*. Translated by Frederick Etchells. New York: Dover Publications, 1986.
https://monoskop.org/images/b/bf/Corbusier_Le_Towards_a_New_Architecture_no_OC_R.pdf.
- Doshi, Balkrishna V. "Cultural Continuum and Regional Identity in Architecture." In *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, edited by Vincent B. Canizaro, 111 – 118. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007.
- Eggener, Keith L. "Placing Resistance: A Critique of Critical Regionalism." In *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, edited by Vincent B. Canizaro, 394 – 407. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007.
- Fitting, Peter. "Urban Planning/Utopian Dreaming: Le Corbusier's Chandigarh Today." *Utopian Studies* 13, no. 1 (2002): 69-93. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20718410>.
- Frampton, Kenneth. "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance." In *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, edited by Hal Foster, 17 – 34. New York: The New Press, 1998.

- Fried, Michael. "Art and Objecthood." In *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, edited by Gregory Battcock, 117 – 147. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1968.
- Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand. *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House. https://www.mkgandhi.org/ebks/hind_swaraj.pdf.
- Habib, S. Irfan. "Legacy of the Freedom Struggle: Nehru's Scientific and Cultural Vision." *Social Scientist* 44, no. 3/4 (2016): 29-40. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24890242>.
- Harris, Harwell Hamilton. "Regionalism and Nationalism in Architecture." In *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, edited by Vincent B. Canizaro, 56 – 64. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007.
- Harris, Harwell Hamilton. "Regionalism." In *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, edited by Vincent B. Canizaro, 66 – 69. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007.
- Khan, Hasan-Uddin, Julian Beinart, and Charles Correa, eds. *Le Corbusier: Chandigarh and the Modern City: Insights into the Iconic City Sixty Years Later*. Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2009.
- Menon, A.G. Krishna. "Beauty with Simplicity." *India International Centre Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (1993): 149-56. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23003977>.
- Morris, Robert. "Notes on Sculpture." In *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology*, edited by Gregory Battcock, 223 – 235. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1968.
- Mumford, Lewis. *The South in Architecture*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941.
- Prakash, Vikramaditya. *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.

- Ricoeur, Paul. "Universal Civilizations and National Cultures." In *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, edited by Vincent B. Canizaro, 42 – 53. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007.
- Rogers W.K. "Frank Lloyd Wright's 'Organic Architecture': An Ecological Approach in Theory and Practice." In *Imaginatio Creatrix: The Pivotal Force of the Genesis/Ontopoiesis of Human Life and Reality*, edited by Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka, 381– 390. Netherlands: Kluwer Acad. Publ., 2004.
- Sachs, Avigail. "A Social Art." In *Environmental Design: Architecture, Politics, and Science in Postwar America*, 9-42. London: University of Virginia Press, 2018.
- Stein, Joseph Allen. "The Crisis of Urbanism—Is There An Alternative?" *India International Centre Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1980): 93-99. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23002307>.
- Stein, Joseph Allen. "Total Landscape—A Step Towards Sanity (in a World Approaching Six Billion Inhabitants)." *India International Centre Quarterly* 9, no. 3/4 (1982): 215-22.
- The Museum of Modern Art. "What is Happening to Modern Architecture." In *Architectural Regionalism: Collected Writings on Place, Identity, Modernity, and Tradition*, edited by Vincent B. Canizaro, 292 – 309. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007.
- White, Stephen. *Building in the Garden: The Architecture of Joseph Allen Stein in India and California*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993.