

Rethinking Replicas

Temporality and the Reconstructed Pavilion

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Abstract

More so than for other kinds of architecture, the temporality of the pavilion is one of its most salient features. Often hastily executed and short-lived, the fleeting spectacle of many contemporary pavilions is central to their appeal and ubiquitous appearance in galleries, art fairs and biennales around the world. Indeed, it is this impermanence and expediency that has traditionally given the pavilion licence to experiment - with novel forms, materials and social arrangements - largely free from functional constraints, building regulations, and the burden of longevity. Increasingly, however, the idea of the pavilion as a provisional structure is being complicated. For various economic, institutional and cultural reasons, a number of "temporary" pavilions are being preserved, collected, relocated or even re-created. The permanent 1986 reconstruction of Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona Pavilion is but one example and has, arguably, compelled many to re-think conventionally held ideas concerning the authenticity of architecture in general, and the temporality and historicity of the replica pavilion in particular. But, it is not simply through attaining permanence that recent pavilion architecture has explored such questions. Through strategies of replication, quotation, simulation, dislocation and superimposition, contemporary pavilions have produced an array of temporal dilemmas and uncertainties. In this paper, three such pavilions will be discussed: The Rietveld Pavilion (1955, rebuilt 1965 & 2010); Robbrecht en Daem's 1:1 "model" of Mies' unbuilt Golfclubhaus (2013); and Alex Lehnerer and Savva Ciriacidis' "Bungalow Germania" for the 2014 Venice Biennale. Through these examples, the paper argues that what is most compelling about many contemporary pavilions lies not in their demonstration of new forms, material experiments or social visions but, instead, in the temporal conditions they produce. In particular, these pavilions exhibit multiple, complex and competing temporalities - superimposing past and present - that expose important questions concerning architecture's authenticity, authorship and reproducibility, and challenge a broad sphere of architectural practice.

Introduction

There is little architecture that is made to truly last. Some of it may aspire to permanence, but most is brought into the world with the simple hope of staving off decay, disaster or demolition for as long as it can. Still, there are a small number building types that confront their inevitable mortality and embrace a brief and finite existence. The pavilion is one such case, or at least, this is how the contemporary pavilion has been conventionally characterised. In the last twenty years, the pavilion has gained enormous popularity as a seasonal structure for art fairs, exhibitions and biennales, and often appear to be as temporary as the events they house. For many pavilions, their very temporariness is a defining characteristic, and permits formal, material and spatial experimentation that is impossible to imagine within the constraints of more “permanent” architectural commissions. Beatriz Colomina has argued that the pavilion gains its “full force” precisely because of its propensity to disappear at any moment, even going so far as to suggest that “a permanent pavilion is not a pavilion anymore”.¹ For others, the pavilion’s ephemerality is part of its enduring fascination and romance. Moisés Puente, for example, suggests that its disappearance guarantees that the pavilion is frozen in time: remembered in a state of youthful perfection - unaltered and unspoiled - and never allowed to show the mark of time.²

Of course, the sheer number of pavilions today make them impossible to characterise in such narrow terms and, in many cases, the notion of the pavilion as being short-lived is simply not true. While the idea persists as a perhaps romantic misunderstanding or misrepresentation of their impermanence, many pavilions have afterlives that are more interesting than their original manifestations. Certainly, there are many historical examples of national pavilions from nineteenth-century world fairs being repatriated, relocated or sold for new uses.³ Likewise, a number of recent pavilions, such as those procured annually by the Serpentine Galleries in London’s Kensington Gardens, are sold off each year to recoup some of their construction costs. A number of them have ended up in private estates or collections, while the first Serpentine pavilion, designed by Zaha Hadid, now resides in a Cornwall theme park. This transience is reinforced etymologically: “pavilion” has roots in the Latin term “*papilio*” for “tent”, revealing its origins as a relocatable canopy for travelling royalty or generals.⁴ However, the same word was also used for “butterfly”, as captured by the French, “*papillon*”. In both senses, the idea conjures up an image of something that arrives “fluttering in from an unknown place ... touching down and standing there ... before fluttering away again”.⁵ Hence, pavilions are historically and conceptually transportable things, likely not only to disappear, but also to reappear in new places. As such, many pavilions are best characterised as temporary structures only in the sense of them staying put in one place for a short time.

In recent years, however, a small number of pavilions have reappeared in less expected circumstances. Rebuilt from scratch, in entirely new locations, these ersatz pavilions complicate the consideration of temporariness and temporality of the pavilion by resurrecting them for new purposes, and even turning designs for temporary structures into permanent ones. Of course, this is not an entirely new phenomenon. The 1986 reconstruction of Mies van der Rohe’s Barcelona Pavilion (1929) is the best-known example, along with Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret’s l’Esprit Nouveau Pavilion for the Paris Exposition des Arts Décoratifs of 1925, disassembled in 1926, and replicated half a century later in Bologna, Italy. However, these kinds of reproductions of canonical works of Modernism do little to examine or expose the problematic act of substitution: their purpose is ostensibly to re-create the experience of their original manifestations for the edification of their contemporary audiences. By contrast, some other more recent works complicate their replication: as a form of conservation, as a creative act, or as a political gesture. In what follows, these ideas are traced respectively through three recent examples, each employing strategies of reproduction: The Rietveld Pavilion (1955, rebuilt 1965 & 2010); Robbrecht en Daem’s 1:1 “model” of Mies’ unbuilt Golfclubhaus (2013); and Alex Lehnerer and Savva Ciriacidis’ “Bungalow Germania” for the 2014 Venice Biennale. In each, novel approaches to reproduction are demonstrated, raising questions

pertinent to the pavilion type, its temporality, and the relationship of architecture more generally to concepts of authenticity, authorship, reproducibility and history.

The Conservation and Re-replication of the Rietveld Pavilion

In 1955, Dutch architect, Gerrit Rietveld, completed a temporary exhibition pavilion for the third international open-air sculpture exhibition in Sonsbeek Park, Arnhem. After fulfilling its short-term purpose, the pavilion was disassembled, and its constituent parts returned to the contractor.⁶ Within five years, however, moves were made to reconstruct the building. After a few stalled attempts, a group of architects came together in 1963 to spearhead its reconstruction in honour of Rietveld.⁷ Located in the grounds of the Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterlo, the new structure was built on a site chosen by Rietveld himself before his death in 1964.⁸ It was opened in 1965 and renamed the “Rietveld Pavilion”, but despite its positive reception and critical success, maintenance issues plagued the project from the beginning.⁹ Its condition became so poor that in 2010 the structure was demolished and a new pavilion was built for the third time - a copy of a copy (Figure 1). While some components of the 1965 pavilion were reportedly salvaged and re-used in the new structure, its demolition and replacement with a replica represents a controversial act which occupies a more extreme end of the conservation spectrum.¹⁰



Figure 1. The Rietveld Pavilion. (Source: --v, 2015. www.flickr.com/photos/-ink/24673982140)

The interest of this paper, however, lies not in the approach taken to conserve the Rietveld pavilion through reconstruction - less its merits or shortcomings - but the conceptual problems that the re-reproduction presents in relation to its temporality. What is particularly intriguing about the 2010 reincarnation of the pavilion is its integration of salvaged components from the previous structure - a kind of contemporary act of spolia to connect the new structure with its predecessor. As Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood have explained, spolia is used as a “homeopathic remedy for discontinuity” which “either explains that the building has been repaired but its identity is stable, or insists that the building stands in an effective referential relationship to a much older building”.¹¹ For the Rietveld Pavilion, the spolia can be seen to operate in both ways, lending legitimacy to the new work and guaranteeing its identification with the previous pavilion. But, the fact that the scavenged building was itself a copy, suggests that at some point in time, it must have itself become an original, acquiring authenticity and material value. Perhaps, in the words of Bruno Latour and Adam Lowe, the aura of the original had migrated to the copy.¹² Indeed, the re-use of the previous pavilion implies that there have now been at least two authentic versions of the pavilion and, by extension, the current pavilion may also become a new original with time. The proliferation of these multiple originals is a curious phenomenon. While mass-produced housing, for example, offers a familiar model of

architectural reproduction, its copies tend to distribute the immaterial “original” across space. By contrast, the distribution of multiple versions of the Rietveld Pavilion across time is antithetical to the perception of a unique architectural work existing in a single state. It also sits in contrast to the implicit ambition of the Kröller-Müller Museum’s 1965 reconstruction of the pavilion to fix it in time. That is, to give it a permanent, stable place in history as a museum piece, and allowing it to stand as a witness to its time. In this sense, the latest replica pavilion might be seen as an architectural anachronism.

The 2010 structure also opens up a broader discussion on the reproducibility of architecture, and the permanent tension between the work of architecture as existing in either its material form or conceptual proposition. The difference has been described by Nelson Goodman, as that which exists between autographic and allographic arts.¹³ Goodman describes the former as being like a traditional painting, whereby the making of a unique object by the author is critical to its value and status as art. A reproduction of that painting by another, no matter how close the imitation, would constitute a fake with little artistic, cultural or material value. Allographic arts, however, manifest their originality in the proposition. Like a musical score, allographic works can be reproduced endlessly without any one performance becoming the original. And while Goodman concedes that some works of architecture are clearly allographic, most of the discipline’s end-products do not generally resolve themselves comfortably within either category. Instead, he argues architecture as a mixed case: while it relies on drawings which, like music or theatre, exist as a notational system of instructions for the execution of the work by others, architecture is simultaneously incapable of separating itself from the particular instantiation.

Still, if we permit that architecture can - to a lesser or greater extent - be allographic and, therefore, reproducible, then certain consequences follow for its temporal interpretation. If, for example, the reconstruction, and later re-reconstruction, of the Rietveld Pavilion is a particularly strong demonstration of an allographic architecture, then we might also reconsider the current building as less anachronistic, than it is anachronic. As Nagel and Wood have argued, anachronistic objects belong to a particular point in linear time from which they have become detached. Their value is bound up in their historical authenticity, as demonstrated by the religious veneration of relics. Anachronic objects, on the other hand, are inherently substitutional. Like the recital of a poem, each incantation repeats the same structural model or pattern of the thing, creating a token of a type which refuses any fixed temporal location, but rather reaches out across time to connect and bind its multiple manifestations.¹⁴

It therefore seems appropriate to characterise the Rietveld structure as a demonstration of such allographic and anachronic concepts. However, the re-use of existing material in the Rietveld Pavilion’s reconstruction at the Kröller-Müller Museum ultimately makes for a more complex and conflicted structure. Fundamentally, the first and second reconstructions at the museum suggest that, as a conceptual proposition, the pavilion is reproducible. As a material object, however, the use of salvaged spolia for the most recent structure contradicts this approach, suggesting a more autographic structure that prizes historical authenticity. Of course, many buildings are composites of new and re-used material, but few demonstrate the temporal dilemmas it creates so explicitly as the conspicuous demolition and replication of the Rietveld Pavilion. Arguably, the resulting project is best understood as simultaneously, and irresolvably, new and old, belonging equally to the past and present.

Robbrecht en Daem’s Quotation of Mies van der Rohe’s unbuilt Golfclubhaus

Whereas the Rietveld Pavilion’s use of spolia demonstrates an uneasy acceptance of its reconstruction, the second pavilion to be discussed here holds no such qualms about the authenticity of its remaking. Instead, it demonstrates a creative act of reconstruction. Known as “Mies 1:1 - The Golf Club Project”, the temporary pavilion was a full-scale, plywood and steel “model” of Mies van der Rohe’s 1930 competition design for a golf clubhouse in the rural landscape of Krefeld, Germany

(Figure 2). The original building was never realised, but an incomplete set of drawings found in the Mies van der Rohe Archive at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York provided enough information - a plan, section, one elevation, and some perspective sketches - for a pavilion to be executed that exhibits Mies' spatial concept "through the direct experience of its spatiality".¹⁵ Initiated by curator and art historian, Christiane Lange, and designed by Belgian architects, Robbrecht en Daem, the pavilion was built in 2013 on a small hilltop, just a few hundred metres from the site Mies originally intended.¹⁶ There, for five months, the pavilion joined two other extant Mies projects in Krefeld, including a house originally designed for Lange's great grandfather.



Figure 2. The Mies 1:1 - The Golf Club Project. (Source: Jeroen Meijer, 2013. www.flickr.com/photos/jpmm/9741265451)

The Krefeld pavilion is not without precedent. Mies famously made a timber and canvas full-scale model of the Kröller-Müller house in Wassenaar in 1912.¹⁷ His work has also been the subject of numerous reconstructions. The reproduction of the Barcelona Pavilion on its original site is well known, and forms a carefully executed visual facsimile of the original. Other reconstructions, however, use or reinterpret Mies' work more loosely. Notable examples include OMA's bent Barcelona Pavilion for their "Casa Palestra" installation at the 1986 Milan Triennale and artist Inigo Manglano-Ovalle's 2009 installation "Gravity is a Force to be Reckoned With", which materialises a furnished interpretation of Mies' 1951 design for the 50x50 House, turned upside down. These distorted works are useful in the context of this paper because, like the model by Robbrecht en Daem, they reveal the potential of reconstruction as a creative act, and as a dialogue between two or more authors.¹⁸ As Lange has described it, the project is "an exhibition with one exhibit", within which are multiple narratives concerning Mies, Robbrecht en Daem, and the town of Krefeld.¹⁹

Lange has explained that, from the outset, the intent of the project was never to make a replica directly from the plans, but to present Mies' ideas for the project as an abstracted and incomplete model.²⁰ Given the limited documentation of the original design, and the cost of the reconstruction, the decision to make the pavilion a simplified version of Mies' clubhouse is, in part, a practical one. Indeed, its creators recognise that a precise reconstruction would be an impossibility. In this respect, Paul Robbrecht has described how no attempt was made to build those parts of the project of which little was known.²¹ These areas were simply left open or loosely outlined, resulting in an incomplete and fragmentary structure, much like a conventional scale model. For example, in the absence of most of the building elevations, no glazing or other fenestration was attempted: a simple timber frame indicates the line of enclosure. Similarly, the textured pattern of three free-standing ply walls finished with a high gloss varnish, hint at the luxurious textures of marble and onyx found in Mies' other work of the period, and parallel the material qualities of conventional architectural models made of balsa.²²

Mies' iconic cruciform columns, however, appear gleaming and complete - albeit using polished stainless steel rather than chrome. Their recognisable plan form was identifiable in the original drawings of the building,²³ and are described by the Paul Robbrecht as the jewels of the interior.²⁴

It is therefore also clear that the ambition of the project is not simply historical. Rather, it was conceived both as a re-creation - a model - of a design by Mies, and as an autonomous contemporary work of architecture in its own right. In this sense, and like the Rietveld Pavilion, there are multiple temporalities at play in the pavilion. Unlike the Rietveld Pavilion, however, which disguises the hand of the architects involved in the reconstruction in an effort to maintain the semblance or illusion of originality, this structure confidently exhibits its dual authorship. This point is significant because it reinforces an understanding of the project, less as a testament to Mies' architecture, than as an honorific quotation of his work by another architect. Its bi-vocality follows a particular pattern of reconstructions where architects have attempted to establish dialogues with the works of others, whether in acknowledgement of a creative debt, as a commemoration or memorial, or simply to reckon with another architect's works and legacy. Notable examples include: Mario Botta's full-scale timber model of Borromini's San Carlino from 1999; Richard Rogers' update of Jean Prouvé's 6x6 Demountable House in 2015, Sam Jacob's realisation of Loos' unbuilt mausoleum for art historian Max Dvůrák in 2016; and Shigeru Ban's rebuilding of Frei Otto's 1955 Kassel music pavilion for the latter's posthumous Pritzker Architecture Prize ceremony in 2015 where the structure effectively stood in for the late architect himself. Arguably, the relatively minimal material and financial demands of pavilions makes them particularly well suited to such experimental projects. Moreover, their very temporariness seems to provide a license to their designers to engage more directly with the work of others - far from the careful, restrained kinds of referencing and appropriation that might be observed in more permanent works.

Such architectural duets are also of interest to a broader consideration of the authenticity of reconstruction. Some of these issues surrounding authenticity have been explored by Claire Bishop and Miwon Kwan in relation to the increasing number of art works and exhibitions that have been reconstructed in recent years, often premised on reintroducing the experience of temporary or ephemeral works to a new audience, or as an opportunity to re-evaluate historic work in a contemporary context.²⁵ For both, the perceived authenticity and value of a copy depends not simply on the accuracy of the work, or its adequacy to the original, but on the authority of those charged with remaking it, underscoring the etymological link between authority and authenticity.²⁶ Bishop, however, goes further, suggesting that exacting historical copies of artworks promote conceptual content over material form and, as such, risk of creating "empty replica[s]" as a "dutiful but inadequate imitation[s] of the past".²⁷ Instead, she argues that involving other artists in the re-creation can circumvent the problem. With reference to Nagel and Wood's argument concerning anachronic art, Bishop writes: "When artists undertake the work of reconstruction sensitively, two authorships and two temporalities can co-exist in one anachronic object: an archival representation of the past, and a voice that speaks to the concerns of today".²⁸ By extension, Bishop may also be interpreted as suggesting that such collaborative works also exhibit a material and ontological authenticity that is missing from the visual or formal authenticity of anonymously reconstructed works like the Rietveld Pavilion.

These ideas are important to this paper in that they help to identify and distinguish the different issues and challenges at stake in the strategies of reproduction employed by the projects like the Otterlo and Krefeld pavilions. Nevertheless, the Rietveld and Robbrecht en Daem projects represent two relatively familiar approaches to reconstruction - one a faithful reproduction, the other, a reinterpretation. By contrast, the final pavilion to be examined combines strategies witnessed in both projects, and results in a more novel and political architectural proposition.

History, Politics and Reconstruction in Lehnerer and Ciriacidis' "Bungalow Germania"

"Bungalow Germania" is the title of Alex Lehnerer and Savva Ciriacidis' site-specific installation for Germany's national pavilion at the Venice Architecture Biennale in 2014 (Figure 3). Much like Robbrecht en Daem's Krefeld pavilion, the premise of this project is a formal intersection of two distinct architectures for a temporary exhibition. In this case, the project unites the extant German national pavilion from 1909 (designed by Italian architect, Daniele Donghi, and heavily re-modelled in 1938 "in the spirit of the German Reich",²⁹) with a partial reproduction of the *Kanzlerbungalow* - the modern-styled former residence of the German Chancellor in Bonn (designed by architect Sep Ruf and completed in 1964). Their combination for the 2014 German Pavilion demonstrates the same kind of multiple temporalities and authorships seen in the Krefeld Pavilion. Additionally, it creates a juxtaposition of spaces - those of Bonn and Venice. But, unlike the Robbrecht en Daem project, the two architectures here are not reconciled nor synthesised within a single new work: the reproduction of the *Kanzlerbungalow* maintains a discrete presence that is contained almost entirely within the walls of the German Pavilion. The honorific and deferential aspects of the Krefeld project are also absent here, as are any signs of the architect's own hand - the intervention consists of a more or less faithful reproduction of the bungalow, albeit as a somewhat simplified fragment. As a result, the two structures remain independently legible even as they meet and occasionally collide. Consequently, this final "pavilion" is of a markedly different kind to the previous two. In its combination of installation and existing building, it staged a complex architectural moment - a representation of the German state in the tradition of national pavilions, rather than an exhibition of architecture per se. Conceptually too, something altogether different was at play.

Framed within the overarching Biennale theme, *Absorbing Modernity: 1914–2014*, prescribed by curator, Rem Koolhaas, the re-creation of the Bonn bungalow within the German Pavilion could be seen as a literal interpretation of Koolhaas' premise for the exhibition.³⁰ This, however, would be an oversimplification. The architects have described their ambition as wanting to use the medium of architecture to reflect, not only on twentieth-century architecture in Germany, but also on the nation itself. In this respect, the surreal collage of the dual historical narratives and architectural forms that made up the 2014 German Pavilion are as provocative politically, as they are architecturally. Both buildings are charged symbols of nationhood and produce distinct representations of the German state to an international and domestic audience.³¹

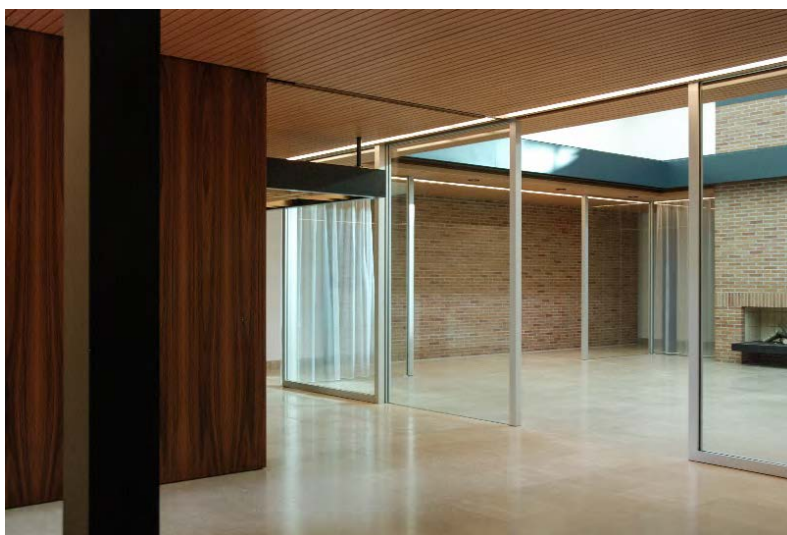


Figure 3. Bungalow Germania. (Source: Darrel Ronald, 2014. www.flickr.com/photos/darrel_ronald/14604222702)

While the politics of the project have been amply examined by others,³² what is of particular interest to this paper is the way in which reproduction - and specifically the strategies of juxtaposition and

simulation - is used to engage with the past. In their curatorial statement, Lehnerer and Ciriacidis explain that, "as architects, we want to use architectural means to grapple with history".³³ Moreover, that they wanted to create a "far-reaching yet unstable connection to the history of the last hundred years of modernism - reaching right into the present, and perhaps even into the future".³⁴ This highly ambitious deployment of architecture sits in stark contrast to the historical didacticism of the Rietveld Pavilion reconstruction, intended to school visitors through the immediate experience of the architect's work. It is also counter to Robbrecht en Daem's creative and deferential play with the historical canon of another architect. Here, history itself is put on display, implicated within the layers, and layering, of architectural representation and meaning.

What is more, Lehnerer and Ciriacidis' refusal to allow a smooth resolution of the two architectures means that the temporal and semantic conditions of the project are held apart, in permanent suspension. As such, a gap is opened up between them. This gap consists of a literal space between the walls of the two buildings which is physically negotiated by visitors. It is also a figurative one to be negotiated conceptually - a space open to interpretation and critical reflection on identity, self-image, history and meaning in architecture. Thus, in addition to the dual spatio-temporal conditions of the original pavilion and bungalow, this gap produces another - a third condition that is grounded in the present-day moment. As the architects write:

Wrenched from their original context, the individual elements of both buildings lose their immediate, clear functional role - they become visible in new constellations and exhibit one another reciprocally. In doing so, they also question each other's assigned meanings. ... At the same time, the situative conjunction of the two buildings forms a "third space" ... that is more than the sum of these two, individual objects: an intermediate space. It is in this intermediate space that meaning arises.³⁵

Within the broader discussion of this paper, the Bungalow Germania is important in that it demonstrates how the use of simulation and reproduction as an architectural strategy need not result in empty replicas. It also shows how copies can be an important political strategy that operates outside debates on material and authorial authenticity discussed in the first two pavilions. In fact, the material inauthenticity of the replica bungalow here is irrelevant - this, after all, is not an exhibition of its architecture per se, but of its image within the collective memory of a nation. Indeed, the bungalow is a symbol of the failed Nazi regime, the four decades of Germany's division, and a marker of its reunification. As such, Lehnerer and Ciriacidis' design presents the viewer with a representation of a representation, establishing its own contemporary authenticity, entirely independent of the original structure. And, as Philip Ursprung suggests, the project also reframes the original pavilion, turning it "from a pointer to the past ... into a symbol of the sheer difficulty in grasping our own present".³⁶ The project thereby constructs its most significant temporal condition in the present moment - a time for reflecting on, and grappling with, the past, present and future.

Conclusion

While each of the pavilions considered here raises more questions than they offer answers, what might be said of them collectively is that their most interesting, and most important, aspects are those that establish complex and multifaceted temporal conditions, often by taking advantage of the temporary, expedient and experimental qualities of the pavilion as a type. This is a particular kind of temporality: one that is implicit in their aesthetic and architectural expression, not just as a contingent consequence of their respective temporariness or permanence in a given place. This simple observation on the narrow selection of recent pavilions discussed here exposes a counter approach to that of many contemporary pavilions which tend to maintain a Modernist predilection for a proleptic architecture of daring experimental forms, new technologies, and innovative social ideas. In fact, all of the works discussed in this paper recycle existing forms and designs, each of them looking back at time, and at history, as much as they look forward. As experiments with time and historical

QUOTATION: What does history have in store for architecture today?

reconstruction, these pavilions also expose the possibility of architecture's multiple authenticities and complex authorships - concepts that, in the context of exhibitionary architecture of museums, events and biennales, can be understood in new ways. But, perhaps most importantly, the pavilions show a new possibility for architectural replication and reproduction, to not only be novel, but also original

Endnotes

- ¹ Beatriz Colomina, "Pavilions of the Future", in *Your Black Horizon Art Pavilion: Olafur Eliasson and David Adjaye*, ed. Eva Ebersberger and Daniela Zyman (Köln: König, 2007), 157.
- ² Moisés Puente, *Pabellones de Exposición: 100 Años = Exhibition Pavilions: 100 Years* (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2000), 8.
- ³ Barry Bergdoll, "The Pavilion and the Expanded Possibilities of Architecture", in *The Pavilion: Pleasure and Polemics in Architecture*, ed. Peter Cachola Schmal (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2009).
- ⁴ Bergdoll, "Expanded Possibilities of Architecture".
- ⁵ Colomina, "Pavilions of the Future", 158.
- ⁶ Penelope Curtis, *Patio and Pavilion: The Place of Sculpture in Modern Architecture* (London, England: Ridinghouse, 2008), 122.
- ⁷ Marijke Kuper and Ida van Zijl, *Gerrit Th. Rietveld 1888-1964: The Complete Works* (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 1992), 266.
- ⁸ Curtis, *Patio and Pavilion*, 122.
- ⁹ "Rietveld Pavilion at the Kröller-Müller Sculpture Garden / Gerrit Rietveld", *ArchDaily*. <http://www.archdaily.com/81555/rietveld-pavilion-at-the-kroller-muller-sculpture-garden>.
- ¹⁰ Annual Report 2010: Kröller-Müller Museum, (Otterlo: Kröller-Müller Museum Foundation, 2011), http://krollermuller.nl/jaarverslag/2010/KMM_JV_2010_EN.pdf.
- ¹¹ Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 183.
- ¹² Bruno Latour and Adam Lowe, "The Migration of the Aura, or How to Explore the Original Through Its Facsimiles", in *Switching Codes: Thinking Through Digital Technology in the Humanities and the Arts*, ed. Thomas Bartscherer and Roderick Coover (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
- ¹³ Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols*, 2nd ed. (Indianapolis, Ind.: Hackett, 1976).
- ¹⁴ Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 7-34.
- ¹⁵ Robbrecht en Daem, Christiane Lange, and Accattono, "1:1 Scale Models", *Accattono* 1(2014): 51.
- ¹⁶ Christiane Lange et al., "Mies 1:1 - The Golf Club Project", in *Roundtable Discussion* (Architectural Association, 2014).
- ¹⁷ The clients for the house were Anton Kröller and Helene Kröller-Müller. The latter is attributed as the driving force behind the establishment of the Kröller-Müller Museum.
- ¹⁸ Aspects of my discussion of the dual authorship of the Mies 1:1 Golf Club Project draws on unpublished research by my colleague, Maarten Liefoghe. Maarten Liefoghe, "Critical Performance: Robbrecht en Daem's 1:1 Model of Mies's Krefeld Golf Club Project" (unpublished article manuscript, Ghent, 2016), based on the conference paper "Replicas as Critical Architectural Performances: Mies 1:1 Golf Club Project" presented at the 68th Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Chicago, April 15-19 2015.
- ¹⁹ Robbrecht en Daem, Lange, and Accattono, "1:1 Scale Models", 54.
- ²⁰ Christiane Lange, "Mies 1:1: The Golf Club Project", in *Mies 1:1: Ludwig Mies van der Rohe: The Golf Club Project*, ed. Christiane Lange and Robbrecht en Daem Architecten (Cologne: Walter König, 2014), 78.
- ²¹ See: Lange, "Mies 1:1: The Golf Club Project", 78; Paul Robbrecht and Johannes Robbrecht, "Figures in a Landscape", in *Mies 1:1: Ludwig Mies van der Rohe: The Golf Club Project*, ed. Christiane Lange and Robbrecht en Daem Architecten (Cologne: Walter König, 2014).
- ²² Robbrecht en Daem, Lange, and Accattono, "1:1 Scale Models", 53.
- ²³ Robbrecht en Daem, Lange, and Accattono, "1:1 Scale Models", 57.
- ²⁴ Lange et al., "Mies 1:1 - The Golf Club Project".
- ²⁵ Claire Bishop, "Reconstruction Era: The Anachronic Time(s) of Installation Art", in *When Attitudes Become Form: Bern 1969/Venice 2013*, ed. Germano Celant (Milan: Fondazione Prada, 2013); Miwon Kwon, *One Place after Another: Site-specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2002).
- ²⁶ Bryony Roberts, "Competing Authenticities", *Future Anterior* 12, no. 2 (2015).
- ²⁷ Bishop, "Reconstruction Era", 436.
- ²⁸ Bishop, "Reconstruction Era", 436.
- ²⁹ Alex Lehnerer, Savvas Ciriacidis, and Sandra Oehy, "Bungalow Germania: Curatorial Statement", https://www.bungalowgermania.de/downloads/en/BungalowGermania_02_Curatorial_Statement.pdf.
- ³⁰ Philip Ursprung, "The Phantom of Modernism: The Chancellor's Bungalow in the Belly of the German Pavilion", in *Bungalow Germania: German Pavilion - 14th International Architecture*

Exhibition, la Biennale di Venezia 2014, ed. Alex Lehnerer and Savvas Ciriacidis (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2014), 7.

³¹ As Lehnerer and Ciriacidis point out, the imposing classicism of the temple-like Venice pavilion remains a highly contentious image. Lehnerer, Ciriacidis, and Oehy, "Bungalow Germania: Curatorial Statement".

³² For example, see essays in: Alex Lehnerer and Savvas Ciriacidis, *Bungalow Germania: German Pavilion - 14th International Architecture Exhibition, la Biennale di Venezia 2014* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2014).

³³ Lehnerer, Ciriacidis, and Oehy, "Bungalow Germania: Curatorial Statement" 3.

³⁴ Lehnerer, Ciriacidis, and Oehy, "Bungalow Germania: Curatorial Statement" 3.

³⁵ Lehnerer, Ciriacidis, and Oehy, "Bungalow Germania: Curatorial Statement".

³⁶ Ursprung, "The Phantom of Modernism", 11-12.

