

GOLD

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE
SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND
VOL. 33**

Edited by AnnMarie Brennan and Philip Goad

Published in Melbourne, Australia, by SAHANZ, 2016

ISBN: 978-0-7340-5265-0

The bibliographic citation for this paper is:

Cristina Garduño Freeman and **Vicki Leibowitz** "In Search of the Philosopher's Stone: Alchemy, ARM and the Sydney Opera House." In *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: 33, Gold*, edited by AnnMarie Brennan and Philip Goad, 200-207. Melbourne: SAHANZ, 2016.

IN SEARCH OF THE PHILOSOPHER'S STONE: ALCHEMY, ARM AND THE SYDNEY OPERA HOUSE

Since the Middle Ages, alchemists sought the Philosopher's Stone; a mythical elixir of life and longevity and essential for – chrysopoeia – the transmutation of lead to gold, of base metals to noble ones.

The Sydney Opera House is widely regarded within the discipline of architecture as a 'flawed masterpiece;' its iconic exterior celebrated as Sydney's golden architectural icon, while the interiors by Peter Hall, are largely criticised as the leaden cousins of the building's original major and minor hall designs. Like the mythical Philosopher's Stone, Jørn Utzon's designs for the interior of the building remained elusive until Unseen Utzon (1994/5). This exhibition revealed the major hall (now the Concert Hall) as an expanse lined with gold and red-radiating waves, and the minor hall (now the Opera Theatre) awash in silver and blue, an apparition of Utzon's genius and completion of his original vision.

After four decades the Sydney Opera House is undergoing renewal to ensure its longevity. The elixir is Ashton Raggatt McDougall (ARM), a firm synonymous with Melbourne architecture, who will redesign the Concert Hall. Ashton Raggatt McDougall are Australia's most eminent contemporary architects. Their work, while often controversial, is characterised by a cerebral criticality that draws on iconic, populist and theoretical imagery.

Drawing Melbourne's most controversial architects into Sydney's architectural masterpiece proffers an explosive encounter. ARM are tasked with the responsibility of transforming the interior of the Opera House, from 'base' to beautiful; a highly charged and symbolic act. This task challenges the immutability of the icon and its contested authorship. We seek to explore the tensions inherent in this act of alchemy. This paper examines iconic transmutation and the potential transformation of the Sydney Opera House.

Introduction

On September 16, 2015, *Architecture Australia* announced that Melbourne-based firm Ashton Raggatt McDougall (ARM) was appointed to redesign the Concert Hall, the major performance venue in the Sydney Opera House.¹ The existing Concert Hall was designed in the late 1960s by Sydney architect Peter Hall, who took over the completion of the building in the wake of Jørn Utzon's controversial resignation in 1966. The upgrade and redesign of the Concert Hall is part of a ten-year plan for the renewal of the building, which will culminate in 2023 and mark the icon's Golden Jubilee. On first examination, the commissioning of ARM seems a straightforward choice; after all they are one of Australia's eminent firms and have won many awards, as their most recent accolade as recipients of the Australian Institute of Architects attests. Their work includes premier performance venues such as the Melbourne Recital Centre recognised in national awards in 2009 and the renovation of Melbourne's Hammer Hall, also a heritage building like the Opera House, which won awards in 2013.² Yet, ARM's appointment to redesign the Concert Hall begs further examination.

ARM is a firm synonymous with Melbourne architecture. They are known to pursue controversial strategies in the making of their work, which has been simultaneously charged with being populist and elitist, referential and derivative, cultural, ugly and cheap.³ ARM are renowned for an irreverent aesthetic, which, while highly cerebral, often employs a multitude of materials and messages that do not typically connote the formal restraint commonly associated with the expressive, romantic form of the Sydney Opera House's modernism. This paper posits that the decision to commission ARM to reconfigure the Opera House constitutes an act of alchemy; an unusual coupling with potentially transformative results. In the drawing together of two institutions, the built Sydney icon of the Opera House on the one hand, and the established fame of ARM as a Melbourne institution on the other, the revised Concert Hall has the potential to produce a 'new' gold. The aim of this paper is not to speculate upon ARM's potential design solutions, but rather to reveal how the collision of these two forces, ARM and the Sydney Opera House, can shed new light on the entrenched oppositional readings of Sydney and Melbourne as competing centres of architectural production in a quest for a broader national architectural identity.

Significantly, traditional discourse around the Sydney Opera House largely excludes its characterisation as representative of a national architecture, yet at a public level the Opera House emerges as a distinctly 'Australian' building; one popularly regarded as an icon for the nation. However this identity and representative role continues to be ambiguously founded on its European connections with Denmark, inherited through the heritage of the original architect Jørn Utzon.⁴ This is despite the contribution of Sydney architects, Peter Hall, Lionel Todd and David Littlemore, without whom the building would not have been completed. While the discourse around the Sydney-Melbourne school rivalry is well documented, Sandra Kaji O'Grady's 2006 article usefully frames these arguments within a broader understanding of critical regionalism. Considered through this lens, and in relation to the work of ARM, the Opera House can be understood within a broader framework of cultural production at a national level within Australia. Such a position side-steps the discourse around the building as a 'flawed masterpiece' and opens up the possibility of the building becoming recognised as representative of an 'Australian' architecture. The term 'flawed masterpiece,' used regularly by architectural historians such as Philip Drew sets the work of Hall, Todd and Littlemore in a disparaging light, not necessarily because of its lack of architectural merit, but simply because it was not, and could not be part of Utzon's modernist architectural vision, in spite, or because of, their Australian heritage. The current commission which draws well-recognised Australian architects, such as ARM, to contribute to the architectural value of the Sydney Opera House, may revise the myth of universal perfection that surrounds Utzon's original designs for the interiors, so that a new, culturally evolved architectural icon can emerge.

Critical regionalism and the Melbourne vs Sydney contest

The contest between Melbourne and Sydney for cultural ascendancy has been in play for over a hundred years, with architecture playing a central role in this national struggle from the 1950s and 1960s to the present day.⁵ Kaji-O'Grady's account of these tensions published in *Architectural Theory Review* provides a helpful framework from which to situate the Opera House within this argument. She suggests that conventional architectural divisions between the two cities are, in fact, derived from historical roots. Her proposition situates critical regionalism at the centre of the Melbourne/Sydney debate wherein the two cities are vying for a definitive national architectural identity; a philosopher's stone. Such a position sheds light on the transmutative potential of ARM's commission to refurbish the Sydney Opera House. This commission has the capacity, not only to transform the Opera House's interior, but also to facilitate the marriage of two traditionally opposing and competing schools of architectural production, and in so doing redefine the building's ambiguous identity as an object representative of Australian architecture. This assertion is based on the notion argued here that the Opera House has been co-opted into the so-called Sydney School through long-established frameworks of critical regionalism, which situate the building within a broader paradigm of essentialist and naturalist iconography. It is only through the specific lens proffered by the inclusion of ARM's mode of production, one grounded firmly in Melbourne's architectural identity, that enables the ambiguous co-option of the Sydney Opera House into the Sydney school to reveal itself. Moreover, the dovetailing of these two, traditionally oppositional, yet iconic forces of Australian architectural identity, has the potential to produce a revised account of what constitutes contemporary 'Australian' architecture.

Beginning with Robin Boyd's 1967 seminal article 'The State of Australian Architecture' published in *Architecture in Australia*, Kaji-O'Grady establishes the battle for cultural leadership between Melbourne and Sydney.⁶ Boyd argues for the recognition of a Sydney school of architecture, which he described as "conservative and aesthetic and revel[ing] in subtle romantic allusions to times or places unspecifically remote" in opposition to the already recognised Melbourne school which was characterised as "adventurous and iconoclastic, forward-looking, daring all and damning all aesthetic rules".⁷ Kaji-O'Grady's argument is based upon an observation that the long-standing divisions between the two cities, both those originally observed by Boyd (of Melbourne in the 1950's and Sydney in the 1960s, and those reiterated by Rory Spence in the 1980s), are founded on somewhat simplistic characterisations that continue into the current day. She argues that contemporary definitions of critical regionalism, constrain architectural interpretations and rhetoric from each city, through a conflation of geographic and historical specificity, to a predetermined set of normalised values. These, broadly speaking, typically characterise Sydney as bound up with nature and Melbourne as bound up with intellectualising culture. She argues that for Australian architecture to evolve, these divisions require dissolution, and acknowledgement of the heterogeneity of both Melbourne and Sydney, as well as recognition of their role within both a local and international context. Importantly too, Kaji-O'Grady situates contemporary desires for branding and image-making at the centre of identity, often at the expense of the material reality, the local identity or the concurrent international trend.⁸ This quest for identity is central to the role the Sydney Opera House plays, both in architectural discourse and more broadly in Australia's cultural identity at a global level. It operates as a tourist site, an architectural icon and, since 2007, as a UNESCO World Heritage site.⁹ This paper suggests that the invitation for ARM to redevelop the Sydney Opera House Concert Hall has the potential to break down these established divisions between the two cities and the embedded presumptions that accompany the discourse around them. The remainder of this paper will tease out some of the tensions at play between the Opera House and ARM, seeking to explore the potentially transformative effect of such a relationship.

Plainly the Opera House's geographical location has ensured that it is recognised, not only as an Australian icon, but as a symbol of Sydney. However its ambiguity as a symbol for Australian architecture, resulting from its international progeny and its clear connection with an expressive or 'third generation' of modernism have made such categorisations complex.¹⁰ When viewed through the armature of critical regionalism (as it has been used in relation to the Sydney school), and in light of ARM's oppositional characterisation expressed through their identity within the Melbourne school, this categorisation may prove useful. Rory Spence, in 1985, picks up Boyd's division between Melbourne and Sydney through notions of critical regionalism, wherein the Sydney school is framed by transcendental concept of nature.¹¹ Kaji-O'Grady argues that the definitions of nature adopted by this strand of critical regionalism were not seen as culturally specific, but rather were universalised and framed as normative. Similar essentialist claims on nature have also been made of the Opera House, historically by Sigfried Giedion in the 1960s, Christian Norberg-Schultz in the 1980s and more recently in 2006 by Richard Weston.¹² Importantly, in 1997 Philip Goad's 'Appeal to Modernism' article published in *Fabrications* argued that the Sydney Opera House was a pawn in Sigfried Giedion's attempts to revive Modernism.¹³ He notes how Giedion appealed to the primitive, the exotic and the technological as theoretical

means to position this work of architecture as an international exemplar for the modern project. Giedion's project, of course, was thwarted by the political machinations that led to Utzon's resignation. But Goad's detailed and insightful argument ends with a prophetic note in which he observes that Giedion's loss in the tragedy of the Opera House are, somewhat ironically and coincidentally, the subversive fodder of avant-garde architects; ARM. In this article, Goad prefigures ARM's commission in the Opera House as potentially transformative, highlighting the oppositional positions from which ARM and the Opera House emerge.

Background on the Sydney Opera House competition

The Opera House, as a project in the 1950s, was intended to put Sydney on the map.¹⁴ Kaji-O'Grady notes that at this same time architects in Australia were looking to develop and establish a national architectural identity that could represent the country at an international level. This search for identity, one which is paralleled through the production of and discourse around the Sydney Opera House, forms a central tenet of Kenneth Frampton's critical regionalism.¹⁵ In fact, despite the clear distinctions made between the two schools of architectural production – Melbourne and Sydney – and their self-defining categorisations of local architectural identity, the Sydney Opera House was not attributed to either one. Instead it was always conceived, right from its inception, as a symbol that could stand in for a broader 'national' identity.¹⁶ The project was originally envisioned under the name: National Opera House, Sydney.¹⁷ The original brief that the selected site, claimed that Bennelong Point was "an outstanding site and should prove a worthy setting for an Opera House possibly unrivalled anywhere in the World."¹⁸ In the lead up to the competition, many architects argued that entry into the competition should be restricted to Australian candidates so that the building could 'authentically' represent the nation.¹⁹ In response, it was suggested that no Australian architect had the requisite experience in such a project and that the competition be made open to international, ideally European candidates.²⁰

As a result, Jørn Utzon, a young Danish architect won the Sydney Opera House competition. His concept for the building was inspired by his own experiences of sailing in his hometown of Aalborg, Denmark, a narrative that can hardly be taken up as representative of Australia. Yet, despite the origins of its inception, the Sydney Opera House now exists as a national symbol, although it is not representative of Australian architecture per se, since it reflects neither a local vernacular nor the recognised hand of a local architect. The interior work of Australian architects Hall, Todd and Littlemore has largely been overlooked and dismissed as a second-rate 'stopgap' that diminishes the value of Utzon's genius vision. Hall's real contribution to the completion of the Opera House has only recently come to light through the work of architectural historian Anne Watson, and Peter Webber's recent biography.²¹

After Utzon's resignation in 1966 and Hall's subsequent appointment to complete the building, valuation of the Opera House by the architectural community shifted. Goad describes how the Opera House, was "quietly written out of history".²² This is evident in the way the sculptural and evocative form of the building now drew criticism. In 1972, Drew condemned the building's "permissive expression" because it "frequently degenerates into arbitrary sensationalism of idiosyncratic forms which devalue architectural integrity."²³ In 1973, the year the building was completed and opened to the public, Charles Jencks described the Opera House as an example of "individual creativity" becoming "functionally and politically 'fantastic.'"²⁴ It was Utzon's incomplete vision, taken over by a 'lesser' architect that was being ridiculed. Yet by 1977, the 'fantastic' and 'evocative' forms became 'iconic' for Jencks. By 1980, Norberg-Schulz positioned the Opera House as an architecture of universal forms rooted in the cosmos and nature, human spirituality and lived experience.²⁵ His descriptions echo critical regionalism's essentialised and idealised version of 'nature' as observed by Kaji-O'Grady.

Frampton's critical regionalism was a theoretical means to connect the universal with the past, the vernacular, the primitive and the regional. In the case of the Opera House, notions of the past were imported by a Dane who adopted primitive vernacular forms from Mexico and China.²⁶ Ironically then, the emergence of the Opera House as a symbol of Australia is one whose international stature is largely derived from its status as NOT designed by Australians. It is precisely its lack of 'Australianness', which, in many respects deems its cultural and popular assessment as worthy of international recognition. The desire for this international connection and association with Denmark was further evidenced in the program of events rolled out in 2013 for the 40th anniversary of the opening of the building.²⁷

The dismissal of Hall, Todd and Littlemore's contribution as a second-rate 'stopgap' that diminishes the value of Utzon's genius has not softened with time. The wound left by Utzon's incomplete buildings (and conversely filled by

Hall's realised Concert Hall) was reopened in 1994 when Utzon's gold and silver interiors were revealed the *Unseen Utzon* exhibition.²⁸ But this was fool's gold, a mythical vision of grand proportions, impractical and long since written over by Hall's completion of the building.²⁹ The mythical Opera House that could have been, remains golden, pure and authored by a singular genius. Yet the reality is a building beloved, imperfect and full of populist plurality.

ARM

The long-established propensity to express 'cultural cringe' through the dismissing or devaluing of local production in the face of international prestige has been a prominent concern within Ashton Raggatt McDougall's work over the past 30 years. Melbourne's culture of architecture established in the 1970s, under the leadership of Edmond and Corrigan, Norman Day and others, centred on explorations of the suburban vernacular and formal experimentation which continued in the 1980s by the newly emerged ARM. In fact, much of their work has since been oriented around the production of a distinctly Australian aesthetic, one grounded in a local vernacular but drawn on the Australian desire to produce architecture within the image of international greatness. Exploratory projects such as the Not Vanna Venutri House etc (1993), explicitly interrogate these concerns while built works such as the St Kilda Library (1994) and Storey Hall (1995), utilise the role of the copy as a predominant mechanism for producing architecture which acknowledges Australia's cultural production situated on the 'edge' of the world. Within their well-documented and contentious design for the National Museum of Australia (NMA), ARM most explicitly acknowledge this preoccupation with a series of iconic representations, both local and international which highlight Australia's lineage of cultural productions within a long and complex history.³⁰ Moreover within this building ARM explicitly refer to the contested interpretations of authorship of the Sydney Opera House. They do so through the inclusion of partial replicas of recognisable dimensions of the Opera House as it is conventionally regarded, as well as locally designed aspects of the building traditionally dismissed as second rate. Not only is ARM's commentary here a useful insight into their ideas about the inequities of cultural value, their use of this motif within the entry foyer of the NMA signals the significance of the Opera House as an emblem of architectural production in Australia and as a motif for nationalistic identity.

For ARM, explorations around concepts of an Australian architectural identity are central to their architectural production, which makes their selection to redesign the Opera House Concert Hall all the more remarkable. Their work seeks to identify a regionalistic aesthetic, which is defined (in contrast to Kenneth Frampton's notions of regionalism) by Australia's unique position on the geographic, architectural and cultural edge of traditional western hegemony. ARM perceive this position as an exclusion and marginalisation that presents opportunities for recalibrating the centre.³¹ Their work proposes the celebration of the edge condition – a kind of empowerment of the underdog. ARM describe their preoccupations around this notion of regionalistic practice in terms of several key themes that permeate their work. These include the following categorizations: 'the fringe,' 'the copy,' 'the blur,' and the 'Not-ness' of architecture.³² They posit that architecture is not invented but rather discovered, a condition that is always procured in relation to what has been made/found/uncovered before. ARM's architecture appears to grow out of existing form; a mutated inversion, a mongrel – part 'them' and part 'us.' Their architecture seems, almost at every turn, to place a mirror up to the architectural cannon in order to generate new form. What is produced is not merely a reflection, but a translation and a transformation so that the emergent building pays homage to the 'centre' while mutating into an inverse object from the edge.

The notion of originality as the centre in the work of ARM is discussed at length by Michael Markham, who argues for the value of the copy as a means of testing the original and the process of making.³³ Like embracing the margins, ARM's interest in copying, opens up the potentiality for error in translation. Architecture is derived from overt reproductions of the whole or parts, copying in multi-dimensional ways evidenced in the process of design, through photocopying or scanning. As Markham suggests, "[T]his technique of copying, openly and self-consciously, can become a device by which thought might not proceed along a single unswerving track but rather according to unpredictable shifts."³⁴ Architecture by ARM is not a solution but rather a proposition in a process of evolution and this, we argue, is central to the process of alchemy at work in the Sydney Opera House. ARM's involvement within the iconic building will not solve Utzon's failures, (nor those of the architectural community), neither will it *heal* the building by restoring Utzon's vision. Rather their work, if based on their long-standing preoccupations, will acknowledge the historical, cultural and architectural lineage of which they are a part so that their architecture may operate as social/political commentary. These concerns are inherent in processes of replication, erasure, oversight and deletion. The cannon, which in many respects forms ARM's design datum, can be understood here as the Sydney Opera House, at once representative

of all that is Australian and all that is not. A piece of the centre relocated at the periphery. The drawing together of two divergent prongs of Australian architecture, facilitated by their commission, proffers the opportunity for a radical reassessment of these divergent forces. What might revised readings of the completed Opera House reveal about that contested history?

Goad, too is critical of the way in which the Sydney Opera House was co-opted into biased historiographies. This could also be seen to draw the Sydney Opera House into critical regionalism and by extension phenomenology, in this way connecting the building with the Sydney school. Such discourse is at once articulating the value of the Opera House denoted through its international ties, while simultaneously celebrating it as an emblem of Australia. Yet a broader reading of critical regionalism, one based on Kaji-O'Grady's arguments, positions it as a theoretical framework through which the Sydney School is historically derived. This position is useful because it highlights the extent to which ARM's involvement with the Opera House signals a potentially transformative moment within Australian architecture between regional discourses but with greater effect at an international level. Such alchemy has the potential to shape the Sydney Opera House according to a revised architectural identity, one which is cognizant of the past while representing an Australian architecture that acknowledges the present. Moreover, the theoretical framework through which such an architecture may be understood, and the ensuing discourse that it facilitates, may further affect the traditional divisions upon which architecture in Australia is based.

Conclusion

Robin Boyd's articulation of Australian cringe, in his seminal 1960 book, *The Australian Ugliness* highlights the sense of inadequacy upon which well-established notions of Australian identity are based.³⁵ ARM propose that the self-defining notion of Australian cringe can become the very basis upon which a local, unique architecture can be drawn and their commission within the Sydney Opera House embeds them within what is perhaps, Australian architecture's most public example of 'cultural cringe.' It is this celebration of the cringe that enables the establishment of a populist aesthetic, one that simultaneously elevates and diminishes the significance of architecture and its relationships to established canons. The elevation of aspects of the so-called cringe and their inclusion in the very basis of architectural production witnesses the marrying of the 'high art' preoccupations of architecture with the basest aspects of 'Aussieness.' This approach does not deny the climate, landscape and local mythologies as a means of determining local identity, but rather seeks to carve out a new space in which to discover an identity generated out of the very 'otherness' that makes Australian identity.³⁶ The iconic stature of the Opera House and its replication in cheap and trashy souvenirs, in logos, stamps, and tourist photos, or remade as cake or a couch or simply as a visual analogy of clouds or turtles copulating is the 'other' of the building.³⁷ This under-dog-side of the Opera House, derided as insignificant, like Hall's contribution to getting the building finished, is the space opened up by ARM's commission. And inversely, their Australian heritage, similar to Utzon's Danish lineage that made the Opera House international but un-Australian, offers the mongrel elixir of architectural identity to the Australian nation.

The commission of ARM in the Sydney Opera House could be seen as a prelude to a recognition of their representativeness of Australian architecture at a global level. This observation was recently reinforced at a national level through the award of the Australian Institute of Architecture Gold Medal to ARM. Ironically, their role as provocateurs, working to critique the status quo has been both recognized and undermined by this award which reflects broad acceptance and acknowledgement by the architectural mainstream. One could argue that in such a position, ARM have re-located the centre towards the edge. This duality, contradiction and ambiguity, is arguably particularly Australian. It is evident in the metaphorical imagining around the Sydney Opera House that include both sublime analogies of petals unfolding and sails on the harbour with subversive images of dishes in a washing up rack and a scrum of nuns.

ARM's work is typically polarising, the subject of much debate, celebration and even ridicule. Conversely, the Opera House is widely-loved, both locally and internationally and regarded as a symbol of Sydney and more broadly Australia. ARM have been tasked with the responsibility of transforming the interior of the Opera House's concert hall visually, aesthetically and acoustically into a 'worthy' gilt interior which many feel was never attained. But the drawing of seminal Melbourne architecture into Sydney's heartland has the potential to transform considerably more than the building itself. It brings together two oppositional bodies of Australian architecture while simultaneously having the potential to heal a rupture in the historical states of architecture in Australia. Of course, until ARM have completed

their commission within the Opera House, it will not be possible to assess their contribution and its ongoing authorial debates. At present, we can only appreciate the potential merging and repositioning of the centre and the periphery contained in this commission. However, the alchemic charge of ARM's potential contribution to the Sydney Opera House highlights the value of the material in the expression of national identity and the making of place in contributing to this ongoing conversation.

Endnotes

- 1 *Architecture Australia* is the journal of the Australian Institute of Architects (AIA). Philip Goad, "One Hundred Years of Discourse," *Architecture Australia* 93, no. 1 (January) (2004).
- 2 Melbourne Recital Centre was completed in 2008 and won the 2009 *Emil Sodersten Award for Interior Architecture* at a national level and the *Victorian Architecture Medal*, the *William Wardell Award for Public Architecture*, the *Marion Mahoney Award for Interior Architecture* and the *Joseph Reed Award for Urban Design* at a state level in the same year. ARM, "Melbourne Recital Centre," http://www.a-r-m.com.au/projects_MRC.html. The redevelopment of Hammer Hall within Arts Centre Melbourne was completed in 2012. Roy Grounds designed the original building in 1982, but the interiors including Hammer Hall were by John Truscott. ARM's 2012 redevelopment won the 2013 *Lachlan Macquarie Award for Heritage Architecture*, the *National Award for Interior Architecture* plus it received two national commendations, one in public architecture and one in urban design. At a state level the redevelopment won the *Marion Mahoney Award for Interior Architecture*, the *John George Knight Award for Heritage Architecture* and the *Public Architecture Award for Alterations and Additions*. "Hammer Hall, Arts Centre Melbourne," http://www.a-r-m.com.au/projects_HamerHall.html.
- 3 See for example Naomi Stead, "The Semblance of Populism: National Museum of Australia," *The Journal of Architecture* 9, no. 3 (2004); Dimity Reed, ed. *Tangled Destinies: The National Museum of Australia* (Victoria, Australia: The Images Publishing Group, 2002).
- 4 Such connections are evident in the way Denmark featured in the 40th Birthday celebrations in 2013 which saw an exhibition of contemporary Danish design hosted, the Danish Royals HRH Crown Prince Frederik and HRH Crown Princess Mary visit as the events patron and a ten-year long annual architectural student exchange program, 'Multidisciplinary Australian Danish Exchange' (MADE) "M.A.D.E.," Sydney Opera House, <http://www.sydneyoperahouse.com/made/about.aspx>; Sydney Opera House, "Media Release: 20 June 2013." http://www.sydneyoperahouse.com/About/13CorporateMediaRelease_40thAnniversary.aspx.
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- 9 Cristina Garduño Freeman, "Photosharing on Flickr: Intangible Heritage and Emergent Publics," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 4 (2010).
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- 11 Rory Spence, "The Concept of Regionalism Today," *Transition* July (1985).
- 12 Giedion, "Jørn Utzon and the Third Generation: Three Works by Jørn Utzon – a New Chapter of Space Time and Architecture;" Christian Norberg-Schulz and Yukio Futagawa, "Jørn Utzon: Sydney Opera House, Sydney, Australia, 1957–73," *Global Architecture* 54, no. March (1980); Richard Weston, "Monumental Appeal: Reflections on the Sydney Opera House," in *Building a Masterpiece: The Sydney Opera House*, ed. Anne Watson (Aldershot, UK: Lund Humphries, 2006).
- 13 Philip Goad, "An Appeal for Modernism: Sigfried Giedion and the Sydney Opera House," *Fabrications* 8, no. July (1997).
- 14 Peter Spearritt, *Sydney's Century: A History*, 1st ed. (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1999); "Praise for Opera Move," *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 22, 1955.
- 15 Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," in *Anti-Aesthetic. Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Washington: Bay Press, 1983).
- 16 Boyd suggests that Melbourne held the architectural leadership in the first half of the 20th century. However, "just before 1960" this passed to Sydney, which coincides with the international competition for the Opera House project launched in 1956, the year Melbourne had hosted the Olympic Games but which concluded in 1957 with Jørn Utzon's winning scheme.
- 17 NSW Government, "An International Competition for a National Opera House at Bennelong Point, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia: Conditions and Program (Brown Book)," (Sydney: Booklet printed by A.H. Pettifer, Government Printer, 1955), 5.

- 18 "An International Competition for a National Opera House at Bennelong Point, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia: Conditions and Program (Brown Book)."Appendix 3.
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- 20 Georges Molnar, "Plans for Sydney's Opera House: What Comes Next?," *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 4, 1955.
- 21 Anne Watson, "Peter Hall and the Sydney Opera House: The 'Lost' Years 1966-70," (Sydney University, 2013); Ben Cheshire, Greg Hassall, and Kieran Ricketts, "ABC Australian Story: The Man Who Fixed the 'Plain Illegal' Sydney Opera House," <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-01-31/peter-hall-architect-who-fixed-opera-house-after-utzon-departed/7127160>; Peter Webber, *The Phantom of the Opera House* (Boorowa, NSW: Watermark Press, 2013); Anne Watson, "Divided Loyalties: Peter Hall, Philip Parsons and the Dilemma of Utzon's Return," *Fabrications* 22, no. 2 (2012).
- 22 Goad, "An Appeal for Modernism: Sigfried Giedion and the Sydney Opera House," 141.
- 23 Drew, *Third Generation: The Changing Meaning of Architecture*, 37.
- 24 Charles Jencks, *Modern Movements in Architecture* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1973), 66.
- 25 Norberg-Schulz and Futagawa, "Jørn Utzon: Sydney Opera House, Sydney, Australia, 1957-73."
- 26 Goad, "An Appeal for Modernism: Sigfried Giedion and the Sydney Opera House."
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- 28 Philip Nobis, "Utzon's Interiors for the Sydney Opera House: The Design Development of the Major and Minor Hall 1958-1966," (Bachelor of Architecture Thesis, University of Technology, 1994); "Unseen Utzon," <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aU6oQpHfDz8>; Philip Nobis and John Murphy, "Unseen Utzon," Sydney Opera House and NSW State Library. A year earlier the interiors were also the focus of another dissertation by Peter Georgiades, a fellow UTS architecture student. "Jørn Utzon Sydney Opera House Collection, 1956-1967," <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemdetailpaged.aspx?itemid=41166>; Theodore Peter Georgiades, "Utzon's Unseen Work: A Search to Discover the Design Intentions of Jørn Utzon for the Interior Auditoria of the Sydney Opera House," (Bachelor of Architecture Thesis, University of Technology, Sydney, 1993).
- 29 Ken Woolley, *Reviewing the Performance* (Boorowa, NSW: The Watermark Press, 2010).
- 30 John Macarthur and Naomi Stead, "The National Museum of Australia as Danse Macabre: Baroque Allegories of the Popular," in *South Pacific Museums*, ed. Chris Healy and Andrea Witcomb (Melbourne: Monash University ePress, 2006).
- 31 Ian McDougall, "The Autistic Ogler," in *Transfiguring the Ordinary*, ed. Leon Van Schaik (Melbourne: RMIT Printed Books, 1995).
- 32 Many of ARM's key exegetical writings have been arranged thematically in their recent publication Mark Raggatt and Mauiú Ward, eds., *Mongrel Rapture: The Architecture of Ashton Raggatt Mcdougall* (Melbourne, Australia: Uro Publications, 2015).
- 33 Michael Markham, "Originality," *Transitions* 47 (1995).
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